E PLURIBUS… SEPARATION

DEEPENING DOUBLE SEGREGATION FOR MORE STUDENTS

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E PLURIBUS…SEPARATION
DEEPENDING DOUBLE SEGREGATION FOR MORE STUDENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report shows segregation has increased dramatically across the country for Latino students, who are attending more intensely segregated and impoverished schools than they have for generations. The segregation increases have been the most dramatic in the West. The typical Latino student in the region attends a school where less than a quarter of their classmates are white; nearly two-thirds are other Latinos; and two-thirds are poor. California, New York and Texas, all states that have been profoundly altered by immigration trends over the last half-century, are among the most segregated states for Latino students along multiple dimensions.

In spite of declining residential segregation for black families and large-scale movement to the suburbs in most parts of the country, school segregation remains very high for black students. It is also double segregation by both race and poverty. Nationwide, the typical black student is now in a school where almost two out of every three classmates (64%) are low-income, nearly double the level in schools of the typical white or Asian student (37% and 39%, respectively). New York, Illinois, and Michigan consistently top the list of the most segregated states for black students. Among the states with significant black enrollments, blacks are least likely to attend intensely segregated schools in Washington, Nebraska, and Kansas.

School resegregation for black students is increasing most dramatically in the South, where, after a period of intense resistance, strong action was taken to integrate black and white students. Black students across the country experienced gains in school desegregation from the l960s to the late l980s, a time in which racial achievement gaps also narrowed sharply. These trends began to reverse after a 1991 Supreme Court decision made it easier for school districts and courts to dismantle desegregation plans. Most major plans have been eliminated for years now, despite increasingly powerful evidence on the importance of desegregated schools.

The Obama Administration, like the Bush Administration, has taken no significant action to increase school integration or to help stabilize diverse schools as racial change occurs in urban and suburban housing markets and schools. Small positive steps in civil rights enforcement have been undermined by the Obama Administration's strong pressure on states to expand charter schools, the most segregated sector of schools for black students. Though segregation is powerfully related to many dimensions of unequal education, neither candidate has discussed it in the current presidential race.

The consensus of nearly sixty years of social science research on the harms of school segregation is clear: separate remains extremely unequal. Schools of concentrated poverty and segregated minority schools are strongly related to an array of factors that limit educational

opportunities and outcomes. These include less experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less successful peer groups and inadequate facilities and learning materials. There is also a mounting body of evidence indicating that desegregated schools are linked to important benefits for all children, including prejudice reduction, heightened civic engagement, more complex thinking and better learning outcomes in general.

In this report, we summarize the most rigorous research to date showing that segregated schools are systematically linked to unequal educational opportunities. Using data from the National Center on Education Statistics, we explore how enrollment shifts and segregation trends are playing out nationally, as well as in regions, states and metropolitan areas.

This country, whose traditions and laws were built around a white, middle class society with a significant black minority, is now multiracial and poorer, with predominately nonwhite schools in our two largest regions, the West and the South. In the following report, we underscore the fact that simply sitting next to a white student does not guarantee better educational outcomes for students of color. Instead, the resources that are consistently linked to predominately white and/or wealthy schools help foster real and serious educational advantages over minority segregated settings. For these reasons, it remains vital to explore and understand the extent to which other racial groups are exposed to white students.

This report suggests a number of specific ways to reverse the trends toward deepening resegregation and educational inequalities. Two related but smaller reports provide a special focus on the South and the West, the two most racially diverse regions in the country.

Major findings in the reports include:

U.S. Enrollment Growing Rapidly More Diverse

- In 1970, nearly four out of every five students across the nation were white, but by 2009, just over half were white.
- Latino enrollment has soared from one-twentieth of U.S. students in 1970 to nearly one-fourth (22.8%). Latino students have become the dominant minority group in the Western half of the country.
- White students account for just 52% of U.S. first graders, forecasting future change.

Double School Segregation by Race and Poverty

- The typical black or Latino today attends school with almost double the share of low-income students in their schools than the typical white or Asian student.
- In the early 1990s, the average Latino and black student attended a school where roughly a third of students were low income (as measured by free and reduced price lunch eligibility), but now attend schools where low income students account for nearly two-thirds of their classmates.
- There is a very strong relationship between the percent of Latino students in a school and the percent of low income students. On a scale in which 1.0 would be a perfect relationship, the correlation is a high .71. The same figure is lower, but still high, for black students (.53). Many minority-segregated schools serve both black and Latino students. The correlation between the combined percentages of these underserved two groups and the percent of poor children is a dismaying .85.

Racial Segregation Deepens for Black and Latino Students

- In spite of the dramatic suburbanization of nonwhite families, 80% of Latino students and 74% of black students attend majority nonwhite schools (50-100% minority), and 43% of Latinos and 38% of blacks attend intensely segregated schools (those with only 0-10% of whites students) across the nation.
- Fully 15% of black students, and 14% of Latino students, attend "apartheid schools" across the nation, where whites make up 0 to 1% of the enrollment.
- Latino students in nearly every region have experienced steadily rising levels of concentration in intensely segregated minority settings. In the West, the share of Latino students in such settings has increased fourfold, from 12% in 1968 to 43% in 2009.
- Eight of the 20 states reporting the highest numbers of students attending schools under apartheid conditions are located in the South or Border states, a significant retrenchment on civil rights progress.
- The nation's largest metropolitan areas report severe school racial concentration. Half of the black students in the Chicago metro, and one third of black students in New York, attend apartheid schools.
- Latino students experience high levels of extreme segregation in the Los Angeles metro, where roughly 30% attend a school in which whites make up 1% or less of the enrollment.

White Students Isolated with Other White Students; Black and Latino Students Have Little Contact with White Students

- Though whites make up just over half of the nation's enrollment, the typical white student attends a school where three-quarters of their peers are white.
- White students account for about 64% of the total enrollment in the Northeast, but the typical black student attends a school with only 25% whites.
- Exposure to white students for the average Latino student has decreased dramatically over the years for every Western state, particularly in California, where the average Latino student had 54.5% white peers in 1970 but only 16.5% in 2009.

The Uneven Distribution of Racial Groups among Schools

- The *dissimilarity index,* a measure of the degree to which students of any two groups are distributed randomly among schools within a larger geographical area, shows that much of the shifts outside the South are driven primarily by changing demographics, particularly the relative decline in the percent of white students and growth of the percent of Latino students. During the desegregation era in the South, desegregation plans more than offset the impact of changing demographics. Now there are no such plans in most communities.
- Nationally, though black-white residential dissimilarity had declined markedly, black-white school dissimilarity remains virtually unchanged as desegregation efforts are dissolved. In the South, black-white school dissimilarity has increased since 1990.
- The most extreme levels of black-white school dissimilarity exist in the Chicago, New York, Detroit, Boston, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh metropolitan areas.

These findings highlight the effects of inertia and indifference towards integration in U.S. schools since the l970s, as well as the Supreme Court's reversal of desegregation policies. Success in creating diverse schools requires early and thoughtful action at all levels—within schools and school districts, local governments, civil rights groups, the media, state governments, and via federal policy in education, civil rights and housing.

In this report, we offer a number of recommendations for policymakers, school officials, local community members, parents, and others dealing with demographic transformation and the persisting segregation of public schools:

Creating Awareness

- Local journalists should cover the relationships between segregation and unequal educational outcomes and realities, in addition to providing coverage of high quality, diverse schools.
- Civil rights organizations and community organizations supporting school integration should study existing trends, observe and participate in boundary changes, school siting decisions and other key policies that make schools more segregated or more integrated.

Advocacy

- Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions, and advocate for low-income housing set asides in developing new communities attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County, just outside Washington, D.C.
- Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn; an essential step in breaking the momentum of flight and transition in diverse communities.

Legal Enforcement

- The Justice Department and the Office for Civil Rights need to take enforcement actions under Title VI in some substantial school districts in order to revive federal policy sanctions for actions that either foster segregation or ignore responsibilities under desegregation plans.
- Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies for projects receiving federal direct funding or tax credit subsidies so that they support integrated schools rather than foster segregation.

Government Policies

- The program of voluntary assistance for integration should be reenacted, building on the Obama Administration's small and temporary Technical Assistance for Student Assignment Plans (TASAP) grant. The renewed program should add a special focus on diverse suburbs and gentrifying urban neighborhoods (which now normally fail to produce diverse schools).
- At the state level, recent developments in Ohio offer important lessons in how to create and sustain policy around the issues of reducing racial isolation and promoting diverse schools, such as how to create district student assignment policies that foster diverse

schools, and inter-district programs like city-suburban transfers and regional magnet schools.

- At the regional level, the creation of regional magnets and regional pro-integration transfer programs, as is the case in Connecticut, could provide unique educational opportunities that would support voluntary integration. Providing funds for existing regional transfer programs such as METCO in the Boston area would be a positive step in the same direction.

Our political and educational leaders, who have passively accepted deepening school segregation, need to find some of the same courage that transformed our society in the mid-twentieth century. The challenges we face now are far less intense than what those earlier leaders had the strength to overcome. Many things can be done, at all levels of government and in thousands of communities, to move towards a new vision of educational and social equity. There is much to learn about how to create lasting and successful diverse schools that can shape a successful multiracial society. The time to begin is now.

FOREWORD

By Gary Orfield

I have been writing studies of the rise and decline of the struggle to desegregate American schools for more than 40 years. This was a central effort of the civil rights movement and the core goal of the greatest twentieth century Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education*, which challenged the racial status quo in seventeen totally segregated states. I witnessed and reported on successful battles to transform the South from 1963, when 99% of black students were still in totally segregated schools, to 1970, when it became the nation's most integrated region for black students, for a third of a century.[1] It was an amazing and lasting change that is now being reversed, mostly due to the dismantling of policy and the severe narrowing of the legal right to a desegregated education by our high courts—not because integration failed. I have seen children grow up and gain not only stronger basic skills but the understanding of how to live and work in a multiracial society from attending diverse public schools. I have been involved with dozens of communities struggling back and forth over this issue of integrated schools, especially as their populations changed and political leaders and courts radically shifted policies. I have seen too many politicians exploit and fan racial fears while others risk their career because of their respect for the law, and commitment to racial peace and the future of their communities. I have seen the sadness of many, who gave their lives to a vision they now fear is being abandoned, and the determination of those who never gave up. Desegregation of schools was meant to be one part of a much larger agenda, as were other civil rights and social policy reforms, but the fight to roll back civil rights and social gains has been fierce, and advocates have often been forced to spend their energies defending limited gains.

Why Segregation Still Matters

Separate is still unequal and many of the most critical dimensions of educational inequality are directly linked to segregation of our schools. Though there are serious debates about the extent to which the inequalities are eliminated in diverse schools—along with arguments around what must be done to achieve true integration and fully realize the potential of diverse schools—it is a simple fact that segregated black and Latino schools have profoundly unequal opportunities and student outcomes. A school is an institution where students, teachers, parents, administrators and support staff work together to increase a student's opportunity to learn. The things that most affect those opportunities—the knowledge and experience of teachers, the knowledge and attitudes of fellow students, and the content of the curriculum, and well as the level of parental and

[1] Orfield, G. (1978). *Must we bus? Segregated schools and national society*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

community support—all tend to be much stronger in schools serving white and Asian children than in schools serving African American and Latino children. This is not because the families and the students do not understand the central importance of education and deeply wish for success. It is because the families and communities have far fewer resources, inferior schools, and much steeper barriers to equal opportunity.

The stakes attached to segregation and unequal educational opportunity have been steadily rising and are now extremely high in a nation where the government has announced that the majority of American babies are members of what were long called "minority groups."[2] We cannot afford to continue to isolate these vast and growing communities in substandard schools. Whites have long believed it is the job of minorities to accommodate to the white majority, but in the future it will be critical for whites to understand how to function effectively in a majority-minority society. All children need preparation to live and work successfully in the profoundly diverse workplaces and communities of the American future. Experience in diverse schools and communities engenders such skills.

Segregated schools today account for most of the nation's "dropout factory" high schools,[3] and most students who do graduate from schools segregated by race and poverty lack the skills needed for college success. As the Supreme Court prepares to consider the *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin* case this fall, we could be facing an end to affirmative action, a policy that offers some of the graduates of segregated schools a second chance to realize their potential and make up for their inferior K-12 education. We seem on a path to return step-by-step to the "separate but equal" philosophy that so clearly failed the country for six decades between 1896 and 1954. If you assume that separate schools are equal, and black and Latino students do much worse, then you blame them and the teachers who work with them.

We hold all schools equally accountable, but provide the most experienced teachers, the highest level of classroom competition and the richest curriculum to the most privileged communities—and the opposite to the most segregated and impoverished communities. As a result, the substantial narrowing of achievement gaps that occurred from the sixties through much of the eighties, when we addressed segregation and poverty,[4] has virtually stalled for decades. It would be wonderful if we now provided better resources to the most disadvantaged schools and least powerful communities to

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[2] Tavernise, S. (2012, May 17). Whites account for under half of births in U.S. *New York Times*, p. A1.
[3] Balfanz, R., & Legters, N. E. (2004). Locating the dropout crisis: Which high schools produce the nation's dropouts? In G. Orfield (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 57–84.). Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2004.
[4] Magnuson, K. & Waldfogel, J. (2008). *Steady gains and stalled progress*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

make up for these inequalities as much as possible. All parents want the best for their children, but the fundamental political problem is that more educated and powerful communities almost always win the competition for the most critical limited resources, such as the best teachers and administrators. Desegregation is, in part, an effort to share access to the best schools. It wasn't that minority families wanted their children to sit next to whites; it was that they wanted the better education provided in the white schools and what that opportunity meant for their children's lives.

The problem is not just about skin color; the fact is that segregation is multidimensional. The history of our society links opportunity to race in ways that produce self-perpetuating inequalities—even without any intentional discrimination by educational and political leaders. If we were a nation where most black children were educated like the Obama children, and most white children were living in the kind of isolated poverty that is seen in some white communities in Appalachia, for example, then it would be a tremendous educational advantage for white children to go to black schools. But that is neither the way our society was organized historically, nor the way it is organized today.

Segregated black and Latino schools are, in the great majority of cases, segregated by poverty as well as race or ethnicity. Some Latino schools are further segregated by language, in a deeply harmful triple segregation. Millions of black and Latino students, but only a tiny fraction of white and Asian children, go to schools where almost everyone is poor. These schools of concentrated poverty have far less stability of enrollment and faculty than majority white or stably integrated schools. Schools with middle class populations also tend to have much more involved and powerful groups of parents. Segregated schools are likely to have less healthy children because of inequalities in medical care and nutrition. Increasingly these schools combine groups of poor Latinos and poor blacks, many children who are not native English speakers and a disproportionate number of children in special education. The list goes on and on.

Seeing strong overall relationships between segregated schools and unequal education does not negate the fact that there are a small number of segregated, impoverished schools that perform quite well on standardized tests of reading and math. Those schools, which often have remarkably committed staffs, should be strongly praised. But we need to face the fact that there are never more than a handful of these outliers, and they often have extraordinary leaders and extra resources. These exceptions are held up as if they prove that we do not need to cross lines of race and poverty. But there is almost no serious policy discussion of the overwhelmingly dominant patterns of searing multi-dimensional inequality related to segregation.

We do not create positive conditions for our segregated schools. In fact, our dominant policies today often belittle, blame, and punish the schools and teachers that serve the most disadvantaged children, by branding them as failures and blaming the teachers and administrators, giving those with choices a great incentive to leave. In most metropolitan areas, if one were to randomly choose two high poverty segregated high schools and two middle class white and Asian schools, and visit for a day each of the classes purporting to teach the same subject and grade level, the inequalities would become so apparent they would shock the conscience of anyone who truly believes in equal opportunity. Yet we pretend this is fair.

Lack of Political Leadership

In January 2009, at the beginning of the Obama administration, we reported on the dismaying increase in school segregation in the U.S. since 1990, and we expressed hope that the new administration, unlike its predecessor, would take steps to reverse the trend. [5] The following report is based on data for the school year after the President's election, which is far too soon to show policy changes, but in many ways shows that the trends of double segregation by race and poverty continue to deepen. So far, there have been no major positive steps from the Obama administration to alter these patterns. Small initiatives, such as the recent announcement of the new White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans,[6] the Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanics,[7] as well as the long-delayed release of federal guidance on promoting diversity and reducing racial isolation in schools,[8] bear close watching as we try to understand their long-term impacts. Significantly, though, the administration has strongly pushed for the expansion of charter schools, which are the most segregated sector of U.S. public education, particularly for African American students.[9] Its dominant agenda, like that of the previous four presidents, has been about testing, accountability, and competition, with little recognition of educational problems rooted in race and poverty.

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[5] Orfield, G. (2009). *Reviving the goal of an integrated society: A 21st century challenge*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project.

[6] Office of the Press Secretary (26 July 2011). Executive Order: White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans. Available at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/07/26/executive-order-white-house-initiative-educational-excellence-african-am

[7] Office of the Press Secretary (19 October 2010). Executive Order 13555: White House Initiative On Educational Excellence For Hispanics. Available at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2010/10/19/executive-order-white-house-initiative-educational-excellence-hispanics

[8] U.S. Department of Education (2 December 2011). New Guidance Supports Voluntary Efforts to Promote Diversity and Reduce Racial Isolation in Education. Available at: http://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/new-guidance-supports-voluntary-efforts-promote-diversity-and-reduce-racial-isol

[9] Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Wang, J. Choice without equity: Charter school segregation and the need for civil rights standards. *Educational Policy Analysis Archives, 19*(1).

Integration should be on the agenda of whichever candidate takes the oath of office next January, but there has been no discussion of it yet. The issues are critical: will the candidates stand by and continue to let segregation expand further and further into our suburban rings, or will they offer some positive proposals for using school choice, fair housing and other urban policies to create successful and lasting integrated schools and communities? Both Governor Romney and President Obama have firsthand experience with these issues. Governor Romney's father, former Michigan Governor and U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, George Romney, was a visionary on the issue of housing integration. He was fired, in part, for his leadership when his housing policies were dramatically reversed by President Nixon. President Obama had the advantage of excellent integrated schools in his educational trajectory. Michelle Obama attended Chicago's outstanding magnet school, Whitney Young. The neighborhood in which Mitt Romney grew up has been devastated by the kind of ghettoization and drastic economic decline that his father fought. President Obama worked as a community organizer in one of the nation's most hyper-segregated metropolitan areas. Chicago is noteworthy for its extremely unequal schools and virtually no effort to offset the problems in one of the nation's most segregated states.[10] Segregation has expanded far into its suburbs. Both of these candidates should have something to say about an issue that has been deeply troubling American society for generations.

There has been a massive bipartisan breakdown of political leadership on integration and equal opportunity. The Republican Party adopted a civil rights agenda, the "Southern strategy," that in many ways made it a party of whites. Leading opponents of desegregation, affirmative action, and immigrants rights have been given powerful positions in civil rights and education agencies in GOP administrations. At the same time, the Democratic Party, an interracial alliance struggling for the support of middle class suburban independents, has tried to ignore racial issues while quietly enforcing the law in small ways. Most presidents since the l960s have been opponents of desegregation policies. The three Democratic presidents during that time period have issued positive statements but never made desegregation a serious issue in policy or budget priorities. None of their administrations have commissioned serious reports to the nation on these issues. Speeches on Martin Luther King Day and other occasions are not accompanied by any serious policy proposals. Their administrations have, in essence, passively accepted resegregation, while issuing statements celebrating *Brown v. Board of Education* and the civil rights movement. Democratic administrations include civil rights leaders in their appointments but do not empower them to foster substantial changes. Both Presidents Clinton and Obama have strongly pushed for expansion of charter

[10] In fact, his choice for secretary of education, Arne Duncan, led the battle to end the desegregation court order in Chicago.

schools, which typically have not enforced civil rights policies[11] and are extremely segregated, especially for black students.

History of Segregation and Desegregation Trends

Beginning in the mid-1970s, we began to report a disturbing pattern of rapidly increasing segregation for Latinos, who were, at the time, a small but very rapidly growing minority on the national level, and whose rights were largely ignored. Several years later, we were surprised and happy to report that integration levels for blacks continued to rise through the Reagan years, in spite of the opposition of his administration. This was probably due to the stability of the law and substantial black suburbanization, as well as a significant return of black families from the intensely segregated Northern urban complexes to the less-segregated South.

However, for two decades now, our reports have shown a pattern of increasing school segregation for both blacks and Latinos, in all parts of the U.S. Part, but not all, of these trends have been driven by the shrinkage of the white share of U.S. children. Black students are experiencing school resegregation, even though the country has seen a decline in the extremely high level of black residential segregation that had endured for generations. [12] For Latino students, deepening school segregation has occurred even in places that were well integrated decades ago. In short, school segregation across the U.S. is substantially worse than it was forty years ago, though the South is still far less segregated than it was in the pre-civil rights era of total racial separation by law. School segregation at the national level was very high by the year 2000 and has gradually increased since then. That school segregation is, in many areas, more severe than residential segregation clearly shows that very little is currently done to create opportunities for integrated education.

Legal and Policy Roadblocks to Equal Educational Opportunity

The policies of the Supreme Court, decided by a single vote, have pushed us backward.[13] The Supreme Court ruled, in the 1973 *Rodriguez*[14] case, that poor schools have no right to equal resources. In 1995, it also decided in *Missouri v. Jenkins*[15] that even educational programs directly connected to remedying a history of discrimination

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[11] Siegel-Hawley, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2011). Does law influence charter school diversity? An analysis of federal and state legislation. *Michigan Journal of Race & Law 16*(2): 321-376.

[12] Glaeser, E. & Vigdor, J. (2012). *The end of the segregated century: racial separation in America's neighborhoods, 1890-2010.* New York, NY: Manhattan Institute. Available at: http://www.manhattan-institute.org/html/cr_66.htm.

[13] Reardon, S. & Yun, J. (2005). Integrating neighborhoods, segregating schools: The retreat from school desegregation in the South, 1990-2000. *North Carolina Law Review 81*(4), 1563-1596.

[14] *San Antonio Indep. Sch. Dist. v. Rodriguez,* 411 U.S. 1, 1973.

[15] *Missouri v. Jenkins,* 515 U.S. 70, 1995.

need not be funded until they actually work. As Congress imposed more recent sanctions on schools with poor academic records, many segregated by race, it also refused to enact the principle that children held accountable for success on tests should be guaranteed an equal opportunity to learn the material on which they are tested, not to mention the idea that schools should be guaranteed equality of the most critical resources. So the *equal* part of "separate but equal" is only theoretical, in contrast to the very tangible separation evident in inferior schools. Millions of children face the reality of *separate and nothing* or even *punishment* for the consequences of being in a segregated school with fewer opportunities.

Federal and state education policy has been based on the assumptions that the continuing resegregation of students is not a fundamental educational problem, and racial and ethnic equality can be achieved primarily through tougher and tougher systems of accountability and sanctions, while doing nothing about the intensifying isolation of students by race and poverty. Separate but equal, together with accountability and standards, has been the dominant policy approach since the civil rights era ended in the l980s. Almost all states that had strategies fostering integration have abandoned them, instead adopting accountability policies that failed to meet their promises to close achievement gaps, policies that have branded thousands of segregated schools as failures. For thirty years, administrations connected to both political parties have favored accountability policies that rely on tests and sanctions within more and more segregated systems, often deepening the burdens and demoralizing the educators in isolated schools of concentrated poverty.

This policy framework has shifted the blame for inequality from issues of race and poverty to teachers and teachers' organizations--and it has failed. It failed with the Reagan Administration's "A Nation at Risk" accountability policies that were adopted by almost all states. It failed with President Clinton's "Goals 2000," which was supposed to eliminate racial gaps by 2000, even though many gaps grew before it was quietly abandoned. It failed with the 2002 No Child Left Behind Act, which has been tacitly discarded as its once-heralded deadline for having all groups above proficiency arrives. The current rush of states accepting onerous conditions in exchange for a waiver from NCLB sanctions, due to fall on many thousands of schools which have failed to meet the standards,[16] reflects this failure. The same approach also failed in parallel reform efforts adopted in the large majority of states. It failed, as well, with the creation of thousands of charter schools that performed no better, on average, than regular public schools and separated students even more intensely.[17] The well-meaning policies that sound tough in

[16] Klein, A. (2012 August 8). NCLB waivers roll on, now 33 and counting. *Education Week.* Available at: http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2012/08/08/37waivers.h31.html?qs=nclb+waivers

[17] Center for Research on Educational Outcomes. Multiple *Choice: Charter School Performance in Sixteen States*. Stanford: CREDO. Available at:

Washington or state capitals, and in the pronouncements of wealthy businessmen and their foundations, often make a very bad situation even worse by blaming those who are trying to help in a situation where the deck is stacked against them. Then the solution when the schools predictably fail is to create another set of highly segregated (charter) schools that perform no better.

Significance of Schools, Race and Place

Sometimes discussions about segregation end with someone saying: "Maybe we should have done something in the past but it is obviously impossible today. Just look at our city. It's 87% nonwhite, there's no one left to integrate with." They go on to say that "whites left *because* of desegregation"—even in cities which never had significant desegregation efforts, and even when most white flight took place before school desegregation occurred (and continued after desegregation ended). It is true that some whites did flee mandatory desegregation, particularly in its early stages or when it was limited to a small sector of the metropolitan region, but cities without desegregation plans ended up with very similar racial compositions. Furthermore, some of the most radical city-suburban mandatory desegregation plans turned out to be both stable and popular.[18] This is because the basic driving forces behind isolated central city schools were and are the spread of residential segregation and the fragmentation of metro housing markets into dozens of separate school districts, increasingly defined by race and class. Desegregation was most enduring and stable when it included all or most of the housing market, especially in countywide systems including both city and suburbs.[19] In sum, one very important reality is that doing nothing or abandoning desegregation efforts did not stop resegregation, which continued to intensify within neighborhood school systems and is directly relevant to today's racially changing suburbs.

Segregation persists, and, in some ways, is deepening and expanding into new areas. Middle class African American and Latino families, whose children's future depends on a strong preparation for college, have fled segregated city school systems, often only to confront resegregation in the suburbs. Because of the Supreme Court's 1974 decision against city-suburban desegregation in *Milliken v. Bradley*, we usually desegregated cities in ways that maximized flight and minimized access to the best schools for the victims of segregation in big cities. These were places, like Cleveland or Milwaukee, where the white population had been dropping since World War II, even as

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http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/MULTIPLE_CHOICE_CREDO.pdf. Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley & Wang, 2012.

[18] Orfield, G. & Frankenberg, E. (2011). *Experiencing integration in Louisville: How parents and students see the gains and challenges.* Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project.

[19] Orfield, M. (2006). Minority suburbanization and racial change. St. Paul, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity. Siegel-Hawley, G. (forthcoming). City lines, county lines, color lines: An analysis of school and housing segregation in four southern metropolitan areas. *Teachers College Record*.

surrounding white suburbs grew. It is true today that in cities like Los Angeles or Chicago, district-wide desegregation in a beneficial and lasting way has long been impossible within the city. On the other hand, good magnet schools created from strong desegregation plans still have enduring power to enroll student bodies diverse by both race and income in many urban settings,[20] while gentrification also offers opportunities for integrated schools that are seldom addressed by school leaders.

The existence of major school systems located in important cities—where much of the national media and many policy makers are concentrated, and schools are harshly limited by demographic realities—does not preclude desegregation reforms where they are still feasible and urgently needed. Even within large urban school systems, like Chicago, Washington, DC or Los Angeles, there are parts of the cities where schools with racial and/or economic diversity could be developed, which would strengthen local educational opportunities and community relationships. We usually do nothing to realize the potential of key opportunities for stable diversity, like those that come with the massive suburbanization of Latino and African American families, as well as with the gentrification of older nonwhite areas in some central cities. When we talk about neighborhood schools, we have an image of stable neighborhoods, but there has been nothing stable about the neighborhood residential resegregation that has transformed our cities and growing sectors of suburbia. We need to understand the possibilities and face the predictable consequences of doing nothing.

What School Desegregation Can and Can't Do

Supporting desegregation does not imply that it is a cure-all for educational inequalities. It isn't. Educational inequality has many causes and there is no single, simple answer. Segregated schools are clearly unfair, but so are a number of other forces impacting the lives of Latino and African American students, some of which require solutions outside the schools. While desegregation opens up the possibility of better opportunities, it does not assure them, particularly if children are resegregated at the classroom level or if teachers lack understanding of their students. However, desegregation is clearly superior to segregation and we know how to increase its value by creating equal conditions within diverse schools. To get the large gains, you have to do it well, making sure all students feel welcome, are treated fairly and have access to the full array of opportunities the schools offer. Much is known about how to do it successfully from a half century of research, not only in the U.S. but in other societies as well.[21] We

[20] Engberg, J. Epple, D., Imbrogno, J., Sieg, H. & Zimmer, R. (2011). *Bounding the treatment effects of education programs that have lotteried admission and selective attrition*. Columbia, NY: National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

[21] Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. (2011). *When groups meet: The dynamics of intergroup contact.* Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

had a flourishing and very popular federal program fostering such efforts four decades ago.[22] If we could accomplish large-scale lasting desegregation, we would, of course, still have many educational challenges to address, but from a much stronger starting point.

We knew a half-century ago that race and poverty were at the center of educational inequality. Trying to solve school inequalities while doing nothing about these issues, or even compounding them, is like running a race on only one leg or running backwards. It would have been much better to seriously address these questions before the country's racial composition changed dramatically and child poverty became so deeply embedded in our society. Still, we very much need a discussion about what we can do now and in the years to come to create better possibilities for all children.

Concluding Thoughts

There is much that can be done. There is not a city or a region where diversity could not be fostered in some ways. The future of many evolving suburban communities depends on learning how to successfully manage diversity and foster stable integration of housing and schools. Diversity need not always include whites. Well-prepared, middle-class Asian, black and Latino classmates can also enrich the opportunities for many of their poor counterparts who are faced with double segregation by race and class.

When you examine the data on the resegregation of American education in this report, think of it as a fever chart on the state of race relations, as a measure of our national plan for our future. Conditions will only change if we decide to change them. A changed Supreme Court or a national administration making integration a serious priority could make a major difference. We have never addressed the issues of Latino segregation and it is related to profound educational inequalities. Much could be done between districts and within them—and even at the neighborhood or school level. Suburban communities can mobilize to build lasting diversity, for example, and gentrifying central city neighborhoods could invest in stable and integrated schools and communities. We could create powerful regional magnet schools that would offer opportunities impossible to provide within single districts. Supportive housing and community development policies could help greatly and avoid resegregation and decay in many suburbs across the nation.

The resegregation that we see across the country is not the result of flight from busing, and the solutions needed now should not be seen in that context. There have been no major busing plans implemented for a third of a century. We are seeing the impacts of a changing population, abandonment of desegregation plans and the spread of housing segregation into the suburbs. The policies needed now don't involve great controversial

[22] *Emergency School Aid Act*, Title VII, Public Law 92-318.

changes. They do include: revamping the operation of choice systems to foster--rather than undermine--lasting integration; expanding local and regional magnet schools; adopting civil rights policies for charter schools; helping educators and community leaders move from racial change to lasting and positive diversity; seriously addressing housing discrimination that limits opportunities and undermines communities, and providing support and tools to local educators and elected officials who want to work for positive outcomes.

A first step is to recognize what is happening and think very seriously about the alarming consequences for all of us if we do nothing. The next is to decide that we must foster schools that build the society our changing population needs if it is to flourish. Then we need to have the courage to speak about the challenge positively, develop the will to act, and take concrete steps to begin to reverse the trends presented here and move toward integrated schools.

For Further Reading:

Resegregation trends

- Boger, J., & Orfield, G. (Eds.) (2005). *School resegregation: Must the South turn back?* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Frankenberg, E., & Orfield, G. (Eds.) (2012). *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in American education.* Cambridge: Harvard Education Press.
- Orfield, G., & Eaton, S. (Eds.) (1996). *Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education*. New York: New Press.
- Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). *Why segregation matters*. Cambridge: Civil Rights Project.

Benefits of diversity & harms of segregation

- Brief amicus curiae of 553 social scientists. *Parents Involved* in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, 551 U.S. 701 (2007).
- Linn, R. & Welner, K. (Eds.). (2007). *Race-conscious policies for assigning students to schools: Social science research and the Supreme Court cases*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Education.
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- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. (2011). *When groups meet: The dynamics of intergroup contact.* Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

Law, policy and leadership to promote integrated schools

- Frankenberg, E., & Debray, E. (Eds.) (2011). *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multiracial generation.* Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press.
- Frankenberg, E., & Orfield, G. (Eds.) (2007). *Lessons in integration*. Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press.
- Grant, G. (2009). *Hope and despair in the American city: Why there are no bad schools in Raleigh.* Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, & The Civil Rights Project / Proyecto Derechos Civiles (2008). *Preserving integration options for Latino students: A manual for educators, civil rights leaders, and the community*. Los Angeles: Authors.
- NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, & The Civil Rights Project, (2008). *Still looking to the future: Voluntary K-12 school integration.* Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project.
- Tefera, A., Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Chirichigno, G. (2011). *Integrating suburban schools: How to benefit from growing diversity and avoid segregation.* Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project.

E PLURIBUS SEPARATION: DEEPENING DOUBLE SEGREGATION FOR MORE STUDENTS

BY
GARY ORFIELD, JOHN KUCSERA AND GENEVIEVE SIEGEL-HAWLEY

The U.S. is in the midst of its largest racial transformation and schools are the first institutions where the shape of our future population can be most clearly seen. The overall size of student enrollment is beginning to decline and the white share continues to shrink. Meanwhile Latino enrollment is soaring and the small Asian student population is growing rapidly. More and more children are growing up in families that cannot afford to buy school lunches. A country whose traditions and laws were built around a white, middle class society with a significant black minority is now multiracial, poorer, with predominately nonwhite schools in our two largest regions, the West and the South. In short, the country is changing and its schools are changing even faster. This report is about how these changes are related to patterns of racial, ethnic, and class separation in our schools. It describes how enrollment shifts and segregation trends are playing out nationally, in the various regions of the country, and in different states and metropolitan areas. The large report is accompanied by two smaller reports that provide a special focus on the South and the West, two vast regions which are home to most African Americans and Latinos.

This analysis shows that school segregation is very high for Latino and black students, and that racially isolated schools continue to overlap with schools of concentrated poverty. Racial and economic isolation has increased most dramatically for Latino students, as they have become our largest and most poorly educated minority population.[1] And although African Americans have become less intensely segregated residentially than in the past,[2] there has been no significant corresponding decline in their school segregation.

Sadly, we are steadily undoing the great triumph of the *Brown* decision and the subsequent civil rights revolution that spurred very significant desegregation of black students in the South. We are on the road away from *Brown* and accepting the return of school segregation, assuming again that we can make it work even though it has never been done on a significant scale.[3]

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[1] For further information, see Gandara, P. & Contreras, F. (2010). *The Latino education crisis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
[2] Vigdor & Ladd, 2012.
[3] There are, of course, individual schools that defy the odds, such as some of the KIPP schools that are able to operate a much longer school day, exercise great control of the students, and raise very substantial additional funds.

The radical cuts to our public schools in the midst of the nation's economic crisis, as well as the continuing expansion of even more segregated charter schools—which take funds from public schools and leave many children with special costly needs behind[4]—only exacerbates educational inequality. The ultimate consequences occur in central cities like Washington, D.C., Detroit and New Orleans. These are places where the public school system has been picked apart, poorly funded, and overwhelmingly oriented to serving low-income, students of color in segregated settings that comprise a vestigial system for the most disadvantaged. During this fiscal crisis, many school districts are shutting down the one path to higher-opportunity schools by reducing or ending transportation to strong magnet schools and higher-achieving schools in other parts of the district. Under these conditions, "school choice" is virtually nonexistent for those who cannot provide their own transportation. Districts are also generally cutting back on magnets and other special programs that help create paths to college.[5] We are preparing for a majority-minority society by abandoning most of the limited tools we had to create schools able to reach across the lines of race and class. This threatens our common future.

Many individual families—especially white and Asian families with resources and full access to the suburban housing market—may be temporarily protecting themselves from some of the consequences of growing segregation and inequality by seeking out elite suburbs, gated communities or private schools. Our broader society cannot, however, escape the consequences. The costs will steadily mount if our great demographic change continues on its present path. America has been falling far behind many other countries, not because it has failed to educate its middle class white students but because it has badly failed to educate its Hispanic and black students, especially those in the most segregated schools.[6] Yet we respond to decline not by critically examining our racialized system of unequal schools but by calling for more of the same. This means that we may be going through the last era of a white majority in our educational institutions in a way that assures that our future will be more separated and less successful, both educationally and socially.

Historical Context Related to Growing Diversity

Since European settlement began, what became the United States was characterized by a multiracial population with serious issues of separation and inequality. Conquest of Indian communities and forced importation of African slaves began almost

[4] Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley & Wang, 2012. Miron, G., Urschel, J., Mathis W., and Tornquist, E. (2010) *Schools without diversity: Education management organizations, charter schools, and the demographic stratification of the American school system*. EPIC/EPRU. Available at: http://epicpolicy.org/files/EMO-Seg.pdf

[5] See, e.g., *The Integration Report*, 2008-2009.

[6] Gandara & Contreras, 2009.

immediately.[7] When the Constitution was written, neither of these groups was included in the "we the people of the United States" who adopted the framework of government. Racial inequality and subordination profoundly shaped our society and, after the end of Reconstruction in the l880s, was not seriously challenged until the l960s. The laws about who could come to America and be a citizen were openly discriminatory until l965.[8]

American culture was shaped and dominated by the descendants of immigrants from Europe. For the first two centuries of the nation's existence, its population was roughly 80-90% Euro-American. It was a society where blacks made up by far the largest racial minority. Until well into the 20th century, most blacks were living in the rural South in situations of rigid racial hierarchy and enforced separation. They were largely restricted to elementary education in separate and poorly funded schools. Following the U.S. conquest of half the territory of the newly independent Mexican nation, the smaller Mexican-American populations in the Southwest often found themselves in similar situations. American Indians were long almost entirely confined in reservations with very limited education.[9]

The period between 1910 and l960 produced vast migrations into large, northern cities, particularly for blacks, and the formation of large ghetto areas of segregated housing, especially in growing industrial centers hungry for workers.[10] Schooling in urban centers was highly segregated in all parts of the country where there were substantial black populations. And in seventeen southern and border states, state law mandated segregated education. Further, in virtually every northern and western city examined by a federal court, school segregation was proven to be substantially related to the intentional segregation of schools and housing through a variety of public policies and practices.

Efforts to Promote School Desegregation: Progress and Retreat

There has been little effort to integrate American students for a number of years, in part because of a belief that we tried to do this in the past at great cost. In reality, the only period of consistent support for integrated schools from the executive branch and the courts was in the 1960s, following the hard-won passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Between l965 and l969 the federal executive branch and a unanimous Supreme Court pressed aggressively for school desegregation. That pressure produced massive changes,

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[7] Steinberg, S. (2001). *The ethnic myth: Race, ethnicity, and class in America.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press Books.
[8] *Ibid*.
[9] *Ibid.* Portes, A. & Bach, R. (1985). *Latin journey: Cuban and Mexican immigrants in the United States.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
[10] Massey, D. & Denton, A. (1992). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

especially in the South where most blacks lived and where enforcement was most vigorous.[11] The l968 presidential election, however, ended such cooperation as President Nixon shut down administrative enforcement of desegregation requirements, shifted the position of the Justice Department from proactive enforcement to passive acceptance, appointed four conservative Justices to the Supreme Court and attacked desegregation rulings. Nixon's judicial appointments produced the first divided desegregation decisions since *Brown*. By l974 the Court had halted desegregation across city-suburban lines and financial equalization of schools, both by 5-4 votes.[12]

Desegregation was only truly a national priority for less than a decade. The right to urban desegregation wasn't even announced by the Supreme Court until 1971, in the face of active presidential opposition. The last Supreme Court decision expanding desegregation rights to schools outside the South and to Latinos came in l973, nearly 40 years ago. The last substantial federal program to help schools deal successfully with diversity, the Emergency School Aid Act, was repealed 31 years ago in an omnibus budget-cutting bill at the beginning of the Reagan Administration.[13] The incomplete transformation of a deeply segregated and unequal society that the efforts of the l960s and l970s helped spur was consequential—but not enough.

Though people still talk about large-scale involuntary desegregation orders, the dominant pattern for a third of a century has been to use voluntary transfers and magnet schools to foster integration. In an approach that relies so heavily on "choice," there are key elements that make a difference. First, there must be good choices, special educational opportunities or strong schools worth transferring to. Second, there must be good information widely and fairly distributed; otherwise the best choices will go to the most connected and informed, and inequality will deepen. Third, there must be diversity goals and recruitment to encourage a well-diversified school. Fourth, there must be transportation provided for those who cannot provide their own, so the choices are not only available to those with money to provide their own transportation.[14]

School desegregation efforts designed to provide students with more equal educational opportunities were rolled back through a series of judicial decisions. In the 1970s, in quick succession, were two Supreme Court decisions (noted above) that held that poor and rich schools had no right to equal resources and that illegally segregated

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[11] Orfield, G. (1969). *The reconstruction of southern education.* New York: John Wiley.
[12] *Milliken v. Bradley,* 418 U.S. 717 (1974). *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez,* 411 U.S. 1 (1973).
[13] Days, D. (1984). *Turning back the clock: The Reagan Administration and civil rights*. Faculty Scholarship Series. Paper 1492. http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/1492
[14] Orfield, G. & Frankenberg, E. (forthcoming, 2012). *Educational delusions? Why choice can deepen inequality and how to make it fair.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

central city children had no right to gain access to better schools in the suburbs.[15] These rulings were followed in the l990s by Supreme Court decisions permitting school systems to abandon desegregation plans and return to segregated neighborhood schools,[16] and cutting off funds to remedy the educational harm caused by a history of illegal segregation.[17] Most recently, in 2007, the Supreme Court outlawed long-established and popular forms of voluntary local school desegregation.[18] The isolation of non-white students has increased substantially in the aftermath of a number of these decisions. Although there is now a good deal of transitional diversity as the rapid movement of black and Latino families to the suburbs evolves, it is often only a stage on the way to resegregated suburban school systems, particularly in the absence of a desegregation strategy.[19]

Today, in spite of many requests from civil rights groups, the Obama Administration has done very little to offset these trends. After three years, the Justice Department and the Department of Education's Office for Civil rights issued a long-delayed but strong statement clarifying the remaining rights of school districts to pursue some forms of voluntary integration.[20] Also, in 2009, the administration offered one round of technical assistance grants for districts interested in designing voluntary student assignment plans in the aftermath of *Parents Involved*.[21] At the same time, though, the Obama Administration has fostered and funded segregated charter schools, putting very strong pressure on states—including some that did not want large charter programs—to lift their limits.[22] It has rejected ideas of setting aside significant funding to expand magnet schools or to assist districts in designing new voluntary integration programs as part of the "Race to the Top" program and other initiatives.[23] Officials in the Justice Department and the Education Department's Office for Civil Rights have produced some significant enforcement actions—which are a positive change from the Bush era—but the kinds of policies needed to significantly expand access to integrated schools and support diverse school districts threatened by resegregation have not been forthcoming. There are many people in the Administration that understand and care about school integration, but

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[15] *Rodriguez*; *Milliken*; See also Ryan, J. (2010). *Five miles away and a world apart*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press.
[16] *Freeman V. Pitts,* 503 U.S. 467, 1992.
[17] *Missouri v. Jenkins,* 515 U.S. 70, 1995.
[18] *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle Public Schools*, 551 U.S. 701, 2007.
[19] Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). *America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges*. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.
[20] http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/school_law/2011/12/us_guidance_encourages_k-12_co.html
[21] U.S. Department of Education (2009). *Technical assistance for student assignment plans*. Available at: http://www2.ed.gov/programs/tasap/awards.html
[22] Siegel-Hawley, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2011). Does law influence charter school diversity? An analysis of federal and state legislation. *Michigan Journal of Race & Law 16*(2): 321-376.
[23] http://prrac.org/pdf/DiversityIssueBriefNo3.pdf.
http://www.school-diversity.org/pdf/DiversityIssueBriefNo4.pdf

they have yet to provide significant, large-scale incentives and support for educators and communities who want to address these issues.

Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says[24]

A major irony is that we have been abandoning desegregation efforts as the evidence for its value becomes more and more powerful. We have more than a half-century of research about the impacts of diverse schooling and the ways to make integration most successful. Although we decided as a country to desegregate our schools with very little information, we are abandoning the effort now that we have a great deal of knowledge about its benefits.

The consensus of nearly sixty years of social science research on the harms of school segregation is also clear: separate remains extremely unequal. Racially and socioeconomically isolated schools are strongly related to an array of factors that limit educational opportunities and outcomes. These include less experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less successful peer groups and inadequate facilities and learning materials.

Teachers are the most powerful influence on academic achievement in schools.[25] One recent longitudinal study showed that having a strong teacher in elementary grades had a long-lasting, positive impact on students' lives—to include reduced teenage pregnancy rates, higher levels of college-going and higher job earnings.[26] Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified[27] and experienced[28] teachers are spread very unevenly across schools, and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.[29] High rates of teacher mobility in

[24] Portions of this section are adapted from Gandara, P., & Orfield, G. (2010). *A return to the Mexican room? The segregation of Arizona's English learners*. Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project.
[25] Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement, *Econometric*a, *73*(2), 417-58.
[26] Chetty, R., Friedman, J. N., & Rockoff, J. E. (2011). The long-term impacts of teachers: Teacher value-added and student outcomes in adulthood (NBER Working Paper # 17699). Retrieved from: http:// obs.rc.fas.har vard.edu/chetty/value_added.pdf
[27] Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2005). Who teaches whom? Race and the distribution of novice teachers, *Economics of Education Review, 24*(4), 377-92; Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2005.
[28] See, for example, Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2002). Teacher sorting and the plight of urban schools: A descriptive analysis. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 24*(1): 37-62; Watson, S. (2001), *Recruiting and retaining teachers: Keys to improving the Philadelphia public schools.* Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education. In addition, one research study found that in California schools, the share of unqualified teachers is 6.75 times higher in high-minority schools (more than 90 percent) than in low-minority schools (less than 30% minority). See Darling-Hammond, L. (2001). Apartheid in American education: How opportunity is rationed to children of color in the United States, In T. Johnson, J. E. Boyden, and W. J. Pittz (Eds.), *Racial profiling and punishment in U.S. public schools* (pp. 39-44). Oakland, CA: Applied Research Center.
[29] Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2010). Teacher mobility, school segregation, and pay-based policies to level the playing field. *Education, Finance, and Policy, 6*(3), 399-438; Jackson, K. (2009).

segregated schools may be related to the fact that teachers in high-poverty, high minority schools are more likely to report problems of student misbehavior, absenteeism, and lack of parental involvement than teachers in other school settings.[30] Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools of concentrated poverty.[31]

Findings showing that the motivation and engagement of classmates are strongly linked to educational outcomes for poor students date back to the famous 1966 Coleman Report. The central conclusion of that report (as well as numerous follow-up analyses) was that the concentration of poverty in a school influenced student achievement more than the poverty status of an individual student. [32] This is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance and college-going are normalized by peers.[33] Attitudinal differences towards schooling among low- and middle-to-high income students stem from a variety of internal and external factors, including watered-down learning materials that seem disconnected from students' lives.

Schools serving low income and segregated neighborhoods have been shown to provide less challenging curricula than schools in more affluent communities that largely serve populations of white and Asian students. [34] The impact of the standards and accountability era has been felt more acutely in minority-segregated schools where rote skills and memorization have, in many instances, subsumed creative, engaging teaching.[35] By contrast, students in middle-class schools normally have little trouble with high stakes exams, so the schools and teachers are free to broaden the curriculum. Segregated school settings are also significantly less likely than more affluent settings to

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Student demographics, teacher sorting, and teacher quality: Evidence from the end of school desegregation, *Journal of Labor Economics. 27*(2), 213-56.

[30] Siegel-Hawley, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2012). *Spaces of inclusion? Teachers' perceptions of school communities with differing student racial & socioeconomic contexts*. Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project.

[31] Miller, R. (2010). *Comparable, schmomparable. Evidence of inequity in the allocation of funds for teacher salary within California's public school districts*. Washington DC: Center for American Progress; Roza, M., Hill, P. T., Sclafani, S., & Speakman, S. (2004). *How within-district spending inequities help some schools to fail.* Washington DC: Brookings Institution; U.S. Department of Education. (2011). *Comparability of state and local expenditures among schools within districts: A report from the study of school-level expenditure*s. Washington DC: Author.

[32] Borman, G., & Dowling, M. (2010). *Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of Coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. Teachers College Record, 112*(5), 1201-1246.

[33] Kahlenberg, R. (2001). *All together now: Creating middle class schools through public school choice.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

[34] Rumberger, R. W., & Palardy, G. J. (2005). Does segregation still matter? The impact of student composition on academic achievement in high school. *Teachers College Record, 107*(9), 1999-2045; Hoxby, C. M. (2000). *Peer effects in the classroom: Learning from gender and race variation* (NBER Working Paper No. 7867). Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research; Schofield, J. W. (2006). Ability grouping, composition effects, and the achievement gap. In . J. W. Schofield (Ed.), *Migration background, minority-group membership and academic achievement research evidence from social, educational, and development psychology* (pp. 67-95). Berlin: Social Science Research Center.

[35] Knaus, C. (2007). Still segregated, still unequal: Analyzing the impact of No Child Left Behind on African-American students. In The National Urban League (Ed.), *The state of Black America: Portrait of the Black male* (pp. 105-121). Silver Spring, MD: Beckham Publications Group.

offer AP- or honors-level courses that help boost student GPAs and garner early college credits.[36]

Dynamics outside of schools contribute massively to inequalities within them. Studies demonstrate that concentrated poverty in communities is associated with everything from less optimal physical development and opportunities for summer learning, to families' inability to stay in the same neighborhood long enough for schools to produce powerful educational effects.[37] There are thus very clear relationships between student achievement and attainment, and neighborhood poverty rates.[38]

All of these things taken together tend to produce lower educational achievement and attainment—which in turn limits lifetime opportunities—for students who attend high poverty, high minority school settings.[39] Student discipline is harsher and the rate of expulsion is much higher in minority-segregated schools than in wealthier, whiter ones.[40] Dropout rates are significantly higher in segregated and impoverished schools (nearly all of the 2,000 "dropout factories" are doubly segregated by race and poverty),[41] and if

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[36] Orfield, G. (1996). *Dismantling desegregation*. New York: New Press; Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality. Cambridge: Civil Rights Project.

[37] Ream, R. (2005). *Uprooting children: Mobility, social capital, and Mexican American underachievement*. New York: LBF Publishers; Rothstein, (2004). *Class and schools. Using social, economic, and educational reform to close the Black-White achievement gap*. New York: Economic Policy Institute.

[38] Jargowsky, P., & El Komi, M. (2011). Before or after the bell? School context and neighborhood effects on student achievement. In H. B. Newburger, E. L. Birch, & S. M. Wachter (Eds.), *Neighborhood and life chances: How place matters in modern America* (pp. 50-72). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; Crowder, K., & South, S. J. (2003). Neighborhood distress and school dropout: The variable significance of community context. *Social Science Research, 32*, 659-698.

[39] Mickelson, R. A. (2006). Segregation and the SAT, *Ohio State Law Journal, 67*, 157-200; Mickelson, R. A (2001). First- and Second-Generation segregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools. *American Educational Research Journal, 38*(2), 215-252; Borman, K. A. (2004). Accountability in a postdesegregation era: The continuing significance of racial segregation in Florida's schools. *American Educational Research Journal, 41*(3), 605-631; Swanson, C. B. (2004). *Who graduates? Who doesn't? A statistical portrait of public high school graduation, Class of 2001.* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; Benson, J., & Borman, G. (2010) Family, neighborhood, and school settings across seasons: When do socioeconomic context and racial composition matter for the reading achievement growth of young children? *Teachers College Record, 112*(5), 1338-1390; Borman, G., & Dowling, M. (2010). Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of Coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. *Teachers College Record, 112(*5), 1201-1246; Crosnoe, R. (2005). The diverse experiences of Hispanic students in the American educational system. *Sociological Forum, 20*, 561-588.

[40] Exposure to draconian, "zero tolerance" discipline measures is linked to dropping out of school and subsequent entanglement with the criminal justice system, a very different trajectory than attending college and developing a career. Advancement Project & The Civil Rights Project (2000). *Opportunities suspended: The devastating consequences of zero tolerance and school discipline policies*. Cambridge: The Civil Rights Project. Retrieved from http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/school-discipline/opportunities-suspended-the-devastating-consequences-of-zero-tolerance-and-school-discipline-policies/.

[41] Balfanz, R., & Legters, N. E. (2004). Locating the dropout crisis: Which high schools produce the nation's dropouts? In G. Orfield (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 57–84.). Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2004; Swanson, C. (2004). Sketching a portrait of public

students do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.[42] Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students' success in school and later life.[43]

On the other hand, there is also a mounting body of evidence indicating that desegregated schools are linked to profound benefits for all children. In terms of social outcomes, racially integrated educational contexts provide students of all races with the opportunity to learn and work with children from a wide array of backgrounds. These settings foster critical thinking skills that are increasingly important in our multiracial society—skills that help students understand a variety of different perspectives.[44] Relatedly, integrated schools are linked to reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes.[45] Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.[46]

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students[47] (with no corresponding detrimental impact for white students).[48] These trends later translate into loftier educational and career

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high school graduation: Who graduates? Who doesn't? In Gary Orfield, (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 13–40). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

[42] Camburn, E. (1990). College completion among students from high schools located in large metropolitan areas. *American Journal of Education, 98*(4*)*, 551-569.

[43] Wells, A. S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research*, *64*, 531-555; Braddock, J. H., & McPartland, J. (1989). Social-psychological processes that perpetuate racial segregation: The relationship between school and employment segregation. *Journal of Black Studies, 19*(3), 267-289.

[44] Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks and C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing.

[45] Mickelson, R. & Bottia, M. (2010). Integrated education and mathematics outcomes: A synthesis of social science research. *North Carolina Law Review, 88*, 993; Pettigrew, T. & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783; Ready, D. & Silander, M. (2011). School racial and ethnic composition and young children's cognitive development: Isolating family, neighborhood and school influences. In E. Frankenberg & E. DeBray (Eds.), *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multiracial generation* (pp. 91-113). Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press.

[46] Killen, M., Crystal, D. & Ruck, M (2007). The social developmental benefits of intergroup contact among children and adolescents. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

[47] Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press; Crain, R. & Mahard, R. (1983). The effect of research methodology on desegregation-achievement studies: A meta-analysis. *American Journal of Sociology, 88*(5), 839-854; Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks and C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing..

[48] Hoschild, J., & Scrovronick, N. *The American dream and the public schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.

expectations,[49] and high levels of civic and communal responsibility.[50] Black students who attended desegregated schools are substantially more likely to graduate from high school and college, in part because they are more connected to challenging curriculum and social networks that supported such goals.[51] Earnings and physical well-being are also positively impacted: a recent study by a Berkeley economist found that black students who attended desegregated schools for at least five years earned 25% more than their counterparts in segregated settings. By middle age, the same group was also in far better health.[52]

Perhaps most important of all, evidence indicates that school desegregation can have perpetuating effects across generations. Students of all races who attended integrated schools are more likely to seek out integrated colleges, workplaces and neighborhoods later in life, which may in turn provide integrated educational opportunities for their own children.[53]

In the aftermath of *Brown*, we learned a great deal about how to structure diverse schools to make them work for students of all races. In 1954, a prominent Harvard social psychologist, Gordon Allport, suggested that four key elements are necessary for positive contact across different groups.[54] Allport theorized that all group members needed to be given equal status, that guidelines for cooperatively working towards common goals needed to be established, and that strong leadership visibly supportive of intergroup relationship building was necessary. Over the past 60-odd years, Allport's conditions have held up in hundreds of studies of diverse institutions across the world.[55] In schools those crucial elements can play out in multiple ways, including efforts to detrack students

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[49] Crain, R. L. (1970). School integration and occupational achievement of Negroes. *American Journal of Sociology, 75*, 593-606; Dawkins, M. P. (1983). Black students' occupational expectations: A national study of the impact of school desegregation. *Urban Education, 18*, 98-113; Kurlaender, M. & Yun, J. (2005). Fifty years after Brown: New evidence of the impact of school racial composition on student outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research, and Practice, 6*(1), 51-78.

[50] Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

[51] Guryan, J. (2004) Desegregation and Black dropout rates. *The American Economic Review 94*(4): 919-943; Kaufman, J. E., & Rosenbaum, J. (1992). The education and employment of low-income black youth in white suburbs. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis,14*, 229–40.

[52] Johnson, R. C., & Schoeni, R. (2011). The influence of early-life events on human capital, health status, and labor market outcomes over the life course. *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy Advances, 11*(3), 1-55.

[53] Mickelson, R. (2011). Exploring the school-housing nexus: A synthesis of social science evidence. In P. Tegeler (Ed.). *Finding common ground: Coordinating housing and education policy to promote integration* (pp. 5-8). Washington, DC: Poverty and Race Research Action Council; Wells, A.S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research, 6*, 531-555.

[54] Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.

[55] Pettigrew, T. & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783.

and integrate them at the classroom level, ensuring cooperative, heterogonous grouping in classrooms, and highly visible, positive modeling from teachers and school leaders around issues of diversity.[56]

What's at Stake?

If a great democratic nation was deeply afflicted with unequal education at a time when education determined both personal and national success, and if it had never succeeded in any major way in making separate schools equal, then it would seem logical for that nation to abandon separate schools and instead pursue strategies bringing schoolchildren together in equal opportunity settings. Furthermore, if most of the demographic growth in that nation was among the groups locked into inferior schools—the same schools with poor records of completion, achievement and success in higher education—and if that great nation was falling behind other advanced societies, then the resolution of this massive problem would seem all the more urgent. Finally, if one were to add the need to overcome a history of discrimination and the imperative to work out complex race relations so that a rising generation of young people with no racial majority could live and work together in communities, then the necessity would seem all the greater. The U.S. has no such policies now in operation, on any scale.

The current diversity among our national school population and in the enrollment of thousands of our districts is much deeper and quite different than during the civil rights era. We might assume that as the country becomes truly multiracial, then stable, integrated schools would be the natural result of this change. Were it not for discrimination in housing markets, absolute barriers between school districts in most places, and flight of families and teachers from resegregating schools, among other problems, then the natural integration of schools might be happening. We certainly have the potential for a rich diversity. We also have evidence that the intensity of residential segregation for African Americans, our most segregated group, has been declining for more than two decades.[57] Shouldn't we be seeing more integrated schools?

In fact, levels of school segregation for black students remain high and virtually unchanged over the last decade. Although it is too early to see the full impact of the Supreme Court's 2007 decision in *Parents Involved,* which limited the most common forms of voluntary choice-based desegregation by local school districts,[58] it cannot be

[56] Hawley, W. D. (2007). Designing schools that use student diversity to enhance learning of all students. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
[57] Glaeser & Vigdor, 2012
[58] Siegel-Hawley, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2011). Redefining diversity: Political responses to the post-PICS environment. *Peabody Journal of Education 86*(5): 529-552.

positive. And particularly worrisome is the continuous long-term increase in the isolation of Latino students in segregated, high poverty schools.

The labor market will depend for a long time on what is now a declining number of students, substantially fewer of whom are white and many more of whom are Latino. As the number and proportion of students in poverty and from minority groups grows, the challenge to schools is all the greater because these students have traditionally had far less success in American schools and colleges than whites and Asians. At a time when educational attainment is critically important for U.S. educational success, as the *Wall Street Journal* notes, there has been a sharp fall in the educational gains between generations. The U.S., long a leader in the proportion of students receiving college degrees, now ranks number 15.[59]

The problems of high dropouts, low completion and poor preparation for college are strongly associated with schools segregated by both race and poverty. These schools are systematically unequal on many dimensions. This makes it very important to analyze how much progress we have made in getting our students of color into less segregated, more middle class schools with better educational opportunities.

School desegregation is often discussed as if it were a kind of educational reform for poor nonwhite children, but it also has much broader purposes for all groups of students, including whites and Asians. Most critics look at nothing but test scores, usually in only two subjects. The broader purposes of schools are very hard, often impossible, to achieve in segregated settings. Schools are intended to provide children with entry into the mainstream of the society. Integrated education is the training ground for integrated communities in a successful multiracial society. Segregated education has a self-perpetuating character, but so does integration. Children who grow up in integrated schools lead more integrated lives and are better equipped to deal with diversity in their adult lives.[60] In a nation where more than 45% of all students (and half of those in the first grade) are nonwhite, where immigration is overwhelmingly nonwhite, and where Latino families are younger and larger than white families, racial change will continue regardless of immigration restrictions. Figuring out how to have successful multiracial schools and communities is not a minor concern, it must be a central part of any plan to manage a successful transition to a society changing dramatically between generations. A successful multiracial democracy depends upon understanding each other and learning to work together across lines of race and ethnicity.

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[59] Wessel, D., & Banchero, S. (2012, April 26). Education slowdown threatens U.S. *The Wall Street Journal.* Available at: http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702304177104577307580650834716.html

[60] Wells, A. & Crain, R. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research, 6*, 531-555.

When military leaders told the Supreme Court in 2003 that affirmative action in college was essential because a military system without a successfully integrated leadership cannot be effective,[61] they were not talking about liberal ideology. Instead they were responding to the disastrous wartime conflicts between officers and enlisted men of different races that damaged the army. The same necessity for diverse staff and leaders who can work together well is true for those who provide services or market products to a multiracial clientele in America's great economic institutions. This is no longer just a positive thing, it is a critical necessity. The ability to work across lines of difference is one of the most important of the "soft skills" that employers value in making decisions about who to hire and promote.

In the coming decades, ways to foster positive, diverse environments need to be worked out in all of our institutions. Public schools, which serve almost nine-tenths of U.S. students, are by far the most important institutions to make this happen. If we learn how to live, work and run organizations together successfully, then young people of all races and ethnicities will gain. If we fail, then we will face a far more divided and disappointing future. Desegregation is an educational treatment, but it is also much more than that. It is about building a successful, highly functioning, democratic society in an incredibly diverse nation.

Organization of the Report

This report begins and ends with discussions of law and policy related to school segregation, and with a review of research on its consequences. Its empirical core is based on the enrollment statistics provided for more than four decades by public schools and assembled into data sets by the federal government. [62] The basic facts we compute from these data are about changes in the racial and poverty composition of the American school population. We examine the degree of segregation, based on several different measures, that all major racial and ethnic groups experience and the relationship between racial/ethnic segregation and segregation by poverty. We look at the way in which these relationships play out by race and class in various regions of the nation, in the individual states and in the major metropolitan areas.[63]

[61] Brief amicus curiae of 553 Social Scientists. *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 551 U.S. 701 (2007).
[62] For detailed information on the data and measures used in these reports, please see the Appendix B.
[63] Accompanying this report are two in-depth explorations of enrollment and segregation in the country's two largest regions (in terms of student enrollment)—the South and the West—both of which have already crossed the point at which there is no longer a racial majority. These two regions illustrate what the nation as a whole is moving rapidly towards and, as such, their experience is instructive.

NATIONAL TRENDS

Dramatic Growth in Diversity of U.S. School Enrollment

Enrollment in U.S. public schools surged after World War II as returning soldiers, a booming economy, and the development of millions of units of affordable suburban housing created conditions for the "baby boom." The l950 Census reported 25.1 million public school students, the l960 Census counted 35.2 million, and by l970 it was 45.9 million, nearly doubling in two decades. During this time period, there was little immigration, a huge increase in the numbers of white and black students, and the creation of thousands of new suburban schools, many in large post-war housing developments on what had been farmland outside of the cities. Nonwhite immigration, largely blocked by discriminatory legislation until l965, began to soar in the l970s as the white baby boom began to decline and family size decreased. A vast movement of white families into racially homogeneous suburban communities began shortly after World War II and had already transformed metropolitan America before the federal fair housing law was enacted in 1968.[64] By the l960s, schools in the nation's large cities were becoming institutions that served largely minority and poor children.

It was during this period that serious urban desegregation issues arose and many school districts came under court-ordered desegregation or negotiated desegregation plans with federal civil rights officials. After the Supreme Court's l971 *Swann* decision ordering desegregation of southern cities, and the 1973 *Keyes* decision extending more limited requirements to many northern and western cities, the country entered a massive demographic transformation, the nature and significance of which would not become apparent for years to come.

We did not care enough about school segregation to collect national data on it until the civil rights transformation of the l960s. Thanks to the l964 Civil Rights Act, the federal government began to gather enrollment data from public schools, allowing us to trace yearly changes and observe the emergence of what would become the nation's largest minority population, the Latinos. There had been no collection of national school data on Latinos, or even an official definition of them as a statistical category, until the Office for Civil Rights started compiling national school enrollment data by race and ethnicity in 1967.[65] In l970, as the urban desegregation struggle began, Latino students made up only 5% of the enrollment, concentrated in just 8 states. Little over half of one

[64] Massey & Denton, 1992. Authority for enforcing the Fair Housing Act was not forthcoming until 1988, when the act was amended to give HUD the ability to initiate enforcement actions and to seek stiffer fines and penalties for housing discrimination.

[65] We have consistent data for almost all states from 1967 until 2010, when a confusing new set of categories designed by the Bush administration—over the protest of dozens of civil rights groups—took hold. The changes will make it very difficult to accurately compare trends over time.

percent of the enrollment was comprised of Asian and American Indian students. Four-fifths of all students were white.

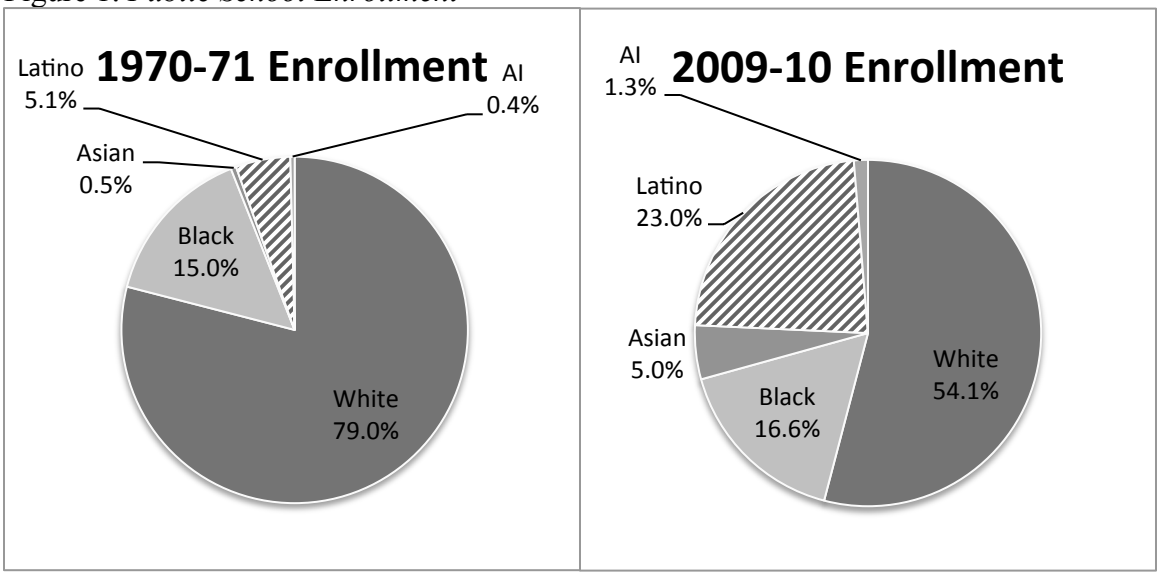
All of the vast growth in the diversity of American schools came after the civil rights era. Between l970 and 2009, the white enrollment fell from four-fifths of U.S. students to little more than half (53.7%) (See Table 1, Figure 1). The national share of black students grew slowly, from 15% to l6.5% over nearly four decades. The proportion of American Indians tripled to 1.3%. A huge surge in the Asian enrollment brought Asians from a half a percent to 5%, making Asians a significant share of the enrollment in some states and cities. The most historic change, however, came in the Latino enrollment, which soared from a twentieth of U.S. students to nearly one-fourth. Another way to look at the growth in the Latino enrollment is to consider that it went from one-third of the black share of U.S. students to being substantially larger than the black share of students. The proportion of Latino students also expanded from being a very regional population, largely concentrated in the Southwest and a few cities elsewhere, to being a group with a significant presence in many states. Today, Latino students are becoming the dominant minority enrollment in the western half of the U.S.

Table 1: *Public School Enrollment*

	Total Enrollment	**Percentage**					
		White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**AI**	**Mixed**
Nation							
1970-1971	*	79.1%	15.0%	0.5%	5.1%	0.4%	*
1980-1981	*	73.2%	16.1%	1.9%	8.0%	0.8%	*
1991-1992	41,859,267	66.1%	16.2%	3.5%	11.6%	1.0%	*
2001-2002	47,349,170	59.7%	16.8%	4.3%	17.9%	1.3%	*
2006-2007	48,166,230	56.1%	16.8%	4.7%	21.2%	1.2%	*
2009-2010	48,307,555	53.7%	16.5%	5.0%	22.8%	1.3%	0.7%

Note: * Data not calculated or reported. AI=American Indian.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Figure 1: *Public School Enrollment*

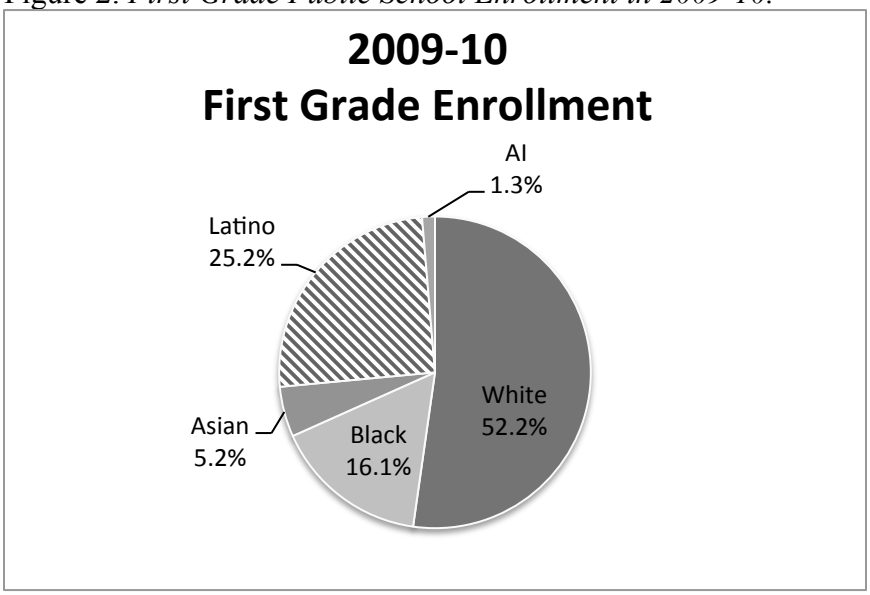


Note: AI=American Indian.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

These are extraordinarily dramatic changes in the composition of U.S. schools. Whites and blacks together accounted for 94% of the national total in 1970 and thus it is not surprising that desegregation policy was framed as a black-white issue. But now 30% of students come from other backgrounds, and many school districts have three or more racial and ethnic groups, including hundreds of districts that were virtually all white during the civil rights era.

The big story is that the U.S. now has a school system with a rapidly disappearing white majority. The 2009-10 first grade enrollment, an excellent predictor of the future of our schools, shows that whites make up only 52% of students, while Latinos make up 25% (Figure 2). Latinos are younger than the other racial and ethnic groups, meaning they have, on average, more child bearing years as well as larger families. The Great Recession has lowered the birth rates of all groups in the U.S. substantially, and has virtually stopped net immigration from Latin America, so changes may be slowed in the near term. Yet the direction of change is clear and people already residing in the U.S. drive it. Given the birth rates and age structure of the U.S. population, these shifts are virtually certain to continue, even without more immigration. But since immigration to the U.S. is largely for economic advancement, it is likely to resume as the job market recovers.

Figure 2: *First Grade Public School Enrollment in 2009-10.*



Note: AI=American Indian.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

After many years of substantial growth in the number of high school graduates, the last decade has produced few increases. We can expect the next to produce a substantial decline. The number of high school graduates grew 32% from 1995 to 2007. In l995 the graduating class was still 72% white, which fell to 62% by 2009 and is projected to be only 57% white by 2020 if existing trends continue. From 2007 to 2020, the federal government predicts a drop of 3% in public school graduates and a 27% decline in graduates from private and religious schools.[66] One can look at the failures of American civil rights and educational policies of the last generation and say that they did not devastate our progress, because we had people to spare and people eager to come from all over the world and work in our society. Now, however, the number of qualified young entrants into the work force is likely to shrink.

Nationwide Segregation Deepens for Black and Latino Students on Most Measures

We examine the segregation of students at the national, regional, state and metropolitan levels using three different measures. For each level of geography, we begin with the concentration of black and Latino students in 50-100%, 90-100% and 99-100% minority schools. In the national section, we also examine the racial distribution of students attending multiracial schools. Next, we present the average exposure and isolation of different racial groups in schools. The Index of Dissimilarity, a broad

[66]Hussar, W. J., & Bailey, T. M. (2011). *Projections of education statistics to 2020* (NCES 2011-026). Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, US Department of Education.

measure that examines how evenly students are distributed across schools, follows. We conclude by examining the intersection of racial isolation and concentrated poverty.

Concentration: Black and Latino Students in Segregated Minority Schools; Students of All Races in Multiracial Schools

Back in 1968, when national statistics were first becoming available from the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights, more than three-fourths of black students and slightly over half of Latino students attended schools where most of their classmates were non-white (see Table 2). In intensely segregated schools with 0 to 10% white enrollment, the differences were even more dramatic. Almost two-thirds of black students were in intensely isolated schools 14 years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, while less than a quarter of Latinos students attended similar settings. It looked like Latinos were destined to experience far less severe segregation, perhaps showing the kind of intergenerational mobility experienced by earlier European immigrants or current Asian immigrants.

By 1980, however, as Latino immigration surged and as a severe recession hit, Latinos were more likely than blacks to be in majority minority schools (those where less than 50% of the student body is white). Meanwhile, black segregation in intensely segregated schools (those where less than 10% of the student body is white) had dropped dramatically because of urban desegregation plans. In contrast to the effectiveness of these plans for black students, the *Keyes* case (the Supreme Court decision recognizing Latino desegregation rights) came after the civil rights era and was only seriously enforced in a handful of cities.

In 1991, the year the Supreme Court handed down the *Dowell* case authorizing a return to segregated neighborhood schools, Latinos had become more segregated from whites than black students. In most desegregation plans, designed before the Latino growth, Latinos were simply ignored. After *Dowell*, the plans were dissolved before their rights were ever enforced.

A decade later, both groups had become more segregated by race (and poverty),[67] a trend that continues in the new 2009-10 data presented here. Four of every five Latino students, and three-fourths of black students, were attending majority minority schools in 2001. In the same year, fully 42% of Latinos and 38% of blacks were in intensely segregated schools. At the national level there was no sign at all of desegregation progress for Latino students, who became steadily more isolated.

[67] See section on "Double Segregation by Race and Poverty"

The eight years from 2001 to 2009 are basically a time of stagnating resegregation. In spite of a dramatic growth in the suburbanization of nonwhite families, 80% of Latino students and 74% of black students remained in majority nonwhite schools, while 43% of Latinos and 38% of blacks attended intensely segregated schools. These figures have remained stable over the past decade. The only progress is at the most extreme level of segregation, in what we call "apartheid schools," where 99-100% of the students are nonwhite. Of course, given the massive growth of Latino enrollments, the absolute numbers of Latinos experiencing intense segregation have tripled since the early l990s (Table 3).

Table 2: *Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Schools*

	% of Racial Group in 50-100% Minority School		% of Racial Group in 90-100% Minority School		% of Racial Group in 99-100% Minority School	
	Black	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**
Nation						
1968-1969	76.6%	54.8%	64.3%	23.1%	*	*
1980-1981	62.9%	68.1%	33.2%	28.8%	*	*
1991-1992	65.4%	73.0%	32.7%	33.9%	18.3%	10.5%
2001-2002	71.7%	78.1%	38.0%	42.0%	17.7%	16.9%
2006-2007	73.1%	78.7%	38.4%	43.1%	17.1%	15.6%
2009-2010	74.1%	79.5%	38.1%	43.1%	15.5%	14.1%

Note: * Data not calculated. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Table 3: *Number of Students in Schools of Different Levels of Segregation, by Race*

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	Black	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**
Nation						
2001-2002	5,697,205	6,625,040	3,020,409	3,566,158	1,408,494	1,434,715
2006-2007	5,901,889	8,056,789	3,100,267	4,413,435	1,382,805	1,593,632
2009-2010	5,901,525	8,742,792	3,035,383	4,744,376	1,237,461	1,546,916

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Another fundamental demographic change of recent decades is shown in the rising proportions of students from all racial/ethnic groups attending schools that are multiracial (Table 4). We define these settings as schools with at least a tenth of their students coming from at least three groups. Asians, who on average have the highest academic achievement levels,[68] also attend the most multiracial schools. Two-fifths of Asians attend multi-racial schools, compared to a little over a quarter of Latinos and blacks and about one-sixth of whites. There is very little research on the nature and impact of multiracial diversity, even as more students begin to experience these types of school settings.

Table 4: *Percentage of Racial Group in Multi-Racial Schools*

	Percentage			
	1991	**2001**	**2006**	**2009**
Nation				
AI	16.3%	16.9%	21.0%	20.2%
Asian	38.9%	40.4%	42.1%	42.1%
Latino	26.0%	25.2%	26.7%	26.2%
Black	15.8%	20.7%	25.1%	27.1%
White	7.5%	10.9%	14.0%	15.3%

Note: Multi-racial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student population respectively. Mixed race students were excluded for 2009 calculation. Mixed race students were excluded for 2009 calculation.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Exposure: A Measure of Interracial Contact

The cause of segregation is important in making legal determinations about what can be ordered or allowed to solve the problems, but it is not a key to the educational effects. The impacts come from creating a different peer group for students and all of the factors that are related to different patterns of social capital and educational resources both at home and in the school. There cannot be a desegregation impact without interracial contact, and interracial contact creates potential benefits. The level of actual benefits depends upon whether or not the conditions of successful integration are created within the school and its classrooms, neither of which can be measured with the data used in this report.

Black and Latino exposure to white students has been very low over the past several decades. At the national level, the share of white classmates for black and Latino

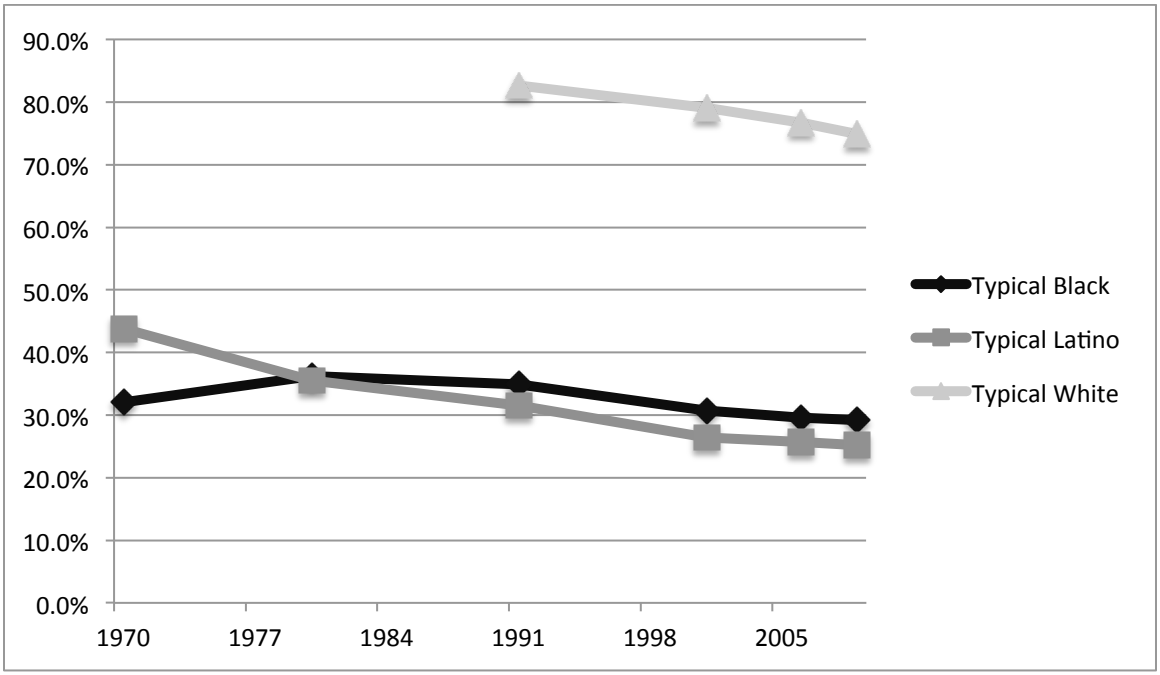
[68] Peng, S. & Wright, D. (1994). Explanation of academic achievement of Asian American students. *Journal of Educational Research*, *87*(6): 346-352.

students has been continuously declining for three decades (Figure 3). After there were major gains in integration for black students from the mid-1960s through the mid-1970s, and slower gains continuing into the mid-l980s, the pattern was reversed. The improvement associated with urban desegregation plans was lost as they were dissolved or reached the point where involvement of the suburbs was the only workable strategy (but blocked by the Court's 1974 *Milliken* decision). Black students' average contact with whites gained until the late l980s even though the proportion of white students in the country was declining. After the Supreme Court authorized resegregation in l991, however, this trend was overturned and black-white exposure is now below what it was in the late l960s.

The picture for Latinos is worse because there has never been a time of real progress since national data was first collected (Figure 3). Segregation in most areas was relatively modest when the number of Latinos was small. There has been a continuous rise in segregation for over forty years, however, interrupted in only a handful of areas where it was seriously addressed by the courts. But even those efforts have now been abandoned for a long time. No other immigrant groups experienced the kind of intense long-term isolation in neighborhoods that blacks and Latinos are experiencing.

Exposure indices are very much affected by the relative size of the racial groups. Thus, it is important to keep a racial group's proportion in mind when interpreting such findings. It is also necessary to monitor the gap between racial proportion and exposure rates over time. In 1991, when whites were 66.1% of the population, the average white student attended school that was 82.7% white – a gap of 16.6%. In 2009, when whites were 53.7% of the population, the average white student attended school that was 74.9% white – a gap of 21.2%. Thus, the typical white student in 2009 is experiencing greater diversity then twenty years ago, but, at the same time, this student is still encountering high isolation with their own racial group.

Figure 3: *Percentage of White Students in School of a Typical Black, Latino, and White Student.*



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

For a typical black student in the U.S., exposure to white and other black students has declined over the years, as exposure to Latino students has nearly doubled (Table 5). There has also been a sharp increase in the exposure of the average white student to Latinos in their schools (last column in Table 6), but a decrease in the exposure of the average Latino student to whites (third column in Table 6). The basic national pattern is for white students to have slightly more nonwhite classmates, but for nonwhite students to have fewer white classmates. These trends reflect the decline in the white share of students, as well as the dismantling of desegregation plans. Between 1991 and 2009, the share of nonwhite schoolmates for the typical white student increased from 17% to 25%, still dramatically less than the national proportion of nonwhites. Blacks and Latinos also have disproportionately fewer white and Asian classmates than the overall share of white and Asian enrollment. Across the years, around a 30% difference is apparent (Table 7).

Table 5: *Exposure Rates for the Typical Black Student in Public Schools*

	% Black	Typical Black Exposure to White Students	Typical Black Exposure to Black Students	Typical Black Exposure to Asian Students	Typical Black Exposure to Latino Students
Nation					
1991-1992	16.2%	34.9%	54.1%	*	8.2%
2001-2002	16.8%	30.7%	54.0%	*	11.8%
2006-2007	16.8%	29.6%	51.9%	*	14.6%
2009-2010	16.5%	29.2%	50.5%	3.5%	15.9%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table 6: *Exposure Rates to Latino Students for the Typical White Student and Exposure Rates for the Typical Latino in Public Schools*

	% Latino	Typical Latino Exposure to White Students	Typical Latino Exposure to Black Students	Typical Latino Exposure to Latino Students	*Typical White Exposure to Latino Students*
Nation					
1991-1992	11.6%	31.5%	11.4%	51.6%	5.5%
2001-2002	17.9%	26.4%	11.0%	57.3%	7.9%
2006-2007	21.2%	25.7%	11.5%	57.4%	9.8%
2009-2010	22.8%	25.2%	11.5%	57.2%	10.7%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table 7: *Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools*

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
Nation			
1991-1992	69.5%	36.9%	-32.6%
2001-2002	64.0%	32.3%	-31.7%
2006-2007	60.8%	31.5%	-29.3%
2009-2010	58.7%	31.0%	-27.7%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Evenness: A Measure of Spatial Distribution

Some critics of previous reports showing increasing isolation of black and Latino students in public schools claim that they are misleading. They contend that in a society where the proportion of whites has declined significantly and the proportion of Latinos has grown very rapidly, even a perfect distribution of students in a nonracial way would produce less contact, particularly between Latinos and whites. This is of course true.

One way of looking at this issue is to examine segregation trends using a measure known as the Dissimilarity Index. This index is a measure of the degree to which students of any two groups are distributed randomly among schools. If all schools in the country had the same proportions of students of two racial or ethnic groups as the national total, this index would be 0. If, at the other extreme, all schools were completely segregated and had only students of one or the other group, the index would be 1.0.

There are a number of drawbacks to using the Index of Dissimilarity. It is a very broad way of looking at segregation trends[69] and can only be used to compare the spatial distribution of two groups at one time.[70] It does not measure the racial composition of individual schools, only the degree to which students from two groups are randomly distributed among schools within the area under study. Because of these limitations, we supplement the Dissimilarity Index with the other segregation measures found in this report.

Figure 4 shows that, although the national isolation of black students as measured by exposure levels has increased,[71] black-white dissimilarity was high in 1991 and remains virtually the same in 2009-10. This pattern indicates that much of the national change in isolation is caused by change in racial proportions, not by more unequal distribution among schools. Yet there is an important difference in the South, where desegregation efforts were concentrated and where the dropping of desegregation plans is

[69] The Index of Dissimilarity fails to capture how the movement of minorities into schools with shares of minority students above or below the overall share in the area impacts segregation levels (James & Taubuer, 1985). The measure only calculates the impact of the movement of minority students from schools where they are over-represented relative to the area's proportion of minority students to schools where they are underrepresented. For further information see, *Measurement of Segregation by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in the United States: 1980-2000* by Weinberg, Iceland, and Steinmetz at http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/housing_patterns/pdf/massey.pdf

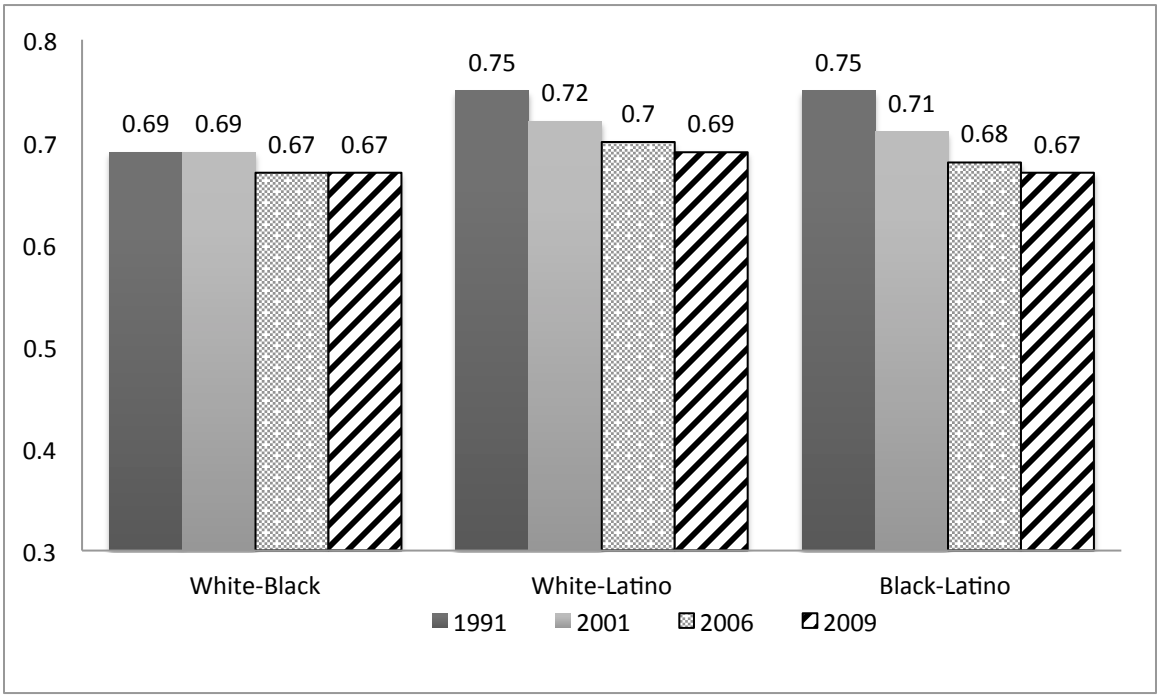
[70] Reardon, S., Yun, J., & Eitle, T. (2000). The changing structure of school segregation: Measurement and evidence of multi-racial metropolitan school segregation, 1989-1995. *Demography*, *37*(3), 351-364.

[71] See previous section.

linked to increased segregation for blacks.[72] As the accompanying report on the South shows, black-white school dissimilarity in the region increased slightly, from .55 in 1991 to .57 in 2009. So where there were serious desegregation efforts, mostly in the South, we can see some evidence of policy-related reversals.

Since there was no significant policy effort to desegregate Latino students, massive demographic forces clearly dominate the changes in the past 18 years. The white-Latino school dissimilarity levels were very high and have improved, though are still worse than the black–white dissimilarity level. Again, there were never significant desegregation efforts for this group and the dramatic increase in the proportion of Latinos has accounted for the sharp increase in isolation.

Figure 4: *Index of Dissimilarity Scores.*



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

[72] Reardon, S.F., Grewal, E., Kalogrides, D., & Greenberg, E. (forthcoming). Brown fades: The end of court ordered school desegregation and the resegregation of American public schools. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management.*

Double Segregation by Race and Poverty

Black and Latino segregation is almost always double segregation by both race and poverty. We measure poverty by eligibility for free and reduced price school lunches (FRL), which requires families to document income below a level the federal government defines as poor. By this measure the share of poor children in U.S. schools has grown substantially from 2001 to 2009 (Table 8). Exposure to poor students has also risen for each racial group member. However, the stark differences in exposure to poor students between the typical white student and the typical black or Latino student is constant over the last 10 years. Over time, the average white student has gone to a school where poor students account for a quarter to over a third of the enrollment. The typical black or Latino student experiences close to double that figure—almost two-thirds of their peers are low-income.

Table 8: *Student Exposure Rates to Poor Students in Public Schools*

	Poor Students Share of School Enrollment	**Typical White Exposure to Poor Students**	**Typical Black Exposure to Poor Students**	**Typical Asian Exposure to Poor Students**	**Typical Latino Exposure to Poor Students**
Nation					
2001-2002	37.8%	26.8%	55.5%	*	57.9%
2006-2007	42.8%	31.7%	59.0%	*	59.9%
2009-2010	47.8%	37.0%	63.8%	39.2%	63.5%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

At the individual level, poverty is associated with many conditions that are related to lower school attainment. These include poor nutrition and health care, few educational resources at home, frequent involuntary moves disrupting school continuity, weaker preschool training, and more exposure to violence and abuse.[73] At the school level, schools of concentrated poverty have less experienced teachers, more remedial and special education classes, many more non-English speaking children, lower achieving peers, fewer honors and AP classes, lower graduation rates and much weaker connections to college, among other inequalities.[74] Recently, Stanford Professor Sean Reardon received a great deal of attention for his findings that the deepening economic inequalities in the U.S. mean that poverty is now even more related than race to school

[73] Newberger, H., Birch, E. & Wachter, S. (2011). *Neighborhood and life changes: How place matters in modern America.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
[74] Rothstein, R. (2004). *Class and Schools: Using social, economic and educational reform to close the black-white achievement gap*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press. See also section in this report, "Segregation and Desegregation: What the evidence says."

outcomes.[75] In the current U.S. pattern, however, almost all intensely segregated minority schools, but very few all-white schools, are associated with concentrated poverty. So the children in intensely segregated minority schools are exposed to deeply damaging double segregation, by race and poverty. For Latino students, the correlation between a school's percent Latino and percent poor is a very high .71, on a scale in which 1.0 would be a perfect relationship. It is lower, but high, for black students (.53). Of course many minority-segregated schools serve both black and Latino students. The correlation between the combined percentages of these underserved two groups and the percent of poor children is a dismaying .85 (Table 9).

Table 9: *Relationship between Poor Students and Race of Students in Public Schools*

	Correlation between Poor Students and					
	White Students	**Asian Students**	**Black Students**	**Latino Students**	**White or Asian Students**	**Black or Latino Students**
Nation						
2001-2002	-0.07	0.22	0.52	0.72	-0.01	0.86
2006-2007	0.04	0.21	0.52	0.71	0.05	0.85
2009-2010	0.07	0.18	0.53	0.71	0.11	0.85

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Summary of National Trends

These national trends indicate that segregation for black and Latino students is worsening in terms of their contact with white students. Very high shares of black and Latino students are also concentrated in intensely segregated minority and apartheid school settings where 90-100% and 99-100% of the students are minority, respectively. For black students, current trends represent a reversal of progress made during the height of desegregation. For Latino students, the trends have steadily worsened over time. Measures of randomness (dissimilarity) characterize the only positive trend, with the dissimilarity index showing a modest decline in the spatial separation of black and Latino students from white students. This could be influenced by the movement of minority families into suburbs, which has often brought whites and minorities into closer geographic proximity with one another—proximity that is likely temporary unless action is taken to prevent racial transition.[76]

[75] Reardon, S. (2011). The widening achievement gap between the rich and the poor: New evidence and possible explanations. In Duncan, G. & R. Murname (Eds). *Whither opportunity: Rising inequality, schools and children's life chances* (pp. 91-116). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
[76] Orfield & Luce, 2012.

REGIONAL TRENDS

Though national trends tell the general story, schools in America's regions[77] are different in terms of their level and type of diversity, amount of overall population growth, and rates of change. It is important, then, to compare these large sections of the nation to understand the different realities and how they have changed. In areas west of the Mississippi, the story of race relations is fundamentally a Latino-white story with significant Asian, black, and, in some areas, American Indian populations. In contrast, in parts of the old South and the aging industrial North, it is fundamentally a black-white story with relatively small immigrant populations.

Enrollment in U.S. Regions Varies and Grows More Diverse

Over the past four decades, the white student share of enrollment has steadily declined across every region of the country (Table 10). The most marked decrease occurred in the West, which was transformed by increased immigration from Latin America and Asia in the last third of the 20th century. Since 1970, the share of white students in the West has dropped nearly 40 percentage points. In both the West and South, the nation's two most populous and racially diverse regions, whites are now the racial minority. Indeed, these areas of the country, where the economy and the population have grown most rapidly, are highly diverse. Only in the Northeast (which includes the heavily white states of Vermont, Maine and New Hampshire) and towards the interior of the country, the Midwest and Border (American Civil War "Border") regions, do white students still comprise the largest share of the population.

Latino students account for the majority of growth in the nonwhite population. Though the enrollment of Latino students has increased throughout the country and is growing rapidly in many areas formerly lacking traditional Latino communities, Latino enrollment remains concentrated in the West, South and Northeast. Since 1970, the share of Latino students has tripled to 40% in the West, quadrupled to 16% in the Northeast and nearly quintupled to roughly 25% in the South. The vast scale and speed of these changes make them hard for districts, schools and communities to understand and adapt to.

Black students continue to make up the largest share of the enrollment in the South, where more than a quarter of students identify as black. The Border region had the second largest share of black students (about 20%) in 2009, followed by the Northeast (15%). Over the past four decades, the share of black students has increased in the Northeast, Border and Midwest regions, and has remained largely steady in the South and West.

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[77] States and regions used for analysis in this report include the Border region (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia), Midwest region (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin), Northeast region (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont), South region (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia), and the West region (Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming).

Across all regions, the Asian student population has been increasing, from less than 1% in 1970 to more than 3% in 2009. At 8%, the West had by far the largest share of Asian students, a figure that has doubled since 1970. It is also significantly higher than the share of black students in the West.

American Indian students constitute less than 1% of the population in most regions, with the exception of the West (1.9%) and the Border states (3.9%). American Indian and Alaskan native students, however, make up roughly a quarter of the student population in Alaska.

Students identifying with a mixed racial heritage constituted a new category in federal statistics in 2009. The share of mixed-race students remains very small in most regions (less than 1% of the total enrollment). The multi-racial West reported the largest percentage, hovering just under 2%, of mixed-race students. New counting methods in 2010 will produce significant increases in these numbers and changing marriage patterns also mean that they will grow. A few states implemented the new federal categories in 2009-10 and we examined the data to see whether there were sufficient changes to require major adjustments in the report. There were not, but we expect when these standards are widely implemented—particularly in states where mixed race marriages are most common—it may be quite difficult to discern the trends accurately. This is because significant numbers of students previously counted as black, for example, will end up in a mixed race category. The way in which the Census form is created also may change the number of mixed race students who are counted as Latino.

Table 10: *Public School Enrollment by Region*

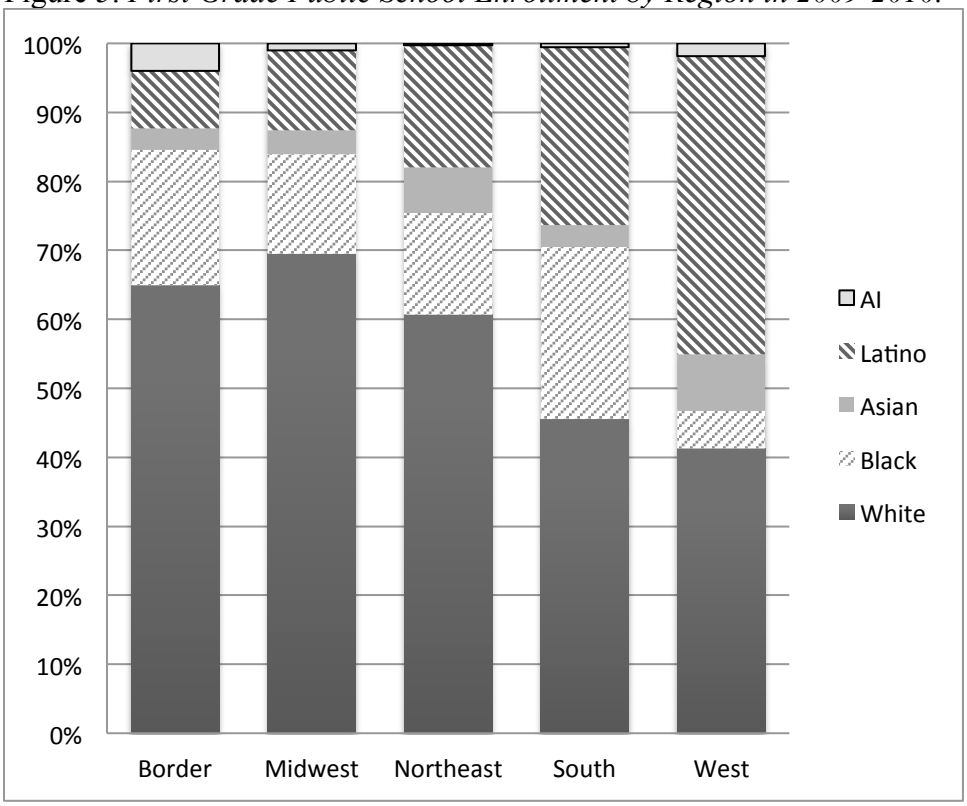
Region	Total Enrollment	Percentage					
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Border							
1970-1971	*	81.4%	17.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.8%	*
1980-1981	*	79.5%	17.5%	0.8%	0.7%	1.5%	*
1991-1992	3,263,102	76.3%	18.0%	1.4%	1.6%	2.3%	*
2001-2002	3,436,304	70.6%	20.3%	2.0%	3.7%	3.4%	*
2009-2010	3,502,971	66.1%	20.3%	2.8%	6.8%	3.9%	0.0%
Midwest							
1970-1971	*	87.6%	10.4%	0.2%	1.4%	0.3%	*
1980-1981	*	83.7%	12.4%	0.9%	2.3%	0.6%	*
1991-1992	9,042,674	80.9%	12.9%	1.7%	3.7%	0.8%	*
2001-2002	9,660,115	75.8%	14.4%	2.4%	6.5%	0.9%	*
2009-2010	9,365,413	71.3%	14.5%	3.1%	9.9%	1.0%	0.3%
Northeast							
1970-1971	*	83.3%	11.9%	0.4%	4.4%	0.1%	*
1980-1981	*	78.3%	13.6%	1.4%	6.6%	0.2%	*
1991-1992	7,240,052	71.9%	14.5%	3.3%	9.7%	0.2%	*
2001-2002	8,057,154	67.5%	15.1%	4.6%	12.5%	0.3%	*
2009-2010	7,858,583	62.3%	14.9%	6.0%	16.0%	0.3%	0.4%
South							
1970-1971	*	66.9%	27.2%	0.1%	5.5%	0.2%	*
1980-1981	*	63.3%	26.9%	0.7%	8.8%	0.3%	*
1991-1992	12,568,126	59.2%	27.0%	1.5%	11.9%	0.4%	*
2001-2002	14,432,973	53.0%	27.1%	2.2%	17.3%	0.4%	*
2009-2010	15,649,919	46.9%	25.9%	3.0%	23.4%	0.5%	0.3%
West							
1970-1971	*	77.9%	6.3%	1.6%	13.0%	1.1%	*
1980-1981	*	68.0%	6.8%	4.4%	19.0%	1.8%	*
1991-1992	8,753,028	58.2%	6.3%	7.4%	25.9%	2.0%	*
2001-2002	10,677,691	49.4%	6.5%	8.0%	34.0%	2.1%	*
2009-2010	11,091,436	41.9%	5.8%	8.2%	39.9%	1.9%	1.9%
Nation							
1970-1971	*	79.1%	15.0%	0.5%	5.1%	0.4%	*
1980-1981	*	73.2%	16.1%	1.9%	8.0%	0.8%	*
1991-1992	41,859,267	66.1%	16.2%	3.5%	11.6%	1.0%	*
2001-2002	47,349,170	59.7%	16.8%	4.3%	17.9%	1.3%	*
2009-2010	48,307,555	53.7%	16.5%	5.0%	22.8%	1.3%	0.7%

Note: * Data not calculated or reported. AI=American Indian.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

The first grade enrollment by region shows that the Border states, the Midwest, and the Northeast will likely maintain a substantial white majority in their schools for a significant period into the future, but figures for the South and West reflect much more dynamic changes (Figure 5). The South, which has traditionally been the home of most African Americans, may soon have a larger Latino than African American enrollment. The southern region is likely to become a profoundly tri-racial area in which whites will be the largest minority, at least for a time. The West, on the other hand, already reports that less than two-fifths of its first graders are white. There are substantially more Latino students than white students, only one student in twenty is black, one in thirteen Asian, and one in fifty American Indian. This is a racial and ethnic pattern never seen before in U.S. schools and one that has received extremely little national attention. Obviously if we were to seriously pursue integrated education, remedies devised in the 1960s-era South have to be dramatically reframed in this much more complex and very heavily Latino setting.

Figure 5: *First Grade Public School Enrollment by Region in 2009-2010.*



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Segregation Intensifying in Many U.S. Regions

Concentration: Black and Latino Students in Segregated Minority Schools

For over four decades, Latino students in nearly every region have experienced steadily rising levels of concentration in intensely segregated minority settings (places of learning where nonwhite students make up 90-100% of the population). In the West, the share of Latino students in such settings has increased fourfold, from approximately 12% in 1968 to 43% in 2009 (Table 11). This is significantly higher than the segregation of blacks in the South.

In 1968, the first year the federal government began systematically collecting national school enrollment statistics by race, Latino students experienced the most severe patterns of segregation in the Northeast. In that year, more than two-fifths of Latino students attended intensely segregated minority schools, a statistic held virtually constant over the past four decades in a region with limited desegregation efforts. The West and South reported similar levels of concentration for Latino students in the most recent data, and also represent two areas where significantly higher shares of Latinos are enrolled in intensely segregated school settings than black students.

In terms of black students, the most intense historical concentrations in majority-minority or intensely segregated minority settings were in the de-jure segregated South, along with the Border and Midwest. These areas also experienced the most marked declines in such concentrations during the era of active desegregation oversight and enforcement. In the South, almost 80% of black students attended intensely segregated settings in 1968, a figure that fell very sharply to 23% by 1980. The Northeast—where the presence of small, deeply fragmented school districts and severe housing segregation foster patterns of school racial and socioeconomic isolation—is the only region where the segregation of black students in 90-100% minority schools increased every decade between 1968 and 2001.

During the 1990s, as court oversight of desegregation came to a close in many districts and rapid demographic transition ensued, the share of black and Latino students enrolled in majority-minority or intensely segregated minority schools increased markedly in most regions. Today, five years after the Court's *Parents Involved* decision and more than two decades since the *Dowell* decision, significant majorities of black and Latino students attend predominately minority schools in every region. The share of black students enrolled in intensely segregated schools hovers between 30 and 40% in all areas except in the highly segregated Northeast, where fully half of all black students attend hypersegregated educational settings. Black students are also highly segregated in the Midwest, where 45% of all black students attend a school where 90-100% of the

students are racial minorities. Major metropolitan areas in these regions were strongly impacted by the 1974 *Milliken* decision that made urban-suburban desegregation very difficult.

Schools under apartheid-like conditions—where whites constitute zero to 1% of the enrollment—represent an even more extreme form of segregation. The Northeast and Midwest report the highest shares of black students in these 99-100% minority settings. In the Midwest almost one in every four black students enrolls in a setting of near absolute segregation. It is interesting to note that the nation's most diverse regions report the lowest shares of black and Latino students attending 99-100% minority settings. Still, more than 10% of black students in the South experience similar educational conditions, and 20% do so in the Border states. More than 60 years after the *Brown* decision rendered the separate but equal doctrine null and void, these figures for black students highlight a significant reversion to the all-black schools mandated during the Jim Crow-era.

Latino students are less likely than blacks to enroll in 99-100% minority schools, but the highest shares do so in the Northeast, South and West. Nearly 13% of Latino students in the Northeast attend schools where whites constitute 1% or less of the population, and more than 10% experience similar settings in the southern and western regions of the country. Yet only on this measure of extreme segregation do African Americans now fare worse than Latinos.

Table 11: *Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Schools*

	% of Racial Group in 50-100% Minority School		% of Racial Group in 90-100% Minority School		% of Racial Group in 99-100% Minority School	
	Black	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**
Border						
1968-1969	71.6%	*	60.2%	*	*	*
1980-1981	59.2%	*	37.0%	*	*	*
1991-1992	58.6%	37.3%	33.1%	10.9%	22.4%	5.3%
2001-2002	67.6%	52.7%	41.6%	14.2%	19.0%	5.4%
2009-2010	69.9%	58.8%	39.8%	18.4%	19.4%	5.3%
Midwest						
1968-1969	77.3%	31.8%	58.0%	6.8%	*	*
1980-1981	69.5%	46.6%	43.6%	19.6%	*	*
1991-1992	69.8%	53.4%	39.7%	21.2%	24.5%	5.0%
2001-2002	72.9%	56.4%	47.4%	24.7%	28.2%	4.7%
2009-2010	71.6%	58.8%	44.3%	27.0%	23.4%	4.3%
Northeast						
1968-1969	66.8%	74.8%	42.7%	44.0%	*	*
1980-1981	79.9%	76.3%	48.7%	45.8%	*	*
1991-1992	76.0%	78.0%	50.1%	46.3%	31.1%	19.0%
2001-2002	78.0%	77.8%	51.3%	44.7%	25.4%	16.0%
2009-2010	77.9%	76.3%	50.6%	43.9%	21.1%	12.6%
South						
1968-1969	80.9%	69.6%	77.8%	33.7%	*	*
1980-1981	57.1%	76.0%	23.0%	37.3%	*	*
1991-1992	61.1%	75.7%	25.6%	37.7%	11.8%	7.5%
2001-2002	69.6%	77.3%	31.5%	39.6%	12.6%	9.4%
2009-2010	74.0%	79.4%	33.4%	41.3%	11.9%	11.1%
West						
1968-1969	72.2%	42.4%	50.8%	11.7%	*	*
1980-1981	66.8%	63.5%	33.7%	18.5%	*	*
1991-1992	69.4%	73.3%	26.7%	30.0%	15.5%	10.7%
2001-2002	75.5%	80.0%	30.2%	37.9%	11.9%	11.7%
2009-2010	78.1%	83.7%	29.5%	43.2%	7.1%	10.4%
Nation						
1968-1969	76.6%	54.8%	64.3%	23.1%	*	*
1980-1981	62.9%	68.1%	33.2%	28.8%	*	*
1991-1992	65.4%	73.0%	32.7%	33.9%	18.3%	10.5%
2001-2002	71.7%	78.1%	38.0%	42.0%	17.7%	16.9%
2009-2010	74.1%	79.5%	38.1%	43.1%	15.5%	14.1%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Exposure: A Measure of Interracial Contact

In a society growing ever more diverse, the ability to communicate and relate effectively across racial lines becomes increasingly important. It is concerning, then, that white students remain severely isolated nationally and in every region—even as their exposure to students of color has increased since 1991. Whites are most isolated in the Midwest, Border and Northeast regions, where the typical white student goes to a school where more than 80% of their peers are also white (Table 12).

Beyond the "soft skills" that flow from learning to live and work with students from diverse backgrounds, simply sitting next to a white student does not guarantee better educational outcomes for students of color. Instead, the resources—both material and human—that are consistently linked to predominately white and/or wealthy schools help foster serious advantages over minority segregated settings.[100] For these reasons, it remains vital to explore and understand the extent to which other racial groups are exposed to white students.

Black students in every region have experienced a slight decline in exposure to whites—exposure levels that remain very disproportionate to the overall share of white students in each region. In the South, for example, white students made up roughly 47% of the overall population, but the typical black student in 2009 enrolled in a setting where whites made up about 30% of their peer group. Average Latino exposure to white students in the South is even lower than the figures for black students.

Latino students experience similar disparities in exposure to white students, and also enroll in schools with slowly declining shares of whites in every region except the Northeast. The typical Latino student in the Northeast has experienced very low and stagnant levels of exposure to whites over the past two decades. In 2009, white students constituted about 62% of the enrollment in the northeastern region, and the average Latino student went to a school that was about 27% white.

Asian students, meanwhile, experience the highest levels of exposure to whites in each region where data were available. The typical Asian student in the Northeast heads to a school where whites make up about 48% of the enrollment, compared to roughly 42% of the overall enrollment in the region. It should be noted, however, that the broad category of "Asian" encompasses many different nationalities and experience differing levels of segregation and educational opportunity. Refugee populations from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam tend to have higher levels of poverty, lower average parent education, and less educational success. Conversely, highly educated immigrant populations from countries including Korea, India, China and elsewhere experience high levels of integration and educational and economic success.[101]

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[100] Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world and education.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
[101] White, M. J., Fong, E., & Cai, Q. (2003). The segregation of Asian-origin groups in the United States and Canada. *Social Science Research, 32*, 148-167.

Table 12: *Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools*

	% White	Typical White Exposure to White Students	Typical Black Exposure to White Students	Typical Asian Exposure to White Students	Typical Latino Exposure to White Students
Border					
1991-1992	76.3%	86.5%	37.4%	*	*
2001-2002	70.6%	83.9%	32.2%	*	*
2009-2010	66.1%	80.5%	31.1%	*	42.0%
Midwest					
1991-1992	80.9%	90.6%	31.7%	*	*
2001-2002	75.8%	88.1%	27.9%	*	43.3%
2009-2010	71.3%	84.5%	29.5%	*	41.1%
Northeast					
1991-1992	71.9%	88.3%	26.2%	*	26.5%
2001-2002	67.5%	85.8%	24.9%	50.1%	26.8%
2009-2010	62.3%	81.7%	24.8%	47.6%	27.1%
South					
1991-1992	59.2%	74.8%	38.5%	*	28.8%
2001-2002	53.0%	71.5%	33.3%	*	27.4%
2009-2010	46.9%	66.7%	30.2%	*	25.6%
West					
1991-1992	58.2%	75.0%	34.6%	43.3%	31.9%
2001-2002	49.4%	70.1%	30.3%	38.6%	26.1%
2009-2010	41.9%	64.6%	28.3%	33.7%	22.8%
Nation					
1991-1992	66.1%	82.6%	34.9%	*	31.2%
2001-2002	59.7%	79.3%	30.7%	*	26.4%
2009-2010	53.7%	74.9%	29.2%	42.3%	25.2%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Evenness: A Measure of Spatial Distribution

The dissimilarity index, a measure of the degree to which two populations are randomly distributed among the schools within an area, shows that black-white school segregation has fallen slowly in several regions of the country, including the Northeast and Midwest, where segregation has traditionally been the most extreme (Table 13). Still, this measure indicates that the level of black-white school segregation remains very high. In 2009, fully 73% (*D*=.73) of black or white students in the Northeast would have to attend a different, more diverse school in order to achieve the perfect integration of black and white students, compared to 77% in 1991. (Recall that values less than .30 are considered low levels of segregation, any values between .30 and .60 are considered moderate, and any figure above .60 is considered high.) At this rate, it will be a very long time before race does not matter in terms of school enrollment patterns.

In the South, black-white school segregation rose slightly by this measure in the two decades that court-ordered desegregation waned. Nevertheless, the South still reports the lowest level of school segregation compared to other regions of the country; as it is the region of the country that took the most proactive steps to integrate its students.

The dissimilarity measure also shows that segregation between black and Latino students has decreased to somewhat moderate levels over the past two decades. In the South, for example, nearly 80% of black or Latino students would have needed to attend schools with a greater proportion of the other racial group in order to achieve perfect integration in 1991, compared to 66% in 2009. Similar patterns have occurred nationally, and in the West, Midwest and Northeast. The relationship between these two groups inheriting many central cities and older suburbs is very important, but little understood. And as housing markets change, bringing together two different disadvantaged groups in the same schools could either increase understanding or foster polarization. It is obviously important that school officials create conditions for positive relationships.

Table 13: *Segregation of Students in Public Schools by Region*

	Dissimilarity Index (*D*)					
	White Black	**White Asian**	**White Latino**	**Black Asian**	**Black Latino**	**Asian Latino**
Border						
1991-1992	0.67	*	*	*	*	*
2001-2002	0.68	*	*	*	*	*
2009-2010	0.67	*	0.59	*	0.55	*
Midwest						
1991-1992	0.78	*	*	*	*	*
2001-2002	0.77	*	0.68	*	0.72	*
2009-2010	0.73	*	0.64	*	0.67	*
Northeast						
1991-1992	0.77	*	0.78	*	0.56	*
2001-2002	0.76	0.60	0.75	0.68	0.54	0.60
2009-2010	0.73	0.58	0.71	0.66	0.51	0.60
South						
1991-1992	0.55	*	0.75	*	0.81	*
2001-2002	0.57	*	0.69	*	0.73	*
2009-2010	0.57	*	0.65	*	0.66	*
West						
1991-1992	0.65	0.58	0.62	0.53	0.56	0.57
2001-2002	0.64	0.57	0.63	0.52	0.52	0.59
2009-2010	0.62	0.57	0.62	0.53	0.50	0.59
Nation						
1991-1992	0.69	*	0.75	*	0.75	*
2001-2002	0.69	*	0.72	*	0.71	*
2009-2010	0.67	0.60	0.69	0.69	0.67	0.63

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment. A change in .10 in *D* represents a significant change in segregation levels across years.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Double Segregation by Race and Poverty

In terms of poverty (as measured by the share of students qualifying for free and reduced priced lunches), all regions report a marked increase in poor students over the past decade (Table 14). The nation's two most racially diverse regions, the South and the West, also have the highest shares of poor students. More than 50% of students in these regions qualified for free and reduced priced lunch in 2009. The Northeastern and Midwestern regions of the country report lower levels of student poverty. Some areas historically considered wealthy, such as California, now have very substantial shares of children growing up in poverty. Across every region, white and Asian students were exposed to significantly lower levels of student poverty than black or Latino students. In some cases, like in the Northeast, the typical Asian student was exposed to lower levels of poverty than whites.

The most disparate levels of exposure to poor students by race occurred in the Northeast, where black and Latino students attend schools with well over twice the share of poor students than white students. Specifically, in 2009, the typical white student in the Northeast went to a school where roughly 25% of the students qualified for free and reduced price lunch. Meanwhile the average black or Latino student in the region enrolled in a school where roughly 63% of the students qualified were considered poor. The share of poor students in the typical black student's school was highest (65.9%) in the Midwest.

The intersection of intense segregation by race and poverty—and the related barriers to educational opportunity—has detrimental consequences for black and Latino students in every part of the country. Schools where poverty is concentrated are systematically associated with numerous barriers to educational equity, including high rates of teacher and staff turnover, outdated and unchallenging curricula, limited extracurricular offerings, low achievement and poor graduation rates.[102] The very high level of student poverty is, in part, a reflection of the intense polarization of incomes in the U.S.[103]

[102] Kahlenberg, R. (2001). *All together now: Creating middle class schools through public school choice*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press; Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). *Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality*. Cambridge: Civil Rights Project.
[103] Noah, T. (2012). *The great divergence: America's growing inequality crisis and what we can do about it*. New York: Bloomsbury Press.

Table 14: *Student Exposure Rates to Poor Students in Public Schools*

	Poor Students Share of School Enrollment	Typical White Exposure to Poor Students	Typical Black Exposure to Poor Students	Typical Asian Exposure to Poor Students	Typical Latino Exposure to Poor Students
Border					
2001-2002	40.6%	36.8%	51.1%	*	*
2006-2007	43.8%	40.0%	52.7%	*	53.2%
2009-2010	48.8%	44.5%	58.8%	*	58.7%
Midwest					
2001-2002	30.5%	23.0%	58.9%	*	52.9%
2006-2007	35.6%	28.2%	60.9%	*	56.5%
2009-2010	42.4%	35.1%	65.9%	*	61.7%
Northeast					
2001-2002	32.3%	19.9%	60.3%	37.6%	63.6%
2006-2007	33.7%	21.8%	57.3%	36.4%	60.5%
2009-2010	37.7%	25.3%	62.9%	37.0%	63.3%
South					
2001-2002	42.2%	32.0%	55.0%	*	54.4%
2006-2007	48.2%	39.5%	61.3%	*	53.6%
2009-2010	52.7%	44.3%	65.1%	*	57.5%
West					
2001-2002	39.9%	27.5%	49.5%	36.8%	56.5%
2006-2007	45.7%	31.4%	53.9%	38.2%	62.0%
2009-2010	50.6%	36.7%	57.5%	41.0%	66.2%
Nation					
2001-2002	37.8%	26.8%	55.5%	36.0%	57.9%
2006-2007	42.8%	31.7%	59.0%	36.9%	59.9%
2009-2010	47.8%	37.0%	63.8%	39.2%	63.5%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

STATE TRENDS

There is enormous variety among American states. Since state governments have primary responsibility for making educational policy, we have, in important ways, fifty different systems of education. In the l960s and l970s, there was a great effort to extend civil rights laws to state and local school systems. More recently, with No Child Left Behind, Race to the Top, and the Common Core, there are important national attempts to create more uniform educational requirements, but the states still exercise great authority. Along many dimensions, including history, population, law and policy, the differences between Maine and Louisiana, California and Alaska, or between Alabama and Hawaii are vast. It is important to keep those variations in mind, especially when thinking about policy.

White Exposure to Black and Latino Students

Patterns of school segregation vary substantially by state and are influenced by both the demographic makeup of the student population and the desegregation history of the area. (See Appendix A for state-by-state enrollment and segregation numbers). White students are experiencing a modest increase in the diversity of their schools, as nonwhite students face intensifying segregation. As the share of students of color enrolled in U.S. public schools increases, a number of states report significant white student exposure to under-represented minority groups (Table 15). Ten years ago, the average white student went to a school where more than a fifth of the students were black or Latino in only 11 states.[104] In 2009, 16 states met this standard. With the exception of Maryland and Delaware, all of these states are concentrated in the western and southern areas of the country, the regions with the largest historic concentrations of Latinos and where Latino migration is increasing most rapidly.

[104] See Table 13 in Frankenberg, E., Lee, C., & Orfield, G. (2003). *A multiracial society with segregated schools: Are we losing the dream?* Cambridge: The Civil Rights Project.

Table 15: *States with Highest White Exposure to Black and Latino Students 2009-2010*

State	% Black and Latinos	Typical White Exposure to Black and Latino Students
New Mexico	62.1%	51.7%
Texas	62.3%	37.6%
Delaware	44.7%	36.3%
California	56.9%	35.2%
Nevada	48.9%	35.1%
Florida	50.9%	33.3%
South Carolina	44.2%	32.9%
Arizona	47.1%	30.3%
North Carolina	42.1%	30.1%
Mississippi	52.3%	30.1%
Georgia	48.7%	30.1%
Louisiana	47.6%	28.7%
Virginia	35.8%	24.6%
Maryland	47.4%	24.1%
Colorado	34.3%	23.2%
Alabama	39.2%	21.9%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Black Segregation Increasing in Southern States, Remains Very High in Others

It is important to understand segregation trends for black students in states where black students make up a significant share of the enrollment (Table 16). All of these states are located in the South or Border regions, or in the states of the historic industrial North. In fact, compared to other regions, the North has higher levels of segregation with substantially smaller proportions of African American students. For over three decades, Illinois, New York, and Michigan have been consistently at the top of the list for extreme segregation of African American students. President Obama's home state has the second highest level of black segregation in the United States (topped only by New York), even though black students make up less than a fifth of the enrollment. A number of Southern states that were far less segregated for several decades are now catching up to the Northeast states. Still, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina, the states with the highest proportions of black students, have substantially lower levels of extreme segregation than the three northern states.

Table 16*: States with Highest Black Public School Enrollment 2009-2010*

State	% Black	% in 50-100% Minority Schools	% in 90-100% Minority Schools
Mississippi	50.1%	78.2%	47.5%
Louisiana	44.4%	73.9%	36.4%
South Carolina	38.4%	64.0%	18.6%
Georgia	37.4%	79.1%	40.6%
Maryland	37.2%	82.4%	51.1%
Alabama	34.9%	69.2%	43.5%
Delaware	33.2%	60.7%	13.2%
North Carolina	31.0%	68.2%	18.0%
Virginia	26.1%	65.6%	15.4%
Tennessee	24.3%	72.9%	44.1%
Florida	23.5%	74.2%	32.9%
Arkansas	21.8%	70.1%	25.6%
Michigan	19.6%	73.7%	53.3%
Illinois	19.3%	83.6%	62.1%
New York	18.8%	85.4%	63.6%

Note: In District of Columbia, 79.4% of all students were black, and 99.1% and 90.4% attended a 50-100% and 90-100% minority school, respectively. We explore this district in more detail in the accompanying report on the South.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In some states, black students are considerably isolated from whites even though the black student population remains below 5% (Table 17). In New Mexico, for example, black students make up roughly 2% of the overall enrollment, yet more than 80% attend majority minority schools. That figure represents a significant increase from 2001, when 60% of New Mexico's black students attended majority minority school settings.[105] New Mexico's trends for black students are caused to a substantial extent by the very high Latino enrollment and low white enrollment in the state. In states like Oregon, Utah and Iowa, however, there is both a large majority of white students and a significant level of segregation for a small black population. These are states with very modest challenges, but that are failing to address these issues effectively.

[105] Ibid.

Table 17: *States with Lowest Black Public School Enrollment 2009-2010*

State	% Black	% in 50-100% Minority Schools	% in 90-100% Minority Schools
Montana	1.1%	4.5%	0.5%
Wyoming	1.2%	4.5%	0.1%
Idaho	1.2%	3.9%	0.0%
Utah	1.5%	24.5%	0.9%
Vermont	1.8%	*	*
New Hampshire	2.0%	4.6%	*
New Mexico	2.1%	86.2%	13.8%
Hawaii	2.3%	79.1%	10.6%
North Dakota	2.4%	0.8%	0.4%
South Dakota	2.5%	11.7%	1.8%
Oregon	2.8%	43.5%	2.0%
Maine	2.9%	12.0%	*
Alaska	3.8%	48.6%	0.6%
Iowa	5.0%	28.6%	1.6%

Note: * No schools. In Hawaii, this record is related to the extremely large majority of Asian students and in Alaska to the very high proportion of American Indian/Alaska Native students.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The Most Segregated States for Black Students

States have been ranked by the severity of school segregation trends (measured in three different ways) for many years.[106] New York, Illinois, and Michigan have consistently topped the list of the most segregated states for black students, and California joined this list in 2009-10 (Table 18). The large and hyper-segregated metropolises of New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles and Detroit, along with the high percentages of minority students who reside in them, likely influence these trends. A staggering two-fifths of black students in Illinois attend a school where less than 1% of the student body is white. In Michigan, more than a third of black students experience the same situation. These apartheid conditions are similar to those that existed in the South before *Brown v. Board of Education.*

During the era of court-ordered desegregation and enforcement, virtually no southern states appeared in the rankings.[107] More recently, though, the rollback of desegregation efforts has led to a situation where at least 3 to 4 southern states have emerged in the top 20 on selected measures of black student segregation. In this report, Arkansas and Tennessee appear for the first

[106] See Orfield, G. (1982). *Public school desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980*, Washington: Joint Center of Political Studies; Orfield, G., & Montfort, F. (1992). *Status of school desegregation: The next generation*. Alexandria, VA: The National School Boards Association.
[107] Orfield & Montfort, 1992.

time on the list of states with the most black students enrolled in intensely segregated minority schools. Fully 8 of the top 20 most segregated states (as measured by the share of black students attending schools under apartheid conditions) are in the South or the Border regions. This trend represents significant retrenchment on civil rights progress in the historic slave states.

Even though white students constitute a little more than half of the nation's school enrollment, the typical black student in many of the most segregated states attended a school that was less than a quarter white. In New Jersey and Maryland, for instance, where whites make up approximately 54% and 45%, respectively, of the statewide enrollment (see Appendix A), the average black student heads to a school that is roughly 24% white. On another measure, six states—Mississippi, New Jersey, Maryland, Michigan, New York and Illinois—reported that nearly half or more of their black students attended intensely segregated schools.

Table 18: *Most Segregated States for Black Students, 2009-2010*

Rank	% in 50-100% Minority Schools		Rank	% in 90-100% Minority Schools		Rank	% in 99-100% Minority Schools		Rank	% White in School of Typical Black	
1	California	90.5%	1	New York	63.6%	1	Illinois	41.4%	1	New York	17.7%
2	New Mexico	86.2%	2	Illinois	62.1%	2	Michigan	34.1%	2	Illinois	18.8%
3	New York	85.4%	3	Michigan	53.3%	3	New Jersey	26.1%	3	California	18.9%
4	Illinois	83.6%	4	Maryland	51.1%	4	Tennessee	25.9%	4	Maryland	22.0%
5	Texas	82.4%	5	New Jersey	47.6%	5	New York	23.6%	5	New Jersey	24.5%
6	Maryland	82.4%	6	Mississippi	47.5%	6	Alabama	23.4%	6	Texas	24.6%
7	Hawaii	79.1%	7	Pennsylvania	44.9%	7	Pennsylvania	23.2%	7	Mississippi	25.4%
8	Georgia	79.1%	8	Tennessee	44.1%	8	Maryland	22.9%	8	Georgia	25.5%
9	Mississippi	78.2%	9	Alabama	43.5%	9	Mississippi	20.4%	9	Michigan	26.3%
10	Nevada	78.0%	10	Wisconsin	41.4%	10	Georgia	17.4%	10	Louisiana	29.0%
11	New Jersey	77.7%	11	Georgia	40.6%	11	Missouri	13.6%	11	Tennessee	29.0%
12	Connecticut	75.9%	12	California	40.6%	12	Louisiana	12.4%	12	Alabama	29.9%
13	Florida	74.2%	13	Missouri	39.8%	13	Texas	11.9%	13	Florida	30.1%
14	Louisiana	73.9%	14	Texas	39.6%	14	Ohio	11.4%	14	Pennsylvania	30.7%
15	Michigan	73.7%	15	Ohio	36.5%	15	California	11.3%	15	Connecticut	31.4%
16	Tennessee	72.9%	16	Louisiana	36.4%	16	Indiana	10.5%	16	Nevada	31.6%
17	Pennsylvania	70.5%	17	Florida	32.9%	17	Florida	9.7%	17	Ohio	32.3%
18	Arkansas	70.1%	18	Indiana	29.6%	18	Delaware	7.3%	18	Wisconsin	33.0%
19	Ohio	69.8%	19	Connecticut	28.6%	19	Connecticut	5.4%	19	Arkansas	34.3%
20	Alabama	69.2%	20	Arkansas	25.6%	20	Arkansas	4.7%	20	Missouri	34.4%

Note: In District of Columbia, 99.1%, 90.4%, and 80.4% of black students attended a 50-100%, 90-100%, and 99-100% minority school, respectively; and only 3.3% of the student body for a typical black student was white.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Latino Segregation Sharply Increasing in Many States

Latino enrollment and segregation in many states has increased dramatically over the past several decades. In states with significant shares of Latino students—many of which were located in the West—extreme patterns of isolation were evident (Table 19). Eleven states reported that Latino students constituted more than 20% of the population. In four states, Latinos comprised between 40-60% of total student enrollment and in all four—New Mexico, California, Texas and Arizona—more than three-quarters of Latino students attended majority minority school settings. In the same states, more than one-third (and in two cases, more than half) were enrolled in intensely segregated minority schools. In New York and New Jersey, as well as the Midwestern state of Illinois, Latino students were very disproportionately concentrated in intensely segregated minority schools. Rhode Island also stands out as a state with a modest share of Latino students (18%) but with a high percentage attending intensely segregated schools.

Table 19: States with Highest Latino Public School Enrollment 2009-2010

State	% Latino	% in 50-100% Minority Schools	% in 90-100% Minority Schools
New Mexico	60.0%	93.4%	36.2%
California	50.3%	91.4%	52.5%
Texas	48.4%	87.4%	52.7%
Arizona	41.2%	78.0%	39.3%
Nevada	37.6%	79.7%	17.8%
Colorado	28.4%	62.3%	15.7%
Florida	27.4%	74.8%	29.4%
Illinois	21.8%	77.4%	46.4%
New York	21.5%	83.9%	57.6%
New Jersey	20.6%	76.5%	41.2%
Oregon	20.4%	39.8%	1.2%
Rhode Island	18.0%	74.1%	39.7%
Connecticut	17.3%	73.4%	23.6%
Washington	16.8%	53.9%	14.1%
Kansas	15.7%	56.4%	7.4%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Even in states with low percentages of Latino students, disproportionate shares were concentrated in majority minority or intensely segregated minority schools (Table 20). In four states where Latino students constitute between just 4 to 5% of the population, more than 25% attend majority minority schools. Similar trends emerged in states reporting that Latino students comprised 3 to 4% of the student enrollment in 2009. In Louisiana, for example, Latinos accounted for a little over 3% of the student population, many arriving after the Katrina disaster,

yet more than 50% attended a majority minority school. Given the profound educational inequalities affecting Latinos and the very rapid demographic growth, it is important to address these patterns before they become as severe as the situation in other states.

Table 20: *States with Lowest Latino Public School Enrollment 2009-2010*

State	% Latino	% in 50-100% Minority Schools	% in 90-100% Minority Schools
West Virginia	1.0%	0.5%	*
Maine	1.2%	3.3%	*
Vermont	1.2%	*	*
Mississippi	2.2%	43.4%	9.7%
North Dakota	2.5%	2.4%	0.5%
Montana	2.8%	6.3%	0.3%
South Dakota	2.8%	11.6%	0.5%
Ohio	3.0%	37.1%	5.8%
Louisiana	3.2%	54.2%	8.8%
Kentucky	3.3%	23.1%	0.4%
New Hampshire	3.5%	5.2%	*
Missouri	4.1%	28.3%	7.0%
Alabama	4.3%	29.4%	7.7%
Hawaii	4.6%	90.1%	12.5%
Michigan	4.8%	39.4%	13.7%

Note: * No schools
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Most Segregated States for Latino Students

New York, California, New Mexico and Texas, all states profoundly altered by immigration trends over the last half-century, are among the most segregated states for Latino students along multiple dimensions (Table 21). All also appeared at the top of the rankings ten years ago.[108] Five states—Texas, California, New Jersey, Illinois and Maryland—indicated that between 8-16% of Latino students enrolled in apartheid-like schools in 2009. In New York, one out of every five Latino students attended a school where zero to 1% of the students were white. Those who see the Latino experience as a parallel with earlier immigrant communities should pay attention to these patterns of near total separation from the white community (and the non-poor) for many Latinos in these areas.

[108] Frankenberg, E., Lee, C., & Orfield, G. (2003). *A multiracial society with segregated schools: Are we losing the dream?* Cambridge: The Civil Rights Project.

Northeastern and western states topped the list of the most segregated for Latino students in terms of 90-100% minority settings. New York, Texas, California, Illinois and New Jersey were all in the top five states reporting very high shares of Latino students enrolled in intensely segregated minority settings. A little further down on the list, several new immigrant destinations in the South emerged as highly segregated—North Carolina for the first time. It should be noted that the shares of Latino students enrolled in these hypersegregated settings are not as high as the same figures for black students, but they are still cause for alarm, particularly since racial change is moving very rapidly.

Latino students experience the lowest exposure to white students in states with majority minority populations—California, Texas, New York, New Mexico and Hawaii. White students account for roughly 40% of California's student population, but the typical Latino student heads to a school that is less than 17% white. Within California, segregation is far more extreme in the nation's second largest school district, the Los Angeles Unified School District.[109]

[109] Orfield, G., Siegel-Hawley, G., Kucsera, J. (2011). *Divided we fail: Segregation and inequality in the southland's schools*. Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project.

Table 21: Most Segregated States for Latino Students, 2009-2010

Rank	% in 50-100% Minority Schools		Rank	% in 90-100% Minority Schools		Rank	% in 99-100% Minority Schools		Rank	% White in School of Typical Latino	
1	New Mexico	93.4%	1	New York	57.6%	1	New York	20.0%	1	California	16.5%
2	California	91.4%	2	Texas	52.7%	2	Texas	16.6%	2	Texas	18.9%
3	Hawaii	90.1%	3	California	52.5%	3	California	14.5%	3	New York	20.0%
4	Texas	87.4%	4	Illinois	46.4%	4	New Jersey	11.6%	4	New Mexico	21.0%
5	New York	83.9%	5	New Jersey	41.2%	5	Illinois	8.4%	5	Hawaii	24.1%
6	Nevada	79.7%	6	Rhode Island	39.7%	6	Maryland	8.4%	6	Illinois	26.3%
7	Arizona	78.0%	7	Arizona	39.3%	7	Pennsylvania	4.7%	7	Arizona	27.0%
8	Maryland	77.6%	8	New Mexico	36.2%	8	Arizona	4.5%	8	New Jersey	27.0%
9	Illinois	77.4%	9	Maryland	35.0%	9	Delaware	3.8%	9	Maryland	28.1%
10	New Jersey	76.5%	10	Florida	29.4%	10	Tennessee	3.7%	10	Rhode Island	28.5%
11	Florida	74.8%	11	Georgia	27.6%	11	New Mexico	2.7%	11	Nevada	29.2%
12	Rhode Island	74.1%	12	Massachusetts	26.6%	12	Florida	2.2%	12	Florida	30.3%
13	Connecticut	73.4%	13	Pennsylvania	24.9%	13	Mississippi	2.0%	13	Connecticut	34.8%
14	Georgia	67.1%	14	Connecticut	23.6%	14	Alabama	1.9%	14	Georgia	35.3%
15	Massachusetts	65.9%	15	Nevada	17.8%	15	Georgia	1.8%	15	Massachusetts	36.4%
16	Delaware	64.8%	16	Colorado	15.7%	16	Connecticut	1.4%	16	Pennsylvania	39.6%
17	Colorado	62.3%	17	Wisconsin	15.5%	17	Massachusetts	1.0%	17	Colorado	40.7%
18	Virginia	61.4%	18	No. Carolina	14.3%	18	Indiana	0.9%	18	Delaware	41.1%
19	Pennsylvania	60.5%	19	Washington	14.1%	19	Minnesota	0.8%	19	Oklahoma	42.7%
20	Oklahoma	60.3%	20	Michigan	13.7%	20	Louisiana	0.8%	20	No. Carolina	42.7%

Note: In District of Columbia, 97.9%, 80.9%, and 59.7% of Latino students attended a 50-100%, 90-100%, and 99-100% minority school, respectively; and only 7.2% of the student body for a typical Latino student was white.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Implications of State Segregation Patterns

When the civil rights movement and related civil rights laws began to change the country in the l960s, efforts were directed towards alleviating patterns of segregation for black students in the South and in some northern central cities. There were many states where the challenge was virtually nonexistent or limited to one big city district. Often it was a local rather than a state issue.

State governments in the South engaged in a long battle to delay desegregation. Yet after Congress passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Supreme Court strengthened legal requirements related to school desegregation, most states simply stood aside. A small number of progressive states adopted state civil rights policies about segregated schools, and in some cases the state courts defined rights to integrated education.[110] Still, when the Supreme Court heard the Detroit metropolitan desegregation case in l974, most state governments intervened on behalf of exempting the suburbs from desegregation plans, a position the Supreme Court embraced in *Milliken v. Bradley*.

When the Reagan Administration terminated the popular desegregation assistance program in 1981, which offered funding to school districts to foster successful integration, it was the largest of a number of federal aid programs to be shut down. The funding was subsequently turned over to the states to use as they wished, as part of a block grant coming from many eliminated programs. Most states simply distributed small amounts of money to all districts as part of general state funding, with no connection to desegregation.

Today, after decades of inaction on the issue of desegregation, states confront much more diversity overall. The new segregation that has grown out of that diversity is multiracial, affects many more districts, involves language and immigrant issues as well as isolation by race, ethnicity and poverty. It is also spreading. If one examines the testing and graduation statistics on the state department of education websites, the relationship between failure to meet state standards and this segregation is an obvious reality, although it is virtually invisible in policy discourse. Resegregated schools tend to have severe problems of educational performance but as far as this issue goes, most states have taken a pass.

[110] See, for example, policies and/or legal frameworks adopted in Massachusetts, New York, Ohio and Connecticut.

METROPOLITAN TRENDS

The United States is a vast country with hundreds of millions of acres of agricultural land, large areas of desert and mountain wilderness, and a great history as a society of small communities. By 1920, though, it had become primarily an urban society. Today more than four-fifths of people in the U.S. live in several hundred metropolitan areas, including some of the world's largest metropolitan complexes.[111] Metro areas share a large economic region and housing market but some metros have hundreds of separate school districts. At the same time, in some places, particularly in the South and parts of the West, both the city and the suburbs are included in a single large school system. Most segregation within the U.S. is not within individual school districts, it is among the school districts in a metropolitan area,[112] a fact that has been largely ignored in desegregation policy and law.

In this section, we explore the enrollment, segregation, and poverty concentration patterns of public school students in the top 25 largest enrolling metropolitan areas for the 2009-2010 school year. We also explore metropolitan changes since 1991. Some of the findings reflect the general national and regional patterns, but others are developing in distinctive ways. This data can provide detailed information for local policy makers and community members, helping them think about their broader urban communities.

As racial change reaches far into many suburban rings, where the majority of black and Latino children in many metros live,[113] and as a number of metropolitan areas on the whole are becoming predominantly nonwhite, we are long past the time when racial diversity and segregation should be thought of in the context of a single central city. The basic unit of analysis for urban trends in the United States is the metropolitan area. In Census Bureau terms, this is referred to as the Core Based Statistical Area (CBSA) (from 1993 to present) or the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) (prior to 1993).

A CBSA is a collective term for both metropolitan and micropolitan areas. A metropolitan area contains a core urban area of 50,000 or more residents, and a micropolitan area contains an urban core of at least 10,000 (but less than 50,000) residents. Each metropolitan or micropolitan area consists of one or more counties and includes the counties containing the core urban area. It also includes any adjacent counties that have a high degree of social and economic integration (as measured by commuting to work) with the urban core. In addition, CBSAs generally consist of multiple jurisdictions and municipalities including cities and counties. They can, as is the case with the CBSA containing New York City, also cross state lines.

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[111] United Nations Population Division World Urbanization Prospects: The 2009 Revision.
[112] Clotfelter, C. T. (2004). Private schools, segregation, and the southern states. *Peabody Journal of Education, 79*(2), 74-97; biscoff 2008
[113] Orfield, G. & Frankenberg, E. (2008). *The last have become the first: Rural and small town America lead the way on desegregation*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project; Frankenberg, E. & Orfield, G. (Eds.) (forthcoming). *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in American education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Enrollment

The racial and ethnic composition of the public school student population has changed and will continue to change substantially over time, driven by immigration and varying age structures and birth rates of different racial and ethnic groups. In the 2009-2010 school year, public school enrollment for the top 25 metropolitan areas ranged roughly between 300,000 to 2.7 million students (Table 22). In a majority of these areas, white enrollment metropolitan-wide was less than 50%.

Within the five largest metropolitan areas (what we call the "Top 5"), nearly half of the students enrolled in the 2009-2010 school year were black or Latino. In the Los Angeles metropolitan area, less than one out of five students identified as white. Across the metropolitan areas with less than a million to half a million students ("Middle 10"), a similar pattern of a small white proportion is found in other California metro areas, as well as in Miami. In addition, close to one out of four students in the San Francisco metropolitan area identified as Asian.

Across the metropolitan areas with 300,000 to 500,000 total student enrollment ("Bottom 10"), San Antonio and San Diego had the highest proportion of Latino students. Metro Baltimore had the highest proportion of black students, nearly two out of five. Metro Pittsburgh was, by a good margin, the whitest metropolitan area in terms of students, followed by Boston and Minneapolis.

Table 22: *Public School Enrollment in 2009-2010 for the Top 25 Highest Enrolling Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs)*

		Total students	Percentage					
			White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed race
Top 5	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	2,665,200	41.0%	20.0%	10.6%	28.0%	0.3%	0.1%
	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	1,998,388	19.2%	6.8%	11.7%	59.4%	0.3%	2.0%
	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	1,538,204	44.3%	22.3%	5.2%	27.9%	0.2%	*
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	1,191,183	38.8%	18.1%	5.6%	37.0%	0.5%	*
	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	1,156,610	29.8%	19.6%	6.1%	44.2%	0.3%	*
Middle 10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	919,254	40.1%	38.7%	4.8%	13.2%	0.3%	2.8%
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	826,635	40.6%	31.3%	10.0%	17.8%	0.3%	0.0%
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	819,794	56.5%	28.1%	5.6%	9.4%	0.2%	0.2%
	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	812,419	23.3%	8.4%	4.7%	59.2%	0.5%	3.4%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	748,187	21.8%	30.1%	2.5%	45.4%	0.3%	*
	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	723,776	46.0%	7.1%	3.7%	40.5%	2.7%	*
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	697,674	62.5%	29.5%	3.7%	3.9%	0.4%	*
	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	633,697	69.9%	8.6%	6.5%	12.9%	0.2%	1.9%
	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	541,476	29.8%	10.3%	22.7%	30.2%	0.4%	5.3%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	515,281	69.9%	12.9%	8.9%	7.1%	1.2%	*
Bottom 10	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	482,555	34.9%	6.2%	10.1%	43.8%	0.7%	3.4%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	454,493	61.4%	9.6%	14.9%	12.4%	1.7%	*
	Denver-Aurora, CO	419,909	55.7%	7.9%	4.6%	30.8%	0.9%	*
	St. Louis, MO-IL	409,845	67.7%	27.4%	2.3%	2.4%	0.2%	*
	San Antonio, TX	396,772	26.2%	7.8%	2.1%	63.6%	0.3%	*
	Baltimore-Towson, MD	372,048	50.7%	38.6%	5.4%	4.8%	0.5%	*
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	361,417	57.0%	17.8%	3.4%	21.6%	0.4%	*
	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	346,584	44.0%	10.0%	13.0%	25.0%	0.9%	6.0%
	Kansas City, MO-KS	336,909	66.9%	17.6%	2.9%	10.7%	0.5%	1.4%
	Pittsburgh, PA	313,007	83.6%	13.6%	1.7%	0.8%	0.1%	*

Note: * Data not reported. AI=American Indian.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data and Local Education Agency Universe Survey Data

One predictor of the future of our schools is the racial enrollment of the 2009-10 first-grade class (Table 23). For the top 25 metropolitan areas, the white student share of the enrollment is expected to continue to decrease, particularly in the Seattle, Chicago, and Tampa areas. Similar to national, regional, and state patterns, the Latino student proportion should proceed to grow in most metropolitan areas, except San Diego. Midwestern areas of Detroit, Minneapolis, and St. Louis, as well as the Southern region Atlanta area and the Border region Baltimore area, are predicted to increase their relative Latino proportion by over 20%, according to their first-grade enrollment. For Asian students, the pattern is less clear. Some areas, like Detroit and Pittsburgh, are expected to experience a large increase in their proportion of Asian students; other areas, such as Los Angeles and Riverside metro areas, are expected to experience a relative decrease. For black students, first grade enrollment patterns indicate that their proportion of the enrollment is expected to decline across most metros. For example, Chicago, Washington, San Antonio, Los Angeles, Riverside, San Diego, and San Francisco areas should expect a decrease of 10% or more of their black student proportion if the first grade enrollment is a valid predictor. Metro Minneapolis, on the other hand, is expected to enroll close to a 10% increase in its black student proportion, likely influenced by a substantial influx of Somali immigrants.

Table 23: *First Grade Public School Enrollment in 2009-2010 for the Top 25 Highest Enrolling Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs)*

		Percentage				
		White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**AI**
Top 5	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	39.4%	18.8%	11.1%	29.6%	0.3%
	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	17.7%	6.1%	11.0%	62.2%	0.3%
	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	40.4%	19.9%	5.4%	30.3%	0.2%
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	36.4%	17.1%	6.0%	40.1%	0.5%
	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	27.8%	18.6%	5.8%	47.5%	0.3%
Middle 10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	39.3%	35.3%	5.0%	16.9%	0.3%
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	38.9%	27.6%	10.7%	19.5%	0.3%
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	52.8%	28.0%	6.0%	10.9%	0.2%
	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	21.1%	7.6%	4.4%	61.8%	0.5%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	19.9%	29.4%	2.4%	46.1%	0.3%
	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	44.0%	6.7%	3.7%	42.8%	2.7%
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	59.5%	29.7%	4.4%	5.1%	0.3%
	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	67.5%	8.0%	7.1%	14.4%	0.2%
	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	28.2%	8.9%	21.1%	33.3%	0.4%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	66.4%	14.0%	9.5%	8.8%	1.2%
Bottom 10	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	34.6%	5.6%	10.2%	43.3%	0.7%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	55.2%	9.0%	14.8%	13.7%	1.5%
	Denver-Aurora, CO	54.4%	7.4%	4.9%	32.5%	0.8%
	St. Louis, MO-IL	65.7%	27.2%	2.6%	3.1%	0.2%
	San Antonio, TX	24.4%	7.0%	2.1%	66.2%	0.3%
	Baltimore-Towson, MD	49.1%	38.5%	6.0%	5.8%	0.5%
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	50.1%	17.3%	3.6%	22.9%	0.3%
	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	41.2%	9.8%	12.5%	28.5%	0.8%
	Kansas City, MO-KS	65.3%	17.2%	3.1%	12.3%	0.5%
	Pittsburgh, PA	80.8%	13.3%	2.0%	0.9%	0.2%

Note: AI=American Indian.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data and Local Education Agency Universe Survey Data

Segregation

Concentration

Across all of the top 25 metropolitan areas, more than half of black students are attending an majority-minority school (Table 24). Sixteen metropolitan areas have at least three-fourths of black students within such a school. Eleven out of the top 25 areas report that more than half of black students attend an intensely segregated (90-100% minority) school. Two other areas, Chicago and Detroit, have nearly half of black students attending schools with apartheid conditions. The Supreme Court's l974 decision to confine the desegregation of Detroit's illegally segregated black students to a school district with few whites and no feasible desegregation strategy permanently embedded segregation there and elsewhere— exactly as Justice Thurgood Marshall predicted in his biting dissent in *Milliken v. Bradley*.

Metropolitan areas across California also demand attention due to their relatively low black student enrollment proportions (10% or less), even as more than 80% of their black students attend majority-minority schools. Metros in California do vary in terms of 90-100% minority schools, which serve six out of every ten black students in the Los Angeles area and nearly two out of every ten black students in the San Francisco area.

Table 24*: Percentage of Black Students in Minority Schools*

		% Black	% in 50-100% Minority Schools	% in 90-100% Minority Schools	% in 99-100% Minority Schools
Top 5	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	20.0%	90.8%	69.7%	31.4%
	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	6.8%	94.1%	61.0%	30.0%
	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	22.3%	89.7%	71.8%	48.5%
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	18.1%	82.3%	41.3%	13.5%
	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	19.6%	88.5%	56.6%	20.1%
Middle 10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	38.7%	84.0%	51.0%	28.0%
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	31.3%	85.1%	51.3%	29.5%
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	28.1%	76.9%	52.3%	29.7%
	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	8.4%	94.3%	33.4%	0.8%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	30.1%	95.4%	58.4%	22.1%
	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	7.1%	63.4%	19.9%	0.7%
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	29.5%	77.4%	66.2%	47.9%
	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	8.6%	70.7%	29.0%	3.9%
	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	10.3%	92.6%	38.0%	3.6%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	12.9%	55.8%	21.2%	4.0%
Bottom 10	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	6.2%	85.2%	30.3%	2.3%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	9.6%	57.6%	7.0%	0.0%
	Denver-Aurora, CO	7.9%	69.8%	17.6%	0.0%
	St. Louis, MO-IL	27.4%	72.5%	51.3%	23.4%
	San Antonio, TX	7.8%	87.7%	25.7%	1.8%
	Baltimore-Towson, MD	38.6%	80.6%	51.4%	25.5%
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	17.8%	65.9%	15.3%	0.5%
	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	10.0%	80.3%	16.9%	*
	Kansas City, MO-KS	17.6%	66.3%	32.3%	4.5%
	Pittsburgh, PA	13.6%	58.0%	17.6%	5.2%

Note: * =No schools.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

For all metropolitan areas where Latinos make up at least 5% of the population, close to half or more of Latino students are attending a majority-minority school (Table 25). Twelve metropolitan areas have at least three-fourths of Latino students attending such schools. Four more have more than half of Latino students in an intensely segregated school.

The Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia areas have the highest proportion of Latino students attending schools consisting of 99-100% minority students, at 29.5%, 18.9%, and 16.3%, respectively. Los Angeles was the first major city to end its desegregation plan in l981, after California voters adopted a proposition limiting desegregation rights under the state constitution and the California Supreme Court let the proposition stand. While San Antonio has the highest proportion of enrollment of Latino students among U.S. metropolitan areas, it has a significantly lower rate of apartheid-like segregation than the area with the next highest proportion of Latino enrollment, Los Angeles. Less than 10% of San Antonio area Latino students attend schools composed of 99-100% minority students, compared to 29.5% of Los Angeles area Latino students.

Table 25*: Percentage of Latino Students in Minority Schools*

		% Latino	% in 50-100% Minority Schools	% in 90-100% Minority Schools	% in 99-100% Minority Schools
Top 5	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	28.0%	85.7%	57.0%	18.9%
	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	59.4%	95.0%	71.2%	29.5%
	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	27.9%	79.3%	48.3%	8.8%
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	37.0%	82.5%	42.8%	9.2%
	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	44.2%	86.4%	54.2%	12.7%
Middle 10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	13.2%	74.0%	36.7%	2.7%
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	17.8%	78.8%	25.1%	7.9%
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	9.4%	66.7%	38.6%	16.3%
	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	59.2%	94.6%	43.4%	3.0%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	45.4%	93.2%	50.8%	4.2%
	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	40.5%	78.1%	39.4%	2.1%
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	3.9%	46.8%	27.4%	0.8%
	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	12.9%	68.7%	34.0%	1.6%
	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	30.2%	87.6%	38.6%	4.8%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	7.1%	48.7%	14.7%	1.2%
Bottom 5	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	43.8%	86.6%	35.1%	5.0%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	12.4%	50.0%	2.1%	0.0%
	Denver-Aurora, CO	30.8%	73.9%	26.2%	0.2%
	St. Louis, MO-IL	2.4%	27.6%	5.8%	1.3%
	San Antonio, TX	63.6%	90.3%	47.2%	9.2%
	Baltimore-Towson, MD	4.8%	56.6%	11.4%	1.4%
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	21.6%	52.3%	5.3%	0.0%
	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	25.0%	71.6%	13.7%	*
	Kansas City, MO-KS	10.7%	49.6%	12.0%	0.5%
	Pittsburgh, PA	0.8%	10.5%	1.2%	0.2%

Note: *No schools.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Comparing black and Latino student proportions, black students across the most populated metropolitan areas generally attend more apartheid schools than Latino students. In 11 of the top 25 metropolitan areas, at least 20% of black students attend schools composed of 99-100% minority students, compared to only 1 of the major metropolitan areas (Los Angeles) meeting this same criteria for Latino students. Although most metropolitan areas differ in intense segregation by race, the New York metropolitan area ranks amongst the highest for both Latino and black students in terms of the shares of these students attending intensely segregated and apartheid-like schools.

Exposure: A Measure of Interracial Contact

Another way to explore segregation patterns is to investigate the average exposure or contact of different racial group members. Across the largest metropolitan areas in 2009-2010, the typical white student generally experiences the highest levels of exposure to other white students. In the New York CBSA, for example, whites make up 41% of the population, but the average white student goes to a school that is 70% white. Asian students, on average, experience the second highest rates of exposure to white students (Table 26). In New York, the typical white student is in a school with twice the white share of the metro population for Los Angeles and Miami, and with at least 1.5 times the white share of the metro population for nine other areas. Black and Latino students typically have the lowest exposure to white students. For example, in Detroit and St. Louis, although white students comprise around two-thirds of the total student population, the typical black student attends a school with roughly a quarter of white students.

Table 26*: Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools for the Top 25 Highest Enrolling CBSAs, 2009-2010*

		% White	White to White	Black to White	Asian to White	Latino to White
Top 5	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	41.0%	70.7%	13.0%	36.7%	19.0%
	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	19.2%	46.7%	12.5%	23.4%	9.9%
	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	44.3%	71.3%	13.1%	54.0%	24.6%
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	38.8%	59.5%	23.9%	43.6%	23.4%
	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	29.8%	53.4%	17.3%	33.7%	18.8%
Middle 10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	40.1%	62.2%	20.3%	41.6%	29.8%
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	40.6%	60.7%	19.8%	44.5%	29.1%
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	56.5%	76.2%	24.4%	58.3%	32.6%
	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	23.3%	37.4%	20.3%	27.5%	18.0%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	21.8%	42.8%	13.6%	*	16.6%
	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	46.0%	63.9%	38.1%	*	27.1%
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	62.5%	82.9%	20.6%	*	*
	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	69.9%	82.3%	34.0%	57.3%	33.4%
	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	29.8%	50.5%	16.8%	23.5%	19.5%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	69.9%	80.2%	42.0%	48.6%	48.6%
Bottom 10	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	34.9%	51.2%	24.4%	33.7%	23.6%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	61.4%	68.8%	44.6%	51.8%	50.0%
	Denver-Aurora, CO	55.7%	71.2%	36.8%	58.9%	32.2%
	St. Louis, MO-IL	67.7%	84.1%	26.9%	*	*
	San Antonio, TX	26.2%	44.9%	23.5%	*	18.5%
	Baltimore-Towson, MD	50.7%	71.6%	23.1%	55.5%	46.2%
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	57.0%	67.1%	37.8%	*	45.9%
	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	44.0%	59.3%	27.4%	31.6%	33.9%
	Kansas City, MO-KS	66.9%	78.9%	33.9%	*	45.7%
	Pittsburgh, PA	83.6%	89.9%	45.4%	*	*

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Across all metropolitan areas, the typical black student attends a school with a much higher percentage of black students than the metropolitan figure (Table 27). In the Los Angeles and Chicago metropolitan areas, the proportion of black classmates for a typical black student is over three times the proportion in the region. Boston and Pittsburgh, two of the three whitest metros, also have over three times the proportion of black students for the area enrolled in the average black student's school. In many other metros, the average black student enrolls in a school where blacks make up more than twice the metro share.

With the vast growth of Latino students and low-income students, there is an increasing probability of combining different disadvantaged groups of students in the same school. The second highest group of students in the average black student's school across most of the top 25 metropolitan areas is Latinos. For example, within the Top 5 highest enrolling metropolitan areas, the average black student in New York attends a school with an average of 29% Latino classmates, in comparison to 13% white and 6% Asian classmates. In the Southwest, black students are not exposed to many whites but attend schools, which, on average, have far more Latinos than fellow blacks. While serious research was conducted on black-white desegregation, especially during the civil rights era, there has been very little on the conditions that develop in schools serving two disadvantaged groups. Moreover, little has been done on how to best create positive educational and race relations outcomes in these types of schools.

Table 27: *Black Student Exposure Rates in Public Schools for the Top 25 Highest Enrolling CBSAs, 2009-2010*

		% Black	Black to White	Black to Black	Black to Asian	Black to Latino
Top 5	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	20.0%	13.0%	51.7%	6.0%	28.7%
	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	6.8%	12.5%	25.7%	7.2%	52.0%
	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	22.3%	13.1%	68.6%	2.1%	16.0%
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	18.1%	23.9%	36.7%	4.7%	34.2%
	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	19.6%	17.3%	37.2%	5.6%	39.7%
Middle 10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	38.7%	20.3%	62.9%	3.2%	10.9%
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	31.3%	19.8%	58.8%	5.8%	15.3%
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	28.1%	24.4%	61.2%	4.0%	10.1%
	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	8.4%	20.3%	13.3%	4.8%	57.7%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	30.1%	13.6%	57.8%	*	26.3%
	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	7.1%	38.1%	11.2%	*	43.9%
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	29.5%	20.6%	74.8%	*	*
	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	8.6%	34.0%	33.9%	7.3%	22.0%
	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	10.3%	16.8%	25.9%	17.8%	33.1%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	12.9%	42.0%	33.7%	12.0%	10.6%
Bottom 10	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	6.2%	24.4%	14.2%	11.4%	45.1%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	9.6%	44.6%	19.7%	18.3%	15.6%
	Denver-Aurora, CO	7.9%	36.8%	22.0%	5.0%	35.4%
	St. Louis, MO-IL	27.4%	26.9%	69.1%	*	*
	San Antonio, TX	7.8%	23.5%	18.9%	*	54.6%
	Baltimore-Towson, MD	38.6%	23.1%	68.5%	3.6%	4.5%
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	17.8%	37.8%	37.9%	*	20.8%
	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	10.0%	27.4%	19.1%	17.7%	29.2%
	Kansas City, MO-KS	17.6%	33.9%	50.1%	*	12.5%
	Pittsburgh, PA	13.6%	45.4%	52.2%	*	*

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Across most of the top 25 metropolitan areas, the typical Latino attends a school with a higher percentage of Latino students than the metropolitan share (Table 28). For example, a typical Latino in one of the largest metropolitan areas, Chicago, is in a school with twice as many Latino students than the Latino share of the metro population. For the mid-size metropolitan areas, Philadelphia and Boston have over three times the proportion of Latino students for the area enrolled in the average Latino student's school. In terms of the smaller metropolitan areas, the Baltimore and Kansas City metropolitan areas have over twice the proportion of Latino students for the area enrolled in the average Latino student's school. With isolated racially segregated schools being heavily associated with poor learning opportunities and conditions, these findings likely have very detrimental consequences for Latino students.

Table 28*: Latino Exposure Rates in Public Schools for the Top 25 Highest Enrolling CBSAs, 2009-2010*

		% Latino	White to Latino	Black to Latino	Asian to Latino	Latino to Latino
Top 5	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	28.0%	18.8%	21.0%	8.3%	51.7%
	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	59.4%	9.9%	6.0%	7.2%	75.0%
	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	27.9%	24.6%	12.8%	3.8%	58.6%
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	37.0%	23.4%	16.8%	3.7%	55.7%
	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	44.2%	18.8%	17.6%	4.2%	59.2%
Middle 10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	13.2%	29.8%	31.8%	5.6%	29.4%
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	17.8%	29.1%	26.9%	10.3%	33.4%
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	9.4%	32.6%	30.2%	4.8%	32.1%
	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	59.2%	18.0%	8.2%	3.8%	66.7%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	45.4%	16.6%	17.4%	*	63.7%
	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	40.5%	27.1%	7.7%	*	59.8%
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	3.9%	*	*	*	*
	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	12.9%	33.4%	14.8%	6.5%	43.1%
	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	30.2%	19.5%	11.3%	15.3%	48.2%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	7.1%	48.6%	19.2%	10.1%	20.3%
Bottom 10	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	43.8%	23.6%	6.4%	7.6%	58.0%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	12.4%	50.0%	12.1%	16.3%	19.7%
	Denver-Aurora, CO	30.8%	32.2%	9.1%	3.7%	53.9%
	St. Louis, MO-IL	2.4%	*	*	*	*
	San Antonio, TX	63.6%	18.5%	6.7%	*	73.0%
	Baltimore-Towson, MD	4.8%	46.2%	36.2%	5.9%	11.1%
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	21.6%	45.9%	17.2%	*	33.5%
	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	25.0%	33.9%	11.6%	13.3%	35.3%
	Kansas City, MO-KS	10.7%	45.7%	20.6%	*	28.3%
	Pittsburgh, PA	0.8%	*	*	*	*

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

A review of exposure rates over time can help determine the evolving degree of interracial contact and isolation occurring across metropolitan areas. To assess metropolitan patterns over time, we used the historical metropolitan statistical area (MSA) definitions (1999) as the metropolitan area base (see Appendix B).

Since 1991, across the vast majority of the largest metropolitan areas, the exposure of black students to white students has decreased significantly between 1991 and 2009 (Table 29). Several exceptions to this trend do exist however. The very highly segregated Detroit area shows an increase in the percentage of white students in the school of a typical black student—from 15.4% to 22.4%—probably a reflection of a large migration to the suburbs. Chicago shows a very small increase from 12.2% to 13.3%. The Washington and Kansas City areas remained stable in terms of black student exposure to white students.

Table 29: *Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Black Student Across the Highest Enrolling Metropolitan Areas*

		1991	2001	2006	2009
Top 5	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA	17.2%	16.4%	14.8%	14.7%
	Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA	22.2%	18.6%	16.8%	15.4%
	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI	12.2%	12.8%	12.9%	13.3%
	Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV	24.4%	23.5%	21.9%	21.6%
	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX	29.7%	27.3%	25.2%	24.1%
Middle 10	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA	26.1%	21.9%	20.7%	18.7%
	Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX	24.7%	18.9%	18.0%	17.3%
	Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI	15.4%	14.6%	19.4%	22.4%
	Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD	27.9%	25.3%	24.6%	24.8%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	22.1%	16.7%	14.5%	13.6%
	Atlanta, GA	25.6%	23.8%	22.2%	20.3%
	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	48.2%	41.7%	38.9%	38.1%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA	61.3%	53.2%	48.5%	46.5%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	57.2%	41.2%	42.1%	42.0%
	Boston-Worcester-Lawrence-Lowell-Brockton, MA-NH	41.9%	32.3%	39.1%	38.4%
Bottom 5	San Diego, CA	35.2%	27.8%	25.8%	24.4%
	Cleveland-Akron, OH	31.0%	23.0%	23.5%	23.4%
	Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO	48.4%	37.5%	37.6%	37.7%
	St. Louis, MO-IL	35.1%	28.8%	27.1%	26.9%
	Portland-Salem, OR-WA	55.3%	*	*	*
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	62.8%	48.9%	41.4%	37.8%
	Pittsburgh, PA	50.1%	45.1%	45.4%	45.4%
	Sacramento-Yolo, CA	43.3%	34.5%	30.5%	27.4%
	San Antonio, TX	*	28.0%	24.7%	23.5%
	Kansas City, MO-KS	34.2%	29.6%	32.9%	33.9%

Note: Metropolitan areas listed by higher to lower school enrollment in 2001-2002. Metropolitan area definitions and boundaries were aligned with Core Based Statistical Area definitions and boundaries

NA = Data not available. * = Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

A similar trend exists for exposure of Latino students to white students (Table 30). The two major metropolitan areas in the U.S. that remained stable in terms of the percentage of white students in the school of a typical Latino student are the New York and Philadelphia areas. New York has consistently been a national leader in Latino segregation. The Philadelphia metro does not have a large Latino enrollment and is not experiencing the kind of economic growth that stimulates migration. All other major metropolitan areas display decreases in Latino exposure to white students between 1991 and 2009.

Table 30: *Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Latino Student Across the Highest Enrolling Metropolitan Areas*

		1991	2001	2006	2009
Top 5	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA	20.9%	21.4%	20.5%	20.4%
	Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA	21.1%	15.4%	13.5%	12.6%
	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI	29.1%	26.8%	25.7%	24.7%
	Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV	*	37.7%	33.8%	31.4%
	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX	38.2%	28.5%	25.4%	23.8%
Middle 10	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA	36.3%	26.7%	23.0%	20.5%
	Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX	30.6%	22.4%	20.0%	18.8%
	Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI	*	*	*	*
	Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD	31.7%	32.2%	31.4%	32.2%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	22.2%	19.4%	17.7%	16.6%
	Atlanta, GA	*	40.2%	32.1%	29.8%
	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	45.7%	32.3%	27.8%	27.1%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA	*	62.3%	55.9%	52.1%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	*	*	50.7%	48.6%
	Boston-Worcester-Lawrence-Lowell-Brockton, MA-NH	48.2%	37.5%	39.2%	37.3%
Bottom 5	San Diego, CA	36.0%	26.8%	23.1%	23.6%
	Cleveland-Akron, OH	*	*	*	*
	Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO	52.2%	38.5%	34.8%	34.8%
	St. Louis, MO-IL	*	*	*	*
	Portland-Salem, OR-WA	*	64.0%	56.1%	52.8%
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	60.9%	50.8%	46.8%	45.9%
	Pittsburgh, PA	*	*	*	*
	Sacramento-Yolo, CA	53.2%	42.6%	36.6%	33.9%
	San Antonio, TX	54.1%	19.8%	19.4%	18.5%
	Kansas City, MO-KS	*	49.4%	47.4%	45.7%

Note: Metropolitan areas listed by higher to lower school enrollment in 2001-2002. Metropolitan area definitions and boundaries were aligned with Core Based Statistical Area definitions and boundaries. NA = Data not available. * = Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Evenness (Dissimilarity): A Measure of Spatial Distribution

Measuring the degree to which any two populations are randomly distributed among schools is another way to assess racial segregation within metropolitan areas. Across the top 25 highest enrolling metropolitan areas (Table 31), a handful of areas experienced extreme school segregation (dissimilarity index score of higher than .70) between a variety of racial groups. For example, within the Top 5 highest enrolling areas, the white-black and black-Asian segregation in the average Chicago public school neared .80, meaning 80% of black students would need to move to another school with more white or Asian students in order to reach an even racial distribution across the metro area.. In addition to Chicago, the largest metro with the most severe white-black segregation is New York. In the Middle 10, Detroit is followed by Boston, and in the Bottom 10, St. Louis and Pittsburgh are the most segregated in terms of the distribution of white and black students. Those areas with the highest white-Latino segregation levels are New York and Los Angeles in the Top 5, Boston and Philadelphia in the Middle 10, and Denver in the Bottom 10.

Table 31*: Segregation of Students in Public Schools in 2009-2010 for the Top 25 Highest Enrolling Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs)*

		Dissimilarity Index					
		White Black	**White Asian**	**White Latino**	**Black Asian**	**Black Latino**	**Asian Latino**
Top 5	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	0.78	0.56	0.70	0.71	0.49	0.61
	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	0.68	0.52	0.69	0.68	0.55	0.62
	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	0.79	0.47	0.65	0.80	0.69	0.65
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	0.58	0.47	0.58	0.55	0.43	0.60
	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	0.62	0.50	0.60	0.54	0.41	0.59
Middle 10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	0.64	0.53	0.54	0.63	0.52	0.49
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-	0.65	0.40	0.55	0.61	0.51	0.44
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-	0.68	0.42	0.62	0.63	0.51	0.60
	Riverside-San Bernardino-	0.46	0.38	0.46	0.44	0.33	0.47
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	0.62	*	0.55	*	0.59	*
	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	0.45	*	0.57	*	0.32	*
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	0.75	*	*	*	*	*
	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	0.69	0.52	0.70	0.57	0.49	0.61
	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	0.66	0.55	0.58	0.57	0.43	0.55
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.58	0.48	0.51	0.40	0.36	0.44
Bottom 10	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	0.55	0.48	0.51	0.46	0.41	0.52
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	0.50	0.37	0.40	0.35	0.34	0.33
	Denver-Aurora, CO	0.63	0.32	0.59	0.51	0.50	0.49
	St. Louis, MO-IL	0.71	*	*	*	*	*
	San Antonio, TX	0.51	*	0.52	*	0.46	*
	Baltimore-Towson, MD	0.65	0.44	0.46	0.60	0.50	0.45
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	0.53	*	0.40	*	0.43	*
	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	0.59	0.52	0.46	0.33	0.34	0.39
	Kansas City, MO-KS	0.63	*	0.52	*	0.50	*
	Pittsburgh, PA	0.69	*	*	*	*	*

Note: * Less than one-twentieth of racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Double Segregation by Race and Poverty

At least one out of three public school students across the 25 highest enrolling areas (except Boston) are poor, as indicated by free and reduced price meal status (

Table 32). Students from differing racial backgrounds, however, experience significantly varying exposure to such poor students. Similar to national and regional patterns, within all metropolitan areas, the average white student attends a school with a much smaller proportion of poor students than the average black or Latino student. In the large Los Angeles metropolitan area, the average Latino student attends a school with nearly 75% poor students; while the average white student attends a school with nearly 25% poor students. Across the 25 highest enrolling metropolitan areas, the typical black student attends a school with nearly half or more poor students. In seven areas - Miami, Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Tampa, and Atlanta – an average black student attends school with at least two out of three poor students.

Black and Latino students in three out of the four Northeast metro areas – New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts – are exposed to a remarkably high percentage of poor students compared to whites. In both the Chicago and Los Angeles metropolitan areas, black and Latino students experience significantly higher exposure to poor students in comparison to their white counterparts.

Table 32*: Student Exposure Rates to Poor Students in Public Schools for the Top 25 Highest Enrolling CBSAs, in 2009-2010*

		% Poor	White to Poor	Black to Poor	Asian to Poor	Latino to Poor
Top 5	New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	43.1%	18.0%	64.2%	40.8%	65.5%
	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	59.8%	27.9%	66.5%	42.0%	73.7%
	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	43.6%	21.7%	68.6%	28.1%	65.5%
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	50.8%	32.7%	60.3%	33.5%	67.7%
	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	52.8%	34.4%	59.2%	36.7%	64.6%
Middle 10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	50.9%	35.2%	65.5%	38.5%	61.4%
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	33.9%	20.9%	48.1%	26.0%	47.3%
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	37.8%	21.7%	64.4%	32.2%	62.2%
	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	59.9%	47.6%	63.0%	44.3%	66.9%
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	58.2%	39.3%	71.2%	*	61.6%
	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	44.2%	29.5%	48.4%	*	60.8%
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	44.6%	33.3%	68.9%	*	*
	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	28.8%	18.2%	58.3%	33.9%	63.9%
	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	39.7%	21.3%	56.3%	35.0%	56.9%
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	32.6%	24.1%	56.0%	48.6%	51.4%
Bottom 5	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	48.5%	32.3%	59.6%	40.3%	61.7%
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	36.3%	31.4%	53.4%	40.3%	51.6%
	Denver-Aurora, CO	38.5%	23.7%	52.9%	32.0%	62.5%
	St. Louis, MO-IL	39.0%	29.7%	63.8%	*	*
	San Antonio, TX	45.7%	37.5%	51.7%	*	48.6%
	Baltimore-Towson, MD	39.0%	23.0%	61.6%	23.4%	43.7%
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	51.7%	47.6%	66.5%	*	62.3%
	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	46.1%	34.8%	61.9%	51.8%	59.3%
	Kansas City, MO-KS	38.4%	29.8%	60.4%	*	58.0%
	Pittsburgh, PA	33.8%	29.3%	66.8%	*	*

Note: AI=American Indian. * = Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Looking at enrollment and segregation patterns for the nation's largest metros, it is evident that we have no policy for creating successfully diverse schools on a metropolitan level. Our great urban regions with remarkably different histories and traditions are sadly consistent in enrolling their students in patterns likely to perpetuate and even deepen intergenerational inequality. We went from the early 1950s, when many issues of racial inequality could have been solved by handling the development of public housing and suburbs differently, to a period of massive construction of predominately white suburbia, amid fateful decisions to neither integrate nor equalize opportunities in city and suburban schools. In the last third of a century, the country has done very little to address the issues of race and poverty, supporting instead economic and social policies that increased economic inequality to historic levels and radically reduced urban policies and social support—all while vastly increasing incarceration rates.[114] These issues have not disappeared. Readers need to think about the implications of the patterns we report for opportunity, equality, and race relations in their own metropolitan areas.

FINDINGS

This report highlights four broad themes. First, the nation's public school enrollment has shifted dramatically since 1970 when fully 80% of students were white. The most recent data (2009-2010) indicates that white students constitute roughly 54% of the U.S. enrollment. This figure varies across regions and is well below 50% in both the West and the South. At the same time, the share of Latino students has soared from one-twentieth of U.S. students in 1970 to nearly one-fourth (22.8%) in 2009. Because of the higher birth rates documented among minority groups and the overall age structure of the U.S. population,[115] these changes will likely continue to transform the national school enrollment for many decades to come.

Second, levels of school segregation are deepening for black and Latino students, according to two segregation indices that rely upon the racial composition of schools. According to these indicators, the average black and Latino student has experienced rising concentration in 50-100% and 90-100% minority schools, declining exposure to white students, and persistent disproportional exposure to poor students. The third measure, dissimilarity, showed a slight decline in still high levels of black-white and Latino-white national school segregation. Given the massive shifts in enrollment, it is logical that white students would experience growing exposure to different racial/ethnic groups, and that black, Latino and Asian students would enroll in schools with relatively fewer white students, even with no policy changes. It is also possible that students from different racial groups are being spread—temporarily or otherwise—more evenly across different levels of geography, as minority families continue to migrate to the

[114] Alexander, M. (2010). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York, NY: The New Press.
[115] Frey, W. (8 June 2012). Baby boomers had better embrace change. *Washington Post*. Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/baby-boomers-had-better-embrace-change/2012/06/08/gJQAwe5jOV_story.html

suburbs. A snapshot of the racial patterns in any given year makes it look like these racially changing areas are integrated, and not in transition, but that often proves incorrect.

Beyond the logic of changing demography, however, are persistently high—and in many cases worsening—levels of isolation and concentration for black students since the judicial rollback of school desegregation began in the 1990s. These spikes have occurred in spite of declines in black-white residential segregation.[116] Meanwhile, Latino students, who were ignored under most older desegregation plans, have become steadily more isolated from whites over the past four decades and are now the most segregated group of students in the country.

The third critical finding is that the share of black students attending intensely segregated minority schools has jumped considerably in the formerly de jure segregated states of the South. In 1991, just before judicial retrenchment on school desegregation began, a quarter of the region's black students were in 90-100% minority schools. Twenty years later, a third of southern black students enrolled in similarly segregated settings. Furthermore, during the era of court-ordered desegregation and enforcement, virtually no southern states appeared in the rankings of the most segregated states for black students. More recently, though, the rollback of desegregation efforts has led to a situation where at least 3 to 4 southern states have emerged in the top 20 on selected measures of black student segregation. Fully 8 of the 20 states reporting the highest figures for students attending schools under apartheid conditions—places of learning where white students make up 1% (or less) of the enrollment—are in the South or Border states. All of these figures represent significant backsliding on civil rights progress in the regions most impacted by *Brown* and the l964 Civil Rights Act.

The fourth and final theme is an on-going and significant overlap between racially isolated schools and schools of concentrated poverty, what we call double segregation. The share of poor children (as measured by free and reduced priced lunch eligibility) in U.S. schools has grown substantially in the last three decades. With the growth in the number of students facing family poverty, all groups of students go to school, on average, with more poor children than they have in the past. For the typical white student, the share of poor students in their school has moved from a seventh to more than a third, but large majorities of middle class students still enroll in the schools most whites and Asians attend**.** By contrast, the average Latino and black student in the early 1990s attended a school where roughly a third of students were poor—but now attend schools that are nearly two-thirds poor. The differential racial exposure to concentrated school poverty is a fundamental reason why segregation is so strongly related to educational inequality. Recent research has argued that concentrated poverty is even more related to educational inequality than racial segregation.[117] Unfortunately, most black and Latino students attend schools where both disadvantages accumulate, whereas most white and Asian

[116] Glaesor & Vigdor, 2012.
[117] Reardon, 2011.

students are in schools where the advantages related to their racial background are accompanied by a middle class peer group.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The public schools of the U.S. are becoming more segregated. This isolation continues to severely limit educational opportunities for African American and Latino students, as well as the opportunity for all students to learn to live and work effectively in a multiracial society. High levels of segregation exist across the country and are particularly egregious for Latinos in all regions and for African Americans experiencing resegregation in the South. Although demographic changes are important in influencing the degree of isolation, it is clear that legal and policy decisions were very critical, both in the rise of white-black integration for several decades and in the decline that followed the Supreme Court decisions of the 1990s. Yet in spite of the obstacles, there are many ways in which diversity could be fostered. What follows are a number of concrete actions and policies that could begin to turn us in a different direction.

Creating Awareness

Before we can solve the problems we face, people must understand what has happened and its implications for the nation and their communities. With the on-going failure of the political leadership's willingness to face these issues, there are vital roles for other sectors in terms of producing and disseminating important information.

- Professional associations, teachers' organizations, and colleges of education need to make educators and communities fully aware of the nature and costs of existing segregation.
- Civil rights organizations and community organizations supporting integration should study the existing trends, and observe and participate in the boundary changes, school siting decisions and other key policies that make schools more segregated or more integrated.
- Local communities and fair housing organizations must monitor their real estate market to make sure that potential home buyers are not being steered away from areas with diverse schools.
- Community institutions and churches need to facilitate discussions about the values of diverse education and help raise community awareness about its benefits.
- Local journalists should cover the relationships between segregation and unequal educational outcomes and realities, in addition to providing coverage of high quality, diverse schools.
- The federal government must sponsor serious research on segregation and its alternatives. Little activity in this direction has occurred by the U.S. Department of Education since the l970s.

- Foundations should fund research dedicated to exploring the continuing harms of segregation and the benefits of well implemented integration policies.
- Researchers and advocates need to analyze and publicize the racial patterns and practices of public charter schools.

Advocacy

- Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions, and advocate for low-income housing set asides in developing new communities attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County, just outside Washington, D.C.
- Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn, an essential step in breaking the momentum of flight and transition in diverse communities.
- Efforts should be made to foster the development of suburban coalitions to influence state-level policy-making around issues of school diversity and equity.
- Communities need to provide consistent and vocal support for promoting school diversity and recognize the power of local school boards to either advocate for integration or work against it.
- Nonprofits and foundations funding charter schools should not incentivize the development of racially and economically isolated programs.

Enforcing the Law

- Many communities have failed to comply with long-standing desegregation plans and have not been released by the federal courts or the Office for Civil Rights. Such noncompliance and/or more contemporary violations are grounds for a new or revised desegregation order. Many suburban districts that never had a desegregation order, because they were virtually all white during the civil rights era, are now diverse. These districts may be engaged in classic abuses of racial gerrymandering of attendance boundaries, school site selection that intensifies segregation, or operating choice plans with methods and policies that undermine integration and foster segregation. Where such violations exist, local organizations and parents should ask the school board to cure them. If there is no positive response, then they should pursue complaints to the U.S. Department of Justice or the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Education.
- In turn, the Justice Department and the Office for Civil Rights need to take enforcement actions under Title VI in some substantial school districts in order to revive federal policy sanctions for actions that either foster segregation or ignore responsibilities under desegregation plans.

- State and local officials should sue charter schools that are receiving public funds but that are intentionally segregated, serving only one racial or ethnic group or refusing service to English language learners. They should investigate charter schools that are virtually all white in diverse areas, or schools that provide no free lunch program, making it impossible to serve students needing these subsidies to eat, and therefore excluding a large share of students. The federal government, which has been intensely pushing the expansion of charter schools, both in funding and by specifying charter conversion as a remedy for low performance, needs to issue clear civil rights standards for charter schools.
- Civil rights organizations need to create a serious strategy to enforce the rights of Latino students in districts where they are segregated in unequal schools but where their rights have never been recognized and enforced.
- Fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets, particularly in and around areas with diverse school districts. The same groups should bring significant prosecutions for violations. Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies for projects receiving federal direct funding or tax credit subsidies so that they support integrated schools rather than foster segregation.
- Courts supervising still-existing court orders and consent decrees should monitor them for full compliance before dissolving the plan or order. Courts have, in a number of cases, rushed to judgment to simplify their dockets without any meaningful analysis of compliance, thus backtracking on the rights of minority communities hampered by generations of local discrimination. Since few judges have the experience or the staff to seriously evaluate compliance with the constitutional requirements for release from court supervision, and since that release eliminates the rights of the historically segregated population, the courts should appoint expert researchers. These experts should assess compliance and report to the court before the court holds a hearing on ending the local plan. Unless this is done, the extremely unequal resources of the school district and local minority communities often means that there is no independent assessment of these critical issues.

Positive Policies at the Federal, State, Regional and Local Levels

The function of the federal government in many areas of education policy is to provide good information, incentives and support for initiatives that expand educational opportunity. In the past, the federal government pursued a much more active and important role in fostering successful integration policy. More recently, however, the Bush and Obama Administrations have vigorously fostered policies that reflected their passive attitude toward resegregation issues. They changed the nation's testing systems, decided how schools should be evaluated and sanctioned, imposed qualifications on teachers, and incentivized states to adopt and expand charter school laws, among other policy initiatives. The Obama Administration's "Race to the

Top" strongly pushed charters and more systematic assessments of teachers, as well as certain kinds of reforms for schools with inadequate test scores.

This is possibly due to a fear of the memory of mandatory desegregation orders, almost all of which happened thirty years or more ago. Feasible steps now focus on fostering choice-based methods that school districts want to implement. Helping school districts create desirable, voluntary desegregation plans is probably, in practice, far less controversial—and more valuable in educational terms—than imposing testing systems, sanctions and teacher assessment methods that districts do not support.

Thousands of schools are becoming diverse now, not because of any desegregation mandate but due to the outward migration of African American and Latino families from cities, and inner suburbs, and from other countries into small town and rural areas in the U.S. When this happened to city neighborhoods more than a half century ago—long before mandatory busing—the great majority of the communities resegregated relatively rapidly because nothing was done to support stable integration in either housing or schools. During the time these city communities were diverse, too little was done to create and sustain positive race relations, and to retain trust of older residents in the changing schools.

The most positive approach came, ironically enough, at the peak of the busing conflict under the Nixon Administration.[118] Congressional liberals and the administration agreed on a large program of voluntary assistance that provided funds, not for busing, but for creating new magnet programs, technical help in planning desegregation strategies, retraining teachers and staffs in techniques to handle diversity fairly and effectively, basic research on school diversity, and a generation of new curricular materials reflecting the diversity of students. In short, funds from the Emergency School Aid Act supported the effective management of diverse schools and choice programs operating with the goal of fostering lasting successful integration. The programs were extremely popular with school districts, and research showed gains both in terms of academic achievement and positive race relations. These programs were eliminated not because of public or local opposition—there was an intense demand for these funds—but as part of an enormous budget-cutting bill early in the Reagan administration.

This program of voluntary assistance for integration should be reenacted, building on the Obama Administration's Technical Assistance for Student Assignment Plans (TASAP) grant. The renewed program should add a special focus on diverse suburbs and gentrifying urban neighborhoods (which seldom produce diverse schools). It should provide money for school districts to learn about and prepare assignment plans that are legal under current Supreme Court limitations and that are educationally effective. It should fund reviews of magnet plans where some schools that were once magnetic have decayed and where new options are needed. It should provide special summer catch-up programs for students transferring from weaker to

[118] See Orfield, G. (1978). *Must we bus? Segregated schools and national policy.* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

stronger schools. It should support partnerships with universities to bring new materials and training into the schools, help create a stronger connection between black and Latino students, and increase knowledge of and preparation for college. There should be funds for building more robust relationships between schools and diverse groups of parents. The competitive program should give preference to school systems that increase and sustain diverse and equitable schools, and it should help them gain the resources necessary to recruit a more diverse faculty and staff. A purely voluntary, well-conceived program of this sort would be very much in demand—particularly in this economy—and provide resources and knowledge of great value to many communities. Lasting and successful diversity is the product of very purposeful knowledge, skills and resources.

The federal government should establish a joint planning process between the Department of Education, the Justice Department and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to review programs and regulations for successful, lasting community and school integration. The first task would be to end policies that foster segregation. A second mandate would prevent housing policy decisions that resegregate diverse communities and schools, or doom tenants to dropout factory schools that gravely damage their future. Another objective would be to help train program staff and develop shared plans for lasting diversity at the municipal level using a variety of federal program funds.

In the past, federal desegregation assistance funds did not pay for student transportation due to the intense controversy over mandatory reassignment of students. Now, however, when the transfers basically reflect student and family preferences for special educational opportunities, this limit no longer makes sense. The need for federal transportation support is particularly high in a time of fiscal austerity when many districts have unfairly limited students' choices by cutting off transportation to magnet and other choice-based programs. It is time to reverse the former policy. Federal funds should also be available for transporting students who increase the diversity of segregated charter schools.

At the state level, recent developments in Ohio offer important lessons in how to create and sustain policy around the issues of reducing racial isolation and promoting diverse schools. The State Board of Education of Ohio recently adopted an updated Diversity Policy, with the input and assistance of grassroots groups, the Kirwan Institute at Ohio State and the Ohio Department of Education.[119] The new policy provides guidance to school districts, encouraging student assignment policies that foster diverse schools, reducing the concentration of poverty within schools and recruiting a diverse group of teachers. It also encourages inter-district programs like city-suburban transfers and regional magnet schools. The guidance requires that districts report to the Ohio state Superintendent of Public Instruction on many diversity-related matters, and it applies to both regular public schools and charter schools. Other states could

[119] For further information, see Menendian, S. (July/August 2012). Promoting diversity and reducing racial isolation in Ohio. *Poverty and Race Research Action Council, 21*(4). Available at: http://prrac.org/newsletters/julaug2012.pdf

clearly benefit from closer study of Ohio's Diversity Policy and should think carefully about ways to adopt and implement similar frameworks.

State higher education institutions have a role to play as well. Public colleges and universities should inform families that their campuses are highly diverse and that students without any experience in diverse settings may be at a disadvantage. Universities should also recognize the additional skills obtained in diverse high schools by considering them when reviewing student applications.

The issue of school integration is not merely a local problem, it is a regional one. Metropolitan areas are embedded in a larger housing market, and thus, local solutions would be greatly facilitated by regional cooperation. In the No Child Left Behind Act and in many state reforms, there is a great emphasis on giving families the right to transfer to a stronger school in their district. However, there are often not enough strong schools, either regular public or charters, to which students can transfer within their own district. Furthermore, many transfers actually facilitate and fund white flight from integrated areas, speeding school and neighborhood resegregation. By creating regional magnets and regional pro-integration transfer programs, as is the case in Connecticut, we could provide unique educational opportunities that would support voluntary integration and help move toward a regional approach. Similarly, providing funds for existing regional transfer programs such as METCO in the Boston area would be a positive step in the same direction.

School districts in urban areas should also consider initiatives to change the influx of white and middle class residents without children characteristics of many gentrifying neighborhoods to true family integration built around stable, diverse and strong local schools. Creating multiracial coalitions committed to developing whole-school magnets in the gentrifying neighborhood would be a positive way forward.

The most important public policy changes affecting desegregation have been made by the courts, not by elected officials or educators. The U.S. Supreme Court changed the basic elements of desegregation policy by 180 degrees, particularly in the 2007 *Parents Involved* decision, when it sharply limited voluntary action by school districts using choice and magnet school plans in their desegregation policies. The Court is now divided 5-4 in its support of these limits, and many of the Courts of Appeals, as well as state and local court members, are also deeply divided. Since we give our courts such sweeping power to define and eliminate rights, judicial appointments are absolutely critical. Interested citizens and elected officials should support judicial appointees who seem willing to address the history of segregation and minority inequality, with an open mind to sensitive racial issues that are brought into their court rooms.

CONCLUSION

One of the greatest ironies of segregation for black and Latino students is that we know much more about the value of integration and how to do it well, even as major policy discussions ignore segregation's consequences and integration's benefits. The impact of segregation will steadily mount as the country becomes a predominantly nonwhite society. In that new society, increasing levels of education for historically disadvantaged black and Latino students becomes even more vital to the health of families, communities and the nation.

The choices we make now are particularly consequential for the South, for Latino students and for our suburbs across the nation. The South is at a critical juncture as it is losing much of what was gained from an epic social movement. Latino students are profoundly affected by unequal education as they are by far the largest minority community with the lowest success in post-secondary education, and as they become more trapped in inferior schools. The choices and consequences are also stark for the nation's suburbs, which need but do not receive help in building lasting, successful integration.

In politics, there has been an overall lack of leadership on the issue of creating diverse schools. Conservative administrations have actively opposed desegregation efforts. Those who see the value and urgency of integration have often been quieted by harsh criticism if they challenge the orthodoxy that inequality can be solved within highly unequal schools through accountability, will power, and sanctions. As evidence accumulates that this orthodox theory of education reform has failed, the response of its advocates has been to press even harder, imposing a still more rigid set of tests and sanctions. The dominant tendency among educators is a parroting of policies that have failed for decades. They fear that mentioning "race" will upset other people and trigger criticism for using "excuses" to avoid their responsibility for educating all children fairly. Ignoring the well-documented relationship between segregation and educational inequality, the focus instead has been on creating intense testing drills in segregated schools and on blaming the schools and the teachers. Often the emphasis is only on English and math, which radically narrows instruction for millions of students in these segregated schools, discourages teachers and principals who then try to exit these schools, and in the end does not produce real educational gains.[120]

When great progress was made in moving toward an integrated society, there were civil rights groups, educators, community leaders, clergy, writers, and many others who found the courage to identify the realities that had long been covered up. They ignored the advice of the establishment suggesting that the conditions could not be changed. In only a few years, the schools of the South and many other aspects of Southern race relations shifted in deep ways. Many assumed that the work was basically done and we could move onto other issues. No

[120] Lipman, P. (2004). *High stakes education: Inequality, globalization and urban school reform*. New York, NY: Routledge Press. Sunderman, G., Orfield, G. & Kim, J. (2006). *NCLB meets realities: Lessons from the field.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

coherent policy was developed and enforced in our great Northern and Western metropolitan areas, and the rights of Latinos, the group to become the largest minority community in U.S. history, were largely ignored as isolation and inequality deepened.

The time has come to stop celebrating the *Brown* decision and the civil rights movement as if the dream of equal opportunity had been realized. Words on paper are very important, but opponents of the civil rights revolution mobilized against the implementation of those rights, and took over the machinery that interprets and enforces rights. Increasing segregation is a clear sign that we are, in fact, going backwards. These changes have not happened because school integration failed. It succeeded. They are due to the tacit acceptance of segregation by our educational and political leaders, who cover it with hopeful rhetoric, which has not borne fruit in practice.

If we are to have a successful and equitable society, especially at a time when success depends on education and the ability for all groups to live and work well together, then we need a new commitment to access and integration wherever it is feasible. If we passively accept the spread of segregated and blatantly unequal schools into more and more suburbs, then many more communities will experience the decline and disinvestment that led to the collapse of many city neighborhoods a half century ago. Whites could better understand—and work to change—palpable inequalities by simply spending time observing classes and talking to educators in nearby schools. African American and/or Latino schools must not let themselves be pushed back into a form of multiple inequalities that never worked effectively on any scale, justified by the claim that more tests, sanctions or charters will overcome these inequalities. Latinos must insist that as they gain numbers and presence in the society, they not be locked into the kind of isolated and self-perpetuating segregation in unequal schools that so devastated black communities. Asians, who have prospered greatly as the nation's most integrated group, must be part of the coalition for justice so they will not be an isolated successful community in a society that is profoundly unequal and declining in average education and competitiveness. People of all races need to fight for their children to have strong preparation for the multiracial society we are becoming.

Our political and educational leaders, who have let this decay happen, need to find some of the same courage that transformed our society in the mid-twentieth century. The challenges we face now are far less intense than what those earlier leaders had the strength to overcome. Many things can be done, at all levels of government and in thousands of communities, to move towards a new vision of educational and social equity. There is much to learn about how to create lasting and successful diverse schools that can shape a successful multiracial society. Ultimately these issues need to come back to the highest levels of state and federal government. The time to begin is now.

APPENDIX A: ADDITIONAL DATA TABLES

Table A1*: Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Schools by State*

	% of Racial Group in 50-100% Minority School		% of Racial Group in 90-100% Minority School		% of Racial Group in 99-100% Minority School	
	Black	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**	**Black**	**Latino**
Alabama	69.2%	*	43.5%	*	23.4%	*
Alaska	*	45.8%	*	0.5%	*	0.0%
Arizona	62.6%	78.0%	18.0%	39.4%	0.6%	4.5%
Arkansas	70.1%	42.6%	25.6%	3.4%	4.7%	0.1%
California	90.5%	91.4%	40.6%	52.5%	11.3%	14.5%
Colorado	57.3%	62.3%	12.2%	15.7%	0.0%	0.2%
Connecticut	75.9%	73.4%	28.6%	23.6%	5.4%	1.4%
Delaware	60.7%	64.8%	13.2%	7.7%	7.3%	3.8%
Florida	74.2%	74.8%	32.9%	29.4%	9.7%	2.2%
Georgia	79.1%	67.1%	40.6%	27.6%	17.4%	1.8%
Hawaii	*	90.1%	*	12.5%	*	0.0%
Idaho	*	12.6%	*	0.0%	*	0.0%
Illinois	83.6%	77.4%	62.1%	46.4%	41.4%	8.4%
Indiana	67.3%	41.6%	29.6%	10.9%	10.5%	0.9%
Iowa	28.6%	30.2%	1.6%	0.1%		
Kansas	58.6%	56.4%	7.7%	7.4%		
Kentucky	30.1%	*	1.2%	*		*
Louisiana	73.9%	*	36.4%	*	12.4%	*
Maine	*	*	*	*	*	*
Maryland	82.4%	77.6%	51.1%	35.0%	22.9%	8.4%
Massachusetts	67.6%	65.9%	25.1%	26.6%	2.9%	1.0%
Michigan	73.7%	39.4%	53.3%	13.7%	34.1%	0.5%
Minnesota	50.1%	35.7%	18.8%	10.3%	3.8%	0.8%
Mississippi	78.2%	*	47.5%	*	20.4%	*
Missouri	63.9%	*	39.8%	*	13.6%	*
Montana	*	*	*	*	*	*
Nebraska	52.9%	50.4%	6.9%	3.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Nevada	78.0%	79.7%	15.2%	17.8%	1.5%	0.1%
New Hampshire	*	*	*	*	*	*
New Jersey	77.7%	76.5%	47.6%	41.2%	26.1%	11.6%
New Mexico	*	93.4%	*	36.2%	*	2.7%
New York	85.6%	84.2%	63.3%	58.1%	22.9%	19.9%
North Carolina	68.2%	58.2%	18.0%	14.3%	1.8%	0.6%
North Dakota	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ohio	69.8%	*	36.5%	*	11.4%	*
Oklahoma	64.7%	60.3%	14.2%	6.4%	1.5%	0.3%

Oregon	*	39.8%	*	1.2%	*	0.0%
Pennsylvania	70.5%	60.5%	44.9%	24.9%	23.2%	4.7%
Rhode Island	61.7%	74.1%	22.9%	39.7%		
South Carolina	64.0%	46.1%	18.6%	4.1%	2.5%	0.2%
South Dakota	*	*	*	*	*	*
Tennessee	72.9%	46.2%	44.1%	9.8%	25.9%	3.7%
Texas	82.4%	87.4%	39.6%	52.7%	11.9%	16.6%
Utah	*	34.7%	*	1.0%	*	0.0%
Vermont	*	*	*	*	*	*
Virginia	65.6%	61.4%	15.4%	4.6%	3.2%	0.1%
Washington	47.5%	53.9%	5.8%	14.1%	0.0%	0.4%
West Virginia	8.7%	*		*		*
Wisconsin	67.8%	42.9%	41.4%	15.5%	4.3%	0.7%
Wyoming	*	5.9%	*	0.2%	*	0.1%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: *Source*: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Table A2*: Segregation of Students in Public Schools by State*

	Dissimilarity Index (*D*)					
	White Black	**White Asian**	**White Latino**	**Black Asian**	**Black Latino**	**Asian Latino**
Alabama	.61	*	*	*	*	*
Alaska	*	.54	.37	*	*	.31
Arizona	.46	*	.57	*	.38	*
Arkansas	.68	*	.54	*	.71	*
California	.61	.54	.60	.57	.50	.60
Colorado	.61	*	.52	*	.54	*
Connecticut	.68	*	.64	*	.32	*
Delaware	.35	*	.44	*	.38	*
Florida	.54	*	.54	*	.53	*
Georgia	.59	*	.53	*	.57	*
Hawaii	*	.32	.24	*	*	.32
Idaho	*	*	.42	*	*	*
Illinois	.77	*	.69	*	.70	*
Indiana	.73	*	.57	*	.53	*
Iowa	.59	*	.52	*	.51	*
Kansas	.60	*	.55	*	.51	*
Kentucky	.62	*	*	*	*	*
Louisiana	.56	*	*	*	*	*
Maine	*	*	*	*	*	*
Maryland	.65	.51	.62	.57	.53	.46
Massachusetts	.66	.52	.66	.56	.45	.60
Michigan	.74	*	.54	*	.68	*
Minnesota	.60	.53	.51	.40	.43	.49
Mississippi	.59	*	*	*	*	*
Missouri	.67	*	*	*	*	*
Montana	*	*	*	*	*	*
Nebraska	.64	*	.57	*	.62	*
Nevada	.46	.35	.49	.36	.35	.43
New Hampshire	*	*	*	*	*	*
New Jersey	.69	.49	.66	.68	.51	.62
New Mexico	*	*	.42	*	*	*
New York	.77	.66	.74	.69	.49	.58
North Carolina	.49	*	.45	*	.38	*
North Dakota	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ohio	.74	*	*	*	*	*
Oklahoma	.57	*	.50	*	.49	*
Oregon	*	.49	.42	*	*	.50
Pennsylvania	.72	*	.68	*	.60	*

Rhode Island	.63	*	.72	*	.28	*
South Carolina	.44	*	.41	*	.48	*
South Dakota	*	*	*	*	*	*
Tennessee	.69	*	.53	*	.53	*
Texas	.57	*	.62	*	.55	*
Utah	*	*	.46	*	*	*
Vermont	*	*	*	*	*	*
Virginia	.53	.52	.52	.63	.55	.43
Washington	.54	.46	.51	.33	.54	.54
West Virginia	.54	*	*	*	*	*
Wisconsin	.71	*	.56	*	.56	*
Wyoming	*	*	.34	*	*	*

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A3*: Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools by State*

	% White	Typical White Exposure to White Students	Typical Black Exposure to White Students	Typical Asian Exposure to White Students	Typical Latino Exposure to White Students
Alabama	58.7%	75.8%	29.9%	*	57.7%
Alaska	51.0%	65.6%	*	41.7%	49.8%
Arizona	44.3%	63.1%	38.9%	*	27.0%
Arkansas	65.4%	77.7%	34.3%	*	52.6%
California	27.1%	49.2%	18.9%	25.5%	16.5%
Colorado	60.8%	71.9%	43.0%	*	40.7%
Connecticut	64.1%	78.9%	31.4%	*	34.8%
Delaware	51.3%	59.3%	42.0%	*	41.1%
Florida	46.1%	63.4%	30.1%	*	30.3%
Georgia	45.0%	63.6%	25.5%	*	35.3%
Hawaii	19.7%	28.1%	*	16.8%	24.1%
Idaho	80.5%	82.9%	*	*	69.0%
Illinois	54.3%	78.1%	18.8%	*	26.3%
Indiana	77.9%	86.9%	36.2%	*	55.0%
Iowa	82.3%	86.0%	62.0%	*	63.2%
Kansas	69.1%	77.7%	44.2%	*	45.3%
Kentucky	84.6%	88.6%	59.4%	*	67.1%
Louisiana	50.1%	69.0%	29.0%	*	46.2%
Maine	93.4%	94.1%	*	*	87.9%
Maryland	45.9%	69.3%	22.0%	45.6%	28.1%
Massachusetts	69.6%	81.3%	36.4%	58.3%	36.4%
Michigan	71.8%	85.5%	26.3%	*	56.2%
Minnesota	75.5%	83.3%	46.0%	51.7%	56.8%
Mississippi	46.1%	68.1%	25.4%	*	51.3%
Missouri	76.1%	86.5%	34.4%	*	61.9%
Montana	83.1%	88.9%	*	*	83.1%
Nebraska	73.8%	82.1%	47.7%	*	49.4%
Nevada	41.5%	54.8%	31.6%	41.8%	29.2%
New Hampshire	90.8%	91.7%	*	*	77.8%
New Jersey	53.3%	72.9%	24.5%	51.1%	27.0%
New Mexico	25.5%	39.8%	*	*	21.0%
New York	51.8%	79.9%	17.8%	34.3%	19.8%
North Carolina	54.0%	66.7%	37.2%	*	42.8%
North Dakota	84.5%	89.4%	*	*	81.8%

Ohio	78.2%	88.8%	32.3%	*	60.4%
Oklahoma	56.4%	63.7%	39.9%	*	42.7%
Oregon	70.0%	75.5%	*	61.7%	55.9%
Pennsylvania	73.7%	86.6%	30.7%	*	39.6%
Rhode Island	68.9%	83.8%	39.5%	*	28.5%
South Carolina	53.8%	64.9%	38.5%	*	49.9%
South Dakota	81.5%	87.3%	*	*	76.3%
Tennessee	68.2%	83.5%	29.0%	*	52.9%
Texas	33.5%	57.5%	24.6%	*	18.9%
Utah	79.3%	83.6%	*	*	61.2%
Vermont	93.5%	93.9%	*	*	91.5%
Virginia	57.8%	69.6%	38.5%	51.8%	43.2%
Washington	65.7%	73.9%	50.1%	56.8%	44.9%
West Virginia	92.4%	93.4%	77.6%	*	84.6%
Wisconsin	76.2%	85.2%	33.0%	*	52.5%
Wyoming	81.5%	84.2%	*	*	75.1%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A4: Student Exposure Rates to Poor Students in Public Schools by State

	Poor Students Share of School Enrollment	Typical White Exposure to Poor Students	Typical Black Exposure to Poor Students	Typical Asian Exposure to Poor Students	Typical Latino Exposure to Poor Students
Alabama	55.2%	46.8%	69.5%	*	*
Alaska	39.6%	30.4%	*	42.0%	38.9%
Arizona	46.5%	32.4%	47.9%	*	60.9%
Arkansas	59.6%	54.3%	73.5%	*	65.4%
California	55.0%	35.3%	62.2%	41.6%	68.6%
Colorado	38.4%	28.4%	50.5%	*	58.1%
Connecticut	31.5%	18.4%	58.7%	*	59.9%
Delaware	47.8%	41.4%	54.5%	*	60.3%
Florida	55.4%	46.5%	66.4%	*	62.0%
Georgia	56.1%	45.5%	68.0%	*	63.8%
Hawaii	43.3%	38.6%	*	44.7%	42.6%
Idaho	42.9%	41.1%	*	*	52.4%
Illinois	44.4%	28.9%	67.8%	*	65.1%
Indiana	47.4%	42.4%	68.9%	*	64.4%
Iowa	37.2%	34.4%	52.0%	*	53.0%
Kansas	45.7%	39.5%	62.4%	*	64.1%
Kentucky	56.0%	54.9%	63.6%	*	*
Louisiana	65.2%	55.0%	76.7%	*	*
Maine	41.6%	41.3%	*	*	*
Maryland	38.1%	25.5%	52.4%	26.6%	49.5%
Massachusetts	32.2%	22.1%	58.9%	35.0%	64.4%
Michigan	45.9%	38.8%	69.7%	*	62.6%
Minnesota	35.2%	29.9%	54.7%	47.6%	49.1%
Mississippi	70.7%	60.6%	80.4%	*	*
Missouri	43.9%	39.8%	60.9%	*	*
Montana	39.6%	35.6%	*	*	*
Nebraska	41.2%	34.9%	61.4%	*	60.9%
Nevada	42.5%	32.3%	44.9%	35.7%	54.5%
New Hampshire	23.5%	22.7%	*	*	*
New Jersey	31.9%	16.8%	54.8%	20.0%	57.3%
New Mexico	65.7%	51.1%	*	*	70.5%
New York	44.5%	26.6%	65.9%	49.5%	67.1%
North Carolina	48.8%	41.8%	57.3%	*	58.4%
North Dakota	33.8%	31.3%	*	*	*
Ohio	42.0%	37.1%	63.9%	*	*
Oklahoma	58.7%	53.2%	68.9%	*	70.2%

Oregon	51.1%	47.6%	*	47.2%	62.2%
Pennsylvania	37.8%	29.6%	66.7%	*	60.6%
Rhode Island	41.2%	28.8%	67.1%	*	74.1%
South Carolina	54.7%	48.3%	63.8%	*	57.7%
South Dakota	37.2%	32.6%	*	*	*
Tennessee	53.1%	48.0%	66.3%	*	62.3%
Texas	50.3%	39.5%	60.6%	*	56.0%
Utah	46.6%	41.7%	*	*	68.1%
Vermont	34.3%	34.0%	*	*	*
Virginia	36.8%	31.2%	49.4%	26.4%	42.8%
Washington	44.0%	38.7%	52.5%	40.9%	62.0%
West Virginia	51.9%	51.8%	56.1%	*	*
Wisconsin	37.1%	31.0%	65.2%	*	55.4%
Wyoming	35.0%	33.1%	*	*	38.9%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

APPENDIX B: DATA SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

Data

The education data in this study consisted of 1991-1992, 2001-2002, 2006-2007, and 2009-2010 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files. We obtained data prior to 1991 from Orfield (1983), who analyzed 1968-1969, 1970-1971, and 1980-1981 education data files from the Office of Civil Rights. Only open and regular schools were included in the study.

Geography

National estimates reflect all 50 U.S. states, outlying territories, Department of Defense (overseas and domestic), and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For regional, state, and metropolitan analyses, we only explored 48 U.S. states; we excluded Hawaii and Alaska, outlying territories, and oversea agencies due to their unique ethnic compositions and/or distance from other states and regions.

The states and regions used for analysis in this report include the following:

- **Border**: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia
- **Midwest**: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin
- **Northeast**: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont
- **South**: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.
- **West**: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming

For 2009-2010 school year data, we used the current list of core based statistical areas (CBSA) defined by the Office of Management and Budget. For metropolitan patterns over time, we used the historical metropolitan statistical area (MSA) definitions (1999) as the metropolitan area base. We then matched and aggregated enrollment counts for these historical metropolitan area definitions with the current definitions of core based statistical areas (2009) using the 1999 MSA to 2003 CBSA crosswalk to make these areas geographically comparable over time. Some metropolitan areas (e.g., San Francisco) appeared to differ from the general pattern of higher enrollment counts over time, suggesting errors in the crosswalk, a decline in or migration of public student enrollment, or some other issue. We have notated these errors throughout the report where identified.

Data Analysis

We measured segregation patterns using the index of dissimilarity (*D*) and the exposure index (*P**). *D* measures how evenly race/ethnic population groups are distributed among census tracts or schools compared with their larger geographic area. This index does not depend on the

race/ethnic composition of the population, but only on how evenly population groups are distributed among schools or tracts. The index ranges from 0 to 1, with a value of 0 indicating perfect integration (the racial/ethnic proportions are identical in all schools or tracts) and a value of 1 indicating complete segregation (each school or tract is monoracial).

D is calculated through the following algebraic formula:

$$D = \frac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1n} \left(\frac{x_i}{X} - \frac{y_i}{Y}\right)$$

- where *n* is the number of schools or smaller area units,
- x is the number of the first racial group of students in the school or smaller area *i*,
- X is the total number of the first racial group of students in the larger geographical area of study,
- y_i is the number of the second racial group of students in the school or smaller area *i*,
- Y is the total number of the second racial group of students in the larger geographical area of study.

The exposure index, *P**, measures the racial/ethnic composition of a school or tract for the average member of a given racial group. Exposure of a group to itself is called the index of isolation, while exposure of one group to other groups is called the index of exposure. Both indices range from 0 to 1, higher values on the index of exposure but lower values for isolation indicate greater integration. The indices of isolation and exposure are calculated, respectively, as:

$$P^* = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \left(\frac{x_i}{X} * \frac{x_i}{t_i}\right)$$

and

$$P^* = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \left(\frac{x_i}{X} * \frac{y_i}{t_i}\right)$$

- where *n* is the number of schools or smaller area units,
- x is the number of the first racial group of students in the school or smaller area *i*,
- X is the total number of the first racial group of students in the larger geographical area,
- y_i is the number of the second racial group of students in the school or smaller area *i*,
- t_i is the total number of students in the school or smaller area *i*,

For exposure and dissimilarity measures, we excluded any results with less than 4.5% of the relative minority group, as this could bias segregation indices.

Missing or Incomplete Data

Because compliance with NCES reporting is voluntary for state education agencies, statewide gaps in the reporting of student racial composition occur on an annual basis. To address this limitation, we obtained student membership, racial composition, and free reduced status from the nearest data file year these variables were available. Below we present the missing or incomplete data by year and state, and how we attempted to address each limitation.

Data Limitation	Data Solution
2009-2010: • New York: Incomplete free reduced lunch (FRL)	**2008-2009:** • New York: FRL analyses (enrollment and exposure) only
2006-2007: • Nevada: Missing FRL	**2007-2008:** • Nevada: FRL analyses only
2001-2002: • Arizona: Missing FRL • Connecticut: Missing FRL • Wyoming: Missing FRL • Tennessee: Missing racial composition and FRL	**2002-2003:** • Arizona: FRL analyses only • Connecticut: FRL analyses only • Wyoming: FRL analyses only **1998-1999:** • Tennessee: racial composition o still missing FRL o state is missing all membership data from 1999 to 2005
1991-1992: • Alabama: Missing FRL • Arizona: Missing FRL • Kentucky: Missing FRL • Massachusetts: Missing FRL • New York: Missing FRL • Pennsylvania: Missing FRL • Georgia: Missing racial composition • Idaho: Missing racial composition Maine: Missing racial composition and FRL • South Dakota: Missing racial composition and FRL • Tennessee: Missing racial composition and FRL • Virginia: Missing racial composition and FRL	**1990-1991:** • Tennessee**:** racial composition **1992-1993:** • South Dakota: racial composition • Virginia: racial composition **1993-1994:** • Georgia: racial composition • Maine: racial composition **Other:** • Did not explore FRL data for this year • Idaho is missing racial composition data from 1989 to 1999 and thus excluded from this year

We are reporting data from the 2009-10 school year as the 2012-13 school year is beginning.

Unfortunately the data collected from so many thousands of schools and districts is not perfect and on May 16, 2012, the Commissioner of Education Statistics announced that NCES is still identifying and resolving several instances of misreported data in the 2009-2010 data file. After the analysis is complete and corrections are confirmed, NCES will release an updated version of the 2009-2010 data files. Near the time of this report's publication, these updated data files were still not released. Our analysis of the information available on possible errors suggests that none of the major findings of this report would change, but scholars or policymakers wishing to look in great detail at local situations should check to see whether any data corrections are to be made in the future.