THE NEW SCHOOL
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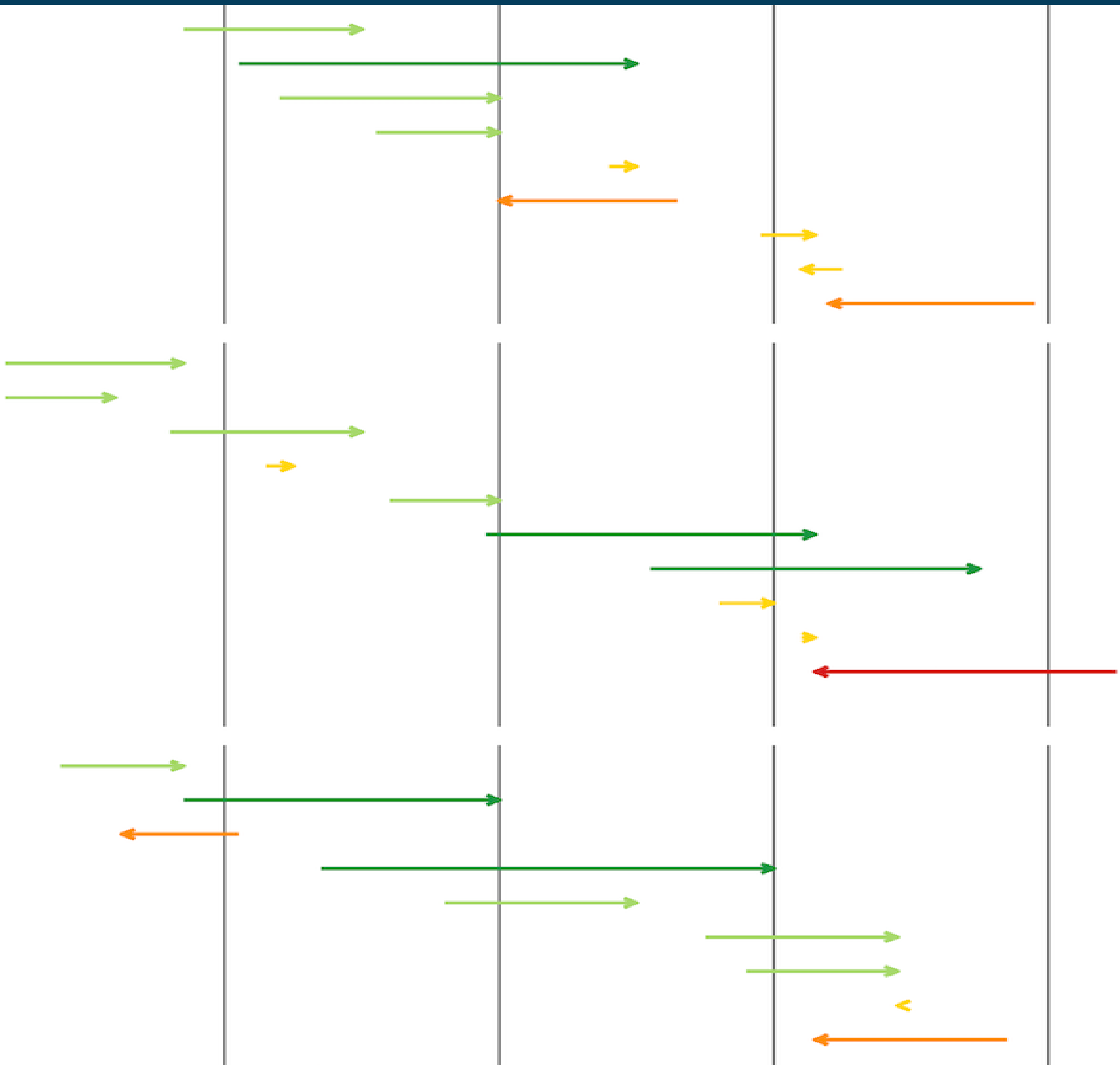
Promising Outcomes, Limited Potential:
Diversity in Admissions in New York City Public Schools



November 2018 | By Nicole Mader, Abigail Kramer, and Angela Butel

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Executive Director:

Kristin Morse

Editorial Team:

Clara Hemphill, director of education policy and InsideSchools

Nicole Mader, senior research fellow

Abigail Kramer, editor

Angela Butel, research assistant

Bruce Cory, editorial advisor

Kamille Vargas, assistant director of operations

Design:

Milan Gary

This report was made possible by support from Deutsche Bank.

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Center for New York City Affairs
72 Fifth Avenue, 6th Floor
New York, NY 10011
212.229.5418
centernyc@newschool.edu
www.centernyc.org

Introduction

In 2016, New York City rolled out a small pilot project intended to address a problem that was growing, for the City's avowedly progressive mayoral administration, into a sizeable political dilemma: Over the previous two years, a convergence of student organizers, frustrated principals, and much-quoted research had drawn new public scrutiny to the fact that the City's public school population, while one of the most diverse in the country, is also one of the most starkly segregated by race and class.

Last year, nearly two-thirds of Black students in New York City attended schools where fewer than 10 percent of children were White, and where nearly 90 percent of students came from low-income families (defined throughout this report as meeting the free/reduced-price lunch threshold of $37,777 annual income for a family of three)[1]. White students, on the other hand, were concentrated in schools with rates of poverty less than half the rate citywide, according to our analysis of enrollment data from the Department of Education (DOE).[2]

The City's pilot project—called the Diversity in Admissions (DIA) initiative—was an attempt to begin a kind of localized, school-led balancing of the scales. Starting in advance of the 2016-17 school year, the DOE allowed seven schools to give priority for a percentage of seats in their incoming classes to applicants who met various criteria, such as coming from low-income families or qualifying as English language learners. (Administrators were instructed not to explicitly target race or ethnicity, since the 2007 U.S. Supreme Court decision in a case known as *Parents Involved* struck down school integration plans that used racial priorities in Seattle, Washington and Louisville, Kentucky.)

The DIA initiative quickly grew, expanding from seven to 19 schools in its second year and 42 schools in its third. As of this writing, 81 schools and five Pre-K programs are signed up to participate for the 2019-20 admissions cycle.

Most of the schools that signed on to the pilot in its first two rounds were located in gentrified neighborhoods, and had seen a rapid decline in the enrollment of low-income, Black, and Latino students in recent years. As the pilot has expanded, more schools have joined that serve a larger proportion of low-income students, including schools in three entire community school districts that adopted cohesive, districtwide plans. These consist of all of the elementary schools in District 1 (on Manhattan's Lower East Side) and most of the middle schools in both District 3 (Manhattan's Upper West Side and Harlem) and District 15 (in the Brooklyn neighborhoods of Park Slope, Sunset Park, and Red Hook).

1 Since the DOE began providing free lunch to all students, it has considered students "low-income" who either meet federal free- or reduced-price lunch income cutoff of 185 percent of the federal poverty line or whose families receive public benefits through the City's Human Resources Administration.

2 These figures from 2017-18 represent a decrease in the isolation of Black students at "intensely segregated" schools from what the landmark study by the UCLA Civil Rights Project found in 2010, when three out of four Black students in the New York City metro area attended schools with less than 10 percent White students. However, the concentration of poverty at these intensely segregated schools increased from 80 to 87 percent over the same time period.

In this report, which is part of a multiyear investigation of school segregation in New York City by the Center for New York City Affairs, we assess the promises and limitations of the DIA initiative, as well as its outcomes so far. Using school- and grade-level data for each of the pilot schools, we created interactive visualizations to understand all 86 schools' goals in the context of their demographic trends. We spoke with school leaders, DOE administrators, and academic researchers to learn how these schools designed their admissions priorities and the challenges they've faced in implementing them. And we analyzed results at the 19 schools that participated in the initiative's first two years. (The DOE has not yet released demographic data for the current school year.)

Our analysis revealed four main findings:

- The Diversity in Admissions initiative has achieved some promising successes: During their participation in the pilot, the 18 schools that gave priority to low-income students increased their share of those students by an average of eight percentage points.[3] Five of the schools also gave priority to English language learners (ELLs), and raised their share of them by four percentage points on average. The largest successes were concentrated among schools with student poverty rates that are significantly lower than those of their districts or the city as a whole.
- While schools are not permitted to target race or ethnicity directly, many principals hoped that categories like income and language would serve as proxy measures, increasing racial diversity as well. There was no statistically significant change in any race or ethnicity category on average across the first 19 schools in the pilot. However, two out of the first 19 schools in the pilot did increase their share of Black and Hispanic students by more than five percentage points.
- Thus far, there is no consistent strategy or standard for how schools have set their admissions targets. The schools with the most ambitious goals, relative to their recent student demographic trends, were the most successful in enrolling more diverse incoming classes after joining the pilot. Other schools set goals near or below their current enrollment levels of targeted students, and thus were able to meet their goals with little change to the status quo.
- Despite its rapid expansion, the initiative's scope remains small: The 86 schools and Pre-K programs currently enrolled in the project serve a total of 37,000 students, or just three percent of public school students citywide. If all of those schools were to meet their enrollment targets for the coming year (an outcome that is far from guaranteed), the initiative would affect the placement of some 4,000 applicants, or just one percent of all students admitted to Pre-K, kindergarten, 6th, or 9th grade across the city.

Mayor Bill de Blasio has made it clear that he intends to see the DIA initiative grow. The project remains a central piece of the administration's school diversity plan, and is arguably its most concrete strategy to redistribute students. At a September 2018 press conference unveiling District 15's middle school diversity plan, the mayor announced $2 million in grants to help more districts join the initiative with plans of their own, saying, "I really do believe that from the ground up is the best way to make lasting change."

3 One of the first 19 schools to join the pilot, Brooklyn Arts and Science Elementary, only prioritized English language learners.

As the City moves forward, however, it's important to note that the strategy behind the DIA initiative can only be applied to one piece of New York City's school segregation problem. A voluntary plan that works through school admissions lotteries might make access more equitable to highly sought-after schools in mixed-income districts. But unless admissions priorities become significantly more ambitious, they are unlikely to open the doors wider in affluent districts like Manhattan's District 2. As currently defined, the priorities do little to attract higher-income students to high-poverty schools, and they have limited capacity to impact the poorest parts of the city, including sections of the Bronx and Brooklyn where many schools struggle to fill their seats at all. Nor, of course, do more diverse student bodies alone ensure that low-income students and students of color are treated equitably and well.

Critics of the City's response to school segregation, including some principals participating in the DIA pilot, see the program as a poor substitute for a centralized, citywide integration plan. "It's ridiculous that we're patting ourselves on the back about this," says Julie Zuckerman, the principal of Castle Bridge school in Manhattan's Washington Heights, which was one of the first schools to join the initiative. "There's got to be a larger, more systematic approach."

In the coming year, the School Diversity Advisory Group, established by the mayor in early 2018, will release recommendations for the City. As the mayor and the DOE proceed with their plans for school diversity, this report offers a close-up look at what the DIA strategy can—and cannot—accomplish. Our early assessment of this approach suggests that it can, in fact, boost socio-economic diversity, at least at some City schools—and that the DOE should therefore recognize and reward schools for participating and for achieving ambitious targets. It is also an approach with limitations, and must be one part of a broader, systemwide plan to begin dismantling segregation across the New York City school system.

HOW WE GOT HERE

Segregated schools are commonly blamed on segregated neighborhoods, but they are also a product of New York City's official and unofficial systems of school choice, which take effect in students' earliest years at school. Nearly 40 percent of New York City's public kindergarten students attend schools other than their zoned neighborhood schools, according to our recent report, "The Paradox of Choice," which analyzes 10 years of student data. Families who leave their neighborhood schools are more likely to be higher-income and English-proficient than the ones who stay. This is particularly true for families in gentrifying neighborhoods, who opt out of their zoned elementary schools almost twice as often as families in other neighborhoods.[1]

The sorting becomes more explicit in higher grades, when many of the City's middle and high schools screen applicants on such criteria as attendance, behavior, and standardized test scores. The intention, at least in theory, is to let families find the best fit for their children and to allow kids to opt out of poorly performing neighborhood schools. But the result is a system of accreting stratification, in which students who attend the poorest-performing elementary schools tend to be assigned to the lowest-demand (and lowest-performing) middle and high schools.

Historically, certain schools and districts have designed explicit policies to disrupt the process of sorting and segregation by race and ethnicity. Until the late 1990s, for example, P.S 146 Brooklyn New School, which accepts children by lottery from multiple districts in the borough, ensured diversity in its student body by using racial set-asides, reserving one-third of its seats for Black students, one-third for Latino students, and another third for White students. From 1991 until 2007, District 1 on the Lower East Side had a "controlled choice" admissions policy that aimed for gender, economic, and racial/ethnic balance districtwide.

After the City disallowed race as an admissions criterion (in response to the *Parents Involved* Supreme Court decision) a small number of schools experimented with admissions models that targeted diversity through other demographics. When Brooklyn's P.S. 133 William Butler School was founded in 2013, for example, it was (after a protracted and politically messy battle) permitted to give priority to low-income students and English language learners for one-third of its seats. The middle school Park Slope Collegiate gives priority to applicants coming from District 15 elementary schools whose student bodies match the demographics of the (racially and economically diverse) district, rather than those of the (much whiter, wealthier) immediate neighborhood.

Advocates for school integration have long called on the City to make systemwide change. But larger, more disruptive efforts at integration faced resistance, particularly when the Community Education Councils of Districts 13 and 3 redrew the zone maps for elementary schools in DUMBO and the Upper West Side, respectively. Angry community residents stoked fears among some policymakers of a middle-class exodus: In the face of too drastic a change, what would stop parents with mobility from pulling their kids out of the public education system altogether? Some of those families, Mayor de Blasio said, have "made massive life decisions and investments because of which school their kid would go to."

The Diversity in Admissions pilot offered the City another option: It allows principals whose schools draw from potentially diverse applicant pools—and who care about school integration—to experiment with ways to achieve it without imposing any changes on other principals and schools. By using admissions priorities, rather than a top-down redistribution of students, the initiative ensures that demographic change is gradual and that parent choice continues to hold a great deal of power.

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1 In 2016-17, 60 percent of families of all kindergarten students in gentrifying neighborhoods exercised choice. This is far higher than in higher-income neighborhoods (32 percent), where parents are much more likely to be zoned for higher-performing schools, and in non-gentrifying neighborhoods (35 percent), where the barriers to choice are felt most acutely.

The Scope And Shape of DIA Plans

The 86 schools currently participating in the DIA initiative (listed in the Appendix) include five community-based Pre-K centers, 32 elementary schools (24 of which also serve Pre-K children), 33 middle schools, and 16 high schools. They are located in 14 of the city's 32 community school districts, including every district in Manhattan, five districts in Brooklyn, two in Queens, and one in the Bronx. Slightly more than half volunteered to join the pilot on their own over the first four years of the pilot; the other half were folded into the pilot through their participation in one of the districtwide initiatives that began in the most recent two years. This distinction is important for understanding both the types of schools involved and the designs of their plans.

Individual school plans

Each school that has volunteered to join the pilot on its own was given discretion to set its admissions priorities, so they vary widely in scope and nature. All but seven of these 45 schools prioritize low-income students, but several have found other ways to target students they are hoping to serve.[4] For example, the Castle Bridge School in Manhattan prioritizes 10 percent of its kindergarten seats for kids from families impacted by incarceration, as well as 60 percent for low-income applicants. The Brooklyn Arts and Science elementary school, in Crown Heights, prioritizes 20 percent of kindergarten seats for English language learners or students in the child welfare system. The Academy of Applied Mathematics and Technology, a middle school in the South Bronx, aims to target graduates of specific elementary schools for 40 percent of its 6th-grade seats.

The number of seats included in each school's priority plan also ranges dramatically, from as low as 12 percent of the incoming kindergarten class at P.S. 77 The Lower Lab School on the Upper East Side to 75 percent at Washington Heights Expeditionary Learning School. But the share of seats alone is not enough to gauge the potential impact of the DIA pilot. It is necessary to look at each school's recent demographic context and that of its district to better understand why each school joined the pilot and designed its admissions priorities the way it did. (See our interactive visualizations, which accompany this report online, to look at 10-year demographic trends for each participating school.)

HOW THE ADMISSIONS PRIORITY WORKS

Each school or district that joins the Diversity in Admissions initiative is invited to develop its own plan to prioritize at least one group of students for admission. Most schools also set numeric targets for the share of seats in their incoming classes they hope to fill with priority students. But a handful of participating schools still give first priority to applicants in their zones, siblings of current students, or current Pre-K students. In these cases, it is unclear how many—if any—seats are left over for the groups they are promising to target once those seats are filled.

Once a school's priorities have been set, applicants are sorted into multiple lotteries. For example, if a school has chosen to give priority for 60 percent of its seats to low-income students, applicants who fall into that category will be placed in a first-round lottery until the priority slots are full. Low-income applicants who don't get a seat in the first-round lottery are then entered in a second round, along with the general applicant pool, where they have a shot at getting one of the remaining 40 percent of seats.

Priorities are not the same as strict set-asides. If a school doesn't meet its target—if, in the previous example, there were not enough low-income applicants to fill 60 percent of seats—then it will fill those slots with applicants who are not in the priority group.

4 Four schools in District 1 and three schools in District 15 joined the pilot before their districts implemented districtwide plans, so we refer to their original target groups and priority goals for the years prior to joining their districtwide plans, then adjust their plans to match their districts' goals after those plans were adopted

The first schools that joined DIA tended to have incoming classes (kindergarten, 6th, or 9th grades) with much lower poverty rates than their district averages. Some of them, like the Children's School in Park Slope, have long served populations that were relatively affluent compared to the other schools in their districts. Although the Children's School's goal of enrolling 33 percent low-income students or ELLs would bring it less than halfway to the District 15 average levels of such students, meeting that goal would represent a six-fold increase in the school's low-income and ELL populations from the year before starting the pilot. About half of the schools that have joined the pilot individually set similarly ambitious goals that could significantly transform the socioeconomic composition of their incoming grades (shown by green arrows in Figure 1).

Table 1: Pilot Schools Compared to all NYC Public Schools, 2017

	Total students	% low-income	% ELL	% Black and Hispanic
At all NYC public schools	**1,135,334**	**74%**	**13%**	**66%**
Pre-K	71,528	59%	NA	60%
Kindergarten	81,588	72%	20%	63%
6th grade	79,114	76%	12%	67%
9th grade	90,062	75%	13%	69%
At all 81 pilot schools*	**37,167**	**56%**	**6%**	**58%**
Pre-K	768	49%	NA	52%
Kindergarten	1,839	47%	8%	46%
6th grade	3,952	52%	9%	52%
9th grade	2,084	65%	4%	65%
Schools starting pilot in 2016-17 or 2017-18	**8,398**	**40%**	**4%**	**44%**
Pre-K	323	33%	NA	37%
Kindergarten	862	38%	8%	37%
6th grade	530	34%	2%	32%
9th grade	263	77%	3%	73%
Schools starting pilot in 2018-19 or 2019-20 (including district-wide initiatives)	**28,769**	**61%**	**6%**	**62%**
Pre-K	445	60%	NA	63%
Kindergarten	977	55%	7%	54%
6th grade	3,422	54%	10%	55%
9th grade	1,821	64%	4%	63%

*Demographic data is not available for students in the five community-based Pre-K centers participating in the pilot

Source: NYC DOE Grade-level Demographic Snapshot, 2006-07 to 2017-18

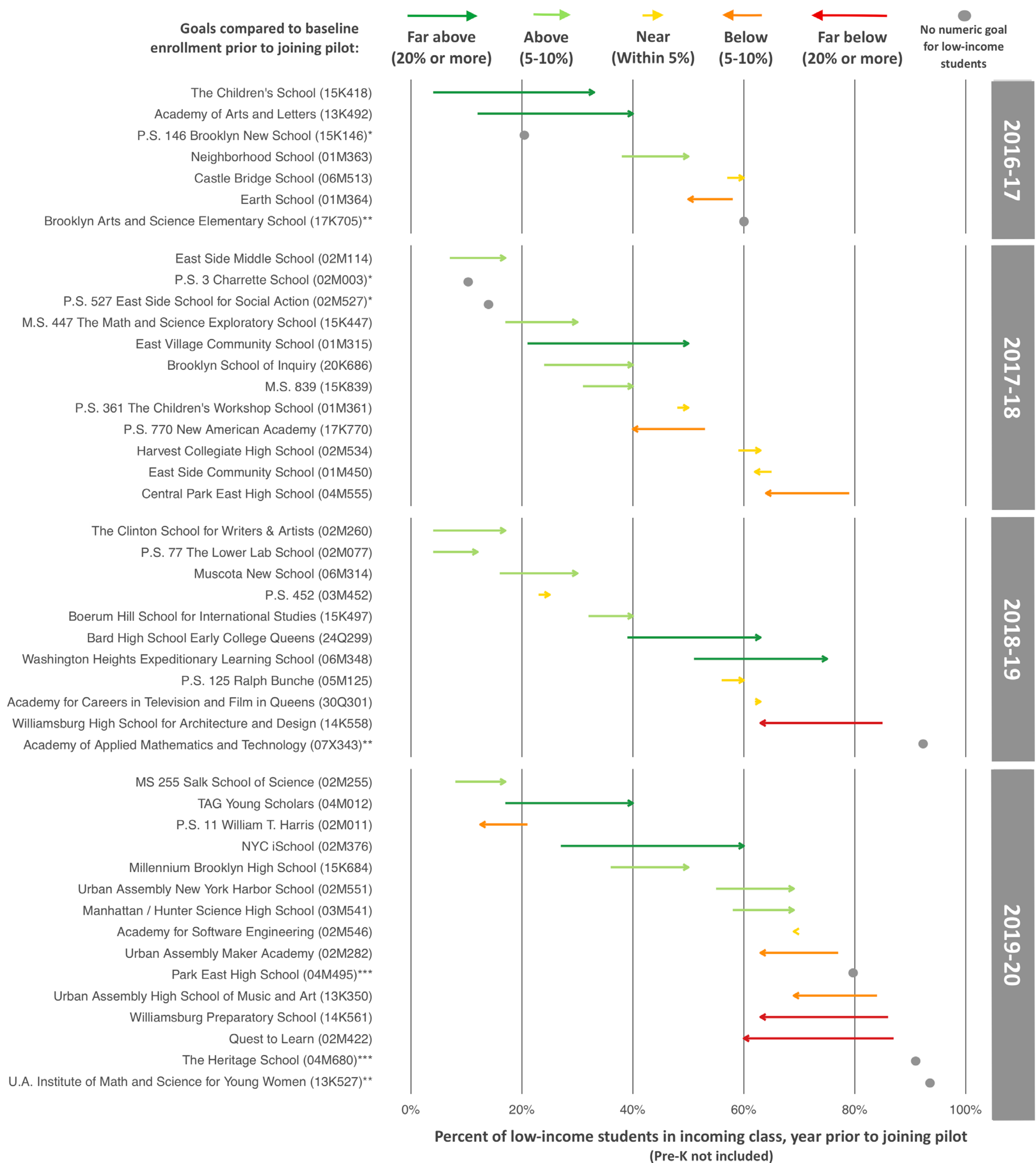
Other schools in the pilot have seen a rapid decline in their enrollment of lower-income, Black, and Latino students over the past 10 years. At M.S. 447 in Downtown Brooklyn, for example, the percentage of low-income students dropped from 44 percent in 2006 to just 16 percent in 2016, the year before the school joined the pilot. That decline can partly be attributed to the demographics of the school's district, which includes some of the highest-income neighborhoods in Brooklyn. But it was exacerbated, says Arin Rusch, M.S. 447's principal, by the fact that the school screened applicants for past academic performance—relying primarily on attendance and grades achieved in 4th grade, when most students are nine years old, as well as on an interview and test designed by the school.

The screen, Rusch says, gave a clear advantage to applicants from the district's wealthiest elementary schools. "The kids who were lower-performing and couldn't get into our school were also the kids from lower-performing, high-poverty elementary schools, who were also kids of color," she says.

In addition to prioritizing admission for 30 percent of its 6th-grade seats for low-income students, M.S. 447 committed to accepting students across a much broader range of past academic performance. One goal, Rusch says, was to do away with "the process of picking and choosing children based on factors—like academics or attendance—that in so many cases have more to do with the lot a kid has been given in life and not their intellect, or merits, or sweetness, or ability to be good citizens." In the last two years, the DIA initiative has begun to attract schools that already serve a high per-

centage of low-income students. As more high-poverty schools have volunteered to join the pilot, a growing number have set goals that are near or below their recent poverty rates (see the orange and red arrows in Figure 1). In most cases, these schools have seen a recent shift in their applicant

Figure 1: Goals for low-income enrollment at individual pilot schools, by cohort year



* These schools did not set a numeric target

** These schools do not prioritize low-income students

***These schools prioritize low-income students who live in their district, for which data is not available

Source: NYC DOE Grade-level Demographic Snapshot, 2006-07 to 2017-18

Note: The arrows in this visualization start at the baseline enrollment level for low-income students in the year before joining the pilot or 2017-18, which may not reflect the total population of all groups of prioritized students at each school.

pools—either because of changing demographics in their neighborhoods or new application criteria—and wanted to preserve space for students they've traditionally served.

Prior to joining the pilot, for example, 82 percent of students at Central Park East High School were considered low-income, although the school has recently begun to attract an increasing number of students above the low-income threshold. When it signed on to the pilot prior to the 2017-18 school year, Central Park East prioritized 64 percent of seats for low-income applicants in its incoming 9th-grade class. The goal was to allow the school to become more socioeconomically diverse without reaching a tipping point that could, ultimately, shut out the lower-income students it had always served. "We felt it was incumbent on us to provide opportunities to students based on hard work, not income or geography," says Bennett Lieberman, the school's principal.

Park East High School and The Heritage School—both high schools in Manhattan's District 4, in East Harlem, that currently serve a higher percentage of low-income students than the citywide average—established very specific priorities for low-income applicants who live in the district. While these measures are unlikely to have a great impact on each school's socioeconomic diversity, they aim to ensure access to the schools for applicants from the neighborhood.

Quest to Learn, a middle and high school in the Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan with a current 6th-grade poverty rate of over 80 percent, established a priority for low-income students as part of a larger change that opens the school to applicants across the city. The school's goal is to maintain its commitment to its predominantly low-income student population as it pulls from a broader and potentially more economically diverse applicant pool. Two schools—Williamsburg Preparatory School and Williamsburg High School for Architecture and Design—designed their diversity plans in response the rapid gentrification of their neighborhood, with the goal of preserving seats for low-income students as local demographics change.

Regardless of the current poverty level among students in their schools, some of the principals we spoke to admitted to a certain randomness in setting their DIA goals. With little guidance from the DOE about local demographic shifts or about how aggressively to pursue change, the 46 schools that joined the pilot individually set admissions goals that range widely, from 33 percentage points above their current enrollment levels of targeted students to 27 points below. As a result, about half of the participating schools will be able to "meet their goals" without becoming significantly more diverse. While it makes sense to tailor diversity plans to each school's specific circumstances, the pilot would be stronger if the DOE ensured that each plan meaningfully advances the City toward the goal of integration.

Districtwide Plans

One of the earliest criticisms of the DIA pilot by integration advocates was that allowing individual schools to voluntarily participate would not address the systemic nature of segregation across each district or the city as a whole. Arin Rusch, the M.S. 447 principal, points out that one school's diversity plan might even have a negative effect on other, nearby schools. "If we're skimming off the highest-performing low-income kids in the name of us getting our 30 percent, that doesn't seem healthy for the ecosystem of the district," she says. Districtwide plans, now established in Districts 1, 3, and 15, intend to achieve a more holistic impact.

District 1

Parent leaders and principals in District 1 on the Lower East Side were the first to design a districtwide diversity plan, which includes all 16 non-charter elementary schools in the district, four of which had already joined the pilot. This geographically compact, diverse, and un-zoned district had enjoyed some success with a similar plan to redistribute students by race/ethnicity in the 1990s, but saw its schools re-segregate when the administration of then-Mayor Michael Bloomberg implemented a centralized kindergarten lottery in 2007. Integration advocates worked for years to build community support for a new plan based on socioeconomic characteristics, and ultimately reached a compromise with the DOE that folded their plan into the DIA pilot starting in 2018-19.

Modeled after the "controlled choice" plan for public schools in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the District 1 plan prioritizes low-income students, ELLs, or students in temporary housing for 67 percent of kindergarten and Pre-K seats at each school. Students not in those categories receive priority for the other 33 percent of seats at each school. A Family Resource Center was opened to give parents information about schools and to help them navigate the admissions process.

By prioritizing students both above and below the poverty threshold, the plan aims to redistribute students so that the demographics of each school more closely mirror the makeup of the district as a whole. Five of the 16 schools in the district, including the four that were already participating in the pilot, would have to raise their share of low-income students in kindergarten by more than 10 percentage points in order to meet the new goal (see Figure 2). Eight of the schools would have to lower their share of low-income students by 15 points or more. Prioritizing higher-income students for a third of their seats makes a demographic shift at this latter group of schools possible in theory, but unless higher-income families list those schools on their kindergarten applications, they are not likely to be assigned to them, even under the new plan. It remains to be seen, after only one admissions cycle under this plan, whether the new Family Resource Center or recruitment efforts by individual schools will shift parent preferences enough to rebalance kindergarten student populations across the district.

District 3

District 3, a highly segregated district with luxury high-rises abutting public housing developments across the Upper West Side and Harlem, was the next to establish a districtwide plan. In the coming admissions cycle for the 2019-20 school year, 16 of the 19 non-charter middle schools in the district will prioritize low-income and/or academically lower-performing applicants for 25 percent of their seats. Although this notably is the first plan in the DIA initiative to explicitly prioritize students based on academic criteria, the goal of 25 percent of seats will be far too low to have an impact on the socioeconomic composition of most participating schools: Only West End Secondary would have to raise its share of low-income 6th graders significantly from last year in order to meet this new goal. Almost all the other participating schools in District 3 typically enroll twice the percentage of low-income students as the plan sets aside.

Unlike the plan in District 1, this plan does not specifically prioritize higher-income or higher-performing students for a separate portion of seats in an attempt to draw those students to schools where they are currently underrepresented. It also does not include M.S. 243 Center School, which admits students in 5th grade. (Schools with citywide admissions and charter schools were not included in either the District 1 or District 3 plans.)

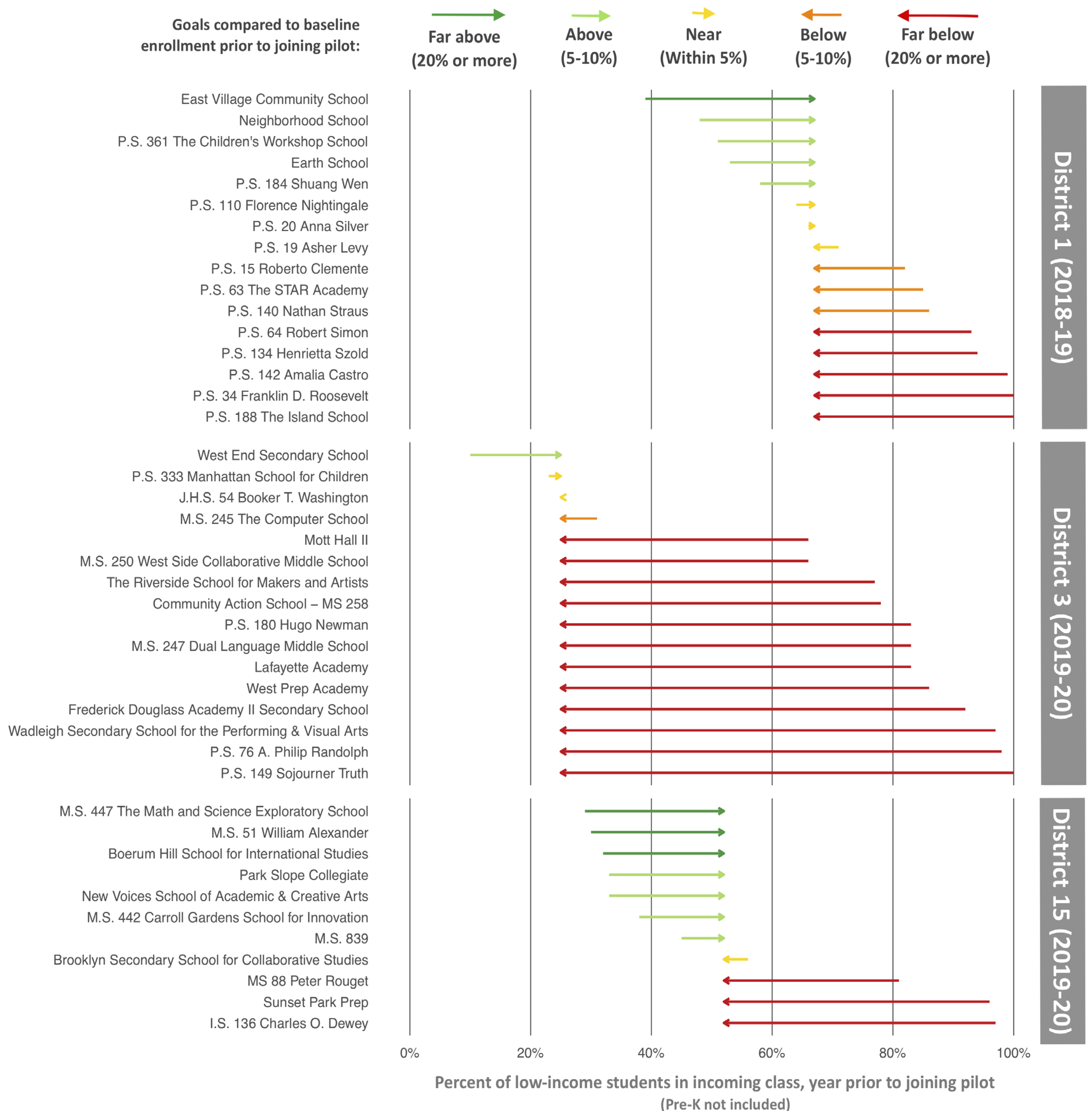
These three shortcomings in the District 3 plan—a low goal relative to the district averages, the lack of any attempt to redistribute higher-income students to predominately low-income schools, and the failure to include all eligible schools in the plan—suggest that the plan will do little to alter the distribution of students across middle schools in the district.

District 15

In September 2018, the DOE approved a third districtwide plan, which includes all District 15 non-charter middle schools and will take effect in the coming admissions cycle for the 2019-20 school year. Integration advocates, district leaders, and urban planning consultants in this large and diverse district in Brooklyn—spanning neighborhoods like Sunset Park, Red Hook, and Park Slope—have spent years designing a plan and building support for it across their communities. Their plan will remove the admissions screens that are currently in place at 10 of the district's 11 middle schools and instead prioritize low-income students, ELLs, and students in temporary housing for 52 percent of 6th grade seats at all non-charter middle schools in the district. It also includes a process for evaluating each school's progress toward this goal, adjusting the goal based on evolving demographic changes, and devoting more resources to schools that have historically been ranked lower by applicants.

The admissions priority goal of 52 percent for low-income students in the District 15 plan is much more ambitious than the 25 percent goal for low-performing or low-income students set in District 3's plan. Seven of the 11 participating schools, including three that are already participating in the pilot, would have to increase their share of low-income students significantly to meet the new goal. Although the other four schools have no specific mechanism to prioritize higher-income students for admission (as in the District 1 plan), it is possible that major shifts in admission across the other schools, or the investment of more resources at lower-ranked schools, will cause those students to spread out more evenly across all the schools in the district.

Figure 2: Goals for low-income enrollment in districtwide pilot plans, by district and cohort year



Note: Each districtwide plan prioritizes multiple groups of students for admissions: Elementary schools in District 1 and middle schools in District 15 are prioritizing low-income students, ELLs and students in temporary housing; the middle schools in District 3 are prioritizing low-income and academically low-performing students. The arrows in this visualization start at the baseline enrollment level for low-income students in 2017-18, which may not reflect the total population of all groups of prioritized students at each school.

Early Outcomes Of The DIA Initiative

News reports and official announcements about the DIA pilot's outcomes to date have largely focused on the percent of admissions offers to students in schools' target groups, rather than the number of students in those groups who ultimately enroll. This is problematic for two reasons. First, students may not accept the seats they are offered once charter school lotteries, wait lists, or other family considerations are finalized. Second, knowing only the percent of offers made and/or whether the school met its admissions goal with those offers means little without context.

As our analysis in the previous section revealed, the goals set by each participating school vary so widely—from floors far below current enrollment levels to ambitious targets far above them—that schools can meet their targets while becoming less diverse, or fail to meet their targets while improving greatly. The Earth School, for example, lost five percentage points of low-income kindergarten students (from 58 to 53 percent) and only gained two percentage points of ELLs (from eight to 10 percent) after joining the pilot, but still met their target of 50 percent enrollment for both those groups. The Children's School, on the other hand, more than quadrupled its share of low-income kindergarten students (from four to 22 percent) and doubled its share of ELLs (from two to four percent), but still fell short of its goal of 33 percent for both those groups.

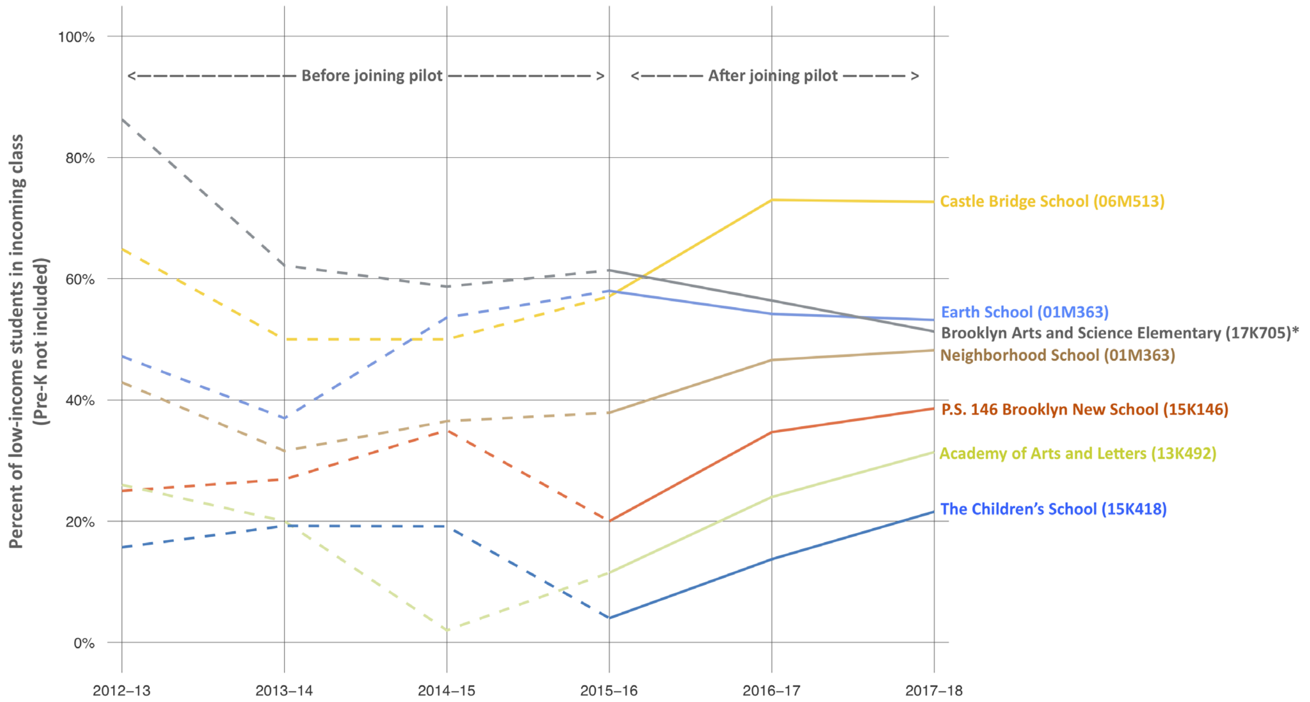
For these reasons, our analysis of the pilot's outcomes looks more closely at changes in enrollment at each of the 19 schools that admitted students under the pilot by the 2017-18 school year, the most recent year for which we have enrollment data. We also set these changes in context, comparing each elementary and middle school to its district, and each high school to the city as a whole.

Taken together, these 19 schools have been moderately successful, increasing the share of students in their target groups in each incoming class by an average of eight percentage points since the pilot began.[5] The first cohort of seven schools that began in 2016-17 saw a four-percentage-point increase in its first year and a 12-point average increase in the second year, suggesting that schools are more likely to succeed as they gain experience under the pilot. The second cohort, for which there is only one year of enrollment data so far, increased the share of students in its target groups by an average of five points.

The grade level where participating schools had the most success was kindergarten, which gained 11 percentage points in the enrollment of students in target groups during participation in the pilot. Most of the elementary schools in the pilot also had priority plans for Pre-K, but they struggled to raise their share of targeted Pre-K students at all, especially in the first year each school participated in the pilot. The one notable exception was P.S. 146 Brooklyn New School, which applied its priority only after all siblings and current Pre-K students were admitted, but nonetheless succeeded in enrolling 45 and 20 percent more low-income students in Pre-K and kindergarten, respectively, after two years of participating in the pilot. The only participating middle and high schools for which we have data started in the second year of the pilot, and they increased their shares of targeted students by eight percent, on average, that year.

5 All the figures in this section add together the shares of low-income students and English language learners at schools that prioritize both in their pilot plans. We found this to be the most generous estimate of a school's progress toward its goals, even if it double-counts students who qualify for both designations.

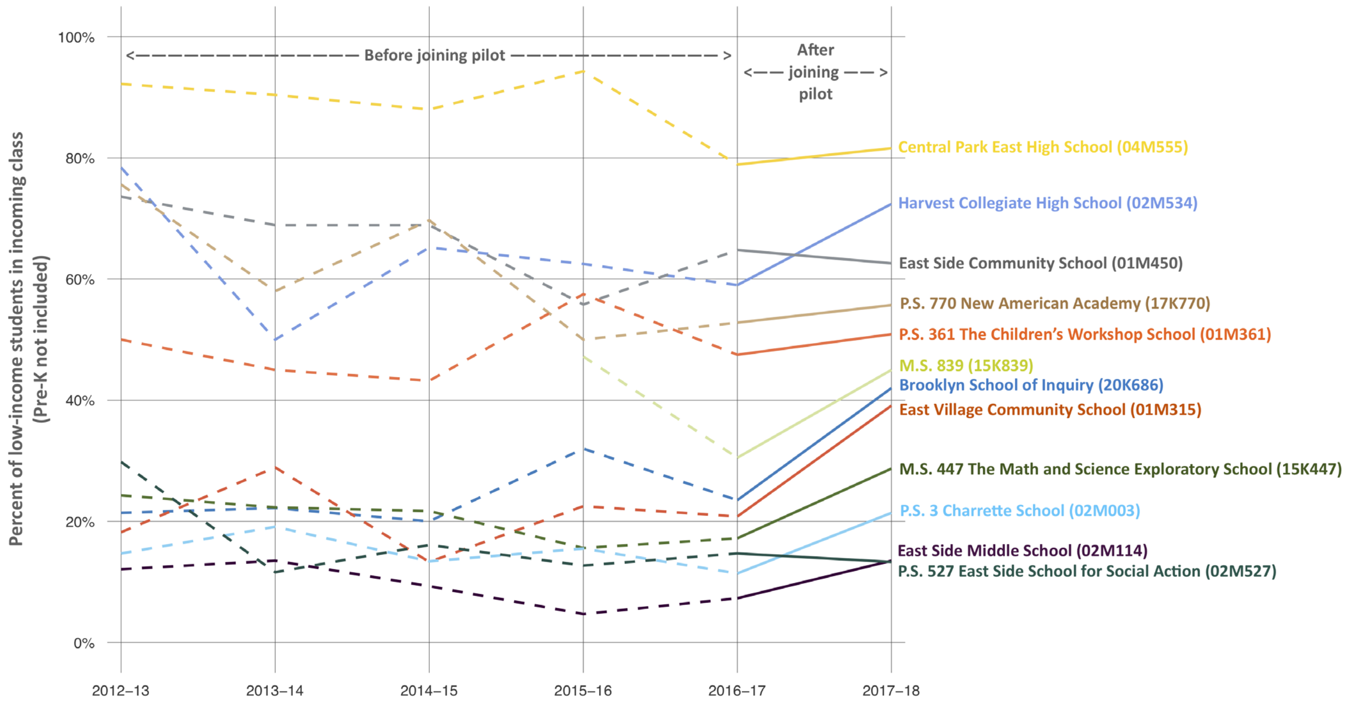
Figure 3: Low-income enrollment at first round of pilot schools, before and after joining pilot



*This school only prioritizes English language learners, not low-income students

Source: NYC DOE Grade-level Demographic Snapshot, 2006-07 to 2017-18

Figure 4: Low-income enrollment at second round of pilot schools, before and after joining pilot



Source: NYC DOE Grade-level Demographic Snapshot, 2006-07 to 2017-18

Within this group of 19 schools, however, not all schools increased their enrollment of low-income students. Figures 3 and 4 show recent trends in low-income enrollment in kindergarten, 6th, or 9th grade for each participating school in the first (2016-17) and second (2017-18) cohorts of the pilot, respectively. The Earth School, which set a priority below its baseline level of low-income students, did not increase its share of those students in kindergarten over two years, but did slightly increase its share of ELLs (not depicted here). Brooklyn Arts and Science Elementary only prioritized ELLs, which it increased from nine to 15 percent over two years, but it lost 10 percentage points of low-income students over the same time period. In the second cohort, two schools lost low-income students: P.S. 527 East Side School for Social Action in kindergarten, and East Side Community School in 6th grade.

Table 2: Summary of Pilot Outcomes

	Average percentage point change since joining the pilot in…		
	Low-income enrollment	ELL enrollment	Black+Hispanic enrollment
All participating incoming classes (Pre-K, K, 6th or 9th grades)	7.9%	4.3%	0.4%
	(n=26)	(n=6)	(n=28)
By Pilot Cohort			
Schools starting in 2016-17	12.5%	4.8%	-0.9%
	(n=10)	(n=4)	(n=12)
Schools starting in 2017-18	5.1%	3.2%	1.3%
	(n=16)	(n=2)	(n=16)
By Grade Level			
Pre-Kindergarten	3.9%	*Not available for Pre-K*	2.5%
	(n=8)		(n=9)
Kindergarten	10.7%	4.3%	0.0%
	(n=12)	(n=6)	(n=13)
6th grade	7.5%		-2.8%
	(n=4)	(n=0)	(n=4)
9th grade	8.1%		-0.7%
	(n=2)	(n=0)	(n=2)
By Poverty Level *(relative to District or City average*)			
At least 25% below	12.7%	5.1%	2.3%
	(n=12)	(n=3)	(n=12)
10-24% below	4.1%	4.4%	-0.4%
	(n=7)	(n=2)	(n=9)
Within 10%	-0.02%	1.7%	-3.8%
	(n=5)	(n=1)	(n=5)
By Strength of Admissions Goal *(relative to pre-pilot baseline enrollment)*			
Goal set at least 20% above	11.9%	3.2%	1.4%
	(n=4)	(n=2)	(n=4)
Goal set 5-19% above	7.7%	7.9%	1.0%
	(n=8)	(n=2)	(n=9)
Goal set within 5%	4.3%	1.9%	-2.2%
	(n=8)	(n=1)	(n=8)
Goal set 5-19% below	-0.1%	1.7%	1.5%
	(n=4)	(n=1)	(n=4)
Source: NYC DOE Grade-level Demographic Snapshot, 2006-07 to 2017-18	*These columns include only the incoming classes at schools that prioritized these groups of students in their admissions plans*		*This column includes the incoming classes at all pilot schools*

The most successful schools all had two important features in common. First, they had incoming classes with significantly lower poverty rates than their districts overall—and therefore had a sizeable potential pool of low-income applicants. For example, only 12 percent of the kindergarteners at Academy of Arts and Letters were low-income in 2015-16, compared to 59 percent of the kindergarteners across District 13. P.S. 146 Brooklyn New School and P.S. 372 The Children's School in District 15, the Brooklyn School of Inquiry in District 20, and the Neighborhood School and The East Village Community School in District 1 all had similar income disparities between their incoming classes and their districts before joining the pilot, and all moved significantly closer to their district averages after one or two years in the pilot, though none closed the gap completely.

The difference between the student poverty rate of the school and that of the district or city appears to matter more than the poverty rate alone. For example, Castle Bridge in District 6 and Harvest Collegiate High School in District 2 had higher student poverty rates than most of the first 19 pilot schools, but low rates compared to kindergarteners in District 6 and all 9th graders citywide, respectively. Both schools significantly increased their shares of low-income students. P.S. 527 East Side School for Social Action, on the other hand, has a relatively low poverty rate, but has a kindergarten poverty rate close to the District 2 average, and lost some of its low-income pupils after joining the pilot. Although there are exceptions to these trends, on average, the 19 incoming classes that began the pilot with at least 10 percent fewer low-income students than their district average (or citywide average for 9th graders) increased their share of targeted students by nine percent. The five incoming classes that were closer to the district or city poverty rate did not gain any targeted students on average, suggesting that they may need to employ more active outreach strategies to ensure that low-income kids benefit from their priorities.

The second common thread among the most successful pilot schools is that their goals were the most ambitious. The East Village Community School and the Academy of Arts and Letters, for example, both set goals that were nearly 30 percentage points above their baseline enrollment of targeted students. Although they did not meet those lofty goals, they both increased their shares of those students by nearly 20 percentage points. The schools with the least aggressive goals, like the Earth School, Central Park East High School, and P.S. 770 New American Academy—which set goals at least 13 percentage points below their own baselines—all made the least progress in the pilot during our study period.

This makes sense for two reasons. First and most obviously, setting aside a percentage of seats that reflects the current enrollment trends (or puts a floor below them) will not do much to change the status quo. Although the schools that set low goals may have good reasons to join the pilot—as a way to show their support for the goal of diversity, or to stave off the potential displacement effect of gentrification—these early outcomes suggest that they are not likely to become more diverse as a result of their participation in the pilot alone. (There are schools that subsequently enrolled in the pilot with high poverty rates that established low set-asides for low-income students; combined with other activities to increase economic diversity at these schools this may or may not increase admissions diversity.) Second, the admissions goal each school sets for itself may reflect the amount of effort it is willing to put into recruitment, welcoming accepted applicants so they ultimately enroll, and doing the hard work of real integration once the students are there so that more families in subsequent years are encouraged to apply.

Impact on racial and ethnic diversity

Although the pilot mostly targets low-income students, some administrators hoped that increasing socioeconomic diversity would increase racial diversity as well. However, our analysis of the first 19 pilot schools found no real overall change in enrollment for students in any race or ethnicity category after joining the pilot.[6] Only two out of the first 19 schools in the pilot increased their share of Black and Hispanic students by more than five percentage points (Brooklyn School of Inquiry and P.S. 770 New American Academy), but four schools lost at least that much (Neighborhood School, East Side Community School, P.S. 3 Charrette School, and Earth School).

There was no correlation between the schools that were successful in attracting lower-income students and those that were successful in attracting Black and Hispanic students. Only the Brooklyn School of Inquiry did well on both counts and only the Earth School did poorly on both. Most other schools increased their share of low-income students but not their share of Black and Hispanic students.

Since no schools explicitly targeted students of any race or ethnicity, it follows that change wouldn't necessarily occur in those categories. If an improvement in socioeconomic diversity—at least at the modest scale this pilot has achieved so far—does not correspond with an improvement in racial diversity, the City must adopt other tools to reach that equally important goal.

6 In a series of paired t-tests, we found no significant difference for any race/ethnicity category or combination of two categories when comparing each school's baseline enrollment in the year before joining the pilot to the 2017-18 school year. As a point of comparison, the difference in means for low-income students across all 19 schools was eight percent and statistically significant at a 99.9 percent level of confidence, and the difference in means for English language learners was four percent and significant at a 90 percent level of confidence.

Recommendations

These early findings from the first two years of the Diversity in Admissions pilot reveal that admissions-based strategies can help schools enroll more socioeconomically diverse students, but they may only work under certain conditions. The City, community school districts, and individual schools should continue to expand this approach where it is most likely to succeed. Education leaders should incentivize schools to participate and set ambitious targets. Yet, admissions priorities alone cannot effectively transform the student bodies at the majority of our public schools. Further, the City must recognize that diverse enrollment is only one component of real school integration, which all schools must be supported to pursue.

While some of the following measures are beyond the City's authority, much can be done by mobilizing public support, building coalitions of community leaders and advocates, and providing incentives and support to schools and districts that are doing this work. City Schools Chancellor Richard Carranza is a vocal advocate for integration; he should use the full force of his office to adopt and implement the following recommendations.

1. Transition from pilot to policy: Scale the pilot to all schools where admissions priorities will have the greatest impact.

The DIA initiative has expanded rapidly and more districts and schools should be encouraged to join. Diversity in Admissions needs to be a clear citywide educational priority that, like reading at grade level by 3rd grade, is a goal and a norm that all share.

Our early assessment suggests that the DIA strategy has the greatest potential impact at schools that have high demand for enrollment, and that are also below the district and/or citywide poverty level. There are, for example, approximately 300 schools with incoming classes that have poverty rates 10 percentage points or more below their potential applicant pool (in other words, the school's district average for Kindergarten and 6th grade classes, or the citywide average for 9th grade). These include zoned and non-zoned elementary schools, citywide gifted and talented schools, charter schools, middle and high schools.

To ensure that this pilot can make a systemic impact, the mayor and schools chancellor must balance their commitment to community-led reform with strong leadership from the top. Schools and districts that adopt the DIA policy should be recognized and rewarded, including the several charter schools that already give a preference or weight in their admissions lottery to students in "at-risk" categories.[7] At the district level, Community Education Councils should be encouraged to make room in their zoned schools for low-income, out-of-zone students by expanding the number of kindergarten classes where schools have extra space.

2. Set more ambitious admissions goals.

Our findings indicate that the schools with the most aggressive admissions goals were the ones able to attract significantly more low-income students. A broad DIA priority can maintain flexibility while still incentivizing and supporting ambitious admissions goals.

7 State law stipulates that charter schools can define what "at-risk" means to them, ranging from economically disadvantaged students to students in temporary housing or those who live in nearby public housing developments, according to Sonia Park, Executive Director of the Diverse Charter Schools Coalition.

To help each participating school tailor aggressive goals that are right for them, the City should provide the analytical and political support necessary to interpret demographic trends and build community consensus. The interactive visualizations we created for this report can help all 86 pilot schools see their enrollment trends over the last 10 years; the DOE should complement this data with additional information on each school's applicant pool, demographic projections for the local neighborhood, and relevant data from other City agencies like the Human Resources Administration, Department of Homeless Services, and the New York City Housing Authority. Gradually, each school should be incentivized to increase their goals.

3. Tackle race with more intention.

Administrators and principals have been wary of efforts to integrate schools by race since the *Parents Involved* Supreme Court ruling in 2007, but the Court's split decision in that case is often poorly understood. It not only held that districts involved in the suit had a compelling interest in racial integration; it also supported the use of race-conscious criteria for integration as long as they were narrowly tailored. In practical terms, this means that integration plans cannot use individual students' race as a criterion, but they can use the racial composition of neighborhoods, census tracts, or feeder schools as guides in promoting racial diversity.

Our findings from the first two years of the DIA pilot suggest that increasing socioeconomic diversity will not automatically translate into increasing racial diversity. Admissions priorities for students in the child welfare system, or affected by incarceration, or in temporary housing should also not be seen as direct proxies for race, and can be more stigmatizing to the individual than admissions priorities that focus on geography or other neighborhood characteristics. Rather than simply hope that the goal of racial diversity can be achieved through indirect admissions priorities, the City and each participating school should intentionally pursue racial diversity and continually monitor progress towards it.

4. Evaluate the success of all participating schools.

The public discussion about the pilot thus far has focused on which schools have joined the pilot and whether they have met their targets, rather than whether the pilot is actually helping schools become more diverse. There is sufficient data now to thoroughly measure the pilot's success using enrollment figures; we presented in this report an accounting of the first 19 schools, and the DOE will soon have an official enrollment count for all 42 schools that were participating in time for the 2018-19 admissions cycle.

Families submitting school applications this fall should know not only which schools support the goal of diversity, but which schools are succeeding in enrolling more diverse students, recruiting teachers of color, reducing suspensions, and meeting other measurable aspects of meaningful school integration. School leaders should have the opportunity to compare their progress to that of other participating schools, so they can share lessons learned and help each other improve.

5. Pursue other admissions-based strategies that are under discussion but that go beyond the scope of the Diversity in Admissions policy, for example:

- Remove admissions screens in middle schools where they impair diversity. District 15 recently did so as a part of their districtwide diversity plan.

- Conduct an assessment of all other admissions screens, to better understand whether they contribute to racial and socioeconomic segregation. (Our next report, using middle and high school admissions data from the past 10 years, will contribute to this effort.)
- Address racial segregation at the City's specialized high schools. The mayor's proposal to phase out the Specialized High School Admissions Test is one of several strategies to make these schools more representative of the city.
- Redraw zone and district boundaries to achieve greater racial and socioeconomic balance.

6. Support, require, and measure steps to meaningfully integrate schools, beyond increasing diversity in enrollment.

The diversity plan developed by parents, school administrators, and advocates in District 15 recognizes that it is insufficient simply to make student bodies more diverse. The plan calls not only for a redistribution of students but of resources, such as art, music, and STEM programs. It also directs the district to provide resources and oversight to help schools reduce the disproportionate use of discipline measures, including suspensions, against kids of color and students with disabilities; to recruit teachers of color; and to develop inclusive curricula. The City should fully fund these measures and incentivize other schools and districts to adopt them.

As a guideline for this work, the DOE should adopt the framework developed by the student activists of IntegrateNYC, who call on the City to insure the following four elements of school integration, in addition to and beyond diversity:

- Resource allocation: Make sure all schools are fully resourced to meet their students' needs. Diversity should not be a prerequisite to adequate funding, nor should schools be dependent on high-income students' families to raise money through their PTAs.
- Relationships across group identity: Students in every school should have the opportunity to connect with others from different group identities, including through culturally responsive curricula. The Coalition for Educational Justice recently released a report that found that the vast majority of texts assigned in elementary school English Language Arts classes were written by White authors. Reading material, enrichment opportunities, and curricular models at all levels should be evaluated and updated with students and parents of all cultures in mind.
- Restorative justice: This requires that staff and student leaders are trained in appropriate responses to conflict, rather than responses that contribute to the school-to-prison pipeline. District 15's plan promises to "support student-centered, healing & restorative approaches to discipline, conflict, & community-building" as a response to the fact that Black middle school students in the district account for 33 percent of all suspensions while comprising only 13 percent of the district's middle school population.
- Teacher representation: Chancellor Carranza's recent commitment to anti-bias training for all teachers is an important step toward the goal of real integration, but it will not be enough as long as the faculty and staff of most schools do not reflect their student bodies. The City should expand programs like NYC Men Teach to incentivize schools to hire more teachers of color.

"School integration should be part of a movement to fight racism," says Jill Bloomberg, the principal of Park Slope Collegiate, one of the 11 middle schools included in District 15's diversity plan. Under Bloomberg's leadership, Park Slope Collegiate stopped tracking students into different classes according to academic performance—a practice that often leads to segregated classrooms within integrated school buildings. The school has also committed to maintain an integrated staff and faculty and to address race and equity explicitly in the various facets of student life. "If someone wants to start a club, we talk about, 'How are you going to make sure participation is integrated?'" Bloomberg says.

"People get very nervous about doing something different," Bloomberg continues. "But we know the results of what we're doing now: We live in a stratified and unequal society. If we do it differently, the results for kids might be better. We can't be afraid to make mistakes."

7. Hire a Diversity Coordinator for each district, overseen by a Deputy Chancellor of School Integration at DOE central.

The parent organizers and school leaders in District 15 recognized the importance of community outreach, ongoing evaluation, and fiscal support in their districtwide middle school plan. Built into the plan they designed, and that the DOE adopted, is a position for a district Diversity Coordinator and $500,000 to help accomplish this work. Chancellor Carranza also announced an additional $2 million in grants to help approximately 10 other community school districts design their own diversity plans. This new funding and political support should be just the beginning; every district in the city should have the benefit of such administrative and fiscal support, whether it has a districtwide admissions plan or has only one school participating in the DIA initiative.

A Diversity Coordinator in each district would be responsible for the following tasks:

- Conducting outreach to families in the district to let them know which schools offer them an admissions priority, how to visit those schools, and how to apply.
- Helping each participating school design and annually update its admissions plan, with the ultimate goal of moving it toward socioeconomic parity with its district or the city as a whole.
- Facilitating trainings for school leaders, faculty, and parents about the ongoing work of real integration, covering topics such as culturally relevant pedagogy, school discipline, and implicit bias. These trainings and conversations are not only imperative for schools undergoing a transition in their student bodies as a result of new admissions plans, but for every single school.
- Meeting together regularly to share best practices and inform DOE's policy development and resource allocation.

8. Invest in high-poverty, segregated schools that cannot achieve diversity through changes to admissions policies alone.

The major limitation of the DIA pilot is that it only works on one side of the segregation formula. It can help make some seats at high-demand schools more accessible to the low-income students who have disproportionately been excluded from them. But it does nothing to invest in under-subscribed, high-poverty schools. Such schools need additional funding, strong leadership, and a robust network of community resources to help meet all their students' needs. Such resources shouldn't depend on integration. The goals of integration and high performance at all schools can and must be pursued at the same time.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the following individuals for their time and insights:

- Anna Allanbrook and Amy Sumner, P.S. 146 Brooklyn New School
- Jill Bloomberg, Park Slope Collegiate
- Idit Fast, Rutgers University
- Alex Friedus, Barnard College
- Bennett Lieberman, Central Park East High School
- Sonia Park, Diverse Charter Schools Coalition
- Arin Rusch, M.S. 447 The Math and Science Exploratory School
- Lianna Wright, Andrew Mcclintock and Nadiya Chadha, in the NYC DOE Office of Student Enrollment

Appendix

Appendix: List of all schools currently participating in the Diversity in Admissions pilot

Started with the incoming class of 2016-17:

District	Name (DBN)	Admissions Method	Priority students	Priority amount
1	Neighborhood School (01M363)*	Districtwide Choice	Low-income or ELLs	50% of Pre-K & K seats
1	Earth School (01M364)*	Districtwide Choice	Low-income or ELLs	50% of Pre-K & K seats
6	Castle Bridge School (06M513)	Unzoned	Low-income / Impacted by incarcerated	60% /10% of Pre-K & K seats
13	Academy of Arts and Letters (13K492)	Unzoned	Low-income	40% of K seats
15	The Children's School (15K418)	Unzoned	Low-income or ELLs	33% of K seats
15	P.S. 146 Brooklyn New School (15K146)	Unzoned	Low-income	After siblings and current Pre-K students
17	Brooklyn Arts and Science Elementary (17K705)	Zoned	ELLs or child welfare-involved	20% of Pre-K & K seats

Started with the incoming class of 2017-18:

District	Name (DBN)	Admissions Method	Priority students	Priority amount
1	East Side Community School (01M450)	Screened	Low-income	62% of 6th grade seats
1	East Village Community School (01M315)*	Districtwide Choice	Low-income or ELLs	50% of Pre-K & K seats
1	P.S. 361 The Children's Workshop School (01M361)*	Districtwide Choice	Low-income or ELLs	50% of Pre-K & K seats
2	East Side Middle School (02M114)	Screened	Low-income	17% of 6th grade seats
2	Harvest Collegiate High School (02M534)	Open	Low-income	63% of 9th grade seats
2	P.S. 527 East Side School for Social Action (02M527)	Zoned	Low-income	After zoned students *(No students were admitted from out of the zone last year)*
2	P.S. 3 Charrette School (02M003)	Zoned	Low-income	After zoned students *(16% of students were admitted from out of the zone last year)*
4	Central Park East High School (04M555)	Screened	Low-income	64% of 9th grade seats
15	M.S. 447 Math & Sci. Exploratory School (15K447)**	Open	Low-income	30% of 6th grade seats
15	M.S. 839 (15K839)**	Open	Low-income	40% of 6th grade seats
17	P.S. 770 New American Academy (17K770)	Unzoned	Low-income	40% of Pre-K & K seats
20	Brooklyn School of Inquiry (20K686)	Schoolwide G&T	Low-income	40% of K seats

Started with incoming class of 2018-19:

District	Name (DBN)	Admissions Method	Priority students	Priority amount
1	P.S. 34 Franklin D. Roosevelt (01M034)	Districtwide Choice	Low-income, living in temporary housing or English Language Learners (ELLs)	67% of Pre-K & K seats for students in these groups. Students who do not fall into any of these groups will get priority for 33% of seats.
1	P.S. 188 The Island School (01M188)	Districtwide Choice		
1	P.S. 142 Amalia Castro (01M142)	Districtwide Choice		
1	P.S. 134 Henrietta Szold (01M134)	Districtwide Choice		
1	P.S. 64 Robert Simon (01M064)	Districtwide Choice		
1	P.S. 140 Nathan Straus (01M140)	Districtwide Choice		
1	P.S. 63 The STAR Academy (01M063)	Districtwide Choice		
1	P.S. 19 Asher Levy (01M019)	Districtwide Choice		
1	P.S. 20 Anna Silver (01M020)	Districtwide Choice		
1	P.S. 184 Shuang Wen (01M184)	Districtwide Choice		
1	P.S. 15 Roberto Clemente (01M015)	Districtwide Choice with G&T program		
1	P.S. 110 Florence Nightingale (01M110)	Districtwide Choice with G&T program		
2	The Clinton School for Writers & Artists (02M260)	Screened	Low-income	17% of 6th grade seats
2	P.S. 77 The Lower Lab School (02M077)	Schoolwide G&T	Low-income	12% of K seats
3	P.S. 452 (03M452)	Zoned	Low-income	25% of Pre-K & K seats
5	P.S. 125 Ralph Bunche (05M125)	Zoned	Low-income or ELLs	60% of Pre-K & K seats
6	Muscota New School (06M314)	Unzoned	Low-income or in temp. housing	30% of K seats
6	Wash. Hts. Expeditionary Learning School (06M348)	Unzoned	Low-income or in temp. housing	75% of Pre-K & K seats
7	Acad. of Applied Math and Tech. (07X343)	Unscreened	Students of P.S. 1, P.S. 49, P.S. 154, P.S. 277, P.S. 359, P.S. 369, P.S. 5, P.S. 18, P.S. 25, P.S. 29, P.S. 31, P.S. 157, P.S. 161	40% of 6th grade seats
14	Williamsburg HS for Architecture and Design (14K558)	Open	Low-income	63% of 9th grade seats
15	Boerum Hill School for Int'l Studies (15K497)**	Open	Low-income	40% of 6th grade seats
24	Bard High School Early College Queens (24Q299)	Screened	Low-income	63% of 9th grade seats
30	Acad. for Careers in TV and Film in Queens (30Q301)	Ed. Opt.	Low-income	63% of 9th grade seats

Will start with incoming class of 2019-20:

District	Name (DBN)	Admissions Method	Priority students	Priority amount
2	Quest to Learn (02M422)	Limited Unscreened	Low-income	60% of 6th grade seats
2	MS 255 Salk School of Science (02M255)	Screened	Low-income	17% of 6th grade seats
2	Urban Assembly Maker Academy (02M282)	Ed. Opt.	Low-income	63% of 9th grade seats
2	Academy for Software Engineering (02M546)	Ed. Opt.	Low-income	69% of 9th grade seats
2	Urban Assembly New York Harbor School (02M551)	Ed. Opt.	Low-income	69% of 9th grade seats
2	NYC iSchool (02M376)	Screened	Low-income	60% of 9th grade seats
2	P.S. 11 William T. Harris (02M011)	Zoned with G&T program	Low-income, in temp. or public housing	30% of K and 1st grade G&T seats (12.5% of total seats)
3	P.S. 76 A. Philip Randolph (03M076)	Limited Unscreened	Low-income and academically lower-performing	25% of 6th grade seats
3	Wadleigh Secondary School for the Arts (03M415)	Screened		
3	Frederick Douglass Academy II (03M860)	Screened		
3	P.S. 180 Hugo Newman (03M180)	Screened		
3	M.S. 247 Dual Language Middle School (03M247)	Screened		
3	Lafayette Academy (03M256)	Screened		
3	Community Action School - MS 258 (03M258)	Screened		
3	The Riverside School for Makers and Artists (03M191)	Screened		
3	M.S. 250 West Side Collaborative MS (03M250)	Screened		
3	Mott Hall II (03M862)	Screened		
3	M.S. 245 The Computer School (03M245)	Screened		
3	J.H.S. 54 Booker T. Washington (03M054)	Screened		
3	P.S. 333 Manhattan School for Children (03M333)	Screened		
3	West End Secondary School (03M291)	Screened		
3	P.S. 149 Sojourner Truth (03M149)	Unscreened		
3	West Prep Academy (03M421)	Unscreened		
3	Manhattan / Hunter Science High School (03M541)	Screened	Low-income	69% of 9th grade seats
4	The Heritage School (04M680)	Ed. Opt.	Low-income District 4 residents	43% of 9th grade seats
4	Park East High School (04M495)	Screened	Low-income District 4 residents	26% of 9th grade seats
4	TAG Young Scholars (04M012)	Schoolwide G&T	Low-income	40% of K seats
6	Sugar Hill Museum Preschool (MBGU)	Univeral Pre-K	Low-income, in supportive housing or has a home language other than English	50% of Pre-K seats
10	Yearling Nursery School (XAZG)	Univeral Pre-K	Has a home language other than English	20% of Pre-K seats
13	UA Instit. of Math & Sci.for Young Women (13K527)	Ed. Opt.	ELLs	15 9th grade seats (21% of total)
13	Urban Assembly HS of Music and Art (13K350)	Ed. Opt.	Low-income	69% of 9th grade seats
14	Williamsburg Preparatory School (14K561)	Ed. Opt.	Low-income	63% of 9th grade seats
15	I.S. 136 Charles O. Dewey (15K136)	Open	Low-income, living in temporary housing or English Language Learners (ELLs)	52% of 6th grade seats
15	Sunset Park Prep (15K821)	Open		
15	MS 88 Peter Rouget (15K088)	Open		
15	Brooklyn Collaborative Studies (15K448)	Open		
15	M.S. 442 Carroll Gdns. School for Innovation (15K442)	Open		
15	New Voices School of Acad. & Creative Arts (15K443)	Open		
15	Park Slope Collegiate (15K464)	Open		
15	M.S. 51 William Alexander (15K051)	Open		
15	Millennium Brooklyn High School (15K684)	Screened	Low-income	50% of 9th grade seats
17	Higher Level School (KCAD)	Univeral Pre-K	Has a home language other than English	20% of Pre-K seats
21	Little Scholars II (KCPE)	Univeral Pre-K	Has a home language other than English	After current students
31	Big Birds Playhouse (RAFF)	Univeral Pre-K	Has a home language other than English	After current students

* These schools were folded into the District 1 elementary admissions plan starting with the incoming class of 2018-19.

** These schools will be folded into the District 15 middle school admissions plan starting with the incoming class of 2019-20.

THE INTEGRATION PROJECT at the Center for New York City Affairs, a multi-year research and reporting effort headed by InsideSchools founder Clara Hemphill, is examining ethnic and economic integration in the nation's largest public school system. Previous publication of this project include:

The Paradox of Choice: How school choice divides New York City elementary schools, by Nicole Mader Clara Hemphill and Qasim Abbas, Center for New York City Affairs, May 2018.

The Calculus of Race and Class: A New Look at the Achievement Gap in New York City Schools, by Nicole Mader and Ana Carla Sant'anna Costa, Center for New York City Affairs, January 2018.

No Heavy Lifting Required: New York City's Unambitious School 'Diversity' Plan, by Nicole Mader and Ana Carla Sant'anna Costa, Center for New York City Affairs, June 2017.

Five Steps to Integrate New York City Elementary Schools, by Clara Hemphill, Lydie Raschka, and Nicole Mader, Center for New York City Affairs, November 2016.

West Side Story: How City Leaders Can Back a Brave School Zoning Plan, by Clara Hemphill, Center for New York City Affairs Urban Matters blog, November 2016.

Integrated Schools in a Segregated City: Ten Strategies that Have Made New York City Elementary Schools More Diverse, by Clara Hemphill, Nicole Mader, and the InsideSchools staff, Center for New York City Affairs, October 2016.

Tough Test Ahead: Bringing Diversity to New York City's Specialized High Schools, by Bruce Cory and Nicole Mader, Center for New York City Affairs Urban Matters blog, June 2016.

Diversity in New York's Specialized Schools: A Deeper Data Dive, by Nicole Mader, Bruce Cory, and Celeste Royo, Center for New York City Affairs Urban Matters blog, June 2016.

Can Controlled Choice Help Integrate NYC Schools, by Clara Hemphill, Center for New York City Affairs Urban Matters blog, April 2016.

Segregated Schools in Integrated Neighborhoods: The City's Schools Are Even More Divided Than Our Housing, by Clara Hemphill and Nicole Mader, Center for New York City Affairs, January 2016.

Are Schools Segregated Because Housing Is? It Ain't Necessarily So, by Clara Hemphill and Nicole Mader, Center for New York City Affairs Urban Matters blog, December 2015.

THE NEW SCHOOL
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THE CENTER FOR NEW YORK CITY AFFAIRS AT THE NEW SCHOOL is an applied policy research institute that drives innovation in social policy. The Center provides analysis and solutions. We focus on how public policy impacts low-income communities, and we strive for a more just and equitable city. We conduct in-depth, original, and timely research that illuminates injustice, quantifies social change, and informs public policy. We identify practical solutions and fresh ideas to address pressing social and economic issues. We engage communities and policymakers and are committed to the debate of vital political and social issues. Through public events and our written work we provide opportunities for dialogue. These conversations put leaders on the record, forge connections among groups, and inform ongoing policy change.

InsideSchools

INSIDESCHOOLS, a project of the Center for New York City Affairs, has been an authoritative and independent source of information on New York City public schools since its founding in 2002. We visit schools, observing what's happening in the classrooms, cafeterias, hallways, and playgrounds, and interview principals, teachers, students, and parents, to gather information about school philosophy and academic rigor that is unavailable anywhere else. We pair this with quantitative information on school performance, climate, and community from a variety of City and State databases. Our website receives some 1.5 million independent visits each year.