Seattle Public Schools Report

Investigating Enrollment Patterns and Family Decision-Making in Seattle Public Schools

2025

Table of Contents

Executive Summary 4
About this report 4
Key findings 4
Introduction 6
Key findings 6
Indicative metrics and motivations of enrollment decline 6
Factors not contributing significantly to enrollment decline 7
Racial equity impacts 7
Next steps and recommended actions 7
A note about school funding challenges 8
National enrollment trends 8
Enrollment and mobility in the Puget Sound region 12
The context of Seattle school enrollment 16
Historical enrollment trends in Seattle 20
Seattle annual enrollment trends over the past 15 years 21
Decline in new kindergarten students 22
Student retention by grade level 23
Change in school district racial demographics 24
Program enrollment 25
Private school enrollment 26
SPS virtual option and parent partner program 28
Understanding who is leaving the district 29
Exiting student demographic trends 30
Geographic trends of exiting students 32
Program trends of exiting students 32
COVID exiting students and returners, 2019-22 34
Students leaving 34
Returners 36
Why are families deciding to disenroll from SPS? 36
Why are families deciding to enroll in SPS? 40

Most attractive factors to remain enrolled..... 41
References.....44

Executive Summary

About this report

Findings from this report come from a joint effort between the Enrollment Planning team at Seattle Public Schools (SPS), the research firm Strategies 360, and researchers at MIT's Blueprint Labs, a policy research lab. The goal of this report is to understand the factors contributing to enrollment decline in SPS, and the implications these factors have for a sustainable, high-quality, and equitable school district in the future. We used three strategies to reach conclusions: 1) conducted a representative survey of caretakers of current students, students who have left the district, and students that have never attended SPS but live in Seattle; 2) analyzed trends in enrollment decline in Seattle, neighboring districts, and similar cities; and 3) analyzed data from external factors.

Key findings

- Indicative metrics and motivations of enrollment decline
    - **Shrinking kindergarten class:** The percentage of students born in Seattle who enroll in kindergarten declined from a peak of 72% in 2012 to 53% in 2023. Kindergarten cohort sizes have decline steadily with the 2023 cohort being 3,714 students compared to a pre-COVID average kindergarten cohort size of 4,668 students. This decline in new student enrollment in kindergarten has fueled enrollment decline, rather than students leaving the district alone.
    - **Decline in households with children:** The number of households with children in Seattle has declined by 16% since 2017. Almost 70% of these leaving households have moved out of state, while only 15% relocated elsewhere in King County.
    - **Primary motivator to disenroll:** The primary motivator for disenrollment was the perception that a better option available" (48% selected as "motivated a great deal"), "quality of education" (57% selected as "motivated a great deal"), and more challenging "curriculum" (48% selected as "motivated a great deal").
- Factors not contributing significantly to enrollment decline
    - **Percentage of leaving students has remained stable:** The rate of new students added to the district slowed between 2012 and 2019. A total of 11,221 students left during the 2019-2020, 2020-21, and 2021-22 school years, with 1,453 of those students returning. SPS saw significant drops in elementary grades during COVID, which stabilized in 2022. However, except for 2020-21, the number of students leaving each year has remained stable.
    - **Private school enrollment:** Seattle has a high percentage of students that attend private school. However, this has not changed significantly since 2019.

- **Students of color leaving the district at higher rates:** Since 2006, the enrollment of Native American, Asian, Pacific Islander, and Black students has declined at disproportionate rates. The proportion of Black students has declined the most — by 10 percentage points between 2000 and 2023. Black, Latino, Native American, and Pacific Islander students leave the district at higher rates than their representation in the student population.

Introduction

SPS has experienced declining enrollment since COVID-19, like many other districts across the county. Even before the pandemic, the rate of students entering the district had slowed. SPS has a vested interest in making sure the city's public schools remain an attractive, high-quality, and inclusive option for all Seattle families. This report collects qualitative and quantitative data about the multiple factors influencing enrollment decline.

Strategies 360 conducted a representative survey by gender, race, and geography of caretakers of former and current students. Additionally, a convenience, non-representative survey was conducted with caretakers of students who have never attended SPS. The proportion of survey respondents by student enrollment status was monitored and weighted to be representative of all caretakers with children in Seattle. All survey participants reside in Seattle, meaning no students who have left the district and moved are included in this study due to cost and feasibility constraints. The survey collected 1,420 completed interviews by professional, live interviewers over landlines and cellphones and by SMS text invitations to web-hosted surveys. This number of interviews was achieved by repeated efforts to contact approximately 125,000 adults. The survey interviews were offered in English, Spanish, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Somali, and Amharic. The survey asked caretakers about their perceptions of SPS, including why they remain enrolled, decided to unenroll, or never enrolled. It also asked what would make families leave or return to the district in the future. This report provides a summary of the survey but does not report on it in full. Please see the separate survey results for the full analysis.

Key findings

Indicative metrics and motivations of enrollment decline

- Like other comparable cities, population booms have not equated to similar rates of school enrollment increase.
- The rate of children born in Seattle who enroll in kindergarten has dropped significantly since 2012. Kindergarten cohort sizes have declined steadily with the 2023 cohort being 3,714 students compared to a pre-COVID average kindergarten cohort size of 4,668 students. This shrinking kindergarten class accounts for most of SPS's enrollment decline.
- The number of households with children in Seattle has declined since 2017 by 16%. Almost 70% of these households with children that left Seattle have moved out of state, while only 15% relocated elsewhere in King County.

- "Academically challenging curriculum" for the purpose of fulfilling their child's potential remains the primary concern among both caretakers who have disenrolled their students and caretakers of current students in SPS.

Factors not contributing significantly to enrollment decline

- The rate of new students coming to the district slowed between 2012 and 2019. Except for 2020-21, the number of students leaving each year has remained stable since 2011. The percentage of students leaving since 2011 has fluctuated annually between 5% and 7% of total enrollment.
- Seattle's school enrollment change during the past decade is average compared to nearby districts.
- Between 2019 and 2023, private school enrollment across all of King County (including Seattle) increased by 3,182 students. During this same period, 11,131 students left SPS. So, even if every new private school student across King County came from SPS, this would only explain 25% of the students that left the district during COVID.

Racial equity impacts

- Black, Native American, and Pacific Islander students have left the district at a higher rate than Latino, multiracial, and white students.
- Students who left the district are more likely to have received multilingual services. They are less likely to be students receiving highly capable or special education services.
- Income-subsidized two+ bedroom housing yields the most SPS students. However, there is a significant gap in affordable housing and ownership opportunities for families in Seattle and housing has become more expensive during the past decade.

Next steps and recommended actions

SPS approached solutions to enrollment decline from a structural lens — how can we create a system that better supports students, their families, and their communities? We offer recommendations toward this end that respond to the findings.

Academic research has thoroughly documented the ways "marketing" schools to families can often exacerbate inequities, as schools and districts tend to market them to primarily to white and/or wealthy families (Jabbar, 2016; Posey-Maddox, 2014; Turner, 2016). However, there are also examples of school leaders promoting public schools to a wide variety of families, with a focus on keeping families of color enrolled and preventing their displacement (Green, 2016; Roda, 2023). This highlights the importance of consciously considering equity in any strategy to market schools to families. Systemic factors, such as inequitable access to jobs, housing, and transportation, make schools less accessible

to families. SPS endeavors to address a broad range of factors to create equitable strategies that appeal to families and address these systemic issues.

- Focus on engagement with early learners, meaning caretakers of pre-K students as well as pre-K and childcare partners, to increase the percentage of children who enroll in Seattle Public Schools for kindergarten and beyond
- Engagement with the SPS community around curriculum and instruction.
- Find "unaccounted for" students and reengage them in SPS (Dee, 2023)
- Create a task force for specific groups of students of color and the reasons they leave SPS, which includes students, families, and community members
- Continue to partner with city agencies to ensure housing is available for families
- Conduct further research on how nearby districts and cities, such as Minneapolis and Atlanta, have increased student enrollment in recent years

A note about school funding challenges

Declining enrollment has systemic impacts on SPS. Because the state funds schools according to the number of students enrolled, fewer students mean schools have less funding. In part, SPS's budget deficit is due to declining enrollment.

However, increasing enrollment alone will not solve the school district's budget crisis. Depending on students' unique needs and the size of the school, the district does not "break even" in terms of the cost of educating a student compared to the money allocated for that student by the state. In other words, higher enrollment also incurs more costs, which the district does not receive adequate funds to cover. So, while increasing enrollment and ensuring the district is an attractive option for all families living in Seattle is vital to the district, this alone will not solve SPS's funding crisis.

Compared to other states, Washington state does not fairly or adequately fund education. The Education Law Center publishes a yearly report summarizing the fairness of school funding by state. They measure funding level per-pupil, funding distribution to districts with high levels of student poverty, and funding effort — the percentage of state GDP allocated to education. Washington earns a C in funding level, ranking 21st out of all states. The state earns an F in funding distribution, meaning the state allocates funds regressively (more to wealthier districts). Finally, the state also earns an F in funding effort, meaning a small proportion of the state's GDP goes to education. For instance, New York, which has a GDP per capita of $76,283, allocates $27,265 per student. Washington, with a similar $74,299 GDP per capita, allocates $16,390 per student. So, even if enrollment increased, SPS would still struggle to adequately fund education.

National enrollment trends

- *Seattle stands out for its dramatic population growth since 2010.*

- *Compared to other similar cities, Seattle has had a larger school enrollment increase since 2010.*
- *Since COVID, Seattle's enrollment decline is 1% more than the average among similar cities.*

Nationally, public school enrollment dropped by 3% in 2020, with enrollment declining in all 50 states (NCES, 2024). Across the country, enrollment is projected to continue to decline through 2031 (NCES). Washington state is projected to decline in enrollment by 7% by 2031. Ten states are projected to increase their enrollment through 2031 — Idaho (11%), North Dakota (5%), Florida (3%), Utah (3%), Alabama (3%), Tennessee (2%), Montana (2%), South Carolina (1%), South Dakota (<1%), and Iowa (<1%). No type of region (city, suburb, town, or rural) has had a significant enrollment increase since 2012.[1] Relatedly, fertility rates in the U.S. have steadily declined since 1990.[2] This has an impact on school enrollment everywhere in the county, including Seattle.

Research on enrollment decline during COVID has confirmed that trends seen in Seattle — shrinking kindergarten classes and declines concentrated in elementary school — are a nationwide phenomenon (Dee, 2023). Data on private school enrollment and demographic change during COVID has not fully explained this loss; almost a third of enrollment decline is unexplained by these factors (Dee, 2023). Homeschooling rates nationally have increased since the pandemic, but not in Seattle as of 2023.[3] Nationwide, around 230,000 students are "unaccounted for" in data on COVID enrollment decline: those who did not enroll in private school, homeschool, or move out of state (Dee, 2023; Murphy 2021). In the context of Seattle, this means that likely there are similarly "unaccounted" for students that are difficult to track in district and state databases or through survey outreach.[4] Relatedly, internal attendance data confirms that over 500 students reported 20+ absent days in the 2024-2025 school year alone. Tracking these students and providing them with necessary reengagement services is a key priority for SPS.

Comparing Seattle to similar metropolitan areas across the country highlights how enrollment is changing in comparable school districts: San Francisco, Portland, Austin, Chicago, Boston, Denver, Tucson, and Atlanta.[5] These cities have similarly sized school

[1] NCES. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d23/tables/dt23_214.40.asp?current=yes
[2] Pew. https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/issue-briefs/2022/12/the-long-term-decline-in-fertility-and-what-it-means-for-state-budgets
[3] OSPI. https://ospi.k12.wa.us/student-success/learning-alternatives/home-based-instruction
[4] Toness & Lurye. https://projects.apnews.com/features/2023/missing-children/index.html
[5] We selected these cities using the NCES database (https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d22/tables/dt22_215.10.asp?current=yes) on school district size to focus on cities with similarly sized school districts. Then, we narrowed the selection to areas

districts, city populations, or both. The table below lists the total city population over the past decade, including the percentage growth or decline between 2010 and 2023. Seattle experienced the largest percentage population growth among these cities between 2010 and 2023, indicating its particularly dramatic population increase.

Table 1. Total City Population

	2010	2020	2023	% growth 2010-23
San Francisco	805,235	873,950	808,988	0.5%
Tucson	520,116	542,658	547,239	5.2%
Boston	617,594	678,617	653,833	5.9%
Portland	583,776	652,521	630,498	8.0%
Minneapolis	382,578	429,988	425,115	11.1%
Denver	600,158	715,524	716,577	19.4%
Atlanta	420,003	498,736	510,823	21.6%
Austin	790,309	961,893	979,882	24.0%
Seattle	608,660	737,018	755,078	24.1%

Data from U.S. Census

While Seattle has grown as a city, school enrollment has not kept pace with population growth. Even so, Seattle experienced the second highest growth in enrollment between 2010 and 2023 among these comparably sized cities. For instance, Austin, Atlanta, and Denver, which boomed in terms of total population between 2010 and 2023, did not see similar school enrollment growth. Minneapolis is the only city that had comparable population growth and school enrollment growth.

Table 2. School Enrollment, 2010-23[6]

	2010	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	% change 2010-2023
San Francisco	53,275	45,248	41,898	41,922	41,462	40,534	-23.92%
Portland	56,037	50,480	48,112	46,169	46,001	45,742	-18.37%
Austin	34,934	33,593	32,722	30,115	28,437	28,580	-18.19%
Boston	85,697	78,159	74,871	74,602	73,479	73,707	-13.99%
Denver	45,818	49,478	46,965	45,171	45,456	42,305	-7.67%

with similar metropolitan characteristics (i.e., city population). To add geographic diversity, we added a few cities that do not fit exactly meet these criteria, such as Minneapolis and Boston, which have larger school districts, and Austin, which has a smaller one).

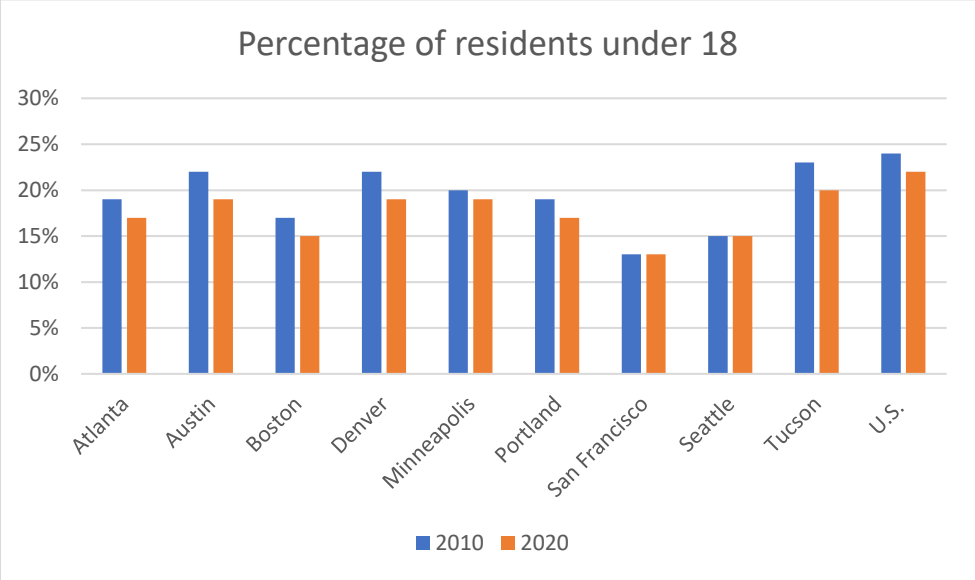
[6] Single years for school enrollment indicate the year in which school began (i.e., the 2019-2020 school year would be represented as 2019).

Tucson	49,796	52,416	51,012	49,994	50,325	49,660	-0.27%
Atlanta	55,571	53,901	51,790	49,204	50,941	55,452	-0.21%
Seattle	47,008	53,627	53,973	51,443	50,056	49,226	4.72%
Minneapolis	78,339	93,185	90,296	90,202	87,864	88,235	12.63%

Data from school district dashboards

Relatedly, Seattle has one of the lowest percentage of people under 18 living in the city, at 15%. This rate has remained stable since 2010. The national percentage of the population ages 0-18 is 22%, down from 24% in 2010. For Washington state, this percentage is 21%.[7] Notably, every comparable city experienced a decline in under-18 residents between 2010 and 2020, except for San Francisco (which has the lowest rate of under-18-year-olds).

Figure 1. Percentage of Residents Under 18 in 2010 and 2020



Data from U.S. Census

Looking at enrollment change since COVID, Seattle is in the middle of these cities in terms of percentage decline in enrollment. The only school district that has increased enrollment since the pandemic is Atlanta. Since COVID, Seattle's enrollment decline is 1% greater than the average among similar cities.

[7] U.S. Census. https://www.census.gov/library/visualizations/interactive/exploring-age-groups-in-the-2020-census.html

Table 3. Percent of Enrollment Change Between 2019 and 2023 (COVID)

	2019	2023	% COVID change
Austin	33,593	28,580	-14.92%
Denver	49,478	42,305	-14.50%
San Francisco	45,248	40,534	-10.42%
Portland	50,480	45,742	-9.39%
Average	56,676	52,605	-7.87
Seattle	53,627	49,226	-8.21%
Boston	78,159	73,707	-5.70%
Minneapolis	93,185	88,235	-5.31%
Tucson	52,416	49,660	-5.26%
Atlanta	53,901	55,452	2.88%

Data from school district dashboards

Overall, Seattle has experienced more population growth than similarly sized cities but has not had comparable school enrollment growth. Even so, on average since 2010, Seattle's school district has grown more than other similarly sized districts. In the context of the national decline in school enrollment and birth rates, SPS can further investigate these similar districts that experienced smaller COVID enrollment losses to understand their enrollment practices.

Enrollment and mobility in the Puget Sound region

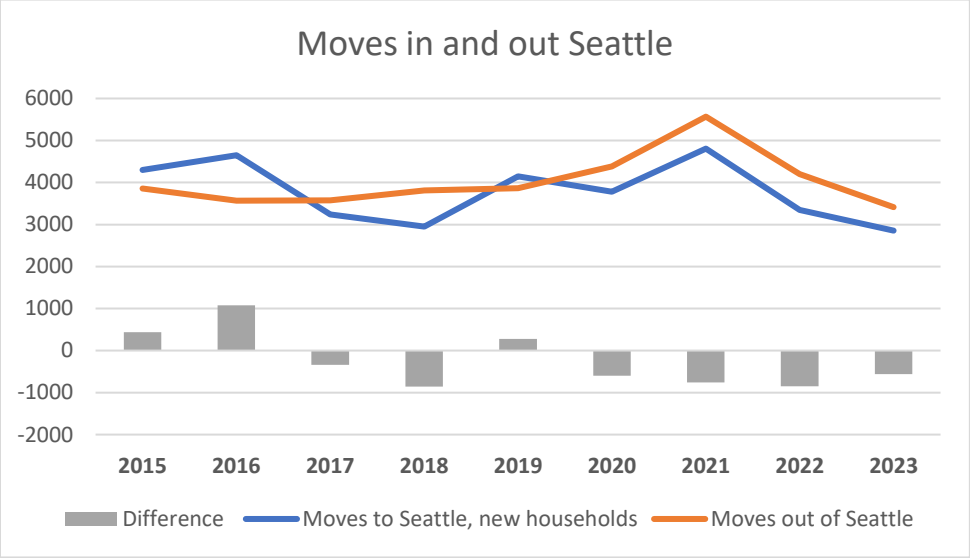
- *The number of households with children in Seattle has declined since 2017. Almost 70% of these households have moved out of state. Only 16% moved elsewhere in King County.*
- *During COVID, Seattle lost a higher-than-average percentage (-8% decline) of students compared to the region (average -3% decline).*
- *Seattle's enrollment change (-2% decline) over the past decade is average compared to neighboring districts (average -1% decline).*

To better understand the decline of enrollment in Seattle, we contextualize enrollment trends within the greater Puget Sound region. We consider the 20 school districts geographically closest to Seattle, analyzing enrollment during the past decade. Enrollment in the region peaked in 2019 at 356,459 students.[8]

[8] We use OSPI-provided data on P223 enrollment data. This differs annually from SPS's reported P223 counts. This is because OSPI reports an average of the monthly P223 counts over the entire school year, while SPS always uses the October 1 P223 count as the standard annual count. These numbers differ from the official P223 counts in other sections of this report by about 1%.

Regional Mobility. While Seattle's population continues to increase overall, the number of households with children has declined since 2017 by 16% as more of these households move out of the city than move into it. Research from MIT demonstrates that most people — an average of 67% year over year — moving out of Seattle with children since 2017 have moved out of state. This rise in moves out of Seattle is illustrated below in Figure 2.

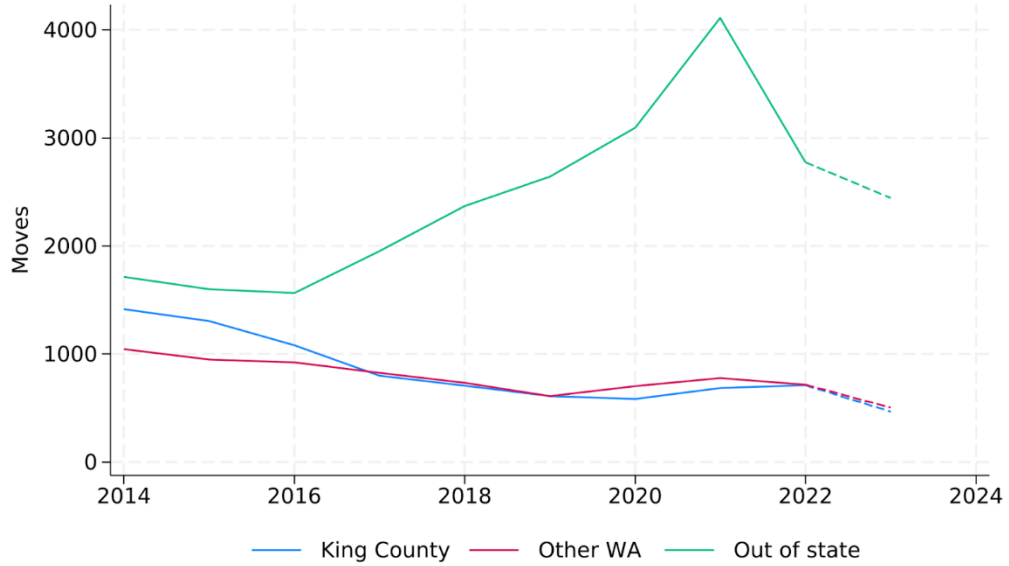
Figure 2. Net Moves Out of Seattle, 2015-23



Data from MIT

Since 2017, an average of 31% of households with children moving out of Seattle have stayed in state. 15% of movers remain within King County. Assuming that these are the students that could theoretically return to SPS, this represents a small percentage of families who have left Seattle.

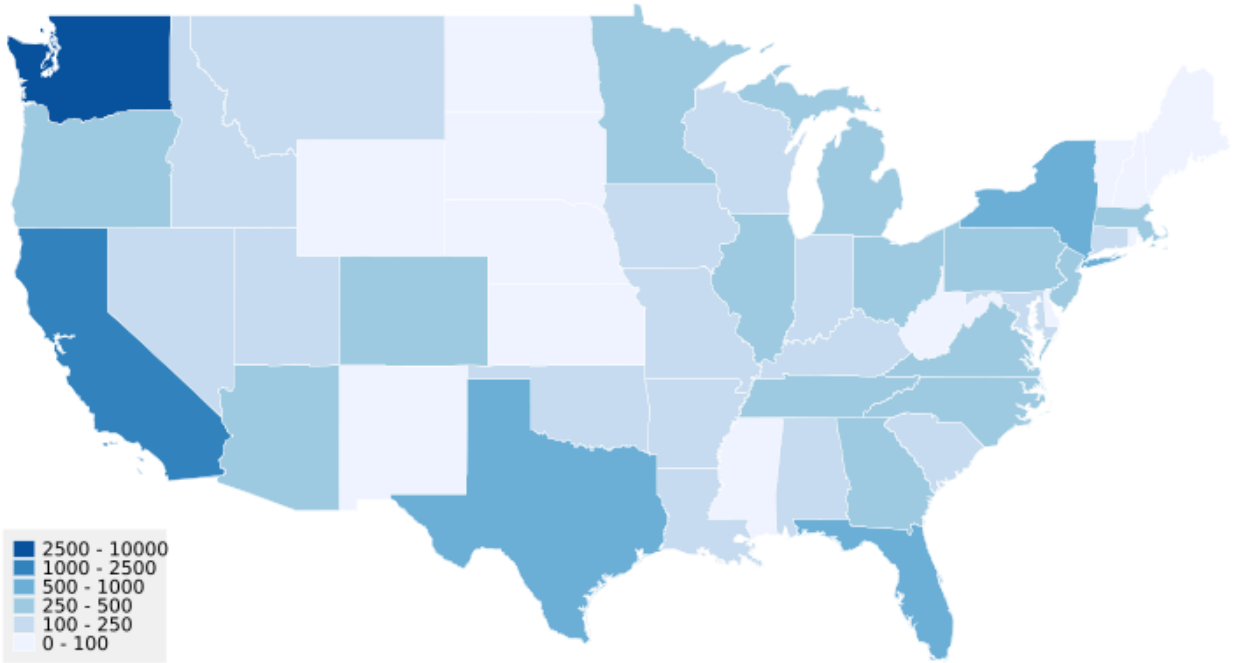
Figure 3. Destination-Specific Moves Out of Seattle by Households with Children



Data from MIT

While Washington was the most common state chosen by families (indicated by the dark blue color), the majority, 67%, still moved out of state. During COVID, more people moved to farther states in the Midwest and East Coast compared to before COVID.

Figure 4. State Destinations for Moves Out of Seattle During COVID By Households with Children (2019-22)



Data from MIT

COVID-19 Impacts. Compared to the region, Seattle lost a higher-than-average percentage of students during COVID. In 2023, the region enrolled 337,483 students, a drop of 18,976 students since 2019. As a region, districts experienced an average 3% decline in student enrollment. Seattle accounted for 22% of this regional decline. Mercer Island, Issaquah, Marysville, Seattle, and Bainbridge school districts lost the highest percentage of their students during COVID — between 8 and 10% of their student population between 2019-20 and 2023-24. Auburn, Lake Washington, Northshore, Mukilteo, and Tukwila lost the smallest percentage of students in the same period. The table below orders school enrollment by percentage change before and after COVID.

Table 4. COVID Puget Sound Enrollment Changes

	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Dif. 19-23	% dif. 19-23
Auburn	16,492	16,004	16,330	16,786	16,689	197	1%
Lake Washington	30,652	29,859	30,014	29,948	29,974	-678	-2%
Northshore	22,627	22,155	22,004	21,997	21,941	-685	-3%
Mukilteo	15,281	14,809	14,672	14,788	14,788	-492	-3%
Tukwila	2,746	2,592	2,450	2,444	2,657	-89	-3%
Everett	19,880	19,130	19,296	19,323	19,196	-684	-3%
Edmonds	20,062	19,580	19,509	19,280	19,371	-691	-3%
Vashon Island	1,461	1,421	1,449	1,451	1,408	-53	-4%
Highline	17,700	17,511	17,137	16,934	16,826	-874	-5%
Shoreline	9,393	9,058	8,884	8,947	8,922	-472	-5%
Region average	14,392	14,013	13,979	13,993	13,982	-452	-3%
Federal Way	21,182	20,084	19,739	20,023	19,993	-1,189	-6%
Tacoma	27,678	26,424	26,441	26,131	26,064	-1,614	-6%
Kent	25,448	24,157	23,699	24,090	23,939	-1,509	-6%
Bellevue	20,049	19,128	18,476	18,182	18,557	-1,492	-7%
Renton	14,920	14,544	14,089	14,066	13,807	-1,113	-7%
Bainbridge Island	3,695	3,472	3,512	3,451	3,406	-289	-8%
Seattle	52,730	51,224	49,552	49,347	48,582	-4,147	-8%
Marysville	9,917	9,544	9,599	9,524	9,095	-822	-8%
Issaquah	20,236	19,034	18,610	18,628	18,382	-1,853	-9%
Mercer Island	4,308	4,019	3,951	3,931	3,881	-427	-10%
Total	158314	154139	153766	153918	153799	-19428	-12%

Data from U.S. Census

10-year Trends. Between the 2014-15 and 2023-24 school years, Seattle lost 2% of its student population — close to the regional average of 1% decline. Bainbridge, Mercer Island, Highline, Tukwila, and Marysville lost between 7% and 14% of their student

population during the past decade. In the same period, Shoreline, Everett, Northshore, Auburn, and Lake Washington grew between 2% and 18%.

Table 5. 10-year Puget Sound Student Enrollment Changes

	2014	2023	Dif. 2014-23	% Dif. 2014-23
Lake Washington	25,458	29,974	4,517	18%
Auburn	14,770	16,690	1,920	13%
Northshore	19,653	21,942	2,289	12%
Everett	18,412	19,197	785	4%
Shoreline	8,711	8,922	210	2%
Issaquah	18,019	18,382	363	2%
Edmonds	19,093	19,371	278	1%
Mukilteo	14,620	14,789	169	1%
Bellevue	18,412	18,557	145	1%
Region average	15,639	16,810	10	-1%
Seattle	49,677	48,582	-1,094	-2%
Vashon Island	1,463	1,408	-55	-4%
Federal Way	21,045	19,993	-1,052	-5%
Renton	14,569	13,807	-762	-5%
Tacoma	27,674	26,064	-1,611	-6%
Kent	25,751	23,939	-1,811	-7%
Bainbridge Island	3,668	3,406	-261	-7%
Mercer Island	4,197	3,881	-316	-8%
Highline	18,559	16,826	-1,732	-9%
Tukwila	2,947	2,657	-289	-10%
Marysville	10,593	9,095	-1,498	-14%
Total	327,470	324,318	-3,006	-1%

Data from U.S. Census

Enrollment loss in the Puget Sound region, particularly during COVID, is due in part to people moving out of the region altogether. Seattle had a more significant enrollment decline during COVID than the region. However, no surrounding area increased significantly in enrollment during this time. Mobility data from MIT further highlights how most households with children who moved out of Seattle left the state. Further investigation could help understand what factors contributed to enrollment increase during the past decade in districts like Lake Washington, Auburn, and Northshore.

The context of Seattle school enrollment

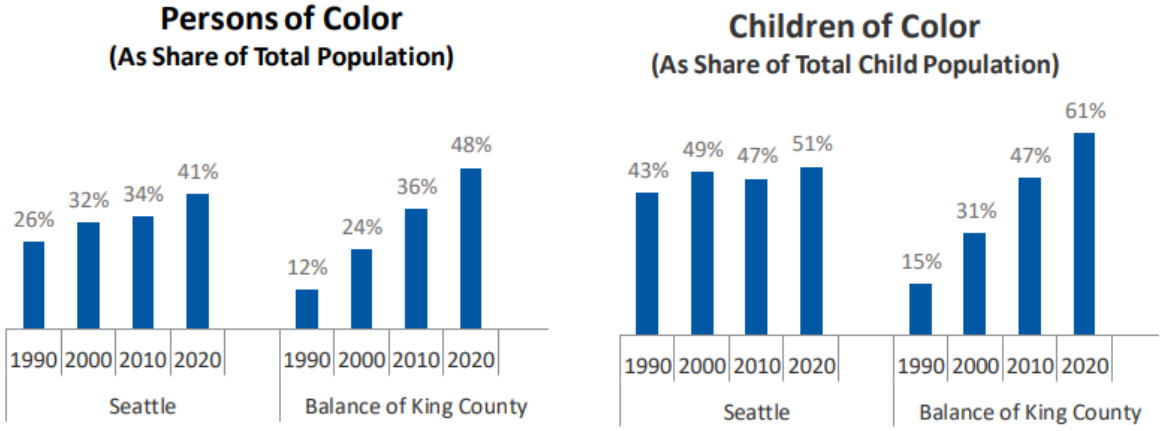
- *Seattle is one of the fastest gentrifying cities in the U.S.*
- *While the population of children in King County has become more racially diverse,*

Seattle's youth population of color has not grown at the same rate. King County increased its percentage of youth of color by 14% between 2010 and 2020, while Seattle increased by 7%.

- *Most students live either in single-family housing or income-subsidized 2+ bedroom housing. However, Seattle lacks sufficient affordable housing and opportunities for lower-barrier home ownership, making it difficult for families with children to afford housing in the city.*

The Seattle metropolitan region has experienced demographic changes during the past decade due to gentrification, rising home prices, and the influx of highly paid workers to the region. While King County has become more racially diverse, Seattle has not followed at the same pace. The figures below demonstrate that areas surrounding Seattle have grown in their population of people of color at a higher rate between 2010 and 2020.

Figure 5. Seattle and King County Census Racial Demographics, 1990-20



Data and figures from OPCD Census analysis

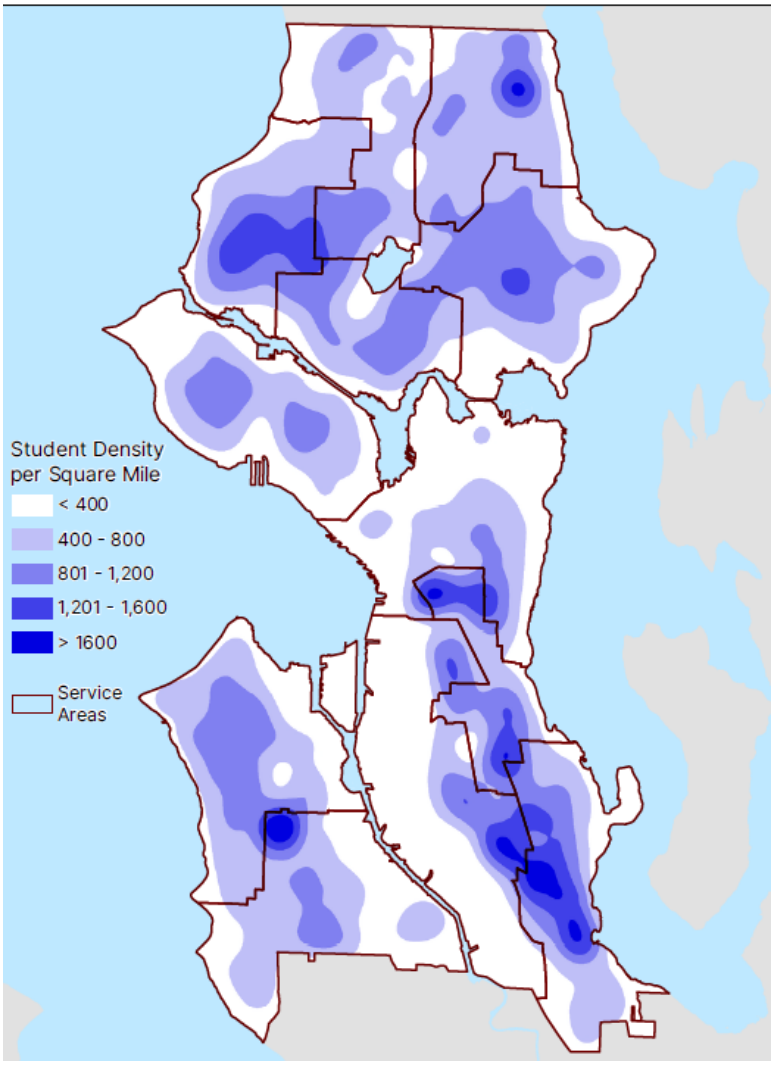
These data on the higher rate of growth of the population of children of color in King County compared to Seattle corresponds with data that Black, Native American, and Pacific Islander students are leaving the district at higher rates presented later in this study. Seattle is one of the fastest gentrifying cities in the U.S. (Balk, 2019). Increased housing prices, which lead to displacement, have caused people of color to leave the city.[9] This gentrification has contributed to enrollment decline.

The map below shows student density per square mile. Generally, more students live where there is denser housing. However, the downtown, UW campus, and Capitol Hill

[9] Cascade PBS. https://www.cascadepbs.org/2019/01/where-are-black-people-central-district-residents-get-creative-fight-displacement; https://www.cascadepbs.org/equity/2023/11/rainier-beachs-black-led-organizations-battle-gentrification

neighborhoods all have fewer students, showing that dense housing does not always mean more students — the type of housing matters.

Figure 6. Student Density Per Square Mile, 2024



Data from SPS Enrollment

The type of housing matters in terms of student population. An external firm, FLO Analytics, calculated the below "student generation rates" from new housing built between 2014 and 2021. These rates indicate how many students typically come from each respective type of housing unit. For instance, for every single-family home built between 2014 and 2021, SPS can expect 0.3 students to attend school. In other words, for every 10 single-family homes, three students will show up at SPS. Income-restricted two+ bedroom apartments yield the most students, and then single-family homes. With this measurement, FLO grouped townhomes with single-family homes.

Table 6. 2022-23 SPS Students Per Housing Unit Built Between 2014 and 2021

Housing Type	K-5	6-8	9-12	K-12 Total
Single-family (SF)	0.18	0.06	0.07	0.31
Multi-family (MF)	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
MF 2+ bedroom	0.08	0.04	0.05	0.17
MF 2+ BR market-rate	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.09
MF 2+ BR income-restricted	0.38	0.2	0.23	0.81

Data from FLO Analytics analysis[10]

These data demonstrate that an increased availability of affordable housing with two or more bedrooms would potentially increase school enrollment. However, the construction of multi-family housing in the past decade has not led to increased school enrollment. Most new construction in Seattle during the past 10 years has been multi-family housing (rather than single-family). Since 2010, Seattle has added about 48,000 family-sized (2+ bedroom) units to the housing stock out of 141,913 total units. According to a study done by BERK, a consulting firm, for the City of Seattle, housing construction has not been sufficient to keep up with demand, causing housing prices and rents to rise significantly.[11] This same study cites a shortage of 21,000 affordable units in Seattle — the type of unit yielding the most students in SPS. These data indicate that housing construction alone does not equate to enrollment growth — the type of housing and the cost are also significant factors.

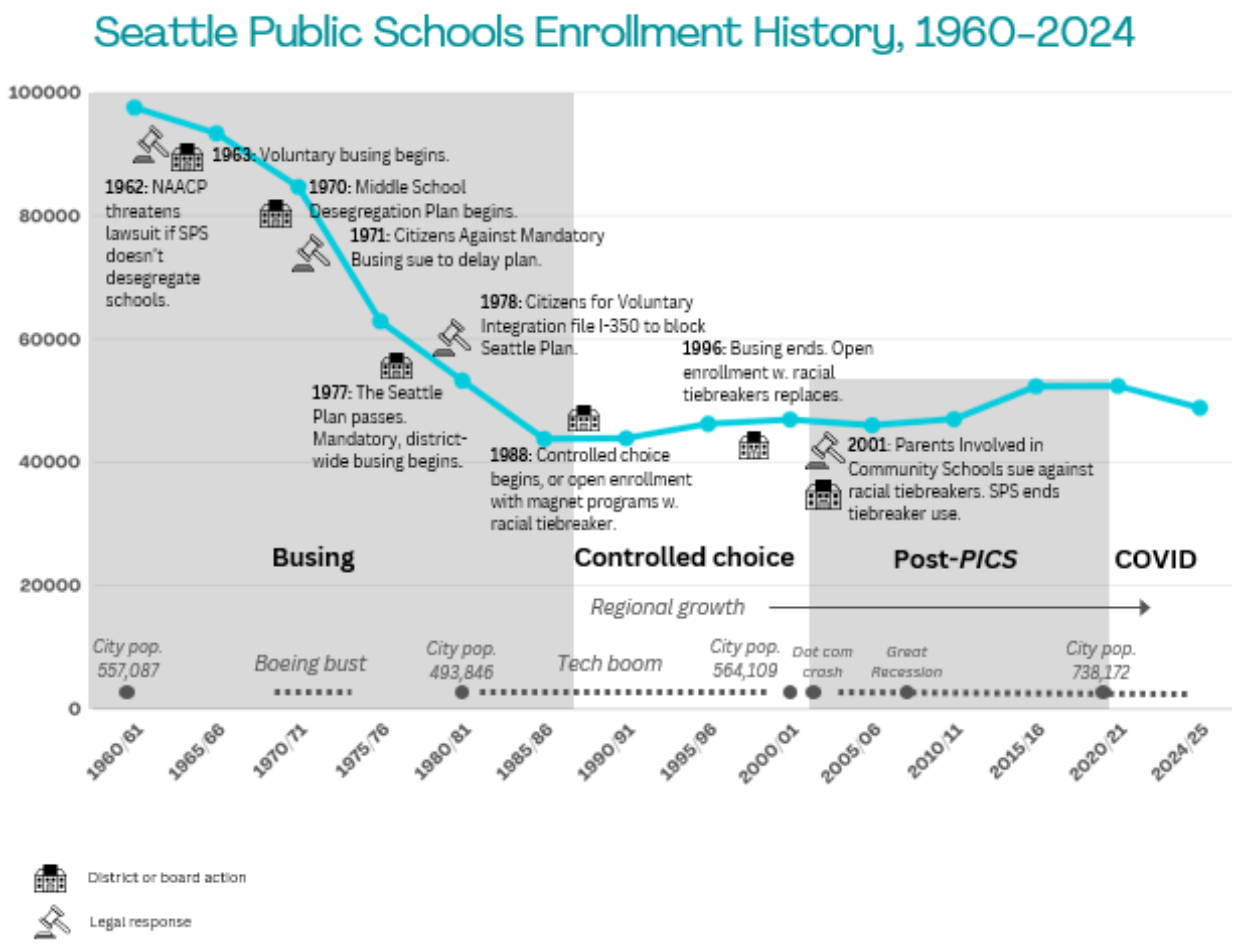
The new Comprehensive Plan in Seattle, which the city council will likely approve in early 2025, upzones several areas of the city.[12] These upzones could lead to the construction of more "missing middle" housing, or housing between a single-family home and an apartment unit (like townhomes) that offer a lower barrier to entry to ownership. However, it is unclear how developers will respond to these zoning changes and if family-sized housing construction will increase significantly. The City of Seattle's planning office does not predict how many family-sized units are anticipated to be constructed. The BERK study concluded that without a change in the rate and type of units built in Seattle, soon only higher-income households will be able to afford the city. This lack of affordability has implications for SPS, which will likely continue to lose students if housing costs continue to rise.

[10] The full report can be found at https://www.seattleschools.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Seattle-PS-2024-25-to-2033-34-enrollment-forecast-document.pdf.
[11] https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/OPCD/OngoingInitiatives/HousingChoices/SeattleMarketRateHousingNeedsAndSupplyAnalysis2021.pdf
[12] Seattle Office of Planning and Community Development. https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/OPCD/SeattlePlan/OneSeattlePlanDraftPlan2024.pdf

Historical enrollment trends in Seattle

Seattle's peak enrollment occurred in 1962, with 99,326 students.[13] Enrollment steadily declined throughout the era of busing until the 1990s. Meanwhile, the overall city population also declined through the 1960s, '70s, and '80s. During the 1990s, SPS shifted generally from busing to magnet programs and option schools to racially desegregate schools. This gradual enrollment growth in the 1990s also coincided with population growth spurred by the tech boom. Between 1990 and 2024, enrollment has remained stable while the city population has grown exponentially. City population growth has not translated to a growth in public school enrollment. The image below captures different eras of SPS enrollment with coinciding district or board action and legal action.

Figure 7. SPS Enrollment History



[13] Seattle's enrollment data is always reported by the Enrollment Planning team as the Oct. 1 P223 count. This standardizes our measurement across years. All SPS enrollment data in this report, unless otherwise noted, is from this count.

Data from SPS Archives

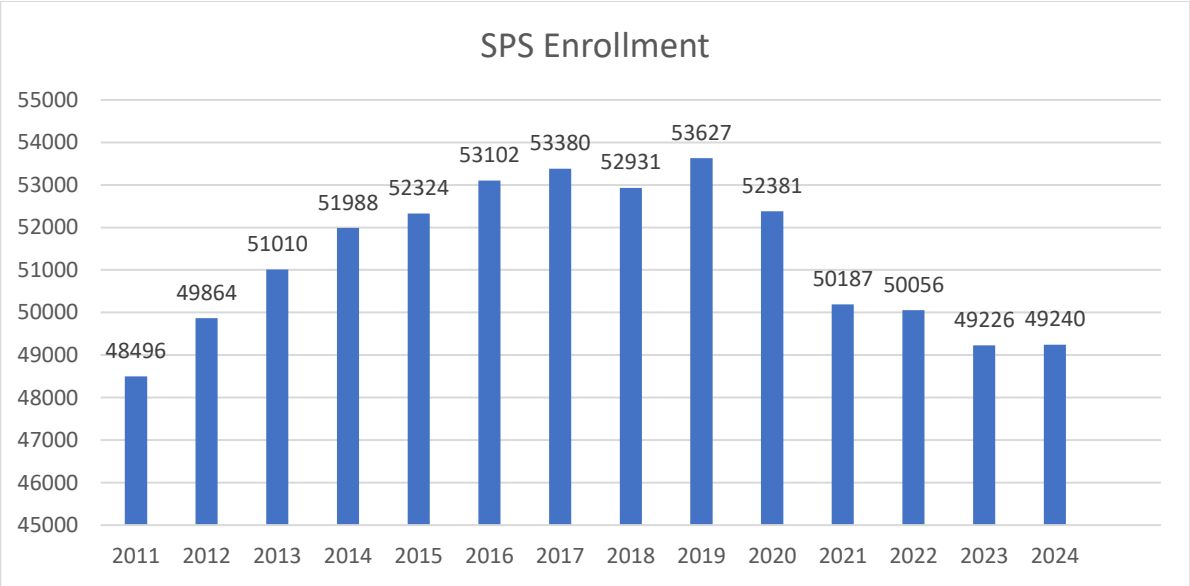
One trend highlighted by the figure above is that growth in school enrollment does not directly relate to population growth. The city's population has grown significantly since 1990, while school enrollment has increased at a much slower rate.

Seattle annual enrollment trends over the past 15 years

- *The rate of new students added to the district slowed between 2012 and 2019, adding fewer new students each year. Enrollment increased by 5% overall during this period. During COVID, enrollment declined by 8%.*
- *The population of Native American, Asian, Pacific Islander, and Black students have declined since 2000. The proportion of Black student enrollment has declined the most.*
- *The rate of children born in Seattle entering kindergarten five years later has declined from a peak of 72% in 2012 to 53% in 2023.*
- *Private school enrollment in King County between 2019 and 2023 increased by 3,182 students.*

Seattle experienced a sharp decline in enrolled students after the 2019-20 school year due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Figure 8 charts total student enrollment since 2006. Between 2006 and 2019, SPS grew by 7,973 students to a total of 53,627 — a 5% increase. From 2019-20 to 2023-24, SPS declined by 4,401 students to a total of 49,487 students, an 8% decline in enrollment.

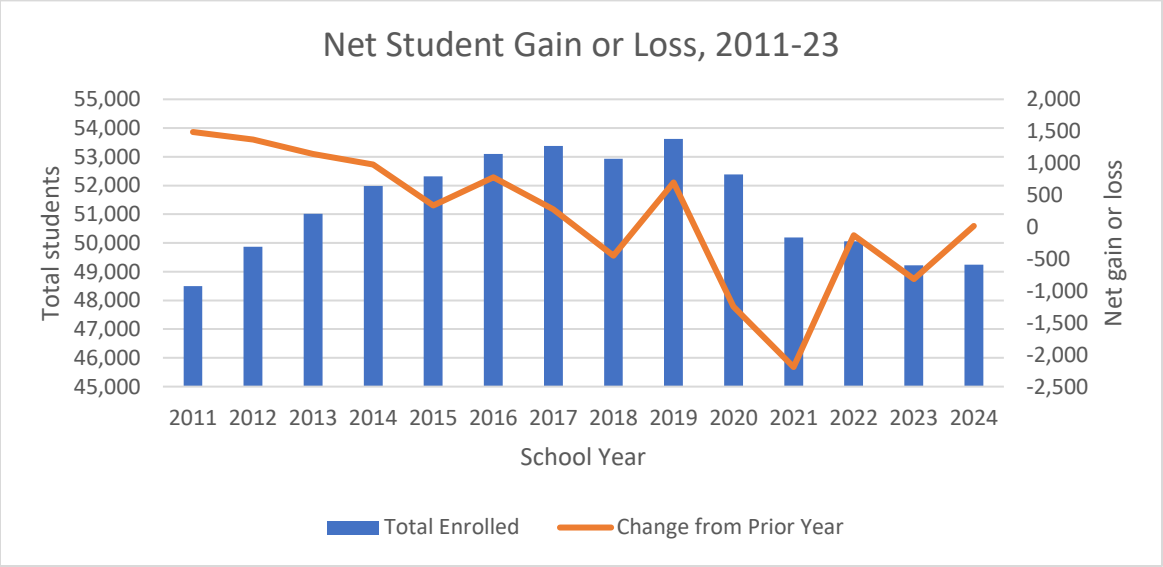
Figure 8. SPS Enrollment, 2011-24



Data from SPS Enrollment

While student enrollment grew between 2010 and 2019, SPS gradually declined in the number of net students added to the district. In other words, while total enrollment increased between 2011 and 2019, the rate of this increase slowed because SPS added fewer and fewer new students each year. The orange line in the graph below demonstrates the change in students from the prior year. Its declining slope indicates SPS added fewer and fewer net students every year since 2010, except for 2016, 2019, and 2022. In 2024, SPS added 14 new students overall.

Figure 9. Net Student Enrollment, 2011-23

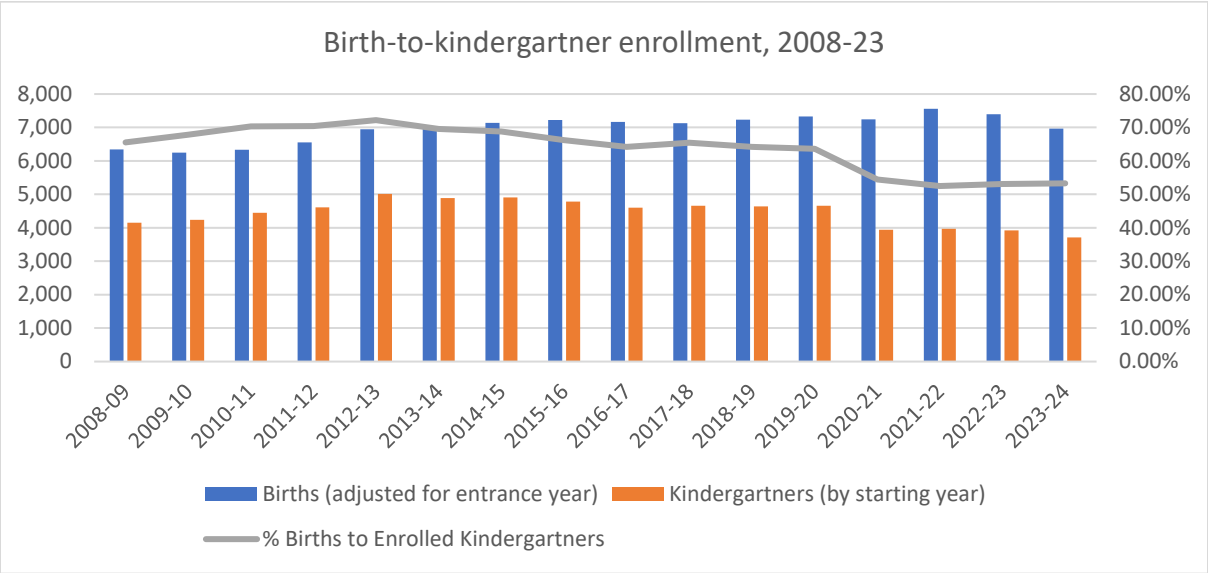


Data from SPS Enrollment

Decline in new kindergarten students

Since 2012, the percentage of students born in Seattle that enroll in kindergarten has steadily declined from a peak of 72% in 2012, to 53% in 2023. Kindergarten cohort sizes have decline steadily with the 2023 cohort being 3,714 students compared to a pre-COVID average kindergarten cohort size of 4,668 students. This decline in kindergartner enrollment accounts for most of the enrollment decline in the district. Likely, the decline in households with children in the city overall is related to this decline in kindergarten enrollment. These trends are separate from the pandemic impacts on enrollment, as students born during or after the pandemic have not yet begun kindergarten as of 2024. Kindergarten enrollment has declined overall since 2012.

Figure 10. Birth-to-Kindergartner Enrollment, 2008-23



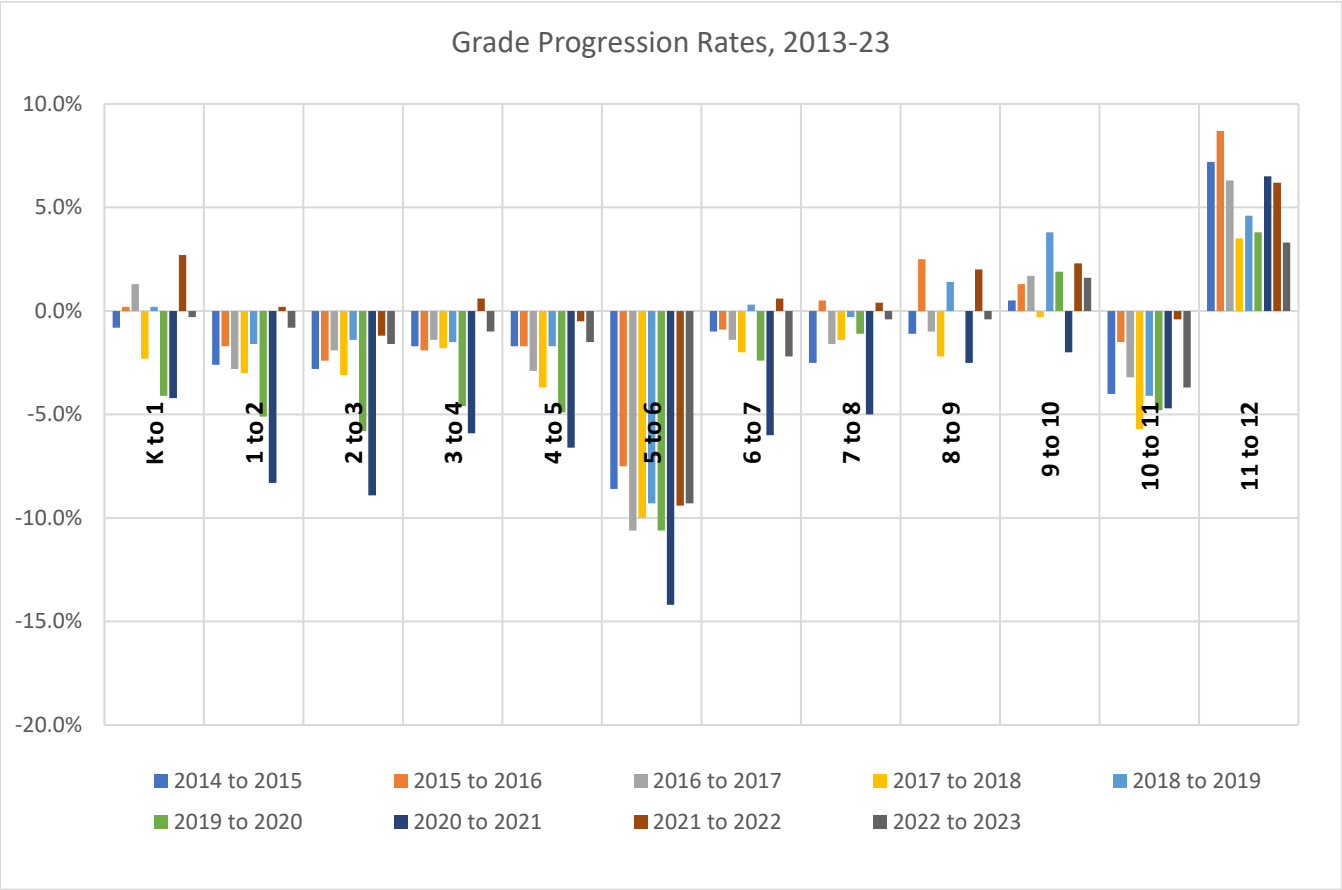
Data from SPS Enrollment

Student retention by grade level

In terms of grade progression, the 5th-6th grade transition sees the most students leave SPS. Around 90% of 5th graders move on to 6th grade at middle school. At the high school level, SPS typically gains students from 9th to 10th grade, loses from 10th to 11th, and gains again in 11th to 12th grade.

After the 2019-20 school year, SPS saw four to five percentage point drops in grade progression across all elementary levels and the elementary to middle (5th to 6th grade) transition. These percentages continued to drop in the following 2021-22 school year. In 2022, these rates stabilized to their pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 11. Grade Progression Rates from 2014-15 School Year to 2023-24 School Year

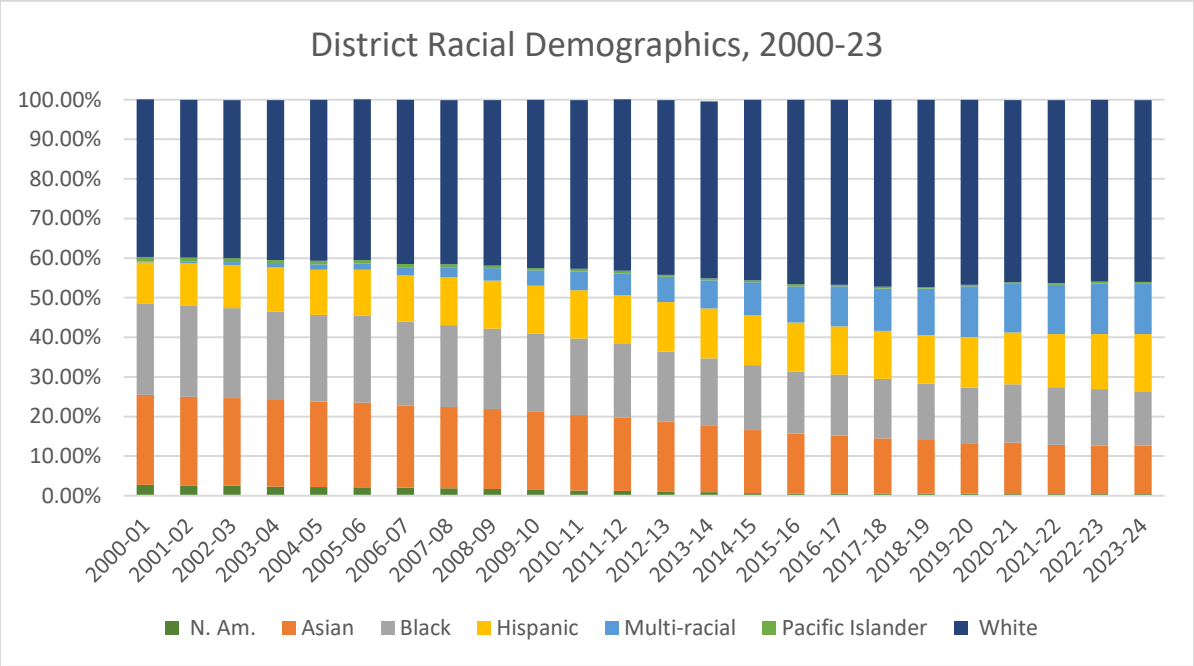


Data from SPS Enrollment

Change in school district racial demographics

Since 2000, the proportions of Native American, Asian, Pacific Islander, and Black students have declined. Overall, the proportion of white students has increased from 40% to almost 46%. Figure 12 below captures the changes in district racial demographics since 2000. Since 2020, white student enrollment has slightly declined, while the proportion of students of color has increased by 0.7%. The 2023-24 enrollment of students of color is six percentage points below its peak in 2000, when it was at 60%. The groups of students of color that have increased in enrollment include Latinx and multi-racial students. Native American, Asian, Pacific Islander, and Black proportions of students have declined. The proportion of Black students has declined the most—10 percentage points from 2000 to 2023.

Figure 12. Racial Demographics of District

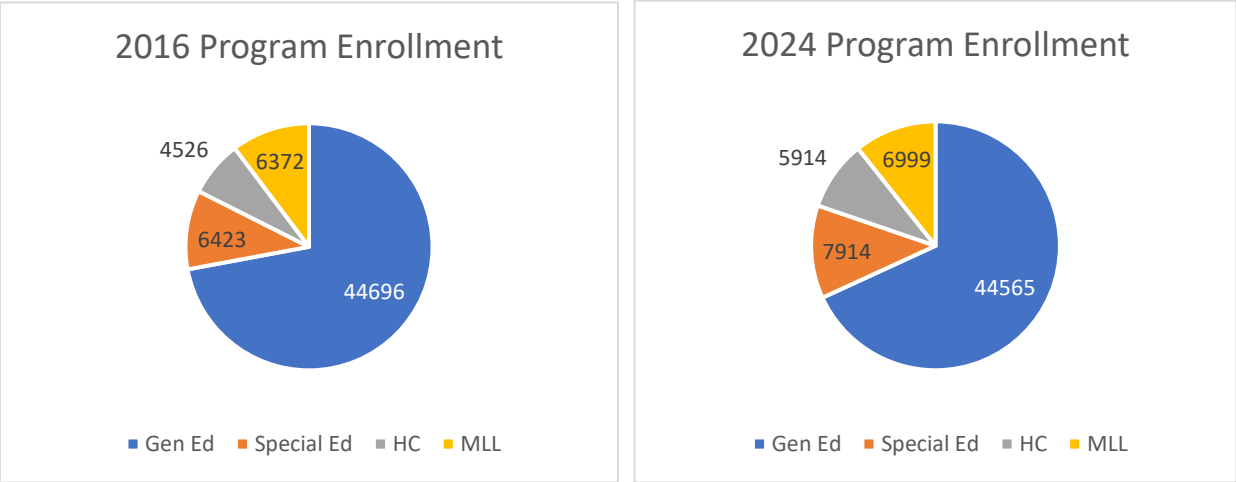


Data from SPS Enrollment

Program enrollment

SPS offers services to students based on their unique needs. These broadly fall into three categories: special education, advanced learning, and multilingual services. The percentage of students receiving any of these three services has increased since 2016.

Figure 13. Comparison of Program Enrollment 2016 vs. 2024



Data from SPS Enrollment

Table 7. Program Enrollment, 2016-2024

	Special Education	% SPED	Highly Capable	% HC	Multilingual Learners	% MLL
2016	6423	12%	4526	9%	6372	12%
2017	6742	13%	4793	9%	6256	12%
2018	6930	13%	4767	9%	6182	12%
2019	7324	14%	4835	9%	6441	12%
2020	7210	14%	4858	9%	6036	12%
2021	6885	14%	5234	10%	5374	11%
2022	7205	14%	5712	11%	6517	13%
2023	7562	15%	5502	11%	6589	13%
2024	7914	16%	5914	12%	6999	14%

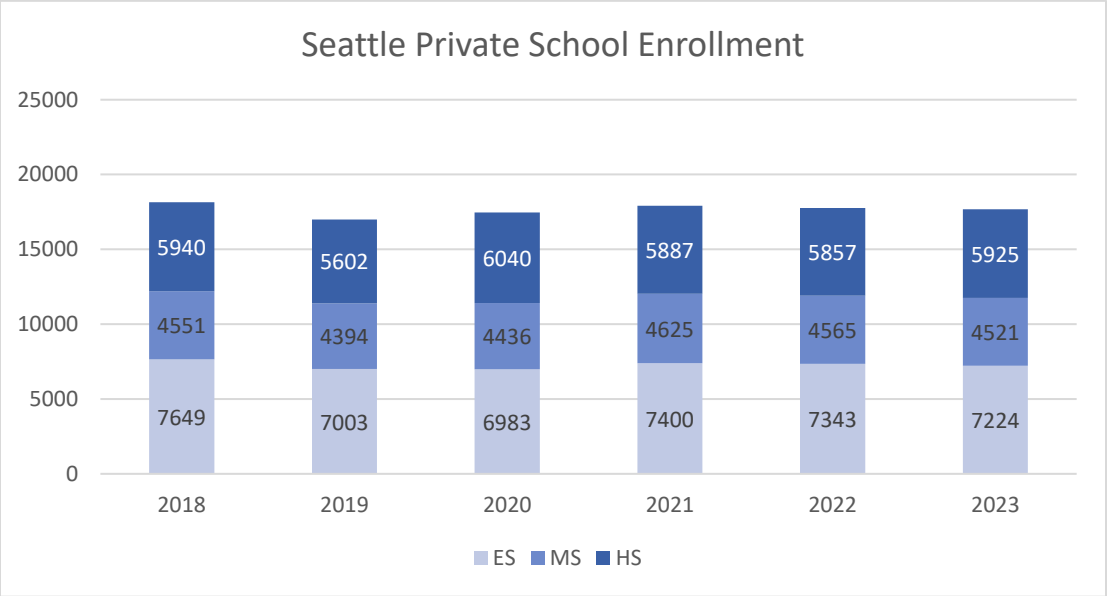
Data from SPS Enrollment

Private school enrollment

There is not significant enough private school enrollment increase to explain enrollment decline in SPS during the past five years. In 2023, 17,670 students in Seattle attended K-12 private school.[14] Between 2019 and 2023, according to OSPI data, Seattle private school enrollment grew by 671 students. This growth occurred mainly at the elementary and high school levels.

[14] The U.S. Census reports similar numbers based on estimates from the American Community Survey. They estimate 19,413 students attend K-12 private school. Their reported margin of error (+/- 4,852) puts their estimate within range of the OSPI numbers, but significantly higher. Because the OSPI numbers are an exact count reported by schools, rather than an estimate from surveys, we use the OSPI data.

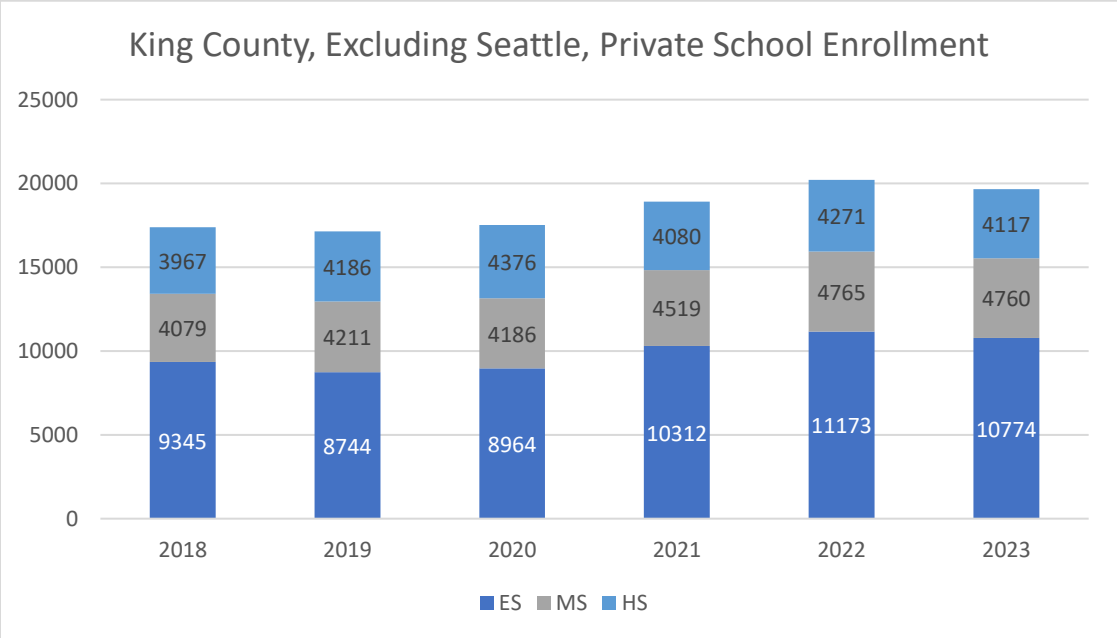
Figure 14. Seattle Private School Enrollment



Data from OSPI

In King County (excluding Seattle) in 2023, 19,651 students attended K-12 private school. Between 2019 and 2023, private school enrollment increased by 2,511 students. This increase mainly took place at the elementary school level.

Figure 15. King County Private School Enrollment

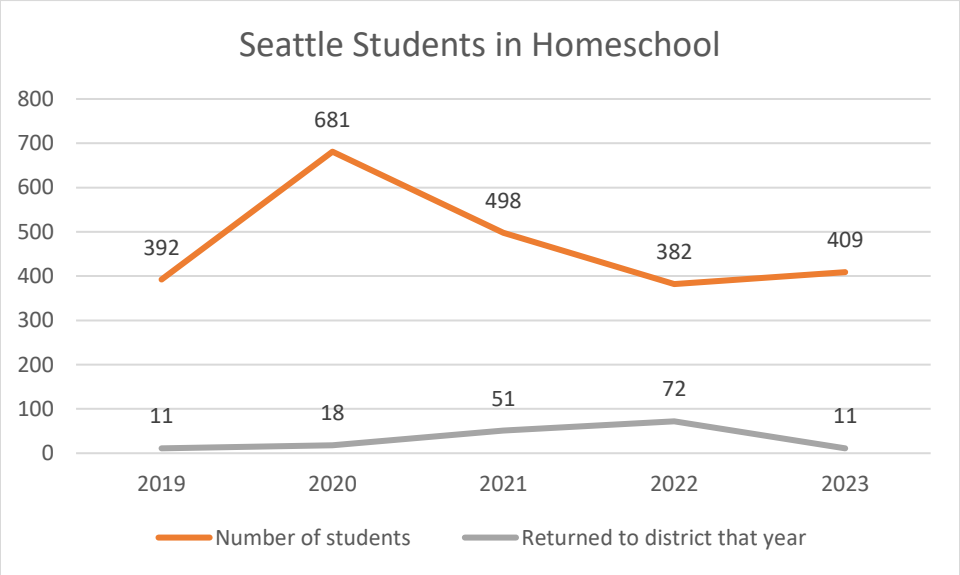


Data from OSPI

Between 2019 and 2023, across all of King County (including Seattle) private school enrollment increased by 3,182 students. During this same period, 16,286 students left SPS. So, even if every new private school student across King County came from SPS, this would only explain 20% of the students that left the district during COVID.
Homeschooling and virtual options

While homeschooling gained popularity during the pandemic, the total number of students enrolled in homeschool or a virtual option within SPS is less than 1% of the SPS student population. OSPI publishes homeschooling data by district from 2019 to 2023.[15] They also report students enrolled in homeschooling the prior year and returned to the district.

Figure 16. Seattle Students in Homeschool



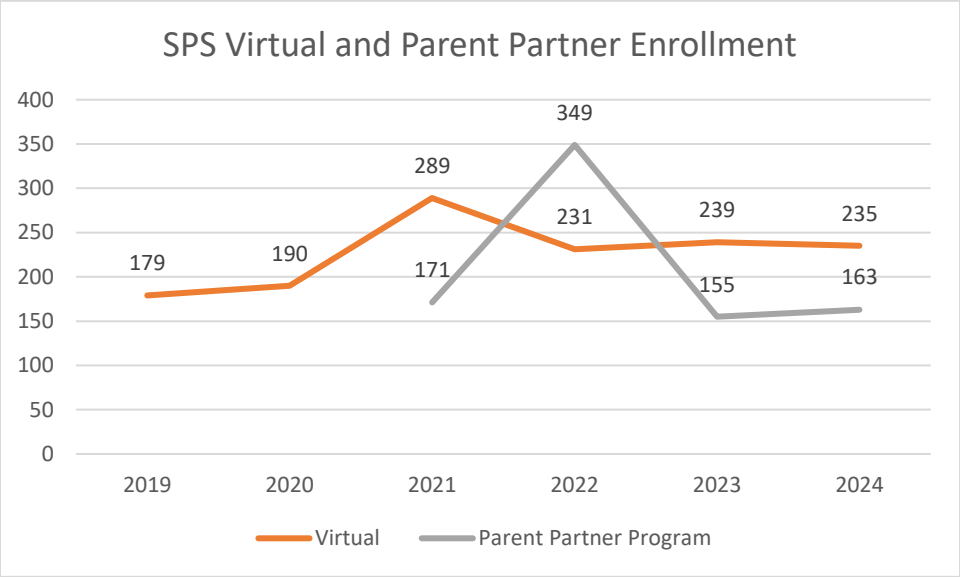
Data from OSPI

SPS virtual option and parent partner program

Seattle offers the Cascade Parent Partner Program as a support to parents pursuing homeschool within SPS. In 2021, SPS began offering a separate virtual instructional model for students. Students enrolled in these programs are still technically SPS students. These programs together in 2024 account for 398 students, or less than 1% of total students.

[15] The 2024-25 data has not been released at the time of this report's publishing.

Figure 17. SPS Virtual and Parent Partner Enrollment



Data from SPS Enrollment

Understanding who is leaving the district

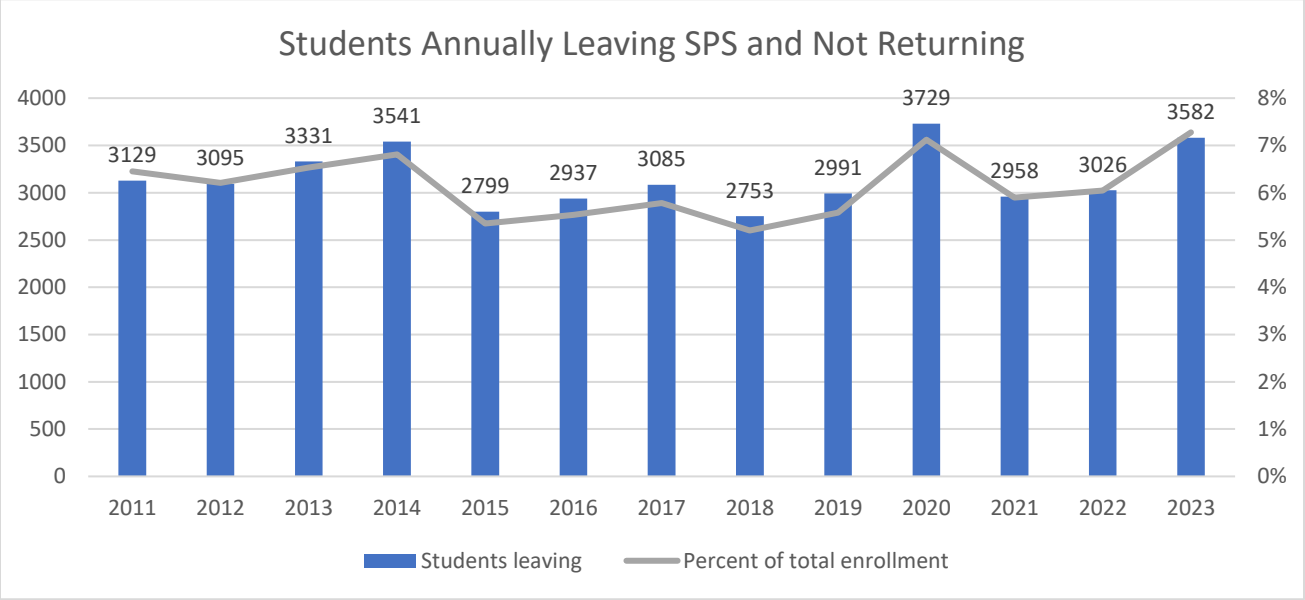
- *Overall, the number of annual students leaving the district and not enrolling in subsequent years has remained relatively constant since 2011, with students leaving after the 2019-2020 school year being the exception.*
- *A total of 11,131 students left between 2019-2022. 1,453 (13%) of these students returned to the district.*
- *A net total of 9,678 students left during the 2019-2020, 2020-21, and 2021-22 school years and did not return to the district. This is 9% more students than the total students who left between 2016 and 2018.*
- *From 2011 to 2023, on average Black, Latino, Indigenous, and Pacific Islander students are disproportionately represented in students that leave the district.*
- *Students leaving are more likely to receive multilingual services. They are not more likely to be students receiving highly capable or special education services.*

To better understand enrollment decline, we analyze annual enrollment data to understand who is leaving the district in terms of racial, geographic, and program characteristics. Figure 18 includes all students who exited SPS and did not return at any point in subsequent years. This means that if a student left at one point, but eventually

re-enrolled in SPS, they are not included.[16] Each year indicates the last year the student enrolled at SPS. So, we will not have 2024 data until we know who left between 2024 and 2025. Overall, the number of students leaving the district each year has remained relatively constant since 2011, with students leaving after the 2020-21 school year being the exception.

MIT researchers used data on SPS open enrollment and choice applications to determine the role, if any, of choice decisions in enrollment decline. Their analysis demonstrates that the percentage of choice applications, students getting their first choice, and students enrolling after participating in open enrollment have been stable over the past 10 years.

Figure 18. Number of Students Leaving the District, 2011-23



Data from SPS Enrollment

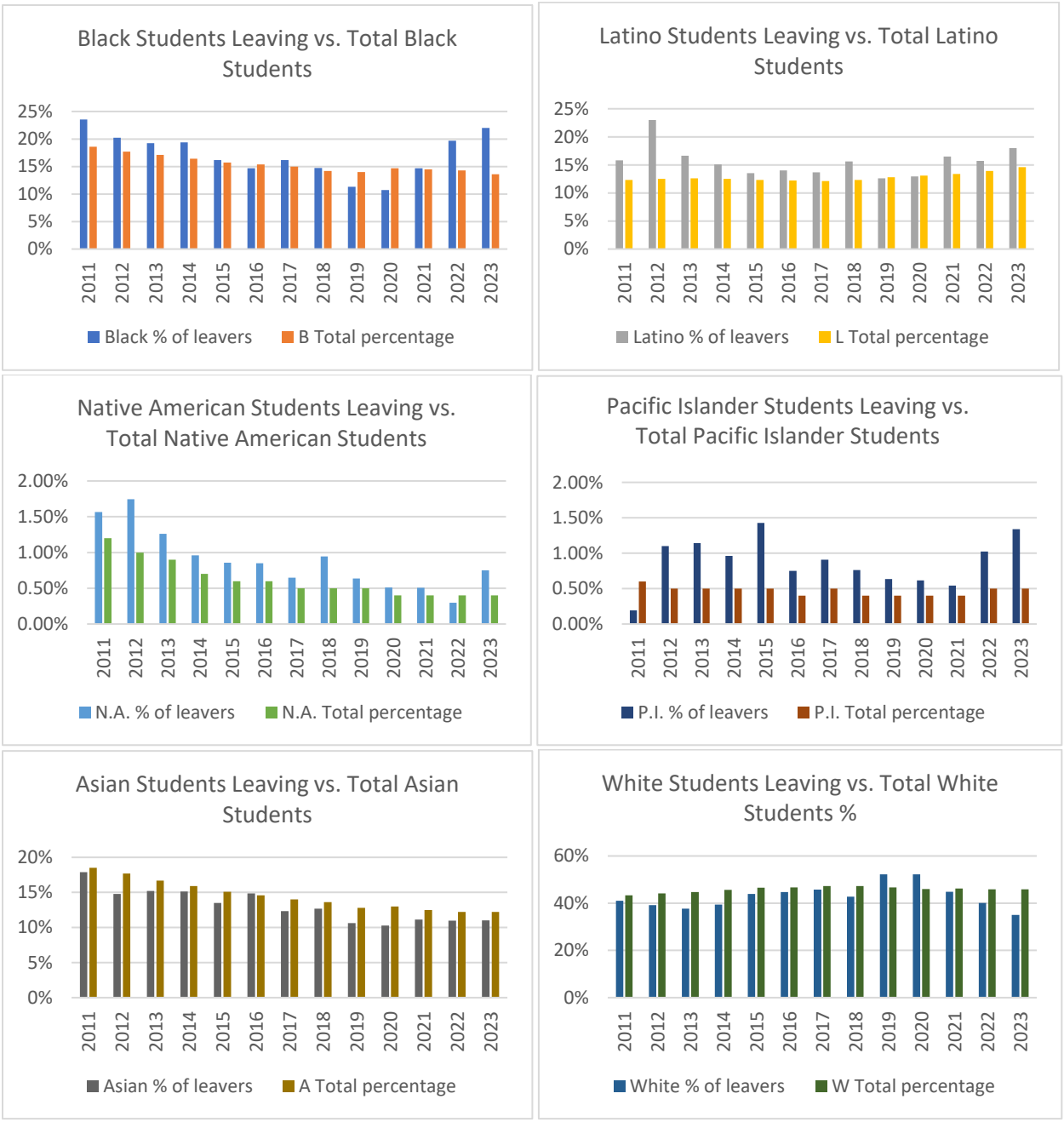
Exiting student demographic trends

From 2011 to 2023, on average Black, Latino, Native American, and Pacific Islander students are disproportionately represented in students that leave the district. That is, a higher percentage of these students leave than there are in the district. For instance, in 2022, 20% of the students that left were Black students, but Black students only comprised 14% of the district's overall student population.

[16] For instance, between the 2019-2020 and 2020-2021 school year, 4,170 total students left SPS, but 441 students have since re-enrolled. So, the number of leaving students is reflected as 3,729 for the year 2020.

In 2019 and 2020, a disproportionate number of white students left the district compared to the proportion of white students enrolled. The figures below show the percent of each racial group that left in the respective year compared their proportion in the total student body.

Figure 19. Racial Demographics of Exiting Students

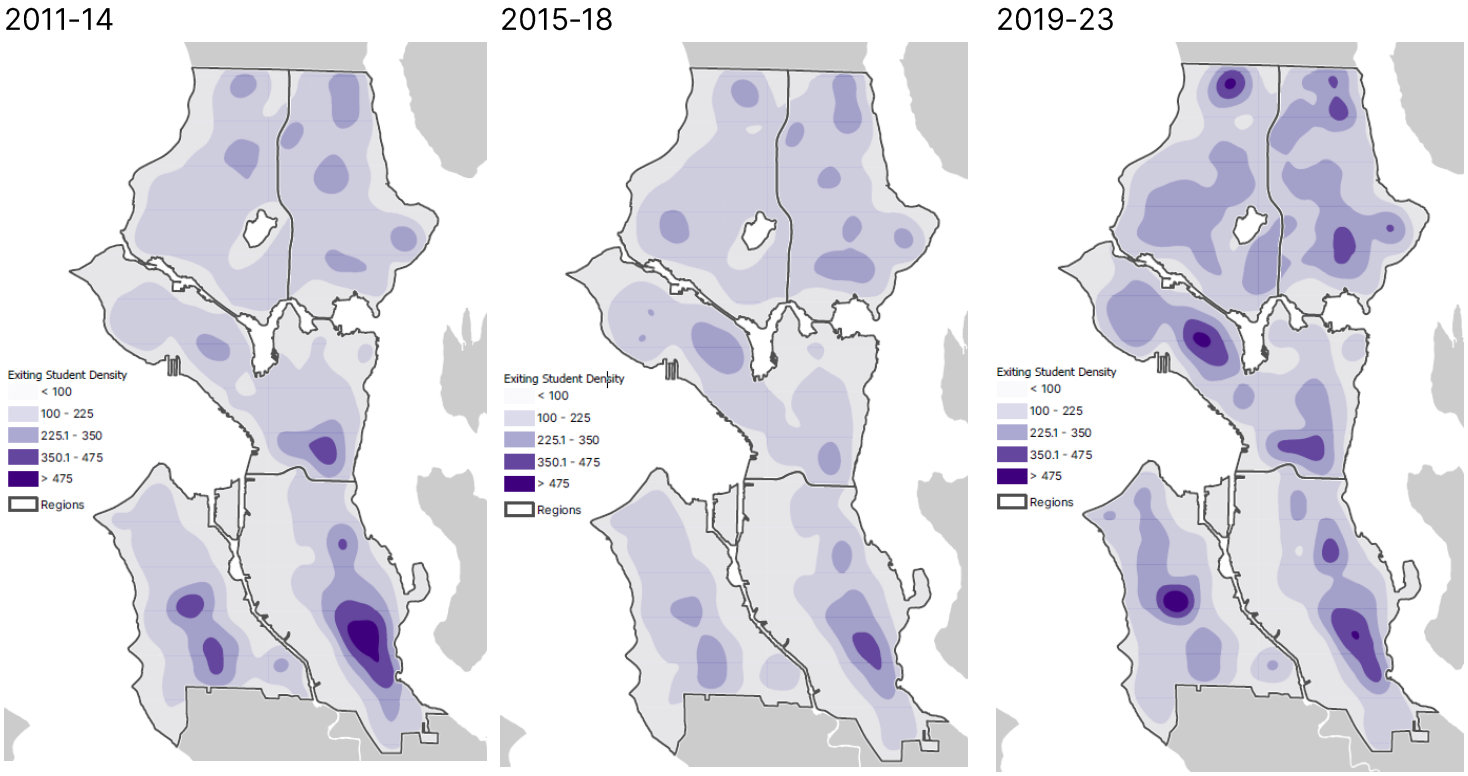


Data from SPS Enrollment

Geographic trends of exiting students

These maps show where students who leave the district live. We group them by years to capture trends across time. Pre-COVID, most students left from the Southwest and Southeast neighborhoods of Seattle. This is also where OPCD and other city agencies locate considerable risk of displacement from gentrification.[17] These neighborhoods also have the highest percentage of students of color in the district. During COVID, students leaving spread out across the district.

Figure 20. Geographic Density of Leaving Students



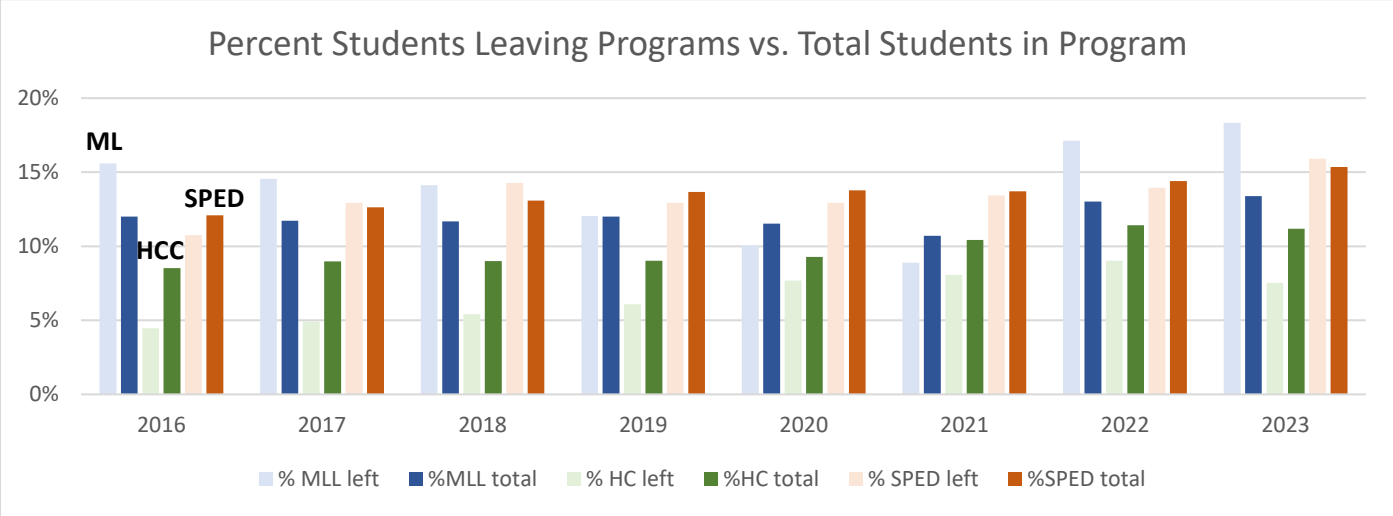
Program trends of exiting students

Students leaving are not more likely to receive highly capable (HC) or special education services. However, students leaving are more likely to receive multilingual services. The below figure shows the proportion of students leaving each of these programs as

[17] Seattle Office of Planning and Community Development. https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/OPCD/SeattlePlan/OneSeattlePlanAntiDisplacementFramework.pdf

compared to their proportion in the total student population. In 2022 and 2023, a disproportionate number of multilingual students left the district. Students receiving special education services have typically been proportionally represented in students that leave. Students receiving highly capable services are disproportionately represented in students leaving in that *fewer* HC students leave than there are in the total student population. HC students leave at lower rates than students in other programs.

Figure 21. Percent of Students Exiting Program Compared to Total Percentage of Students in Program



Data from SPS Enrollment

This table details the numbers of students from each program that have left since 2016, and the percentage comprises of the total number of leaving students. Some of this increase in students leaving each program is due to an overall increase in program participation across all programs (as indicated in the figure above).

Table 8. Students Leaving By Program Type

	Total students leaving	Multilingual leavers	% MLL	Highly Capable-eligible leavers	% HC-eligible	SPED leavers	% SPED
2016	2937	458	16%	131	4%	316	11%
2017	3085	449	15%	152	5%	399	13%
2018	2753	389	14%	149	5%	393	14%
2019	2991	360	12%	182	6%	387	13%
2020	3728	374	10%	286	8%	482	13%
2021	2958	263	9%	239	8%	397	13%

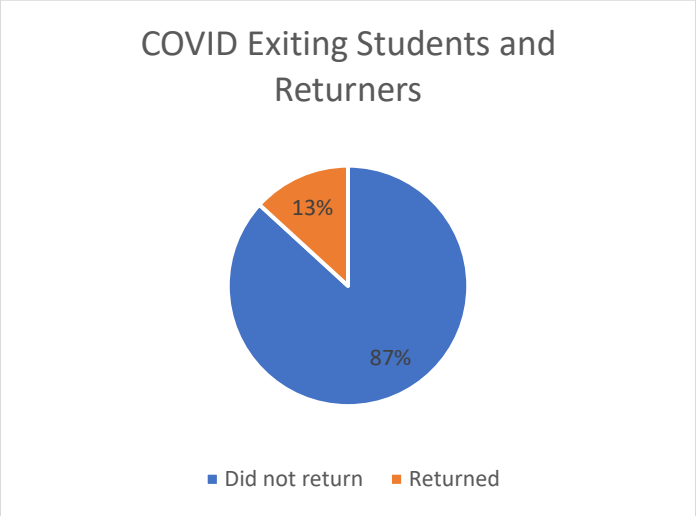
2022	3026	518	17%	273	9%	422	14%
2023	3582	657	18%	268	8%	570	16%

Data from SPS Enrollment

COVID exiting students and returners, 2019-22

This section analyzes students who left most recently during COVID. We look specifically at students whose last year at SPS was 2019-20, 2020-21, or 2021-22. Online instruction began in March of 2020. The district had remote-only instruction for most of the 2020-21 school year, with students returning to at least some in-person instruction in April 2021. Students returned to fully in-person instruction in the fall of 2021-22 (with additional virtual options available for students who opted into the program). SPS had a mask mandate until March 2022. COVID policies also mandated students and staff to stay home for 10 days if testing positive. Widespread COVID infection in the region impacted schools' ability to function "normally" throughout the 2021-22 year, with temporary shifts to remote instruction common.

Figure 22. Proportion of Students Who Did and Did Not Return after COVID



Data from SPS Enrollment

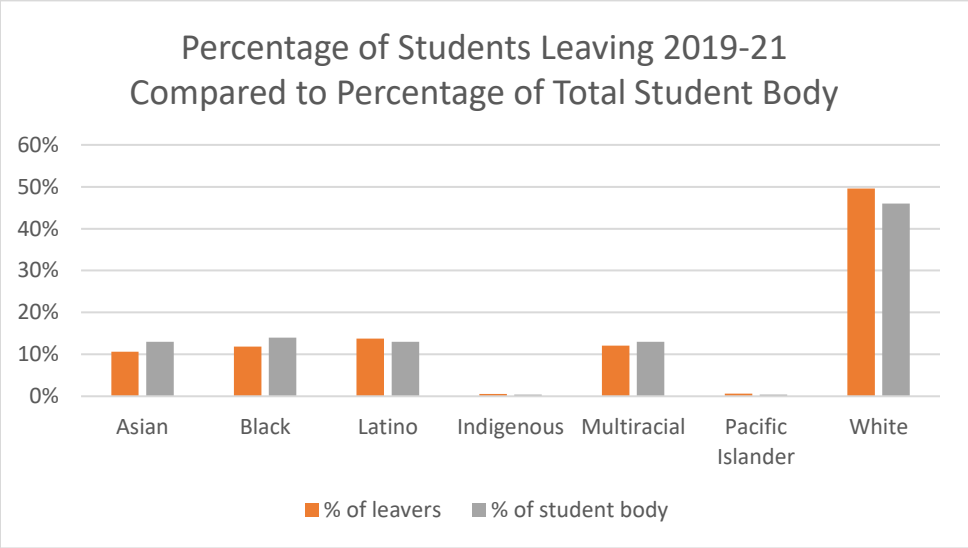
Students leaving

Out of 11,131 students who left during COVID, 9,558 students who left during the 2019-20, 2020-21, and 2021-22 school years did not return to the district. Again, it is important to note that students leaving the district are not the primary drivers of enrollment decline. Instead, the shrinking kindergarten cohorts — representing students who never enroll in the district in the first place —are the main contributors to this trend. This represents 903 more students (9% increase) than those who left during the previous three-year period,

from 2016 and 2018. The highest number of students leaving occurred after the 2020-21 school year, with 3,729 students exiting and not returning.

The graph below demonstrates how a disproportionate number of white students left during COVID compared to other racial groups. This differs from longer term enrollment trends, where Black, Pacific Islander, and Native American students are overrepresented in students leaving.

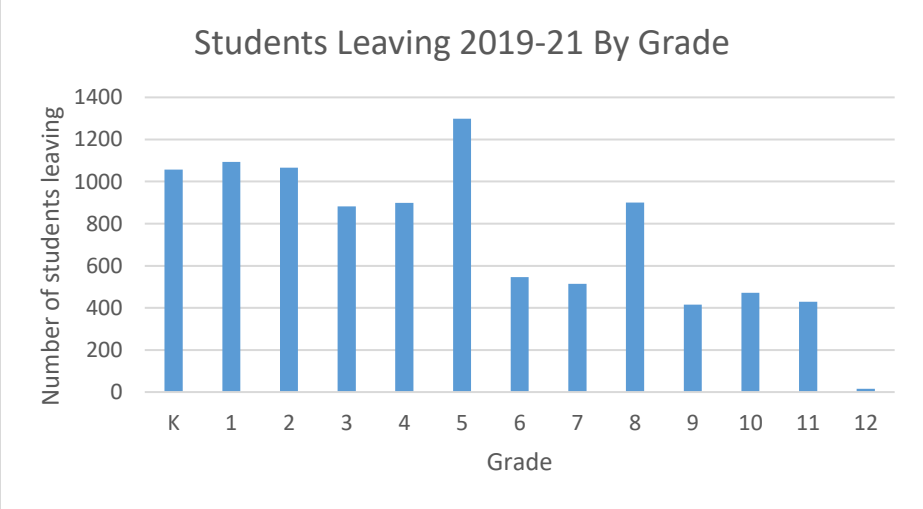
Figure 23. Racial Demographics of Students Leaving During COVID



Data from SPS Enrollment

The graph below highlights how most students that left during COVID were elementary students.

Figure 24. Students Leaving During COVID By Grade

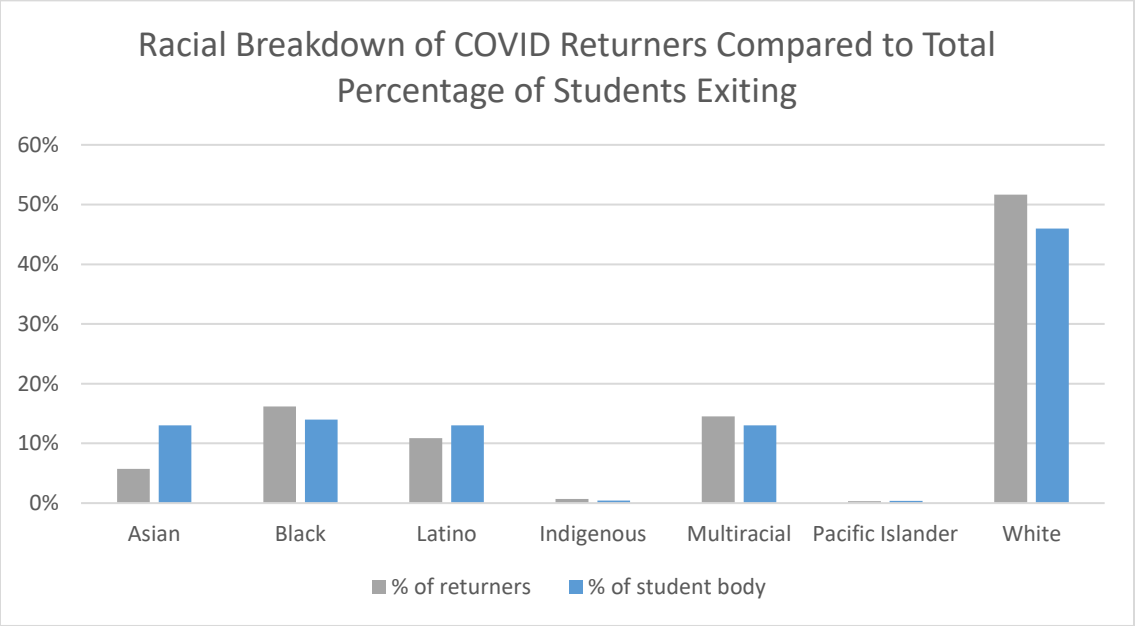


Data from SPS Enrollment

Returners

1,453 students—13%—that left between 2019 and 2022 returned to the district. Most students who returned had originally left during elementary school. Higher percentages numbers of Black, white, and multiracial students returned. Asian and Latino students returned at a lower rate than they appear in the total student population.

Figure 25. Racial Breakdown of Students Who Returned During or After COVID



Data from SPS Enrollment

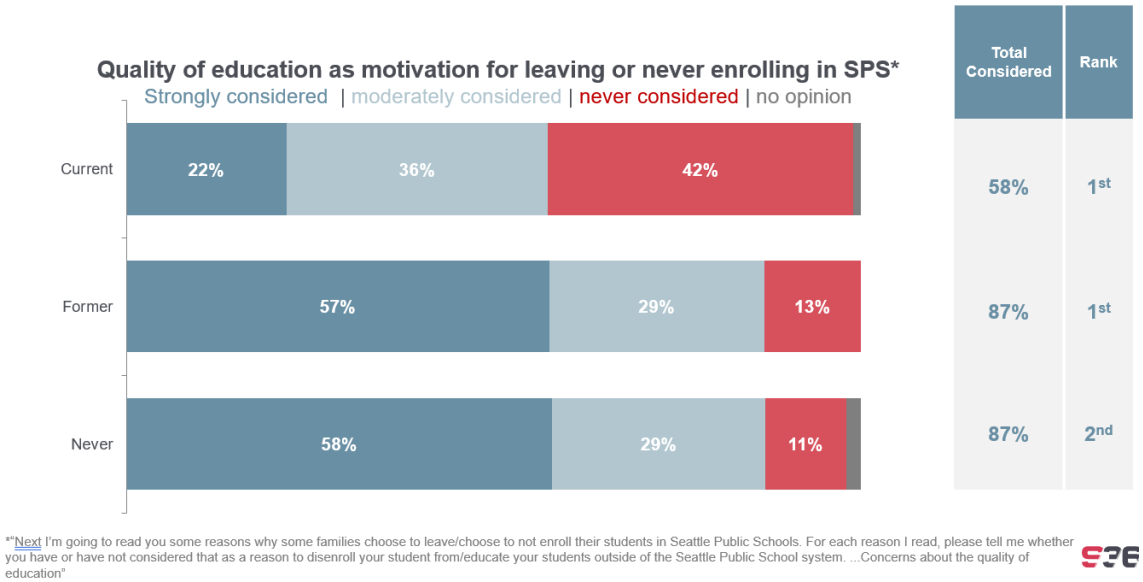
Why are families deciding to disenroll from SPS?

- *Among both caretakers of current and formerly enrolled students, the most widely shared negative perception is that SPS is not providing a quality education in terms of challenging and supporting students to reach their academic potential. This is important in caretakers' minds, as based on qualitative data, caretakers view rigor challenge as essential to children achieving their potential, long-term fulfillment, and perceived success in life.*
- *Among only caretakers of current students, quality of education is highest rated factor they would consider in deciding whether to stay enrolled. The 2nd highest rated factor is a mixture of curriculum, safety, and whether a better option is available.*
- *"Quality of education" was the top highest rated factor motivating disenrollment*

among caretakers of current and former students. "Quality of education" only moved down to 2nd highest among caretakers of student who had never enrolled.

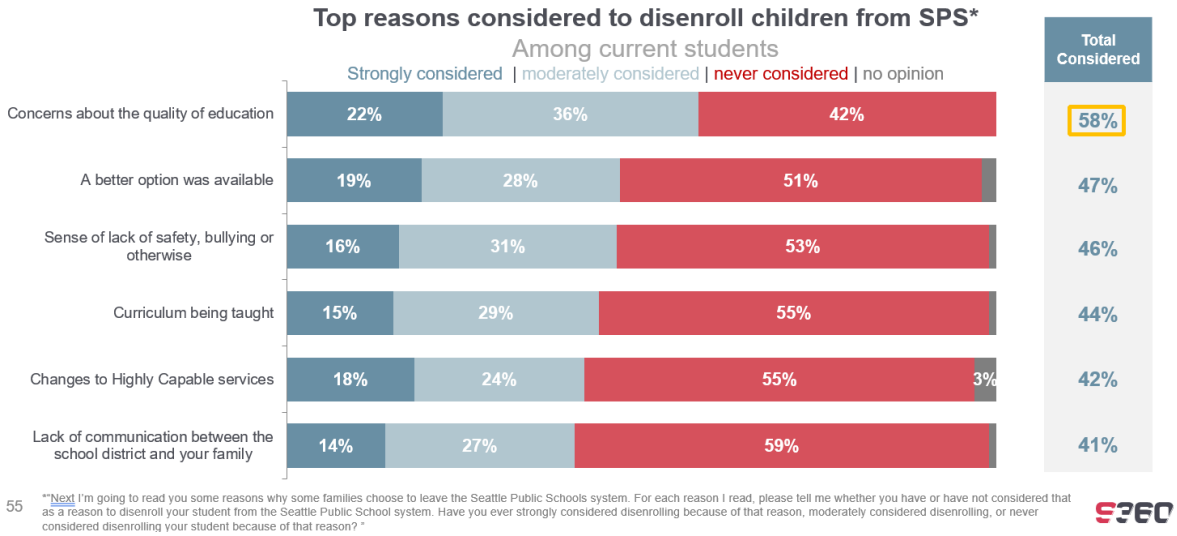
- *Caretakers of both current and former students described a "better" schooling "option" as an improvement if it offered personalized/individualize support, rigorous or challenging curriculum and smaller teacher-to-student class ratios.*
- *A plurality (44%) of caretakers of former students said they would never re-enroll. However, the 9% of caretakers who said they disenrolled due to changes to the highly capable program.*

Figure 26. Quality of Education as Motivation for Leaving or Never Enrolling in SPS



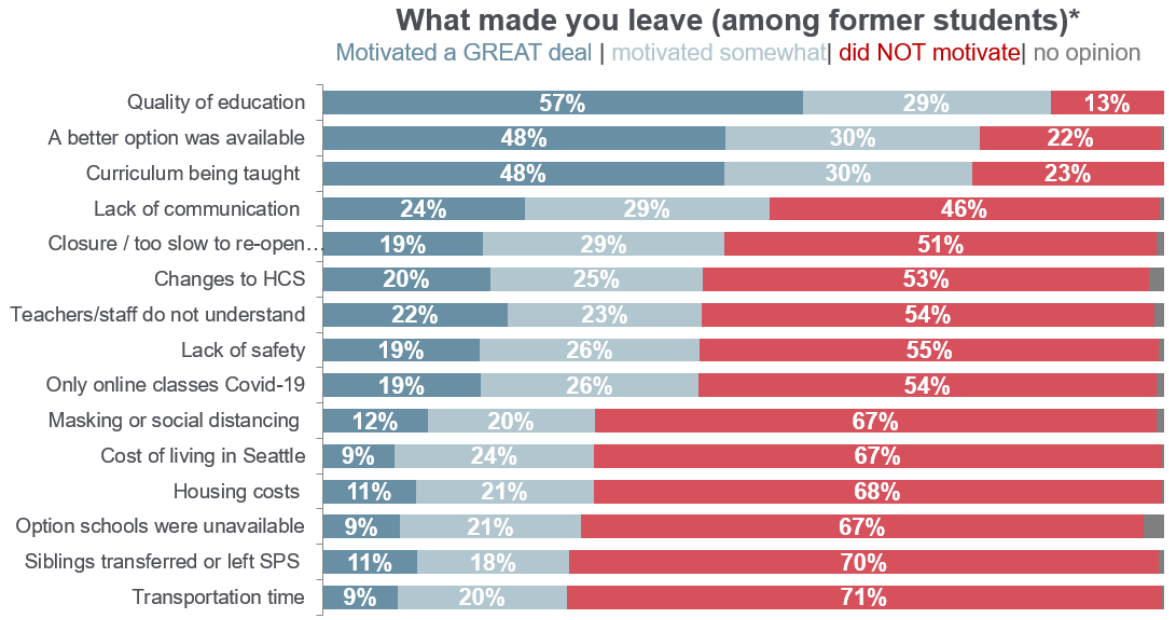
Data from S360

Figure 27. Top Reasons Considered to Disenroll from SPS Among Current Students



Data from S360

Figure 28. Motivating Factors for Leaving SPS Among Dormer Students



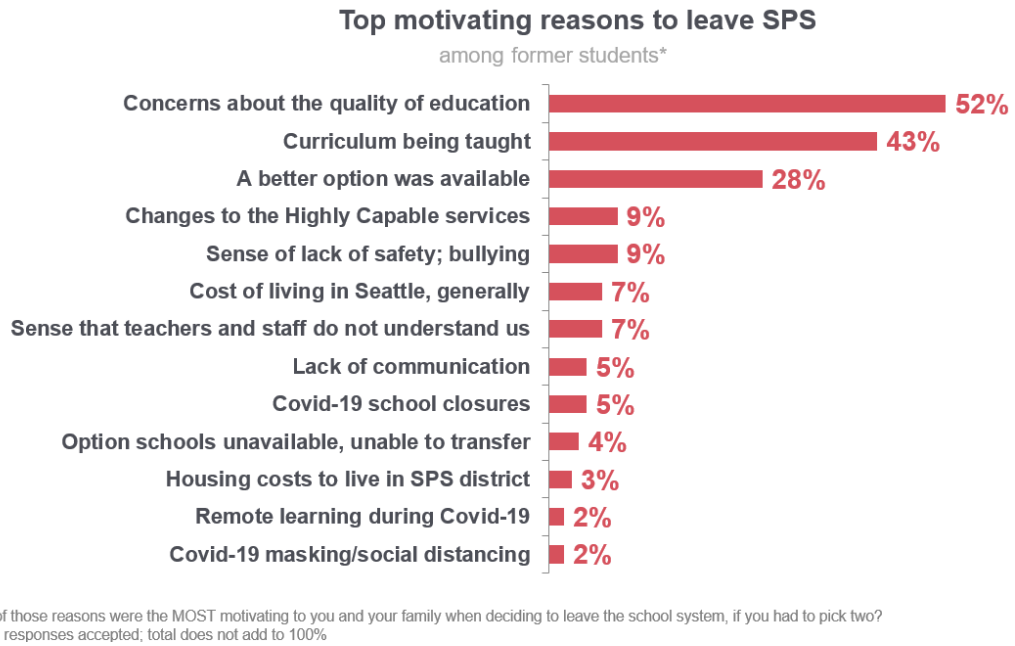
Data from S360

The top 3 motivating factors to disenroll was perception that “better option” of non-SPS schools would provide “higher quality education” and a more challenging “curriculum”, secondary motivations varied across time of disenrollment.

The primary motivations selected by caretakers of former students were “a better option available” (48% selected as “motivated a great deal”) providing “quality of education” (57% selected as “motivated a great deal”) and more challenging “curriculum” (48% selected as “motivated a great deal”).

A secondary tier of motivating reasons varied based on when the disenrollment occurred. Pre-COVID era disenrollment was more likely than other time periods to be motivated by “changes to Highly Capable services” (33% selected as “motivated a great deal”) as a fourth highest motivation. COVID era disenrollment was more likely than other time periods to be motivated by COVID remote learning (combined 48% selected as “motivated a great deal”) as tied for second highest motivation. No factor among those families who disenrolled after post-COVID crisis (e.g., since 2023) is statistically significant as disproportionately different than the top 3 factors mentioned above.

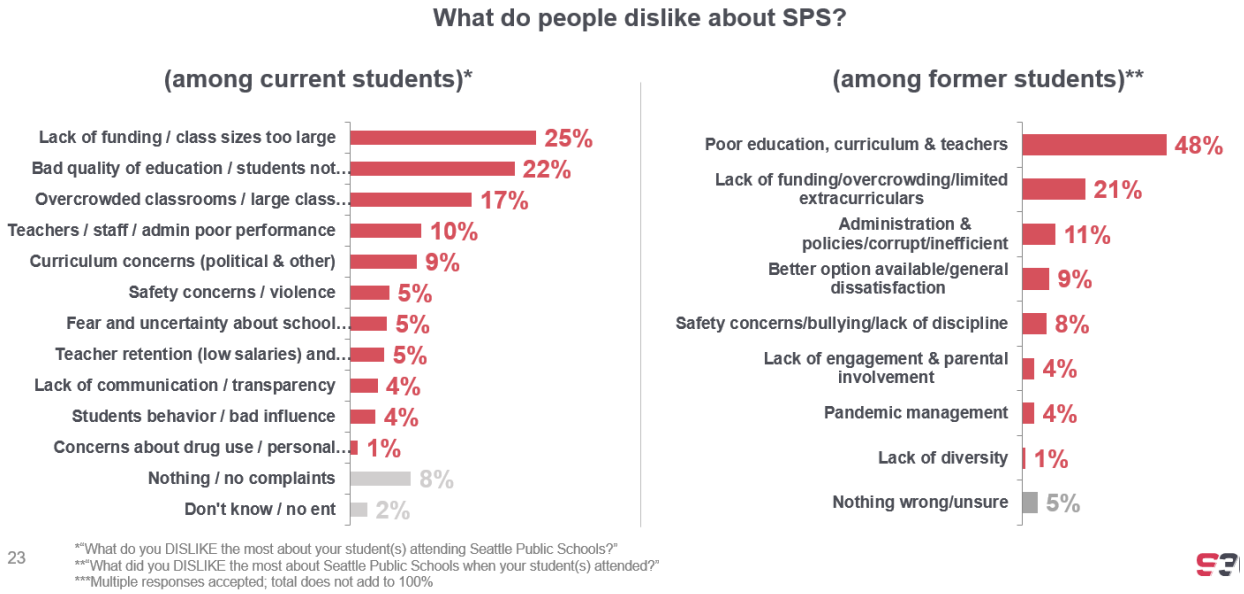
Figure 29. Top Motivating Reason to Leave SPS Among Former Students



Data from S360

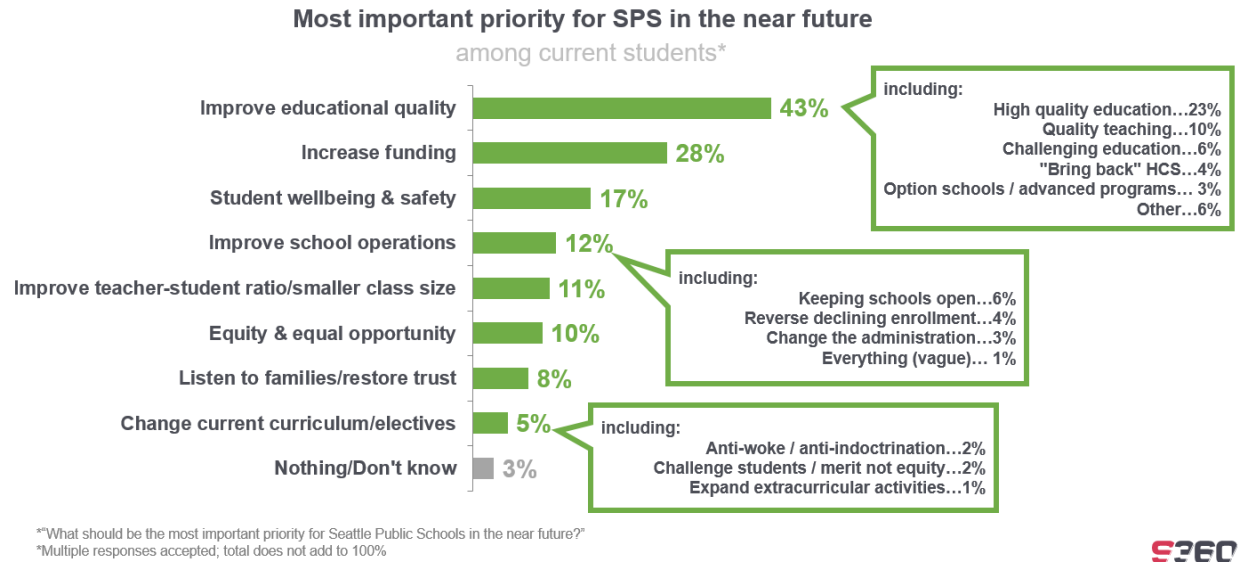
There is consistent agreement between current and former caretakers highest rated dislikes. When asked as a qualitative open-end, caretaker selected “overcrowded classrooms”, “poor educational quality” and “students not challenged” as their top three most frequent negative sentiments towards SPS. These sentiments were consistent between both caretakers of current and caretakers of former students.

Figure 30. Dislikes of SPS Among Current and Former Students



Data from S360

Figure 31. Most Important Priority for SPS in the Near Future Among Current Students



Data from S360

Why are families deciding to enroll in SPS?

- *Among currently enrolled, the most widely shared positive perception of SPS is the system as a neighborhood community consisting of dedicated and "high quality" teachers and their children's friends (e.g., socio-emotional connections).*

A "sense of belonging" appeared as a short-hand phrase to describe this positive profile.

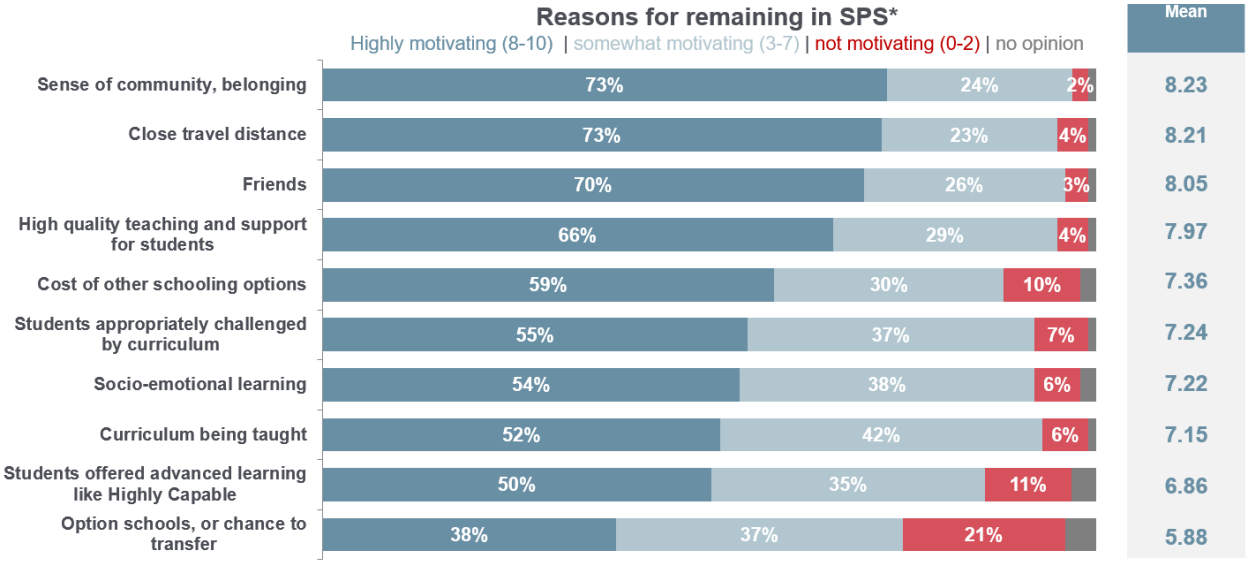
Most attractive factors to remain enrolled

An open-ended qualitative question asking what caretakers "LIKE the most" provides a combined narrative of most attractive factors. Students currently enrolled most often responded saying a "positive student experience" within a "close proximity" "community" that consists of "dedicated high quality teachers" and childhood friends. These quotations represent the top four most attractive factors for caretakers of current students to keep their children enrolled in SPS. These top four factors did **not** vary between caretakers satisfied with the school system and caretakers dissatisfied with the school system.

Quantitative testing of multiple factors confirms the same top four reasons to stay enrolled in SPS:

- Sense of community, belonging (73% highly motivating to stay enrolled)
- Close travel distance (73% highly motivating to stay enrolled)
- Friends (70% highly motivating to stay enrolled)
- High quality teaching and support for students (66% highly motivating to stay enrolled)

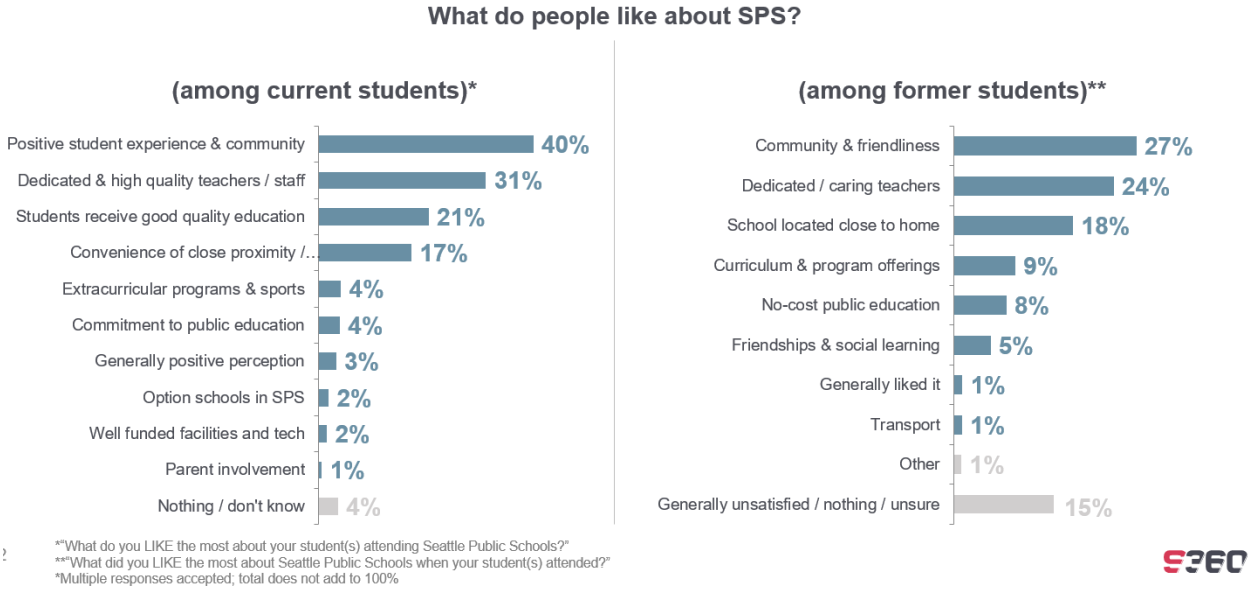
Figure 32. Reasons for Remaining in SPS



Data from S360

These top reasons were consistent across all racial groups of caretakers of current students, except for Asian Americans where “curriculum” was tied for second most important reason to stay enrolled. These top two reason were consistent across all geographic regions within the district and among both satisfied and dissatisfied caretaker groups.

Figure 33. Likes of SPS Among Current and Former Students

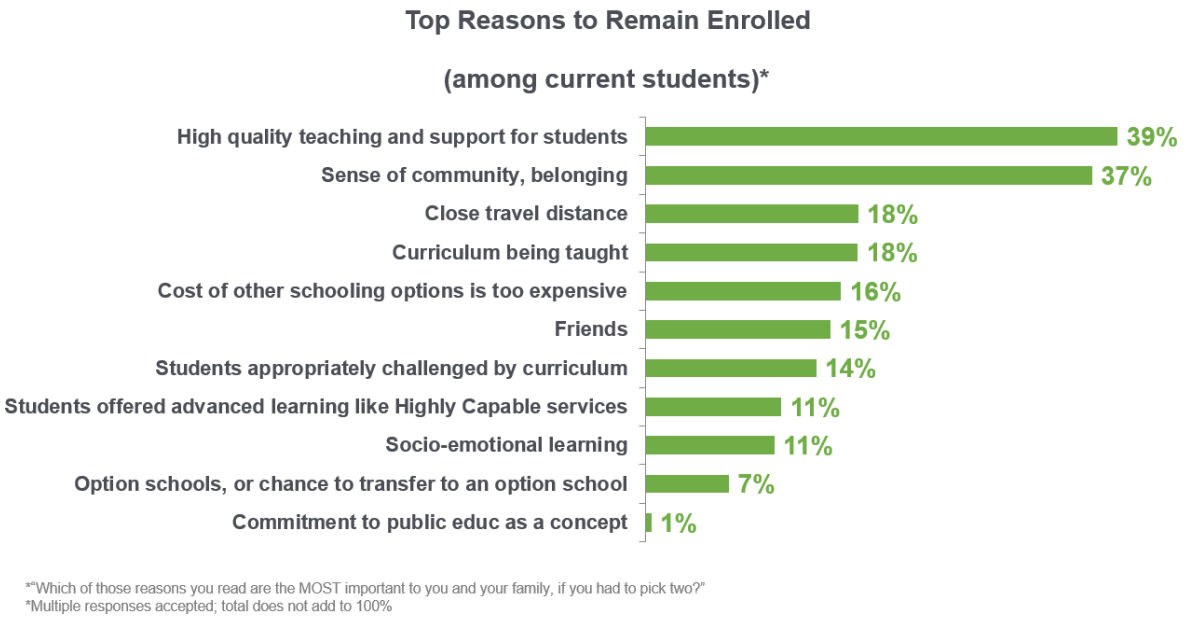


Data from S360

When selecting only two factors, caretakers of current students choose, with one notable addition:

- High quality teaching and support for students (39% selected as reason to stay enrolled)
- Sense of community, belonging (37% selected as reason to stay enrolled)
- Close travel distance (18% selected as reason to stay enrolled)

Figure 34. Top Reasons to Remain Enrolled Among Current Students



Data from S360

References

Beaver, C. (2023, Nov. 23). Rainier Beach's Black-led organizations battle gentrification. *Cascade PBS*. https://www.cascadepbs.org/equity/2023/11/rainier-beachs-black-led-organizations-battle-gentrification

Cohen, J. (2019, Jan. 25). 'Where are the Black people?' Central District residents get creative to fight displacement. *Cascade PBS*. https://www.cascadepbs.org/2019/01/where-are-black-people-central-district-residents-get-creative-fight-displacement

Dee, T. (2023). Where the Kids Went: Nonpublic Schooling and Demographic Change during the Pandemic Exodus from Public Schools. *The Urban Institute*. Accessed from: https://www.urban.org/research/publication/where-kids-went-nonpublic-schooling-and-demographic-change-during-pandemic

Education Law Center. (2024). Making the Grade 2023. Accessed from: https://edlawcenter.org/research/making-the-grade-2023/

Green, T. L. (2018). School as Community, Community as School: Examining Principal Leadership for Urban School Reform and Community Development. Education and Urban Society, 50(2), 111-135.

Jabbar, H. (2016). Selling Schools: Marketing and Recruitment Strategies in New Orleans. Peabody Journal of Education, 91(1), 4–23.

Murphy, M. (2021) The Unaccounted Students of the Pandemic. (Working Paper No. 21-07). Stanford Center for Educational Policy Analysis.

National Center for Education Statistics. (2023). *Public elementary and secondary school* enrollment, number of schools, and other selected characteristics, by locale: Fall 2012, fall 2021, and fall 2022. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d23/tables/dt23_214.40.asp?current=yes

National Center for Education Statistics. (2022). Selected statistics on enrollment, staff, and graduates in public school districts enrolling more than 15,000 students in fall 2021: Selected years, 1990 through 2021. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d22/tables/dt22_215.10.asp?current=yes

Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. *Home-Based Instruction*. https://ospi.k12.wa.us/student-success/learning-alternatives/home-based-instruction

Pew. (2022, Dec. 5). The Long-Term Decline in Fertility—and What is Means for State Budgets. https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/issue-briefs/2022/12/the-long-term-decline-in-fertility-and-what-it-means-for-state-budgets

Posey-Maddox, L. (2014). When Middle-Class Parents Choose Urban Schools: Class, Race, and the Challenge of Equity in Public Education. University of Chicago Press.

Roda, A. (2023). "Holding the Line": Investigating How Urban School Leaders' Respond to Gentrification in New York City Schools. *Urban Education*, *58*(10), 2515-2542.

Seattle Office of Planning and Community Development. *Anti-Displacement Framework*. https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/OPCD/SeattlePlan/OneSeattlePlanAntiDisplacementFramework.pdf

Seattle Office of Planning and Community Development. *Draft for Public Review: One Seattle Plan, Comprehensive Plan Update*. https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/OPCD/SeattlePlan/OneSeattlePlanDraftPlan2024.pdf

Toness, B. V. & Lurye, S. (2023, Feb. 9). Thousands of kids are missing from school. Where did they go? *AP News*. https://projects.apnews.com/features/2023/missing-children/index.html

Turner, E. O. (2017). Marketing diversity: selling school districts in a racialized marketplace. Journal of Education Policy, 33(6), 793–817.

U.S. Census. (2023, May 25). Exploring Age Groups in the 2020 Census. https://www.census.gov/library/visualizations/interactive/exploring-age-groups-in-the-2020-census.html