School Closings in Little Rock: Whose Schools? Whose Neighborhoods?

Residents Speak About the Potential Impact of Closings in Neighborhoods South of I-630

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"Our schools will not improve if we continue to close neighborhood schools in the name of reform. Neighborhood schools are often the anchors of their communities, a steady presence that helps to cement the bond of community among neighbors."

Diane Ravitch, author of The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice are Undermining Education

INTRODUCTION

The last decade has ushered in waves of school closures in many urban public school districts across the nation. Closures have disproportionally occurred in Black, Latino, and low-income schools.[1]

These decisions which impact students, families, teachers, school staff and neighborhoods are rarely met without anxiety or opposition. In 2015, Chicago activists garnered national attention when they led more than a month long hunger strike when Dyett High School, a school in a historic black neighborhood, was closed. Protesters only relented when the district agreed to re-open the school and negotiate to meet the demands the community put forth for what they wanted to see in the school.[2]

Reasons given for closings are consistent across locations: underutilization and low student enrollment, poor academic performance, poor building conditions and shrinking education budgets causing fiscal distress. Closures have spiked along with the rise of the school choice movement, which has led to the growth of charter schools and other alternatives for parents who choose not to send their children to traditional public schools.

Research on the short and long term impacts that closures have on student performance and other factors is evolving. It appears that lasting effects on academic performance are minimal, with neither better nor poorer performance over time after relocating to another school.[3,4] One study tracked elementary students who were transitioned to new Chicago Public Schools when theirs closed. By the time they reached high school there were no major differences compared to other similar students; although in the short term test score were significantly lower in the year following the closure (an outcome also seen in other cities[5,6]). Students were also less likely to enroll in summer school programs immediately following closures and were more likely to change schools multiple times if their elementary school was closed. Most importantly, closures did not result in better academic

performance largely because only a small amount of students—fewer than 10%—were subsequently enrolled in academically strong schools. The vast majority left low performing schools to go on to others on academic probation or with chronically low test scores.[4]

Another study looked at some of those receiving schools and found that many remained under-resourced after given promises of receiving financial, staff and other resources for taking in displaced students. The report purports that already disadvantaged students continued to operate in deprived school settings where class sizes were not reduced, paraprofessionals, social workers, nurses and other staff positions were vacant at higher rates and for longer periods than other schools, and other millions of dollars promised for transitional needs never materialized.[7]

Others have called for the consideration of non-educational impacts that closures may cause, including transportation, participation in education, employment, and issues of justice and disparate impacts.[8] In terms of building use after closures, a review of six urban cities showed that selling or leasing empty school buildings in distressed neighborhoods is extremely difficult.[3] In neighborhoods with a weak real estate market, a clear trend exists in which buildings sit vacant and attract vandalism and crime.[3,9] In Philadelphia, maintaining a closed building still cost $5,000 a month.[9] Overall, research shows that cost savings associated with closing schools to be small relative to the full district budget.[3,5,9]

Opponents to school closings question why closures are the common solution for poor academic performance, rather than looking at the root causes that create struggling schools. The data show that closings disproportionally impact vulnerable populations who often already face barriers to high education attainment. Economically disadvantaged students, racial and ethnic minorities, students with disabilities, students with special needs and English language learners are all more likely to be concentrated in shuttered schools.[1,5,10,11]

LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL DISTRICT BACKGROUND

Historical Background — School Closings in Little Rock

Little Rock and the Little Rock School District (LRSD) are no strangers to school closures. The last several decades have seen a dozen or so schools closed; starting with East Side Junior High, West Side Junior High and Kramer School in the earlier years. These buildings have since been converted to loft apartments as those areas of the city have experienced surges of new development. The old Lee School is known today as the Willie Hinton Neighborhood Resource Center, a repurposing that has served the residents of Little Rock as a city-owned free public meeting space. More recently in the last two to three decades, a handful of closings including Ish, Garland, Mitchell, Rightsell, Fair Park, Oakhurst, Cloverdale, Badgett and Woodruff Elementary Schools have closed their doors. Some of these have been maintained by the LRSD, some converted to early childhood or adult education centers, one sits vacant and one was sold off. Most recently, the February 2016 announcement to convert Geyer Springs Gifted and Talented Academy to a pre-K school was met with great parental anger over the relocation of over 200 students.

Current Context of LRSD

This project was carried out when the news was reporting that school closings will definitely occur in the 2017-2018 school year. Then - Superintendent Baker Kurrus had made several public appearances in which he shared a map showing elementary schools located within one mile of each other. Specific criteria for school closures have not been announced, however, these presentations focused on close proximity, low enrollment, and age and quality of the building.

Discussion of closures comes at a time of decreased stability across the district in terms of rapidly changing leadership, shifting student enrollment, and ever decreasing public trust in the LRSD and Department of Education administration. With the district under state control since January 2015, LRSD teachers, administrators and parents have asked repeatedly, without response, for the development of a strategic plan for the district's immediate and long term future. In March 2016, the State Board of Education approved two requests for charter school expansions, which will draw upwards to 3000 of the current 24,000 students out of the LRSD. Coupled with the loss of $37 million in annual operating funds (12% of the LRSD budget) from the end of the three decades long segregation lawsuit, these factors are contributing to the opinion that school closures are inevitable.

Looking at examples from other cities that have followed a similar route, it is apparent that school closures impact academics and community life.

The LRSD administration has not shared the exact criterion for closures, nor procedures by which closures will follow. There has been no analysis for how closures will impact students or neighborhoods, and no real analysis on cost savings and overall impact on the budget. The only information publicly shared about future closures is that announcements will be made in August 2016.

Image: Geyer Springs Gifted and Talented Academy, to be converted to Pre-K school in next academic year

LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL DISTRICT BACKGROUND

Related Activities

While there have been no public meetings specifically about school closures, there have been some related activities in which the topic has surfaced. The LRSD Civic Advisory Committee, a group established by the State Board of Education after the takeover, convened a series of community forums in the spring of 2016. Just under 600 people participated, and of the 33 small group discussions that occurred, facilities was the most commonly discussed topic (in 82% of groups). Many participants acknowledged and were angered by disparities across schools regarding quality of buildings and resources. There was a range of opinions regarding closures; some that felt closures may result in better education for students at struggling schools while others wanted to see renovations and new investments in the district's older buildings rather than building new facilities in west Little Rock. Concerns about how closures may impact busing, health, classroom size and emotional loss were voiced.[12]

A subcommittee of the Civic Advisory Committee recently released a report recommending that the district cannot support its current 48 facilities. It recommended a review of facility usage and conditions, and for school radius within one mile, economic and racial diversity and school performance to be considered in decisions regarding closing. They recommended a process for closings to be put in place immediately. The subcommittee reviewed these factors and others and identified nine facilities in the worst condition and within one mile radius of each another which it recommended the administration review for potential closure. A dissenting opinion from a Civic Advisory Committee member was released shortly after, stating insufficient evidence had been produced claiming 48 facilities cannot be supported, that facility capacity and one mile radius should not be the determining factors for closure and are in fact discriminatory, and that wasteful spending in other areas could be reallocated to avoid closures.[12]

Key Findings from Civic Advisory Committee Report, Section Three (infrastructure challenges and needs):[*]

⇒ Many comments centered on outrage over stark disparities between newer and older school buildings

⇒ Putting money into new schools is upsetting to families whose children attend school in older buildings that are not being adequately or safely maintained. Participants felt that all schools should be held to a high standard of health and safety.

⇒ The majority of forum participants were opposed to any school closings, describing the potential impact of closed schools on their neighborhoods, as the have seen previous school closings create a hole in communities nearby.

[*]LRSD Civic Advisory Committee Final Report. (2016). pp. 2-3[12]

Summary of what we did

This report shares the findings from 117 interviews that were conducted by students at the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences taking a course titled "Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities: Theory, Experience and Elimination." Through a partnership with Arkansas Community Organizations and the Arkansas Community Institute, this project assessed community members' knowledge about possible school closures, their opinion on the necessity of closures, what their concerns are, how closures may impact students, families and communities, and issues of equity in the district. Participants were recruited through free tax filing sites and convenience sampling. Individuals were invited to participate if they lived in Little Rock or worked in the LRSD. Interviews were recorded on paper then transferred to an electronic data capture system and STATA for analysis. Analysis included frequencies and descriptive statistics, bivariate analysis of outcomes by race, income, zip code of residence and teacher/school staff status. Differences between groups are noted when significant. This project was reviewed by the UAMS Institutional Review Board and determined not to be human subjects research.

SCHOOL CLOSINGS IN LITTLE ROCK

Participants

Of the 117 individuals interviewed, 87% currently reside in Little Rock zip codes. Of those Little Rock residents, 60% reside in zip codes south of I-630. Thirty percent indicated they are LRSD teachers or school staff. The age range was 23- to 71-years-old and average age was 39.5 years. The majority were female (69%) and Black or African American (66%). About half (52%) had a combined household income under $50,000; and 24% were under $25,000. More than eighty percent (83%) had a high school education or higher; and 64% had a Bachelor's degree or higher. Table 1 (page 14) summarizes other demographics.

Overview of findings

Our findings indicate that there is a divided opinion about the necessity of school closures. However, regardless of whether people felt that schools should be closed, they reported believing closures would cause more negative than positive impacts on students and communities. They were asked first to consider positive impacts. Almost half said there would be no positive gains from closures. Those who did name potential positive impacts thought students may have access to better facilities and greater educational and health resources which may lead to better academic outcomes; however, many thought this was conditional and would only occur if students were moved to high quality schools. Some believed closures would free up resources the district could save or redistribute.

As far as negative impacts, participants were most concerned about hardships and inconveniences caused to students and families (e.g. accessibility of new school and transportation to it, the process of finding a new school, etc.). There were concerns about vacant buildings left behind and crime and vandalism they may spur. Some worried the transition would negatively impact social relationships with peers and teachers, student behavior and emotional wellbeing; which could hinder and negatively impact educational achievement. Participants were concerned about the economic and social impact closures may cause (e.g. job loss, lowering of property values, loss of community-based resources and pride, etc.).

These findings suggest that participants thought there is a possibility of good things to come from closures, however, they were more adamant that negative impacts would be felt regardless and above all. Over ninety percent said they believe that schools are important to the health of the neighborhood, and the vast majority of participants reported that it is very important to study the impacts of school closures before any decisions are made.

Overview of findings from interviews about LRSD school closures:

⇒ There is a divide in opinion as to whether elementary school closures are necessary to address the budget shortfall, just over half agreed and just under half disagreed.
⇒ Participants reported more negative than positive impacts that school closures may cause.
⇒ Possible positive impacts included students being transferred to better facilities with greater resources, better academic performance, and financial savings to the district.
⇒ Positive impacts were contingent upon students being transferred to high quality schools.
⇒ Possible negative impacts included hardships and inconveniences to students and families, abandoned buildings and an increase in crime and vandalism, negative impacts on student performance in school, negative impact on students' social relationships, and negative economic impacts through loss of jobs and other resources and lowering of property values.
⇒ Nearly everyone believed it is important to study the impact that school closure will have on students, families and neighborhoods before the district makes any decisions.

SCHOOL CLOSINGS IN LITTLE ROCK

Detailed Findings

Interviews began by gauging how informed participants were of the ongoing discussions of the budget shortfall and school closures. Forty-two percent (42%) were not following the news of the budget problems; and 44% were not following news of potential closures. Analysis by income showed that households with an annual income less than $50,000 were significantly less likely to be following the news of both topics when compared to higher income participants (chi square test of significance, p=0.00 and p=0.08).

Participants chose from a list of options what they believed were the best two solutions to address the shrinking budget. Their top responses included:

- Consolidate elementary schools within one mile of each other (59 responses)
- Eliminate administrative positions and reduce the salary of employees at the top but not teachers or staff (45 responses)
- Encourage the state to stop the expansion of charter schools (45 responses)
- Delay building new elementary schools (25 responses)

When asked if they believe it is necessary to close elementary schools with low enrollment and/or within a one mile radius to another school, 58% agreed that closures are essential; 42% disagreed.

Participants selected the top two factors they believe should weigh the most when making decisions about closures. Responses reflected what had been stated in the news and the previous question:

- Low student enrollment (68 responses)
- How close a school is to another (56 responses)
- Cost of needed repairs (34 responses)

Participants who had experienced school closures previously

About one-fourth of our sample (25 participants, or 21%,) had previously lived in a neighborhood where the school was closed. In describing what that experience was like,

⇒ 79 % reported it as mostly negative
⇒ 17 % said it was neutral
⇒ 4 % said it was mostly positive.

"*There was no life in the neighborhood,*" one participant remembered. "*When the school left so did the spirit of the neighborhood.*"

Another stated, "*It was pretty bad. The building got broken into, people went there to drink and do drugs. The neighborhood declined. I was bused and hated my new school.*"

A former employee said, "*I actually taught at the school that was closed. It was sad. Employees had a family type relationship and have yet to regain that closeness with any other staff since.*"

58%
Believed school closures **ARE NECESSARY** to address the budget shortfall.

42%
Believed school closures **ARE NOT NECESSARY** to address the budget shortfall.

SCHOOL CLOSINGS IN LITTLE ROCK

Participants were asked to think about and describe positive and negative impacts that school closures might have at the student/family level as well as neighborhood/community level. This section describes their responses, grouped into categories by positive and negative impacts. Because responses may have included information that touched upon multiple categories, the percentages reported exceed 100% when combined.

When discussion possible positive impacts, the most common response, with 62% of participants commenting, was that students may have better access to resources, facilities and wraparound services that could ultimately result in better education or student health. Many of these responses were conditional, however; that better education will only result *if* students transfer somewhere with high quality resources and infrastructure. Table 2 includes illustrative quotes from participants expounding upon the themes. Next, close to half (44%) of participants stated they see no positive impacts from school closures. Lastly, about one-fifth (19%) commented on maximizing and reallocating resources, for the district or the community, that may result from school closures.

Table 2. Themes and quotes describing positive impacts of school closures, in order of frequency of responses.

Themes—Positive Impacts	Participant Quotes
62%— Better access to resources, facilities and wraparound services that could improve student education and health outcomes	• It will give students the opportunity to move to schools that have more technological resources to improve their education experiences. • Opportunity to hopefully build better schools, so young people are better served. • Kids will go to larger schools so there will be more funding for things. Bigger schools=more money. • Offering more programs, more nutritious meals, more services like therapy and healthcare, more interaction with kids, so that would be good for social development, mental, and physical health. • Students will be able to attend hopefully a newer and updated school and they would be at the same level as other high performing schools and students. It depends on whether the new school is an improvement. • Getting away from deteriorating buildings. May remove dangerous building materials that were causing health problems. Like asbestos and mold. A new environment may have a positive impact on mental health.
44%— No positive impacts	• None. Will be very negative. Schools are the lifeblood of neighborhood. • There are no positive impacts. When the school closure occurs, it will happen in the poorer communities and not the richer communities. • I really don't think there will be anything positive about closing elementary schools. Not for the students anyway. • None. Have to wake up earlier, re-acclimate, etc. No health improvements, all is negative.
19%— Maximizing and/or reallocating financial and other resources	• The only positive impact would be an increase in the school district's budget that would have been spent on the school. • Closure could mean more money to help financing schools to stay open, so students will be able to stay in neighborhood schools. • If they are not putting the tax dollars into the school, maybe that money can be allocated toward another neighborhood program. • They could use the building for something else, as a community building- a meeting place for the community.

SCHOOL CLOSINGS IN LITTLE ROCK

There was a greater breadth of responses when asked about negative impacts. Most common, with 69% of respondents discussing it, was hardships and inconveniences on students and families. The biggest concern was focused on student transportation, longer bus rides and accessibility issues for families without reliable transportation (which may lead to decreased parental involvement). Fewer expressed concern about interruption to student schedules and routines, potential difficulties in the process of finding a new school that meets their children's needs and that childcare arrangements may be impacted. Many said these were stressful topics.

Sixty-one (61%) percent discussed the psychological impacts that school closures would cause on neighborhoods, students and families. The community would lose a sense of pride and identity, as well as stability from people that coalesce around a neighborhood school. Students would be negatively impacted by the stress of adapting to a new school and classroom, and the anxiety and distress of creating new social relationships with peers and teachers. These stressors on children may result in increased behavioral issues in and out of the classroom.

About one-third (34%) of participants talked about the economic impacts that closures would have on neighborhoods and the people that live and work there. This included loss of jobs, vacated buildings that could lead to increased crime and/or vandalism, decreased property values, and general loss of public resources and people in the neighborhood .

Almost a quarter of participants (22%) felt that academics and the overall education environment may be negatively impacted, through means of overcrowded classrooms, not having the same type of resources available at the old schools, or that students may be transferred to a lower performing school. Table 3 (page 10) elaborates on these themes using participant quotes.

After answering those open ended questions, participants were asked to select their top two greatest concerns from a pre-identified list. The choice that received the greatest number of responses was that students would have a harder time getting to school (53 responses, or 45%), followed by parents having a difficult time getting to their children's school and the creation of abandoned buildings tied for second, with 37 responses or 32% each. Just over one-fourth (30 responses, or 26%) stated students will not adapt well to a new school. We found some differences based on zip code, with participants who live south of Interstate 630 being more concerned about parents' ability to get to their children's new school (41% versus 22%, p=0.02). Those who live north of I-630 were more concerned that students would have difficulty adapting to their new school (34% versus 17%, p=0.04). Figure 1 shows the frequencies of all responses.

Figure 1. Top concerns about impact of school closures
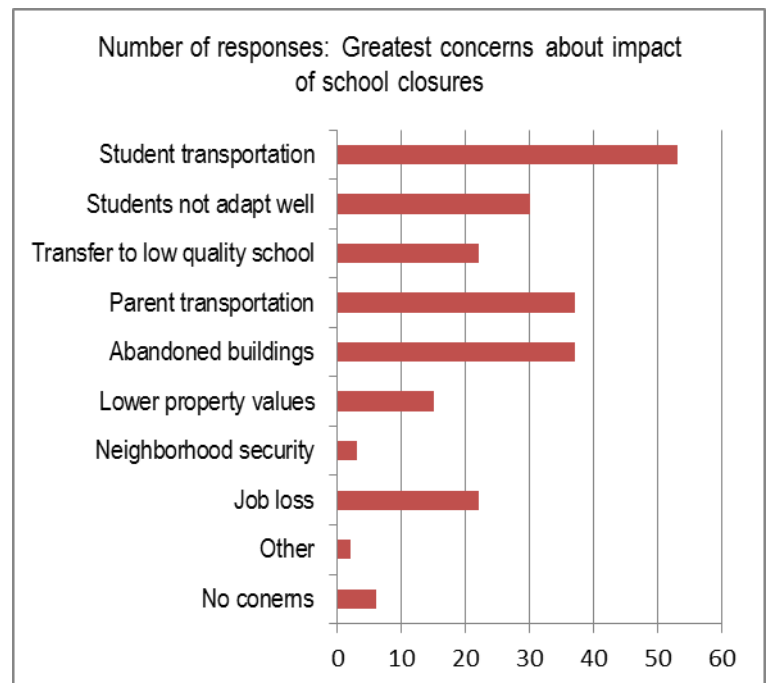
Table 3. Themes and quotes regarding negative impacts of school closures, in order of frequency of responses.

Themes—Negative Impacts	Participant Quotes
69%—Hardships and inconveniences on students and families	• Parents may have a hard time getting to and from school outside their area, causing them to not be able to actively participate in parent teacher conferences. • Children who walk to school may have to ride the bus. Smaller classes [that might be impacted by closures] have helped slower learners. • Stress related to transporting and childcare. Monetary stress if work time is missed [due to increased travel time]. • A lot of students walk, potential strain if the bus is not a welcome option. Cause a strain on community members. • They would have to travel. Some individuals are in underserved neighborhoods and they might have trouble with transportation, getting the kid to and from school and to after-school activities.
61%—Psychological impact on neighborhood and students	• It [closures] eliminates a spoke in the wheel of a community that gives it adhesiveness and identity. Communities suffer when a school closes. People will feel less empowered. Community interaction will be affected. • It could make the neighborhood feel like they are not good enough and that no one cares about education of their children in the area, or to improve the neighborhood. • Kids will begin to have behavior issues in school. Mental anguish of change, stress of something different, worry about what happens next. • Kids might develop an attitude that they did something to cause the school to close, that they are to blame or not smart enough. • Emotional troubles for students depending on what neighborhood they were transferred to. Negative connotations are associated with students and families who come from a particular area or have low socioeconomic status, which can also result in fights among students. • Children would experience a culture shock which is unhealthy. Anxiety about starting over. May be angry or confused about what's happening. Change or loss of friendships, mentors, teachers.
34%—Economic or social impact on neighborhood, neighbors and workers	• It could decrease the value of the neighborhood because people may not want to move where there is no school. There is no incentive to live there, especially for younger people with children. Many neighborhoods that have lost schools have gone down over the years; there's no progress in those areas. • It would cause disruption, take away a place of stability. No more playground area. It creates another abandoned building for crime. There would be a decrease in access to positive activities for children in the neighborhood. • Empty school buildings can cause property values to decrease in already low income areas. There's the potential negative impact from abandoned buildings that more crime and problems will come to the neighborhood and destroy the community. • Closing a school is similar to closing any other business. People lose jobs. Cafeteria workers, bus drivers, teachers, administrators, coaches.
22%—Negative impact on academics	• Risk of children going to a school that isn't as good as the previous one. • I could see some schools becoming overly crowded and adding stress to staff if they are not prepared. It could lower test scores for students who have not performed well in the past. • Students having to adjust to another neighborhood and school, and being received by the new school. It's a trickling effect that will result in students not receiving the best education. • Children with special physical or mental health conditions may not get all the required attention in a bigger school. • Bigger schools equal lost kids.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND PLANNING

We asked participants if, overall, they believed school closures would have a negative, positive, or neutral impact on students and their families.

⇒ **49 %** believed it would be **mostly negative**
⇒ **37 %** believed it would be **neutral**
⇒ **14 %** believed it would be **mostly positive**

The vast majority (92%) of participants said they believed that schools are important to the health of the neighborhood; the "lifeblood of the community," as one participant put it, and, "you keep the school in the neighborhood, you keep the neighborhood better" said another.

Over eighty-percent (84%) of participants reported that they believe it is very important to study the impact that school closures will have on the neighborhood and people who live there. An additional 15% reported believing it is somewhat important. The data suggest that participants want to talk about alternatives to school closings; as one said, "explore other options and make sure closing schools is the last option to be tried." When asked if the district should invest in renovating or rebuilding older elementary schools in the same neighborhoods in which they are currently located, 80% agreed.

Our interviews revealed that 75% of our sample believed that resources are not distributed fairly and according to need across all schools in the district. We need genuine community engagement and intentional planning to avoid worsening disparities.

Our findings show that there are not only concerns about school closures, but suggest that closings may hurt some neighborhoods more than others and increase education and other disparities. We found that people who live in zip codes south of I-630 believed at significantly higher rates than those who live north of the interstate that resources are not distributed equitably (83% versus 67%, p=0.05).

Participant messages about planning and studying impact before making closure decisions

⇒ *Just give careful consideration. Truly do the research and consider the impact it will have on the community. Give the community options, don't just decide.*
⇒ *Make sure that education is the priority, not saving money. Also making sure the consideration is equal across all neighborhoods, not giving better consideration to the schools in the better neighborhoods.*
⇒ *It needs to be completely transparent, and the neighborhood should be compensated some kind of way, so that the neighborhood is not completely destroyed.*
⇒ *LRSD has money. More talking and planning is needed.*

Participant messages about equity and resource allocation

⇒ *Low enrollment school closures punish a particular group of people, and closure based on geography is unfair.*
⇒ *I understand and agree with the need for public school buildings in west Little Rock. That is a student resource and financial resource in the area that cannot be ignored. But respecting, servicing, and investing in the eastern, southwestern parts of the LRSD will also create a student and financial resource that will once again benefit and impact Little Rock.*
⇒ *Funding and resources for students should be available across the board. We have schools that are treated as if they are better and that does not help us meet the need of educating all our youth. Quality of education shouldn't depend on what area you live in.*

CONCLUSION

We believe that this report demonstrates the need to carefully and thoroughly study the impact that school closures will have, not only on students and families, but also the neighborhood in which schools are located. Any future policy decisions should take into account not only how the delivery of education will be impacted, but also a *health in all policies approach* in which individual and community health, transportation, psychological impact, social networks and many other factors may be impacted. Our participants reported many more negative impacts that school closures may cause than positive ones. With only 58% of the sample believing closures are necessary and the rest believing it is unnecessary, it is clear that there is a divide in public opinion about how to move forward. We ran analyses to determine if there were differences in this opinion by race, income, zip code of residence, and/or teacher status; and, to our surprise, there were no significant differences. This suggests that this issue is not one that is viewed as a race or class issue; rather, many people are likely to be upset about closures regardless of their demographics.

We urge the Arkansas Department of Education, members of the State Board of Education, LRSD Superintendent and other policy makers to identify the process through which the possibility of closings, alternatives, the factors that will determine closures, and strategies for risk mitigation are publicly discussed and that input from community members in all areas of the district is taken into consideration. Concerns about equity and fairness should be at the center of policy decisions. Drawing on lessons learned from other cities, it is clear that school closures have a history of not guaranteeing better education opportunities for all, nor acting as a panacea to address budget shortcomings. Many of our participants centered their final messages on involving those most directly impacted by possible closings throughout the decision making process, and as one put it, "listen to your teachers, parents and students. Students should come first."

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

APPENDIX A

Table 1. Interview participant demographics

N=117	N	%
Age (n=110)		
Mean Age (years)	39.5	--
18-24 years	3	2.73
25-34 years	38	34.55
35-44 years	39	35.45
45-54 years	16	14.55
55-64 years	12	10.91
65 + years	2	1.82
Gender (n=116)		
Female	80	68.97
Male	36	31.03
Race* (n=117)		
White	32	27.35
Black	77	65.81
Other	8	6.84
Combined Family Income (n=116)		
Less than $24,999	28	24.14
$25,000-$49,999	32	27.59
$50,000-$99,000	42	36.21
$100,000 or more	14	12.07
Education (n=113)		
Some high school	10	8.85
High school or GED	9	7.96
Some college	16	14.16
Associate degree	6	5.31
Bachelor degree	34	30.09
Graduate/Professional degree	38	33.63
Teacher or school staff (117)		
Teacher or staff	35	29.91
Not teacher or staff	82	70.09
Zip code of residence (117)		
Little Rock zip code	97	87.39
Little Rock residents south of I-630 zip codes	58	59.79

*Participants were categorized as White if they choose only White; Black if they chose only African American or Black; and other if they chose other races, multiple races of Hispanic origin (due to the small number of participants selected Hispanic, those responses were collapsed into the other race).