SOUTHERN SLIPPAGE:

Growing School Segregation in the Most Desegregated Region of the Country

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Amid historic shifts in Southern enrollment patterns, the black-white paradigm that long defined the South has shifted to what is now, without question, a multiracial one comprised of three large racial/ethnic groups. Together, black and Latino students account for about half of the region's students, while whites constitute a minority.

The South remains the most desegregated region in the country for black students, but along every measure of segregation and at each level of geography, gains made during the desegregation era are slipping away at a steady pace. This report shows that the segregation of Southern black students has been progressively increasing since judicial retrenchment on *Brown* began in the early 1990s.

Though the Supreme Court granted desegregation rights to Latino students in the 1973 *Keyes* case, many Southern desegregation plans were dissolved without ever recognizing Latino rights. Latino students in the South were seldom included in desegregation orders,[1] and have undergone increases along multiple measures of segregation over the past four decades.

Black and Latino students in the South attend schools defined by double isolation by both race and poverty. The South reports high overall shares of students living in poverty, but students of different racial backgrounds are not exposed equally to existing poverty. The typical black and Latino student in the region goes to a school with far higher concentrations of low-income students than the typical white or Asian student.

In the following report, we present an in-depth treatment of Southern trends that are merely summarized in the accompanying larger report, *E Pluribus… Segregation*. Key findings are highlighted below.

The South Becomes a Tri-Racial Region

- The South is a majority-minority region in terms of its school enrollment, second only to the West as the most diverse in the country. At more than 15 million students, the South has, by far, the largest enrollment of any region. Southern students make up almost a third of the national enrollment (32% of all students).

[1] Though some desegregation orders in Texas did include Latinos.

- Latino students account for nearly the same share (23.4%) of the region's enrollment as black students (25.9%). At 46.9%, whites now constitute a minority of students in the South.

Growing Resegregation of Black Students

- Since 1991, black students in the South have become increasingly concentrated in intensely segregated minority schools (defined as 90-100% minority students). This represents a significant setback. Though for decades Southern black students were more integrated than their peers in other parts of the country, by 2009-10 the share of Southern black students enrolled in intensely segregated minority schools (33.4%) was fast closing in on the national figure (38.1%). By comparison, in 1980, just 23% of black students in the South attended intensely segregated schools.
- For the last four decades, contact between black and white students has declined in virtually all Southern states. In schools across the region, white students make up 30% or less of the enrollment in the school of the typical black student for the first time since racial statistics pertaining to schools were collected by the federal government.
- Most of the largest Southern metro areas also report declining black-white exposure. The Raleigh, NC metro had the highest black-white contact although this too has fallen in recent years. In 2009, the typical black student in the metro went to a school where whites accounted for about 45% of their peers, compared to about 54% in 2002).
- In 2009, black-white exposure in the city of Raleigh was relatively similar to the overall white percentage in the metro (54%)--indicating fairly stable levels of desegregation. Future enrollment data for the Raleigh metro should be closely monitored to ascertain the impact of recent policy changes to the district's voluntary integration policy.
- Two metros, Memphis, TN and Miami, FL, had the lowest exposure between black and white students in 2009, under 15%.

Deepening Segregation for Latino Students, the South's Fastest-Growing Minority Group

- The share of Latino students attending intensely segregated minority schools has increased steadily over the past four decades from 33.7% in 1968 to 43.1% in 2009; presently more than two out of five Latino students in the South attend intensely segregated settings.
- At the metropolitan level, Latino-white exposure is higher than black-white exposure across many major Southern metro areas. This is particularly true in

Southern metros outside of Texas (where, in general, the lowest exposure between Latino and white students occurred).

- For example, Atlanta has a growing Latino student population, now comprising 13% of all students. As their share of enrollment has grown, Latino exposure to whites has fallen substantially—by nearly ten percentage points since 2002. Yet, Latino students in the Atlanta area still have higher exposure to white students (29.8%) than their black peers (20.3%).
- In ten Southern metros, the typical Latino attends a school where at least 40% of students are white. By comparison, only in the Raleigh metro did black students experience similarly high levels of exposure to white students.

Double Segregation by Race and Poverty in the South

- Black students experience the highest levels of exposure to poverty in nearly every Southern state. (This is different from the rest of the U.S., where Latino students experience higher average exposure to poverty.)
- Virginia, with the lowest share of student poverty in the South, also reports the lowest black exposure to poor students. Even then, almost 50% of students in the school of the typical black student in Virginia are low-income, considerably higher than the state's share of low-income students (36.8%).
- Stark differences in exposure to poverty for white students, as compared to black and Latino students, exist in virtually every Southern and Border metropolitan area.
- In three Border metros, the typical white student attended a school with less than 30% poor students, and the typical black student attended a school with more than 60% of students from households at or near the poverty line.

We offer several region-specific recommendations to reverse the trends presented in this brief, including continued or new court oversight of Southern school districts, the development and enforcement of comprehensive post-unitary plans, and a strong commitment to pursuing voluntary integration policies.

Southern schools were at the epicenter of the civil rights revolution. From the l960s to the 1980s, schools in the region experienced a massive racial transformation that brought great increases in school integration. Those gains lasted for several decades, even as the region experienced a rising share of nonwhite students. Today, the South is in the midst of a two-decade long retreat from the goals of *Brown*. For Latino students, the region has consistently ignored the increase in their racial and economic isolation and, in essence, has turned its back on the fastest-growing group of students. If the South is to build an enduring and successful multiracial future, it badly needs to tackle new initiatives and policies to deal with the realities of a complex, deeply multiracial society where whites are one of several major minority groups.

SOUTHERN SLIPPAGE:

Growing School Segregation in the Most Desegregated Region of the Country

By Genevieve Siegel-Hawley and Erica Frankenberg

Schools in the American South are situated in a region of tremendous racial and economic diversity.[2] Recent waves of immigration from Latin America, coupled with the more than two-century long involuntary[3] importation of millions of African slaves--along with their descendants who remained in or returned to the region--have given rise to a majority-minority student population. The South is also home to deep-rooted pockets of racialized poverty,[4] from the Delta states of Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, to the Appalachians of Tennessee and North Carolina.

Historical Context

The nation's original sin of slavery was largely limited to the South, though it was part of society and law in the Border States (which extend from Oklahoma through to Delaware).[5] The racial hierarchies that defined slavery have persisted many generations after the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed equal protection under the law. Despite a brief window of rapid racial progress during Reconstruction, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) institutionalized a state-sanctioned system of segregation that was implemented across all aspects of life in the South. More than fifty years later, a unanimous U.S. Supreme Court struck down *Plessy*'s "separate but equal" doctrine in a case relying heavily upon social science evidence that illuminated the social and psychological harms of segregation. So began a process of gradual change.[6]

Southern politicians met *Brown v. Board of Education* with a campaign of Massive Resistance. The resistance was so effective that only 2% of black students

[2] The South, as analyzed in this report, consists of the eleven states of the old Confederacy, stretching from Virginia to Texas. Specifically, we examine trends in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

[3] The slave trade lasted from 1619 to 1860. The U.S. importation of African slaves was formally outlawed in 1807 but illegal trafficking continued until 1860. Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture. *The Abolition of the Slave Trade.* New York Public Library. Available at: http://abolition.nypl.org/home/.

[4] Meaning that the structural disadvantages of racial discrimination and poverty intersect (see powell, j. (2009). The Racialization of Poverty. Columbus, Ohio: The Kirwan Institute at Ohio State. Available at: http://kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/the-racialization-of-poverty/

[5] Slavery was also present in New England colonies. See Melish, J. P. (1998). *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780-1860.* Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press.

[6] *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Minow, M. L. (2010). *In Brown's Wake: Legacies of America's Educational Landmark.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

attended majority-white schools ten years after *Brown* was decided.[7] In 1964, however, the U.S. Congress spoke forcefully through its enactment of the Civil Rights Act. The Act threatened to cut off federal funding to segregated school districts and empowered the Justice Department to sue them. With the weight of the executive and legislative branches of government behind *Brown*'s mandate, school desegregation in the South began to proceed at a much faster pace.

After sixteen years of southern foot-dragging, in 1968 the Supreme Court stepped in once again to clarify what it meant to fully desegregate school systems. The *Green* decision required immediate positive action to fully integrate both students and faculty across districts in the seventeen states that had mandated segregation under state law.[8] In an extremely short period of time--from the mid-1960s to the early '70s--the formerly *de jure* segregated South rapidly became the most integrated region of country for black students.[9] The gains made during that timeframe[10] persisted for several decades. The overall impact of the *Brown* decision[11] and the 1964 Civil Rights Act was by far the largest in southern school systems, which also meant that the region had the most to lose when the judicial rollback of *Brown* commenced.

In a 1991, in a case out of Oklahoma City, a more conservative U.S. Supreme Court relaxed the desegregation standards to which school districts were held when they sought release from judicial oversight.[12] The Court essentially declared that school desegregation was a temporary goal for school systems,[13] and that as long as districts had shown "good faith" in implementing their desegregation efforts, they could be declared unitary. The 1991 *Dowell* decision also meant school systems could implement student assignment plans prioritizing neighborhood schools--even if, due to underlying patterns of residential segregation, those schools were certain to be racially isolated. Two other like-minded court rulings followed.[14] In the aftermath of these three "resegregation"

[7] Lassiter, M. (2007). *The Silent Majority*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Orfield, G. (1969). *Reconstruction of Southern Education.* New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
[8] Le, C. Q. (2010). Racially Integrated Education and the Role of the Federal Government. *North Carolina Law Review, 88*, 725-786.
[9] Orfield, G. (1978). *Must we bus? Segregated schools and national policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
[10] This period was also the last time the Democratic Party held full sway over all three branches of the federal government.
[11] Enforced by both the Civil Rights Act and the Fifth Circuit's rulings across the region.
[12] *Oklahoma City v. Dowell*, 498 U.S. 237 (1991).
[13] Orfield, G. (2005). The Southern Dilemma: Losing *Brown*, Fearing *Plessy*. In Boger, J. & Orfield, G. (Eds). *School Resegregation: Must the South Turn Back?* Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press.
[14] *Freeman v. Pitts* 503 U.S. 467 (1992). *Missouri v. Jenkins,* 515 U.S. 70 (1995).

decisions, more than two hundred school districts, mostly in the South, have been released from court oversight.[15]

Most recently, in 2007, the Supreme Court made it much more difficult for districts to *voluntarily* pursue integration, ruling against the use of race as a single determining factor in student assignment.[16] The long-term effects of that decision remain uncertain, but it represents an important reason to closely monitor patterns of racial isolation in the South.

Over the years, the region paid little attention to Latino students' civil rights, which were not explicitly recognized by the Supreme Court until 1973.[17] Apart from the large historic population in Texas, which was originally part of Mexico, and the massive Cuban migration to South Florida, Latino enrollment in the Southern states was very modest during the 1960s and early '70s. By 1973, the majority of desegregation plans had already been implemented across the South and few efforts were made to incorporate Latinos. Since the early 1970s, the combination of immigration from Mexico and rapid economic growth in the South created conditions that quickly transformed the region from its long history as a black-white society into a tri-racial one with millions of immigrants.[18] So just as the Latino population began to soar across the South, desegregation plans were shut down in areas where the desegregation rights of Latinos had never been acknowledged.

This analysis of the South represents the most recent of the Civil Rights Project's reports on school resegregation trends and their associated impacts on educational opportunity. In the following report, we show that the segregation of Southern black students has been increasing on virtually every measure since the judicial retrenchment on *Brown* began in the early '90s. The *rate* of increase in black-white school segregation has slowed somewhat since 2001 however, and varies considerably across metro areas. Meanwhile, Latino students have continued to experience heightened segregation from

[15] 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.*
[16] *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 551 U.S. 701 (2007).
[17] *Keyes v. Denver School District No. 1* 413 U.S. 189 (1973).
[18] Singer, A., Hardwick, S., Brettell, C. (2008). *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrants in Suburban America.* Washington, DC: Migration Information Source. Marrow, H. (2011). *New Destination Dreaming: Immigration, Race, and Legal Status in the Rural American South.* Palto Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

white students since the late 1960's, when federal data on school enrollment was first collected.[19]

In the decades following the 1954 *Brown* decision, increasingly sophisticated research methodologies have shed light on the harms of segregated schooling and documented the benefits of integrated education for students of all races.[20] In spite of the accumulation of more than 60 years of social science evidence documenting the importance of diverse schools, the resegregation of the South has continued virtually unchecked for the past two decades.

Reason for Hope? Advancing School Desegregation Efforts in the South

There is some reason for hope, however. The South has at its disposal a number of advantages that could aid in a more comprehensive pursuit of diverse schools. First, many Southerners grasp the on-going significance of race, having grown up in a region where slavery and Jim Crow were such critical components of area history. For decades, the region also enrolled a larger share of black students than other areas of the country. Second, many natives of the South are products of desegregated schooling.[21] These graduates know first-hand that diverse schools have the potential to break down stereotypes and forge meaningful friendships across racial lines.[22] Increasingly, however, their desire to pursue such settings for their own children may conflict with an increasingly stratified, competitive society[23] and an educational narrative dominated by narrow measures of achievement, which is a limited understanding of the purposes and goals of public schooling.

Since *Brown*, though the region (and country) has been transformed by urban land-use policy that built inequality into the geographic design of metropolitan areas,[24]a third reason to be hopeful is that the larger size of many schools districts in the South

[19] The federal government collected school enrollment data by race only after the enactment of the l964 Civil Rights Act.
[20] For further discussion, see accompanying report, *E Pluribus Separated*, in section entitled "Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says." See also Boger and Orfield, 2005.
[21] Wells, A.S., Duran, J. & White, T. (2011). Southern graduates of school desegregation: A double consciousness of resegregation yet hope. In E. Frankenberg & E. DeBray (Eds.). *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multiracial generation* (pp. 114-130). Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press. Orfield, G. & Frankenberg, E. (2011). *Experiencing Integration in Louisville: How Parents and Students See the Gains and Challenges. L*os Angeles, CA: Civil Rights Project.
[22] Pettigrew, T. & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751.
[23] Wells et al., 2011.
[24] Katz, B. (2001). *Reflections on regionalism.* Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

makes them better equipped to deal with the impact of those policies.[25] Several states in the region operate under laws or policies that facilitate county-wide districts or make city-suburban consolidation feasible. As a result, a number of metros in the South are not as racially fragmented as their counterparts in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic.[26] Research clearly shows that when desegregation plans cover a large segment of the metro housing market (which often means bridging city-suburban boundary lines), both school and housing desegregation is more stable.[27]

The growth and continued popularity of school choice policies represents another avenue of hope for more integration. School choice embedded with civil rights policies—things like free transportation, concerted efforts to reach out to diverse communities, open enrollment or lottery-based admissions—can subvert the often segregating impacts of neighborhood school assignment.[28] Magnet schools, for example, are theme-based schools of choice that seek to draw a diverse group of students across traditional attendance zones. Unfortunately, the integrating potential of school choice is, in most instances, unrealized. This is the case with charter schools, which have exploded in certain areas of the region. Charter schools often lack the kinds of civil rights policies—or oversight and enforcement of what policies do exist[29]—and are far more segregated[30] than regular public schools. Given the level of segregation in charter schools, it is likely that the current rapid expansion of charters is exacerbating resegregation in the South. So while the present design of some sectors of school choice leaves much room for improvement, the possibility for more integration remains, especially if civil rights considerations are taken seriously.

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[25] Orfield, G. (2001). Metropolitan school desegregation: Impacts on metropolitan society. In powell, j. & Kay, J. (Ed.), *In pursuit of a dream deferred: Linking housing and education policy*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

[26] Despite these advantages, there is some evidence that large southern districts are "splintering" into smaller, racially identifiable school systems (see, e.g., Frankenberg, E. (2009). Splintering school districts: Understanding the link between segregation and fragmentation. *Law and Social Inquiry*, 34(4), 869-909.)

[27] Frankenberg, E. (2005). The impact of school segregation on residential housing patterns: Mobile, Alabama and Charlotte, North Carolina. In J. Boger & G. Orfield, (Eds.) School resegregation: Must the South turn back? (pp. 164-186). Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press. Orfield, M., (2006). Minority suburbanization, stable integration, and economic opportunity in fifteen metropolitan regions. A Report by the Institute on Race and Poverty to the Detroit Branch NAACP. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Race and Poverty. Siegel-Hawley, G. (forthcoming). City Lines, County Lines, Color Lines: An Analysis of School and Housing Segregation in Four Southern Metro Areas. *Teachers College Press*.

[28] Orfield, G., & Frankenberg, E. (forthcoming). *Educational Delusions? Why Choice Can Deepen Inequality and How to Make it Fair.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

[29] 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.

[30] Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Wang, J. (2011). Choice without Equity: Charter School Segregation. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 19(1).

A final reason to be hopeful is that our figures show that the South is still the most desegregated in the country—with the caveat that the region must urgently confront the regression on school integration that has characterized its past two decades. At the end of this report, we offer specific policy recommendations to actively spur integration efforts forward for the next, multiracial generation of students.

Organization of the Research Brief

In the following brief, we present an in-depth treatment of Southern trends that are merely summarized in the accompanying larger report, *E Pluribus Separated.* First, we outline the racial and socioeconomic characteristics of student enrollment in the region. We then examine patterns of school segregation according to three different measures and at several levels of geography. Throughout the report, we focus on trends for black, Latino and white students in the South. Together, the three groups account for over 95% of the region's enrollment. For further information on the data and methods used in this report, please see Appendix A.

CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDENT ENROLLMENT

The South is a majority-minority region[31] in terms of its school enrollment, second only to the West as the most diverse in the country. White students make up less than half of the population in four southern states, and in some states, like Texas, that figure is closer to one third. Arkansas and Tennessee, influenced by Appalachia and largely outside the historical plantation economy and its attendant slave population, have the highest proportions of white students (65.4% and 68.2%, respectively). At more than 15 million students, the South also has, by far, the largest enrollment of any region (Table 1).

Nearly a quarter of the South's enrollment is Latino, up from less than 1 in 5 students in 2001 (see Appendix B, Table 1). Today, Latino students account for nearly the same share (23.4%) of the region's enrollment as black students (25.9%). The historical black-white paradigm that long defined the South has shifted to what is now, without question, a multiracial region with three large racial/ethnic groups.

Black students account for a slowly declining share of the South's enrollment since 2001 (see Appendix B, Table 1).[32] Though the actual number of black students enrolled in Southern schools has increased significantly, that rise has been slower than

[31] Meaning that white students now make up less than 50% of the region's school enrollment.
[32] Even though some places in the South, like Atlanta, are experiencing an increasing migration of African-Americans.

the region's overall growth—meaning that black students have made up a somewhat smaller share of enrollment in the last decade. Still, states in the region educate the highest percentages of black students in the country. Every Southern state reports that black students make up at least one out of every five students, considerably above the average for most of the country.[33] States in the Deep South report the largest shares of black students at roughly 35% or higher. Blacks constitute the majority of students in Mississippi (50.1%).

The Latino student enrollment far exceeds that of black students in Texas and Florida, both traditional Latino immigrant destination states. Elsewhere Latino students account for a less-sizeable but still significant share of the enrollment. Several states report that Latino students constitute roughly one in ten students, including Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia. In the remaining southern states--Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina—Latinos are a smaller but fast-growing student presence. A 2011 report from the Migration Study Institute corroborates these trends and uses the label "new-destination states" to describe states where the foreign-born population grew at or above twice the national rate between 2000 and 2009.[34] According to the report, eight of the fourteen (South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina and Mississippi, listed in descending order of growth) new-destination states were in the South, each with a growth rate of approximately 50% or more.

[33] With the exception of the border region (see Table 10 in the accompanying report).
[34] Terrezas, A. (2011). Immigrants in New-Destination States. Migration Policy Institute. Available at: http://www.migrationinformation.org/USFocus/display.cfm?ID=826.

Table 1: *Public School Enrollment in 2009-2010 for Southern States*

	2009-2010 Population	Percentage				
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI
Alabama	742,666	58.7%	34.9%	1.3%	4.3%	0.8%
Arkansas	478,796	65.4%	21.8%	1.4%	9.2%	0.7%
Florida	2,483,792	46.1%	23.5%	2.7%	27.4%	0.4%
Georgia	1,656,245	45.0%	37.4%	3.2%	11.3%	0.3%
Louisiana	655,703	50.1%	44.4%	1.5%	3.2%	0.9%
Mississippi	492,279	46.1%	50.1%	0.9%	2.2%	0.2%
North Carolina	1,476,561	54.0%	31.0%	2.6%	11.0%	1.4%
South Carolina	717,218	53.8%	38.4%	1.6%	5.8%	0.4%
Tennessee	967,966	68.2%	24.3%	1.8%	5.6%	0.2%
Texas	4,772,719	33.5%	13.9%	3.8%	48.4%	0.4%
Virginia	1,205,974	57.8%	26.1%	6.1%	9.6%	0.3%
Total Region	15,649,919	46.9%	25.9%	3.0%	23.4%	0.5%

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

Trends in first grade enrollment showcase the characteristics of the South's rising generation of students. The first grade enrollment of white students in a number of states is several percentage points lower than overall enrollment figures for whites, foreshadowing further changes in school enrollments (Table 2). In general, first graders in the region are more diverse than the overall population of students. The declining share of white first-graders overall can be attributed largely to the fact that the first grade Latino population is higher in almost every state compared to statistics for all Latino students. Latino first-graders constitute between 11 and 15% of the enrollment in Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia, and between 6 and 8% in Alabama, South Carolina and Tennessee. These figures show that the Latino student population continues to grow in areas outside of traditional destinations like Texas and Florida.

In terms of the region's black enrollment, first grade trends show slightly lower shares of black students than overall enrollment figures. Virtually all states in the Deep South—Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi—follow this pattern. Florida is the only state where the share of black first-graders is slightly higher than their enrollment for all grades, and, interestingly, it is a state that has long had a significant number of Latino students.

Table 2*: First Grade Public School Enrollment in 2009-2010 for Southern States*

	Total	Percentage				
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI
Alabama	57,265	58.2%	32.8%	1.4%	6.2%	0.7%
Arkansas	37,028	64.1%	21.0%	1.4%	11.1%	0.6%
Florida	188,656	42.2%	22.7%	2.6%	27.7%	0.3%
Georgia	124,047	43.9%	34.9%	3.4%	14.2%	0.3%
Louisiana	53,200	49.8%	44.1%	1.4%	3.8%	0.9%
Mississippi	38,620	46.8%	48.3%	0.9%	3.2%	0.2%
North Carolina	118,539	52.0%	29.8%	2.7%	14.1%	1.5%
South Carolina	54,080	52.6%	37.0%	1.9%	7.3%	0.4%
Tennessee	76,330	67.2%	23.2%	2.0%	7.3%	0.2%
Texas	381,633	31.6%	13.3%	3.8%	50.9%	0.4%
Virginia	90,185	54.3%	24.1%	6.5%	10.9%	0.3%
Total Region	1,219,583	44.8%	24.6%	3.1%	25.4%	0.5%

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

Growing concentration of black and Latino students in segregated schools

Since 1991, black students in the South have become increasingly concentrated in intensely segregated minority schools (90-100% minority students). This represents a significant setback. Though for decades Southern black students were more integrated than their peers in other parts of the country, by 2009 the share of Southern black students enrolled in intensely segregated minority schools (33.4%) was fast closing in on the national figure (38.1%). Ten years earlier, there was an almost 7 percentage point margin between the South—where the most was done to counteract *de jure* segregation—and the nation in terms of black students concentrated in 90-100% minority settings (see Figure 1). The narrowing of these numbers underscores the growing resegregation of Southern black students.[35]

Even so, black students in the South today are far less segregated than they were in 1968. Just four years prior to that, in 1964, Southern black students were almost totally segregated in all black schools.[36] Since 1980, after the most intense period of

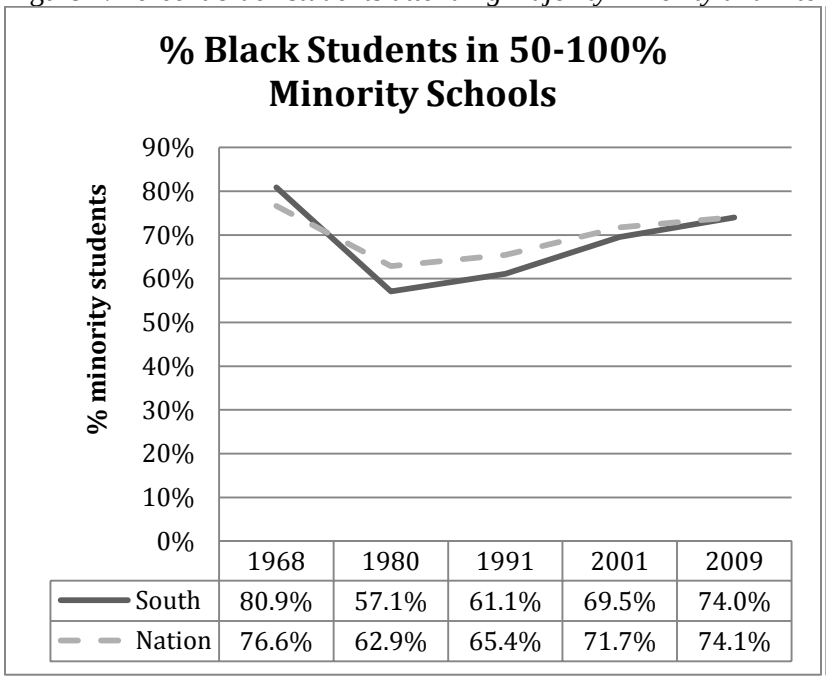
[35] See also Boger & Orfield, 2005.
[36] Orfield, 1969.

desegregation enforcement, there has been a notable increase in the share of black students attending predominately minority (50-100% minority schools) and intensely segregated schools.

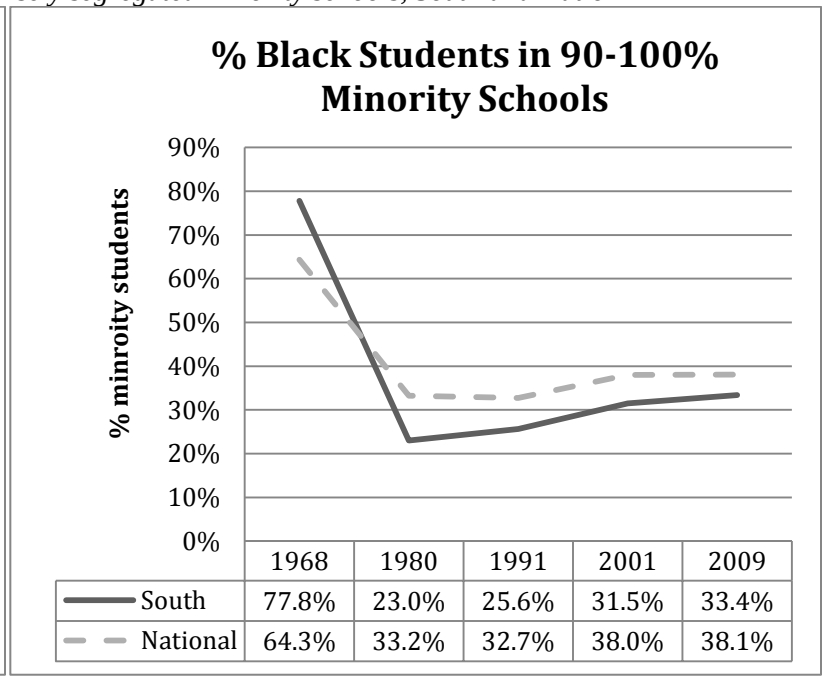
For Latino students in the region, concentration trends are alarming (Figure 2). In 1968, far fewer Latino students than black students attended intensely segregated minority schools, suggesting that Latinos were more likely to be integrated with whites in the Jim Crow South.[37] But from 1980 onwards, concentration trends for Latino students became substantially more severe than for black students, likely reflecting both the massive growth of many Latino communities and the fact that most desegregation plans did not expressly include Latino students. By the 2009-2010 school year, Southern Latinos were significantly more segregated than black students on this measure, even though they are relatively recent arrivals to many parts of the region. The share of Latino students attending intensely segregated minority schools has increased steadily over the past four decades; presently more than two out of five Latino students in the South attend intensely segregated settings. Roughly 75% of Southern Latino students attended predominately minority schools over the past three decades, a consistently larger share in the South than for Latino students nationally.

[37] The higher Latino segregation in the South than in the nation during the civil rights era (l968 data) is probably accounted for by the fact that a substantial majority of southern Latinos lived in Texas at the time. Many of those students resided in virtually all Mexican American areas of South Texas.

Figure 1. *Percent black students attending majority minority and intensely segregated minority schools, South and Nation*



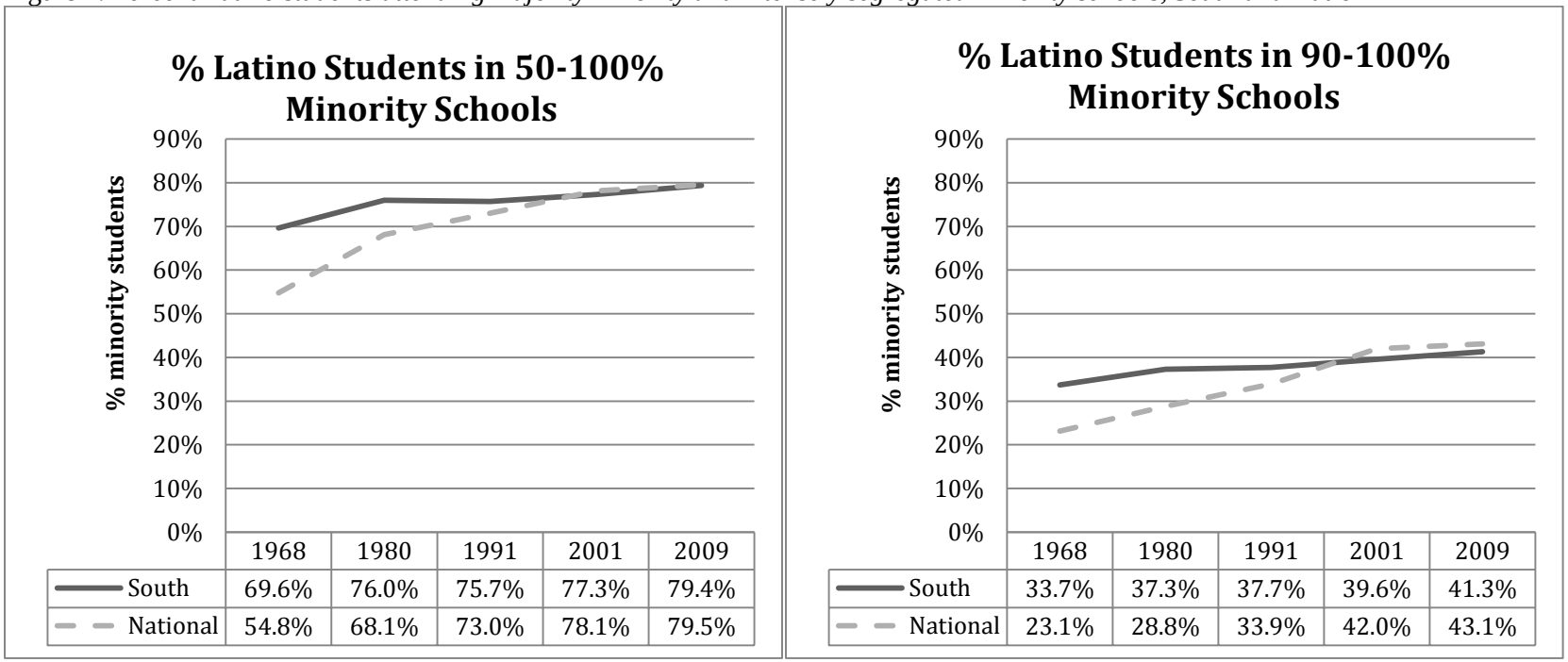
	1968	1980	1991	2001	2009
South	80.9%	57.1%	61.1%	69.5%	74.0%
Nation	76.6%	62.9%	65.4%	71.7%	74.1%



	1968	1980	1991	2001	2009
South	77.8%	23.0%	25.6%	31.5%	33.4%
National	64.3%	33.2%	32.7%	38.0%	38.1%

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 2. *Percent Latino students attending majority minority and intensely segregated minority schools, South and Nation*



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.

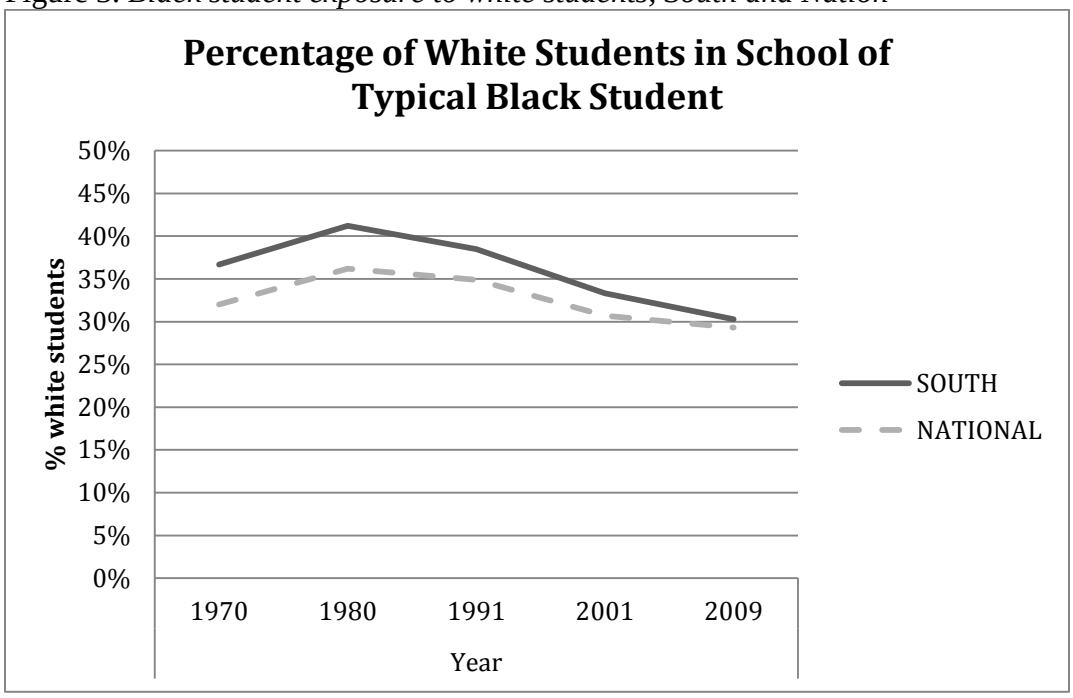
Black and Latino students' exposure to white students declines across the South

Another way of examining school segregation is to think about the racial or economic makeup of the educational setting attended by a typical student. In other words, measuring segregation by trying to understand, for example, the percentage of white schoolmates enrolled in the school of a typical black or Latino student. Because critical educational resources consistently linked to predominately white and/or wealthy schools help foster serious advantages over minority segregated settings,[38] it remains vital to explore and understand the extent to which other racial groups are exposed to white students.

Since 1970, the typical black student in the South has consistently experienced higher rates of exposure to white students than black students in other parts of the country. The share of white students in the school of the average black student has declined significantly over the last three decades, however, in both the South and the nation. That share is now at or below 30% for the first time since 1968, when national racial statistics pertaining to schools were first collected by the federal government (Figure 3). At least part—but not all—of the decline in black-white exposure can be attributed to changing demography and the decreasing share of white students overall. But since whites have accounted for well over half of the student population since 1970, the fact that the average black student in the South has attended a school where whites make up between 30-40% of the enrollment means that blacks consistently experienced disproportionately low levels of exposure to white students.

[38] Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world and education.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Figure 3. *Black student exposure to white students, South and Nation*



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 the last four decades, black exposure to white students has been declining in virtually all Southern states. Black students in North Carolina have experienced one of the most dramatic decreases in exposure to whites, falling from a situation where white classmates constituted 54% of the school of the typical black student three decades ago to roughly 37% in 2009. In l980, North Carolina and Florida had the highest average exposure of black students to white classmates because they were largely organized in countywide school districts. These school systems desegregated across city-suburban lines, with the result that the typical black student attended a majority white school. The termination of desegregation plans in both states have dramatically affected black-white exposure in places like Charlotte, North Carolina or Tampa, Florida.

The two exceptions to the recent trend of declining black exposure to white students are in the Deep South. In Alabama, black-white exposure remained low but constant between 2001 and 2009, even as the share of white students dropped very slightly (see Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2). Meanwhile, average black exposure to white students increased marginally in Louisiana, where the massive dislocation of black residents in the aftermath of Katrina in 2005 may have impacted trends. Indeed, Louisiana was the only southern state to report an increase, albeit small, in white student enrollment between 2001 and 2009 (see Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2).

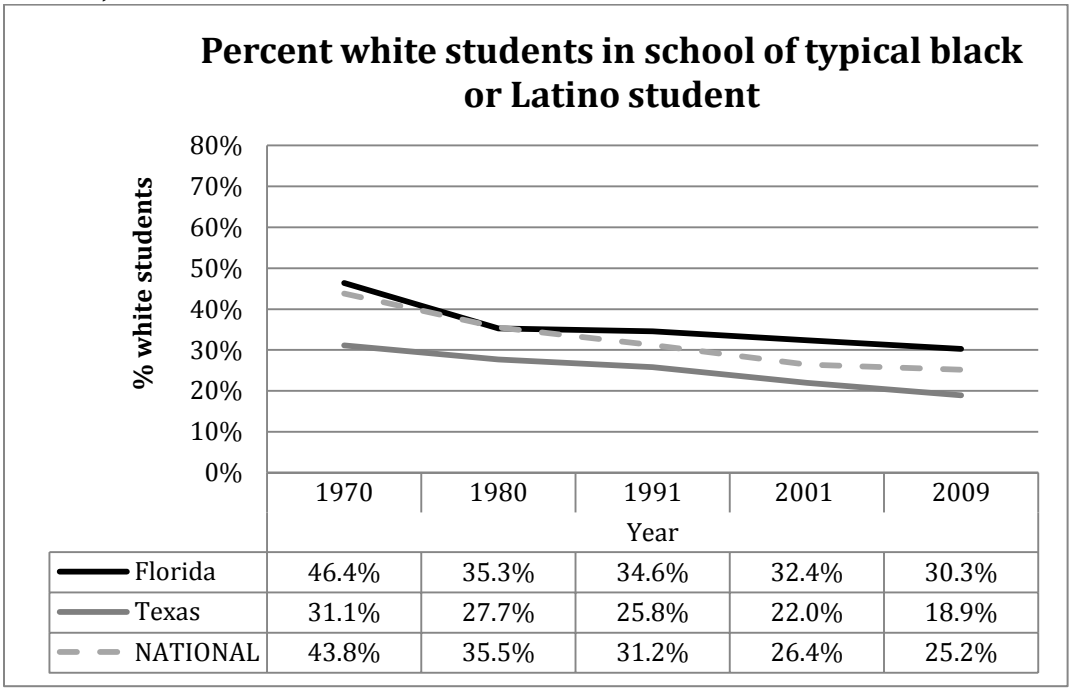
Table 5: Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Black Student, Southern States

	Year				
	1970	**1980**	**1991**	**2001**	**2009**
Alabama	32.7%	39.7%	34.6%	29.9%	29.9%
Arkansas	42.5%	46.5%	44.5%	37.1%	34.3%
Florida	43.2%	50.6%	42.0%	34.8%	30.1%
Georgia	35.1%	38.3%	34.8%	30.3%	25.5%
Louisiana	30.8%	32.8%	32.3%	27.0%	29.0%
Mississippi	29.6%	29.2%	30.1%	26.1%	25.4%
North Carolina	49.0%	54.0%	50.8%	42.5%	37.2%
South Carolina	41.2%	42.7%	41.8%	39.0%	38.5%
Tennessee	29.2%	38.0%	36.3%	32.3%	29.0%
Texas	30.7%	35.2%	34.7%	28.4%	24.6%
Virginia	41.5%	47.4%	46.5%	41.8%	38.5%
Total Region	36.7%	41.2%	38.5%	33.3%	30.2%
Total Nation	32.0%	36.2%	34.9%	30.7%	29.2%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of racial enrollment. NA=Not Applicable (missing data with data file).
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1991-1992, 2001-2002, and 2009-2010 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 Unites States, 1968-1980*. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Similar to the black student experience in the South, Latino students have undergone a steady decline in exposure to whites across all states where data were available. For instance, in Florida the white share of enrollment in the school of an average Latino declined by more than 15 percentage points since 1970 as Latino numbers swelled. A similar but more extreme trend emerges in Texas (see Figure 4). Latino exposure to white students is also decreasing rapidly between 2001 and 2009 in Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia (Table 6).

Figure 4. *Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Latino Student, Florida, Texas and Nation*



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1991-1992, 2001-2002, and 2009-2010 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 Unites States, 1968-1980*. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Table 6: *Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Latino Student in States with Greater Than 4.5% Latino Enrollment*

	Year	
	2001	**2009**
Arkansas	*	52.6%
Florida	32.4%	30.3%
Georgia	44.7%	35.3%
North Carolina	51.3%	42.8%
South Carolina	*	49.9%
Tennessee	*	52.9%
Texas	22.0%	18.9%
Virginia	49.0%	43.2%
Total Region	27.4%	25.6%
Total Nation	26.4%	25.2%

Note: * Less than 4.5% of racial enrollment.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1991-1992, 2001-2002, and 2009-2010 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Black-white and Latino-white dissimilarity grows in the South

The previous discussion of levels of concentration and exposure for black, Latino and white students centered around the actual racial composition of schools. Another way of thinking about the issue of school segregation is to consider whether or not the overall distribution of students among schools is becoming more or less related to race. This question can be answered using the Dissimilarity Index, which measures the degree to which the distribution of students differs from a random non-racial pattern (in which dissimilarity would measure 0) or a totally racialized pattern (in which dissimilarity would measure 1). Dissimilarity is another way to measure segregation between two groups. Higher values (up to 1) indicate that the two groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area while lower values reflect more even distribution, e.g., more integration. A value above .6 indicates high segregation, while a value below .3 indicates low segregation. By this measure, black and white students in the South have experienced slightly elevated segregation from one another since 1991 (see Table 7).

Twenty years ago, just before the Supreme Court began to roll back desegregation standards, 55% of black or white students in the South would have needed to attend schools with a greater proportion of the other racial group in order to achieve perfect integration; today, 57% of students would have to do the same. This relatively high level of black-white school dissimilarity in the South has remained unchanged since 2001, even as black-white residential segregation has declined across the country.[39] It is also worth noting that, nationally, this broad measure shows black-white school segregation decreased slightly over the same time period, even though it remains higher than the overall level in the South.

The dissimilarity index also indicates that segregation between black and Latino students is declining across the South. In 1991, fully 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, compared to 66% of students in 2009. Although this is still a high level of segregation, the growing number of schools with these two historically marginalized groups of students deserves close monitoring for signs of deepening inequities and tensions.

The dissimilarity measure shows us that the decline in black-Latino student contact with whites is primarily driven by overall population change. The contradiction between decreasing black residential segregation[40] coupled with increasing black school segregation may, however,

[39] 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.
[40] *Ibid.*

be due to the abandonment of school integration plans and the subsequent lost potential for decreasing school segregation.

Table 7: *Black-white, White-Latino and Black-Latino Dissimilarity in the South and Nation*

	Dissimilarity Index		
	White Black	**White Latino**	**Black Latino**
South			
2009-2010	0.57	0.65	0.66
2001-2002	0.57	0.69	0.73
1991-1992	0.55	0.75	0.81
Total Nation			
2009-2010	0.67	0.69	0.67
2001-2002	0.69	0.72	0.71
1991-1992	0.69	0.75	0.75

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1991-1992, 2001-2002, and 2009-2010 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

DOUBLE SEGREGATION BY RACE AND POVERTY

The South is comprised of several states reporting the nation's lowest average incomes, and was the first region of the country to report a majority (now 52.7%) of students poor enough to qualify for free or reduced-price lunch[41] (see Table 8).[42] Higher rates of student poverty persist in the Deep South, where 60 to 70% of the student population meets the federal low-income standards. Only two Southern states, North Carolina and Virginia, report student poverty below 50%, likely related to the strong economy in the suburbs of northern Virginia, the banking hub of Charlotte and the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill Research Triangle.

Students in schools where most of their classmates are low-income have very little contact with middle class society. As a result, students in schools of concentrated poverty often miss out on the many ways in which families and communities with resources and power strengthen the schooling experiences of their children.[43]

[41] A common proxy for relative student poverty.
[42] Southern Education Foundation (2010). A new diverse majority: Students of color in the South's public schools. Atlanta, GA: Southern Education Foundation.
[43] See, e.g., Rothstein, R. (2004). *Class and schools.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press. See also section on "Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says" in accompanying report.

Table 8: *Percentage of Poor Students in 2009-2010 for Southern States*

	2009-2010 Population	**Percentage Poor**
Alabama	742,666	55.2%
Arkansas	478,796	59.6%
Florida	2,483,792	55.4%
Georgia	1,656,245	56.1%
Louisiana	655,703	65.2%
Mississippi	492,279	70.7%
North Carolina	1,476,561	48.8%
South Carolina	717,218	54.7%
Tennessee	967,966	53.1%
Texas	4,772,719	50.3%
Virginia	1,205,974	36.8%
Total Region	15,649,919	52.7%

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.

Though the South reports high overall shares of students living in poverty, students of different racial backgrounds are not exposed equally to existing poverty (Table 9). The typical black and Latino student in the region goes to a school with much higher concentrations of low-income students than the typical white or Asian student. For example, low-income students account for about 56% of Georgia's enrollment, but the typical black student goes to a school where 68% of students qualify for free or reduced-priced lunch (the same figure is about 64% for Latino students). Meanwhile the average white student in Georgia goes to a school where roughly 40% of students are low-income. A similar trend plays out in every Southern state. Often the discrepancy between average white and black students' exposure to poverty is a staggering twenty or more percentage points. This differential exposure to poverty by race is a central mechanism of educational inequality.

Black students experience the highest levels of exposure to poverty in nearly every Southern state. (This is different from the rest of the U.S., where Latino students experience higher average exposure to poverty.) Virginia, with the lowest share of student poverty in the South, also reports the lowest black exposure to poor students. Even then, almost 50% of students in the school of the typical Virginia black student are low-income, considerably higher than the state's share of low-income students (36.8%). In Mississippi, the average black student attends a school where fully four of five students are considered low-income. In six other Southern states, two-thirds of the students in the average black students' school are poor.

Table 9: *Student Exposure Rates to Poor Students in Public Schools in 2009-2010 for Southern States*

	Poor Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Poor Students	Black Exposure to Poor Students	Asian Exposure to Poor Students	Latino Exposure to Poor Students
Alabama	55.2%	46.8%	69.5%	*	*
Arkansas	59.6%	54.3%	73.5%	*	65.4%
Florida	55.4%	46.5%	66.4%	*	62.0%
Georgia	56.1%	45.5%	68.0%	*	63.8%
Louisiana	65.2%	55.0%	76.7%	*	*
Mississippi	70.7%	60.6%	80.4%	*	*
North Carolina	48.8%	41.8%	57.3%	*	58.4%
South Carolina	54.7%	48.3%	63.8%	*	57.7%
Tennessee	53.1%	48.0%	66.3%	*	62.3%
Texas	50.3%	39.5%	60.6%	*	56.0%
Virginia	36.8%	31.2%	49.4%	26.4%	42.8%
Total Region	52.7%	44.3%	65.1%	*	57.5%

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.

METROPOLITAN AREAS IN THE SOUTH AND THE BORDER

To understand how patterns of diversification and segregation are changing the complexion of schools at a more local level, we turn to an examination of large metropolitan areas in the South and Border[44] regions. The Border region is included in this analysis because in many ways it is similar to the South. Both regions experienced a similar history of race relations. The Border metropolitan areas we examine include a number of places that are distinctly Southern in character and were important sites of widespread desegregation a generation ago. And today, enrollment in the Border region is more characterized by the southern black-white dichotomy than the South itself, which is now substantially tri-racial.

Metropolitan areas are economically interdependent, and allow us to look across a geographically smaller unit for the purposes of assessing segregation. The scope of the typical metro area is small enough so that well-designed policy could conceivably alter patterns of segregation among schools and/or neighborhoods and municipalities (as compared to the infeasibility of doing so at the state level). For the purposes of this analysis, we examine the 23

[44] We define the Border region as including the states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs) [45] in the South and the 7 in the Border that enroll at least 100,000 students in public schools.

The Latino presence in the South is readily apparent in examining the largest metros (Table 10). In Miami, Houston and San Antonio, three of the five largest Southern metro areas, Latino students make up by far the largest share of the student enrollment. In Dallas, the largest metro, Latino and white students each comprise a roughly equivalent share of the enrollment (about 38%). Black students constitute the second highest share of minority students in the two largest Southern metros. However, in the Atlanta metropolitan area, which has a rich African American heritage and tradition,[46] black students still make up a far larger share of the population (38.7%) than Latino students (13.2%).

In midsize to large metros--between 200,000 and 400,000 students—the Latino student population varies considerably. Metros in Florida and Texas are the most likely to report very large shares of Latino students. (Several Texas metros of varying sizes report student populations comprised almost solely of Latino students. This is true of El Paso and McAllen.) In the three North Carolina metros of Charlotte, Raleigh and Greensboro, Latinos make up more than one in ten students. Metropolitan areas in Deep South states are less likely to have as strong an influx of Latino students. For instance, Latino students account for less than 10% of the population in places like Nashville, Birmingham, Memphis, and New Orleans. In each of these metros, along with several others, black and white students still comprise the bulk of the enrollment.

[45] A CBSA is defined by the Office of Management and Budget and has replaced the metropolitan area as the unit for measuring a geographical unit that includes a central city and its suburbs that are linked economically. We use "CBSA," "metro area," and "metro" interchangeably.

[46] To include several HBCUs, reverse migration and a number of predominately black suburbs, among other attributes.

Table 10: *Public School Enrollment in 2009-2010 for the Largest Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs) in the South (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	2009-2010 Enrollment	Percentage				
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI
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%
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	919,254	40.1%	38.7%	4.8%	13.2%	0.3%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	748,187	21.8%	30.1%	2.5%	45.4%	0.3%
San Antonio, TX	396,772	26.2%	7.8%	2.1%	63.6%	0.3%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	361,417	57.0%	17.8%	3.4%	21.6%	0.4%
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	309,168	42.0%	21.4%	4.1%	32.0%	0.5%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	289,895	50.7%	33.4%	3.3%	12.2%	0.5%
Austin-Round Rock, TX	288,031	41.5%	10.0%	4.9%	43.2%	0.4%
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	262,332	47.8%	43.2%	3.8%	4.8%	0.4%
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	240,417	66.6%	21.6%	3.0%	8.7%	0.2%
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	227,452	30.8%	61.7%	2.0%	5.3%	0.2%
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	204,941	2.1%	0.3%	0.7%	96.8%	0.1%
Jacksonville, FL	196,498	57.4%	31.5%	3.7%	7.2%	0.2%
Richmond, VA	195,417	52.9%	37.9%	3.3%	5.5%	0.4%
Raleigh-Cary, NC	187,630	53.4%	29.1%	4.9%	12.3%	0.3%
El Paso, TX	175,085	7.1%	2.9%	0.8%	88.8%	0.4%
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	175,029	58.5%	35.1%	1.3%	4.9%	0.1%
Columbia, SC	125,633	49.5%	43.6%	1.9%	4.6%	0.4%
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	122,260	43.4%	46.1%	2.9%	7.1%	0.5%
Baton Rouge, LA	114,146	45.5%	50.1%	1.4%	2.8%	0.1%
Greensboro-High Point, NC	112,062	49.4%	35.6%	4.0%	10.6%	0.5%
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	108,672	58.7%	33.7%	1.5%	5.4%	0.4%

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

In some respects, metro areas in the Border region are more reminiscent of the Old South than cities actually located in the South, as many are characterized by majority white enrollment with a substantial share of black students (see Table 11). In the DC metropolitan area, black students remain the largest minority group, due in part to the large concentration of African Americans in the central city and inner-ring suburban districts. Still, Latinos in DC constitute more than one in six of all students. In only a handful of Border metros do Latinos constitute more than 10% of the enrollment. In Oklahoma City, for example, Latinos are now almost as numerous as black students. Interestingly, in Tulsa, American Indians are the second largest group of students after whites.

Many of these Border metropolitan areas have had significant desegregation experiences. St. Louis had, at one point, the largest interdistrict desegregation program, and today thousands of city students still cross district boundary lines to voluntarily attend less segregated schools.[47] Oklahoma City had a long-standing desegregation plan until, as mentioned above, the city was impacted by the first of the 1990s-era Supreme Court cases in which the Court authorized termination of desegregation orders. And Kansas City, MO experienced perhaps the nation's most ambitious effort to desegregate with magnet schools in a heavily black central city. That plan was cut off by the Supreme Court's l995 *Jenkins* decision.

Jefferson County Public Schools (JCPS), which includes Louisville, Kentucky and some of its suburbs, was declared unitary in 2000, judged to have met its remedial burden to desegregate after being under court order for a quarter-century. But the district, believing that diverse schools had important educational benefits for students, elected to voluntarily continue much of what it was required to do under court order. JCPS was later sued, however, and in 2007, the Supreme Court held that the district's voluntary desegregation plan was unconstitutional in its use of race to assign students. Since the decision, JCPS has engaged in extensive efforts to revise its student assignment plan to comply with current Court jurisprudence and to effectively integrate its students.[48]

Table 11: *Public School Enrollment in 2009-2010 for the Largest Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs) in the Border Region (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	2009-2010 Enrollment	Percentage				
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	826,635	40.6%	31.3%	10.0%	17.8%	0.3%
St. Louis, MO-IL	409,845	67.7%	27.4%	2.3%	2.4%	0.2%
Baltimore-Towson, MD	372,048	50.7%	38.6%	5.4%	4.8%	0.5%
Kansas City, MO-KS	336,909	66.9%	17.6%	2.9%	10.7%	0.5%
Oklahoma City, OK	204,448	56.8%	15.8%	3.2%	15.5%	8.7%
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	179,249	71.9%	21.3%	1.9%	4.7%	0.2%
Tulsa, OK	162,468	54.9%	13.0%	2.5%	10.6%	18.9%

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

[47] Wells, A.S. & Crain, R. (1997). *Stepping over the Color Line: African-American Students in White Suburban Schools.* New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.
[48] 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.

Examining Metropolitan Racial Segregation in the South

As is the case at the regional level, most of the largest Southern CBSAs report declining black-white exposure (Table 12). By 2009-2010, across all of the largest Southern metro areas, black students experienced fairly low exposure to white students, on average. In many cases, average black exposure to whites was considerably lower than the overall share of white students in the metro (compare exposure in Table 12 to white percentage in Table 10 above). The Raleigh, NC metro had the highest black exposure to whites although this too has fallen in recent years. Likely due to the city-suburban school district's voluntary integration policy (which ended after this data was collected and may be restored in a different form), black-white exposure was still relatively similar to the overall white percentage in the metro--indicating fairly stable levels of desegregation.

Two metros with especially steep increases in segregation (as measured by black-white exposure) were Tampa and Memphis. Both were released from desegregation court orders in the past ten years. In Tampa, the two major countywide districts, Hillsborough and Pinellas, were declared unitary and their desegregation plans were subsequently terminated (in 2001 and 2000, respectively). The ending of court oversight of desegregation, coupled with the influx of Latino students, may help to explain the nearly ten-percentage point decline in black-white exposure in less than a decade. Memphis is currently in the process of merging its city and suburban school systems, but prior to that, in 2009, the city school system was released from its desegregation orders on appeal.

In contrast to overall trends, two of the places with some of the lowest black-white exposure, Birmingham and New Orleans, have actually experienced increases since 2002. The trends in New Orleans are likely affected by Hurricane Katrina, which caused a considerable exodus from the metro during this time period. Birmingham's increase may be due to black migration out of the central city district to the surrounding county, which is predominantly white. Other areas, such as the Richmond, VA or the Columbia, SC metro, remained relatively stable during this time period. Some of the metros that have not experienced notable fluctuations, like Richmond, ended efforts to desegregate decades ago.

Table 12: *Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Black Student Across the Largest Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs) in the South (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	Year		
	2002	**2006**	**2009**
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	26.8%	24.9%	23.9%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	18.8%	18.0%	17.3%
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	24.3%	22.2%	20.3%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	16.5%	14.5%	13.6%
San Antonio, TX	27.8%	24.7%	23.5%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	47.6%	41.4%	37.8%
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	35.9%	32.1%	30.2%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	39.7%	34.5%	33.1%
Austin-Round Rock, TX	33.1%	31.3%	29.8%
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-	36.6%	34.1%	33.1%
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin,	N/A	41.6%	39.1%
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	31.4%	15.0%	14.9%
Jacksonville, FL	39.4%	36.5%	35.3%
Richmond, VA	31.3%	31.2%	30.9%
Raleigh-Cary, NC	53.6%	48.3%	45.7%
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	21.8%	23.8%	24.0%
Columbia, SC	31.6%	30.7%	30.8%
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	15.6%	23.8%	23.9%
Baton Rouge, LA	22.3%	20.0%	20.2%
Greensboro-High Point, NC	36.9%	33.8%	32.7%
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	36.0%	33.2%	31.6%

Note: N/A = Data not available. * = Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment; McAllen and El Paso CBSAs not included because they didn't have 5% Latinos at any point.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The declines in racial contact in the Border region CBSAs were less pronounced than in the South (Table 13). As suburbanization increased, Kansas City's black students experienced an increase in exposure to white students from 2002 onwards. Baltimore remained relatively stable over time. Similar to Raleigh, another metro with a long history of voluntary integration efforts, Louisville, reported high levels of black-white exposure with a modest decline since 2002. This could be related to a growth of the black enrollment in the Louisville-Jefferson County district or the modifications that have been made to the student assignment policy after the *Parents Involved* decision.

These figures tell only the latest chapter in the resegregation of black students in Southern and Border metros. Many southern districts ended their desegregation plans in the l990s, prior to the earliest year of data in Tables 12 and 13.

Table 13*: Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Black Student Across the Largest Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs) in the Border Region (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	Year		
	2002	**2006**	**2009**
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-	21.5%	20.2%	19.8%
St. Louis, MO-IL	28.1%	27.1%	26.9%
Baltimore-Towson, MD	23.1%	23.5%	23.1%
Kansas City, MO-KS	30.4%	32.9%	33.9%
Oklahoma City, OK	39.3%	38.6%	37.7%
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	59.7%	56.1%	51.6%
Tulsa, OK	38.3%	35.4%	34.8%

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 striking pattern in Latino-white exposure across Southern and Border CBSAs is that, in many of these major metropolitan areas, Latino-white exposure is higher than black-white exposure. This is particularly true in Southern metros outside of Texas (where, in general, the lowest exposure for Latinos to whites occurred). In ten Southern metros, for example, the typical Latino attends a school where at least 40% of students are white (Table 14). By comparison, only in the Raleigh metro did black students experience similarly high levels of exposure to white students (Table 12 above). Comparable patterns are also seen among Border metropolitan areas (Tables 13 and 15). As recent migrants to many Southern localities, Latinos are not often relocating to central cities. Instead they move to outlying, low-cost suburban and satellite city locations, where the vast majority of traditional low-wage Southern jobs in factories or food processing plants are found and obtained by Latinos.

Atlanta has traditionally been a black-white metro, but has a growing Latino student population, now comprising 13% of all students. As their share of enrollment has grown, Latino exposure to whites has fallen substantially—by nearly ten percentage points since 2002. Yet, Latino students in the Atlanta area still have higher exposure to white students (29.8%) than their black peers (20.3%). Tulsa is another MSA with very similar patterns to Atlanta for Latinos and blacks. Likewise, in other Southern metros, it appears that the decline in exposure to white students has not been as steep for Latinos as for black students. An example of this is the Tampa, Florida metropolitan area. Recall from above that black students in Tampa experienced a nearly ten-percentage point decline in exposure to white students from 2002 to 2009. By contrast, Latinos in Tampa experienced only a four-percentage point decline in exposure to whites during this same period.

Table 14*: Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Latino Student Across the Largest Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs) in the South (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	Year		
	2002	**2006**	**2009**
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	27.6%	25.1%	23.4%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	21.9%	20.0%	18.8%
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	39.2%	32.1%	29.8%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	19.3%	17.7%	16.6%
San Antonio, TX	20.5%	19.4%	18.5%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	50.0%	46.8%	45.9%
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	42.6%	36.2%	34.2%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	42.9%	36.8%	34.0%
Austin-Round Rock, TX	32.5%	28.8%	27.5%
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-	*	*	47.4%
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin,	NA	48.9%	46.3%
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	*	*	28.0%
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	2.9%	2.3%	1.9%
Jacksonville, FL	*	56.9%	55.0%
Richmond, VA	*	*	41.9%
Raleigh-Cary, NC	56.3%	51.5%	47.6%
El Paso, TX	7.9%	6.6%	6.2%
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	*	*	58.8%
Columbia, SC	*	*	47.2%
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	*	37.8%	37.8%
Greensboro-High Point, NC	51.6%	46.9%	41.1%
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	*	*	44.7%

Note: NA = Data not available. * = Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment; Baton Rouge CBSAs not included because it didn't have 5% Latinos at any point.

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

Table 15: *Percentage of White Students in the School of a Typical Latino Student Across the Largest Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSAs) in the Border Region (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	Year		
	2002	**2006**	**2009**
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-	34.0%	31.5%	29.1%
Baltimore-Towson, MD	*	*	46.2%
Kansas City, MO-KS	49.8%	47.4%	45.7%
Oklahoma City, OK	43.7%	38.3%	35.5%
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	*	*	58.4%
Tulsa, OK	51.0%	44.1%	41.2%

Note: * = Less than 4.5% of a racial enrollment; St Louis CBSA not included because it didn't have 5% Latinos at any point.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In virtually all Southern metropolitan areas, values of white-black dissimilarity, a measurement of segregation between two groups, are higher than for all other groups (Table 16). In only two metros, San Antonio and Charlotte, is white-black dissimilarity lower than white-Latino dissimilarity, and in both metropolitan areas they are relatively similar. Further, no Southern metros report high white-Latino dissimilarity levels (above .6), whereas seven metros have high white-black dissimilarity. Recall that higher dissimilarity values (up to 1) indicate the two groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area, while lower values reflect more even distribution or more integration. White-black dissimilarity is especially high in places like Memphis, Birmingham and Baton Rouge. Likewise, the largest four Border metro areas all have high white-black dissimilarity.

As was the case with exposure indices, Raleigh metro has the lowest dissimilarity across the three largest racial groups (white, black, and Latino). Somewhat unexpectedly, the greater Louisville metropolitan area, which had relatively high levels of integration according to other measures, reports moderately severe black-white dissimilarity levels, which may reflect the fact that most of the CBSA's black enrollment is in the Jefferson County (metro Louisville) district. Still, among the largest Border metros, the Louisville CBSA shows the lowest black-white school segregation by this measure (Table 17).

In many Southern metros, black-Latino dissimilarity is lower than white-black or white-Latino dissimilarity, perhaps indicating similar black and Latino suburbanization patterns. Asian-Latino segregation is quite high in those metros containing at least 4.5% of both groups, and may reflect differential sorting patterns within the metro that divide these immigrant groups into distinct school districts.

Table 16: *Segregation of Students in Public Schools in 2009-2010 for the Largest Core Based Statistical Areas in the South Region (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	**White Latino**	**Black Latino**	**White Asian**	**Black Asian**	**Asian Latino**
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington,	0.58	0.58	0.43	0.46	0.55	0.60
Houston-Sugar Land-	0.62	0.59	0.41	0.50	0.54	0.59
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-	0.64	0.54	0.52	*	*	*
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-	0.62	0.55	0.59	*	*	*
San Antonio, TX	0.51	0.52	0.46	*	*	*
Tampa-St. Petersburg-	0.53	0.40	0.43	*	*	*
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	0.47	0.42	0.47	*	*	*
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord,	0.52	0.54	0.31	*	*	*
Austin-Round Rock, TX	0.52	0.52	0.33	0.40	0.52	0.62
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-	0.47	0.32	0.38	*	*	*
Nashville-Davidson--	0.59	0.56	0.40	*	*	*
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	0.70	0.58	0.49	*	*	*
Jacksonville, FL	0.54	0.33	0.40	*	*	*
Richmond, VA	0.56	0.49	0.43	*	*	*
Raleigh-Cary, NC	0.32	0.31	0.23	0.45	0.50	0.54
El Paso, TX	*	0.44	*	*	*	*
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	0.68	0.49	0.60	*	*	*
Columbia, SC	0.53	0.37	0.42	*	*	*
New Orleans-Metairie-	0.59	0.52	0.49	*	*	*
Baton Rouge, LA	0.69	*	0.56	*	*	*
Greensboro-High Point, NC	0.51	0.46	0.40	*	*	*
Little Rock-North Little	0.62	0.45	0.37	*	*	*

Note: * Less than 4.5% of racial enrollment, McAllen CBSA not included because there were not two racial/ethnic groups that were at least 5% of enrollment.

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

Table 17: *Segregation of Students in Public Schools in 2009-2010 for the Largest Core Based Statistical Areas in the Border Region (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	**White Latino**	**Black Latino**	**White Asian**	**Black Asian**	**Asian Latino**
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	0.65	0.55	0.51	0.4	0.61	0.44
St. Louis, MO-IL	0.70	*	*	*	*	*
Baltimore-Towson, MD	0.65	*	*	*	*	*
Kansas City, MO-KS	0.63	0.52	0.49	*	*	*
Oklahoma City, OK	0.55	0.57	0.54	*	*	*
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	0.52	*	*	*	*	*
Tulsa, OK	0.59	0.52	0.40	*	*	*

Note: * Less than 4.5% 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

Disparate exposure to poverty for students of different racial backgrounds

Stark differences in exposure to poverty for white students, as compared to black and Latino students, exist in virtually every Southern and Border metropolitan area. These discrepancies are especially dramatic in most of the Border region's metros. In three Border CBSAs, the typical white student attended a school with less than 30% poor students (as measured by eligibility for free/reduced-price lunch), and the typical black student attended a school with more than 60% of students from households at or near the poverty line (Table 19). In Kansas City, Latino exposure to poverty was even higher (74%).

Because white exposure to low-income students was high in almost every Southern metropolitan area, the gaps were not quite as large between students of different races in Southern CBSAs. Nevertheless, in most metros, the exposure of whites to poverty was substantially below the metro's proportion of poor students. For example, there's a gap of eighteen percentage points in Dallas, TX (Table 18), indicative of the way in which whites are underexposed to existing poverty. Two places where the gap between the share of white students and white exposure to poverty is relatively small are in Florida, in metros like Tampa and Orlando that have city-suburban districts. These district configurations might make it more difficult for white students to exit schools with high concentrations of low-income students. Zoning and housing policies that tend to segregate poor children from middle class areas may also be less rigid. Similarly, in Raleigh, a countywide school district with a voluntary integration plan at the time the data were collected, gaps in exposure to poverty for students of different races were relatively minimal.

In most of the metropolitan areas of Texas and North Carolina (which has a rapidly rising share of Latino students), exposure to low-income students is higher for Latino students than for blacks (Table 19). Conversely, in other Southern metros, black exposure to poverty is higher, often substantially so, than for Latinos. For example, there is nearly a ten-percentage point gap in poverty exposure in Miami (71% for black students and 62% for Latinos). The pattern for black and Latino exposure to poverty is more mixed in the Border metropolitan areas. The basic reality, however, is that both black and Latino students are being educated in schools that are far more affected by concentrated poverty than whites are.

In the few Southern and Border metropolitan areas with a substantial Asian population, Asian poverty exposure is similar to that of whites. That is to say, Asian exposure to poor students is considerably lower than the share of low-income students in the metro, as well as lower than the exposure of black and Latinos to these students. Those who compare the educational outcomes for Latinos and Asian students should be aware of this very significant difference in school context. The gap that is often said to be the effect of culture may be related to these very different educational settings.

Table 18: *Student Exposure Rates to Poor Students in Public Schools in 2009-2010 for the Largest Core Based Statistical Areas in the South (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	Poor Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Poor Students	Black Exposure to Poor Students	Latino Exposure to Poor Students	Asian Exposure to Poor Students
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	50.8%	32.7%	60.3%	67.7%	33.5%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	52.8%	34.4%	59.2%	64.6%	36.7%
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	50.9%	35.2%	65.5%	61.4%	38.5%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	58.2%	39.3%	71.2%	61.6%	*
San Antonio, TX	45.7%	37.5%	51.7%	48.6%	*
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	51.7%	47.6%	66.5%	62.3%	*
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	51.0%	45.0%	60.9%	60.1%	*
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	45.1%	33.9%	57.0%	60.3%	*
Austin-Round Rock, TX	47.7%	30.5%	58.2%	64.0%	28.2%
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	39.2%	31.1%	51.4%	41.7%	*
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	44.3%	37.1%	59.0%	64.7%	*
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	61.4%	41.1%	72.0%	64.9%	*
Jacksonville, FL	41.3%	35.0%	56.6%	42.4%	*
Richmond, VA	33.6%	22.4%	51.3%	42.2%	*
Raleigh-Cary, NC	34.1%	30.0%	39.7%	42.0%	25.1%
El Paso, TX	65.7%	57.3%	*	66.5%	*
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	47.7%	36.0%	68.2%	49.3%	*
Columbia, SC	46.9%	39.3%	56.6%	50.5%	*
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	66.5%	53.2%	78.5%	71.2%	*
Baton Rouge, LA	62.4%	46.4%	76.9%	*	*
Greensboro-High Point, NC	49.8%	41.1%	58.3%	60.5%	*
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	52.5%	43.4%	67.2%	62.8%	*

Note: * Less than 4.5% of racial enrollment. McAllen, TX CBSA not included due to FRL data reporting issues.

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

Table 19*: Student Exposure Rates to Poor Students in Public Schools in 2009-2010 for Largest Core Based Statistical Areas in the Border Region (Greater than 100,000 Students)*

	Poor Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Poor Students	Black Exposure to Poor Students	Latino Exposure to Poor Students	Asian Exposure to Poor Students
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	33.9%	20.9%	48.1%	47.3%	26.0%
St. Louis, MO-IL	39.0%	29.7%	63.8%	*	*
Baltimore-Towson, MD	39.0%	23.0%	61.6%	58.0%	*
Kansas City, MO-KS	38.4%	29.8%	60.4%	73.8%	*
Oklahoma City, OK	54.4%	45.8%	68.4%	69.5%	*
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	50.5%	48.2%	65.1%		*
Tulsa, OK	55.1%	48.2%	73.2%		*

Note: * Less than 4.5% of 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

DISCUSSION

Southern schools were at the epicenter of the civil rights revolution. From the l960s to the 1980s, schools in the region experienced a massive racial transformation that brought great increases in school integration. Those gains lasted for several decades, even as the region experienced a rising share of nonwhite students.

At the peak of its civil rights struggles, the South was less urban, had more minorities in small towns and rural areas, and, in a number of states, had school districts that were not divided in ways that fragmented metropolitan populations so extensively in the North. Instead, many southern districts encompassed entire counties that contained much of the suburbs as well as the central city. These conditions led to deeper and more lasting change than other regions experienced.

There was a great debate in the South about whether or not civil rights reform should be gradual, and wait until attitudes shifted, or whether attitudes would change only after the institutions were forced to do so by the federal courts and executive agencies. In the first decade after *Brown*, the gradual approach was tried and it failed. Resistance grew and little desegregation actually occurred. At the height of the civil rights era, with the Supreme Court and the Johnson administration forcing very rapid compliance, desegregation was accomplished to a degree unrivaled anywhere else. Attitudes changed dramatically. Ironically, in the end, it was the conservative federal courts that forced communities to resegregate integrated schools, which had become an accepted part of life, and sent the South back towards its past.

With very few exceptions, the South was a black-white region before and during the civil rights era and, as such, the legal imperative was to bring black and white students and teachers together in the same schools. Latino enrollment began to rise in the region after the enactment of the l965 Immigration Act, another civil rights measure, but Latinos received little attention in the initial desegregation plans. The South is now urbanized and multiracial and has been deeply changed by large migrations from the North and from Latin America. Yet the law stopped evolving and then reversed, never effectively taking into account the new demographic realities.

Amid these historic shifts in Southern enrollment patterns, black and Latino students became increasingly segregated in schools isolated by both race and poverty. Along every measure of segregation presented and at each level of geography, black students have experienced setbacks in gains made during the desegregation era. Latino students were not typically included in desegregation orders and have undergone steady increases in segregation along multiple measures and geographies over the past four decades.

While segregation levels remain lowest for black students in the South when compared to other regions,[49] these trends point overwhelmingly towards a central conclusion: the South is in the midst of a two-decade long retreat from the goals of *Brown*. For Latino students, the region has consistently ignored the increase in their racial and economic isolation and, in essence, has turned its back on the fastest-growing group.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We offer several region-specific recommendations to reverse the trends presented in this brief, and also encourage readers to review more recommendations found in the larger report.[50]

Continued or new court oversight of Southern school districts should remain a priority. Given the patterns of resegregation that occurred after 1990s-era Supreme Court decisions, which made it easier for districts to gain unitary status,[51] and the restrictions placed on the use of race in student assignment by the 2007 *Parents Involved* decision, remaining under court supervision can serve as an important safeguard in preserving hard-won progress on school desegregation. A recent Fourth Circuit decision regarding the school zoning in Pitt County, North Carolina offers an example of a court holding a district responsible for adhering to existing desegregation orders.[52]

[49] See *E Pluribus… Separation* at http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students/orfield-kuscera-hawley-e-pluribus-2012.pdf
[50] Ibid.
[51] Reardon et al., forthcoming.
[52] *Everett v. Pitt County Board of Education,* No. 11-2000 (2012).

Southern school desegregation orders and Office for Civil Rights' (OCR) agreements that remain on the dockets of the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education should be systematically monitored and reactivated if districts are in violation of those orders or agreements. Reviving OCR oversight and enforcement of civil rights laws in Southern school districts should also be prioritized. Recent evidence of this type of activity can be seen in Mississippi.[53] It should be expanded.

In districts that do gain unitary status (and are thus released from court oversight), comprehensive post-unitary plans should be developed to ensure that the school system does not return to pre-*Brown* levels of segregation and inequality. Such plans should be strongly enforced and monitored for compliance.

Beyond mandated oversight and enforcement activity, Southern districts must commit to voluntarily pursuing school integration. The positive integration patterns seen in the Louisville and Raleigh metro areas showcase the potential of voluntary strategies. Prioritizing diversity in student assignment policies, school siting and zoning processes, in addition to promoting the development and growth of magnet schools, should be central to the region's efforts to ensure equal educational opportunity in the 21st century.

Finally, as school choice continues to grow in popularity, Southern school systems should carefully guard against any negative impacts charter schools might have on integration. In Nashville, Tennessee, school board members recently took steps to prevent a charter school from opening in a racially isolated white area of the district.[54] In districts that are still under active court order, the courts and OCR have a responsibility to monitor such trends, and bring charters into compliance with existing orders. Examples of these types of enforcement efforts can be seen in Beaufort, North Carolina, as well as in Arkansas.[55]

CONCLUSION

As the great Mississippi writer, William Faulkner, wrote in 1951, "The past isn't dead. It isn't even past." Nowhere in the U.S. is there so much experience with segregation and its predictable consequences than in the South. If the region is to recover from those consequences and build an enduring and successful multiracial future, it badly needs to tackle new initiatives and policies to deal with the realities of a complex, deeply multiracial society where whites are one of several major minorities.

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[53] Hsu, S. (2010, April 13). Miss. county schools ordered to comply with desegregation order. *Washington Post*. Retrieved 5/13/10 at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/13/AR2010041302867_pf.html.

[54] Salmon, A. (16 August 2012). Nashville school board at odds with city, state over charter school approval. *Examiner.com*. Available at: http://www.examiner.com/article/nashville-school-board-at-odds-with-city-state-over-charter-school-approval

[55] Foster, J. (2012). OCR revises lottery process to encourage diversity at charter school. *Beaufort Tribune*. Available at: http://beaufortttribune.com/archives/73743

Appendix A: 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
- **South**: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

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

2001-2002:
• Tennessee: Missing racial composition and FRL
	1998-1999:
	• Tennessee: racial composition
	  ○ still missing FRL
	  ○ state is missing all membership data from 1999 to 2005

1991-1992: • Alabama: Missing FRL • Kentucky: Missing FRL • Georgia: Missing racial composition • Tennessee: Missing racial composition and FRL • Virginia: Missing racial composition and FRL	**1990-1991:** • Tennessee**:** racial composition **1992-1993:** • Virginia: racial composition **1993-1994:** • Georgia: racial composition **Other:** • Did not explore FRL data for 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 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.

Appendix B: Additional Data Tables

Table 1*: Public School Enrollment in 2000-2001 for Southern States*

	2000-2001 Population	Percentage				
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI
Alabama	723,078	60.5%	36.3%	0.8%	1.5%	0.7%
Arkansas	449,579	71.1%	23.3%	0.9%	4.2%	0.5%
Florida	2,461,758	52.6%	24.6%	1.9%	20.5%	0.3%
Georgia	1,464,357	53.9%	38.1%	2.4%	5.5%	0.2%
Louisiana	714,068	49.1%	47.4%	1.3%	1.6%	0.7%
Mississippi	493,509	47.3%	51.0%	0.7%	0.9%	0.2%
North Carolina	1,307,581	60.1%	31.2%	1.9%	5.3%	1.5%
South Carolina	672,366	54.9%	41.5%	1.0%	2.3%	0.3%
Tennessee	894,131	*	*	*	*	*
Texas	4,103,896	41.1%	14.2%	2.8%	41.6%	0.3%
Virginia	1,155,555	63.0%	27.0%	4.3%	5.4%	0.3%
Total Region	14,439,878	48.4%	25.7%	2.1%	17.2%	0.4%

Note: AI=American Indian. *Missing data in dataset

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

Table 2*: Public School Enrollment in 1991-1992 for Southern States*

	1991-1992 Population	Percentage				
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI
Alabama	*	*	*	*	*	*
Arkansas	437,815	74.6%	23.9%	0.6%	0.6%	0.3%
Florida	1,897,681	61.2%	24.0%	1.6%	12.9%	0.2%
Georgia	1,170,788	*	*	*	*	*
Louisiana	769,256	52.8%	44.6%	1.1%	1.0%	0.4%
Mississippi	501,049	48.4%	50.6%	0.4%	0.1%	0.4%
North Carolina	1,091,366	66.2%	30.0%	0.9%	0.9%	1.6%
South Carolina	625,011	57.3%	40.6%	0.6%	0.5%	0.1%
Tennessee	829,297	76.7%	22.2%	0.8%	0.3%	0.1%
Texas	3,434,370	49.0%	14.3%	2.1%	34.4%	0.2%
Virginia	1,014,143	*	*	*	*	*
Total Region	11,770,776	47.0%	20.5%	1.2%	12.4%	0.3%

Note: AI=American Indian. *Missing data in dataset

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