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cc-Bill Kincaid

DRAFT -- April 10, 1997

STUDY ON DESEGREGATION TRENDS

Q: This week a group of Harvard researchers released a report that concluded U.S. schools are becoming increasingly resegregated, diminishing gains made since *Brown v. Board of Education*. The authors blame the Supreme Court, but also fault the Clinton Administration for having a lackluster commitment to integrated education. Is this a fair criticism?

A: I strongly disagree. We have made a historic commitment to improving quality of education for all students, through our strong support for high academic standards for every student, record levels of investment in programs that improve schools and provide extra help to disadvantaged kids, a nationwide call to mobilize a million reading tutors, and vigorous enforcement of the laws that guarantee equal educational opportunity. Moreover, we have strongly enforced laws against discrimination in housing. But beyond that, we are firmly committed to doing everything we can to improve race relations in this country, to bring people together rather than drive them apart.

Bill - I suspect we're not going to be asked about this, but if you have a bit of time, you should work on a more direct answer to the question. Forget everything we've done to "improve ed for all students." You have to focus here on efforts to attach targeted segregation - or at least on the efforts to improve what are now predominantly black schools. This answer makes it look as if we have no real answer. Thanks. Elena

April 11, 1997

NOTE TO MIKE

Attached is a copy of the Orfield, et al, paper on deseg trends. References to the Administration are on p. 8 and on pages 38 and 39. Suggested policy changes are on 41 and 42.

Elena wonders whether we should be doing anything in this area, and I told her would we do some thinking about this and also get Mike Smith involved (I know he and Jessica have been discussing this). A few of the Orfield suggestions might be worth thinking about. I think something on the recruitment of minority teachers could fit well within our general policy on needing to recruit more good teachers and the Title V/HEA Reauthorization efforts--maybe could be connected up with the Teacher Corps idea (and this could be part of the charge to Mike from Bruce). It might be worth convening some discussions between ED and DOJ about whether we should be more purposeful on enforcement activities pertaining to this area. But nothing that Orfield has jumps off the page at me as likely to turn things around dramatically.

The paper indicates that we have requested no increases for the two existing programs specific to desegregation. Here's what we have done for the FY 98 budget:

- proposed to level fund the Magnet Schools Assistance Program
- proposed an increase in Training and Advisory Services under SIP, with the idea of level-funding the desegregation assistance centers at 7.3 million and restoring 7 million in funds to SEAs for deseg assistance activities, resulting in almost doubling the program overall to 14.3 million.

Schools Returning To Segregation, Research Shows

Associated Press

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., April 5—America's public schools are slipping back into racial segregation, according to a Harvard study released today.

Researchers at the Harvard Graduate School of Education found that between 1991 and 1994, there was the largest backward movement toward segregation since 1954's landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case in which the Supreme Court ruled segregation in schools was illegal.

The trend was likely to continue, the report said.

"In American race relations, the bridge from the 20th century may

be leading back into the 19th," it said. "We may be deciding to bet the future of the country once more on separate but equal."

The study was based on public schools enrollment statistics and claims schools have become resegregated as the nonwhite population becomes increasingly concentrated in urban areas.

The country's 10 largest inner-city school districts are predominantly black and Hispanic, the report said.

Results of the study were to be presented today to educational leaders, civil rights experts and researchers at a conference in Atlanta of the Southern Education Foundation, the Civil Rights Project and the Harvard Project on School Desegregation.

BOSTON GLOBE APR 06 1997

Schools resegregating, study says

A16 By John Yemma
GLOBE STAFF

ATLANTA — Across the nation, urban and suburban schools are returning to separate-and-unequal conditions as a result of a 6-year-old Supreme Court decision and lackluster commitment to integrated education by the Clinton administration, according to a Harvard research report released yesterday.

"What we are seeing is a stunning consistency in the increase of school resegregation across the country," said Gary Orfield, a professor of education at Harvard. Orfield detailed the study at a conference cosponsored by Harvard and the Atlanta-based Southern Education Foundation.

The study, conducted by Orfield and researchers at the University of Indiana, points directly to a series of Supreme Court decisions beginning with a 1991 case involving the Oklahoma City schools as "approving a return to segregated neighborhood schools under some conditions." In the Oklahoma case, the court said

Retreat on integration attributed to high court, Clinton White House

that a school district that had complied with court-ordered desegregation for several years could be allowed to return to segregated neighborhood schools.

From 1991 on, the country has experienced "the largest backward movement toward segregation for blacks since the landmark 1954 school desegregation decision, *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*," the study said.

The report, titled "Deepening Segregation in American Public Schools," predicted that without a change in the court's philosophy or an initiative from other branches of government, segregation in American schools will accelerate, especially in major cities and the South.

States with the most segregated school systems are those with the largest urban black and Hispanic populations — New York, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylv-

ania — and border and southern states like Maryland, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Massachusetts has been about average in its return to racially divided education. With the onset of busing, schools in the state became increasingly diverse from 1970 to 1980 and then rapidly retreated to predominantly black or white status in the 1990s as the move toward neighborhood schools increased.

Orfield and his colleagues said the most dramatic changes they detected in the 1990s were south of the Mason-Dixon line.

"The segregation changes... are most striking in the southern and border states; but segregation is spreading across the nation, particularly affecting our rapidly growing Latino communities in the West," the report said.

While educational segregation of blacks varies from state to state,

Hispanic students — the fastest growing segment of the school-age population — are becoming more isolated everywhere. The Harvard study also showed a strong relationship between segregation by race and by poverty. Most black and Hispanic students live in poor neighborhoods and they underperform white students in wealthier school districts. This makes them less likely to go to college.

A return to segregated schools almost certainly will cause social problems in the future, said An Stuart Wells, a professor of education at the University of California, Los Angeles, who has studied the way integrated education helps blacks and Hispanics gain access to college and go on to successful careers.

Wells's research also shows that integrated schooling promotes racial tolerance and fosters neighborhood integration among all groups. Wells and Orfield questioned federal funding for private charter schools without regard to racial balance.

Report warns of rising school segregation

Connecticut highlighted in study

By ROBERT A. FRAHM
and RICK GREEN
Courant Staff Writers

A1

Connecticut ranks so high in the segregation of black students that a major national study done by Harvard University compares it to Mississippi.

The study, to be released today, says the racial integration achieved in public schools after a landmark U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 1954 is being steadily reversed. Although that trend is especially true in the South, Connecticut stands out in its segregation of blacks and Latinos, the study, by researchers at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, says.

Pointing to Connecticut, the study, "Deepening Segregation in American Public Schools," notes the state has a relatively small black enrollment, but a large percentage of those students are in highly segregated schools.

"Connecticut is getting worse faster, partly because of the extreme fragmentation of its relatively compact metropolitan areas," the study stated.

Latinos in Connecticut don't have it any better. California, Nevada and Connecticut had the biggest increases in segregation of Latino students between 1980 and 1994.

The study warns of "a deepening isolation from middle class students and from successful schools" for blacks and Latinos — even as the number of white students declines. "The segregation is not simply racial separation; it is segregation by class and family and community educational background as well.

"Latino students now experience more isolation from whites and more concentration in high poverty schools than any other group of students," the study states.

"In American race relations, the bridge from the twentieth century may be leading back into the nineteenth century," the report said. "We may be deciding to bet the future of the country once more on separate but equal."

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in the South until the historic Brown vs. Board of Education ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954.

That ruling outlawed state-sanctioned school segregation and set the stage for breaking down segregation in areas such as restaurants, hotels and public transportation.

The new report is the first major study of enrollment trends since the early 1990s, when the Supreme Court approved a return to segregated neighborhood schools under some conditions. A number of cities have received approval for such changes.

"The most basic need now is for a serious national examination of the cost of resegregation, and the alternative solutions to problems with existing desegregation plans," the study said.

While a number of cities are dismantling desegregation plans, Connecticut is struggling to find ways to meet a state Supreme Court order to desegregate Hartford's public schools.

The court last year said segregation in Hartford's schools — where about 95 percent of the students are black or Hispanic — violates the state constitution. The court ordered the legislature to find a remedy that reduces segregation in Hartford and the mostly white nearby suburbs.

John Brittain, lead lawyer in the case, known as Sheff vs. O'Neill, said the Harvard study "reaffirms what we know."

"It just shows that the racial isolation is becoming worse and worse quicker and quicker, and it has spread beyond the inner city into the suburbs. Unless the barrier of the [school] district boundary line is lowered, these trends in racial isolation will continue to increase."

The Harvard report is being released in Atlanta at a conference sponsored by the Southern Education Foundation, the Civil Rights Project and the Harvard Project on School Desegregation. Researchers from Harvard and Indiana University analyzed

the racial makeup of U.S. public schools between 1968 and 1994. Nearly 80,000 schools in more than 14,000 districts were examined.

Among the findings in the study:

- Segregation is most striking in Southern and border states but is spreading across the nation, particularly affecting growing Hispanic communities in the West.

- While minorities are moving into the suburbs, segregation is following them into these communities.

- Latino students experience more racial isolation from whites and more concentration in high poverty schools than any other group of students.

- The link between high poverty and low-performing schools continues to be strong. Segregated black and Latino students are 16.3 times more likely to attend a school with large numbers of poor students than a student in a segregated white school.

WASHINGTON TIMES, April 6, 1997

Racial segregation rises in U.S. schools

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The trend is likely to continue, the report said.

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Deepening Segregation in American Public Schools

Gary Orfield, Harvard University, Mark Bachmeier
David R. James and Tamela Eitle, Indiana University

Harvard Project on School Desegregation

April 5, 1997

After the Supreme Court outlawed segregated education in the South, it took 15 years and a series of actions by the courts, Congress, the executive branch, and civil rights groups before the seventeen states with legal segregation was changed from an area of total educational segregation to the nation's most integrated area. It remained that way for a generation. Now there are clear signs that that progress is coming undone and that the nation is headed backwards toward greater segregation of black students, particularly in the states with a history of de jure segregation.

The trends reported here are the first since the Supreme Court approved a return to segregated neighborhood schools under some conditions. A number of major cities have recently received court approval for such changes and others are in court. The segregation changes reported here are most striking in the southern and border states but segregation is spreading across the nation, particularly affecting our rapidly growing Latino communities in the West. This report shows that the racial and

ethnic segregation of African American and Latino students has produced a deepening isolation from middle class students and from successful schools. It also highlights a little noticed but extremely important expansion of segregation to the suburbs, particularly in the larger metropolitan areas. Expanding segregation is a mark of a polarizing society without effective policies for building multiracial institutions.

Latino students, who will soon be the largest minority group in American public schools, were granted the right to desegregated education by the Supreme Court in 1973 but new data shows they now are significantly more segregated than black students, with clear evidence of increasing isolation across the nation. In contrast to the varied regional trends and changes in direction over time for African Americans, Latino students are becoming more isolated almost everywhere. Part of this trend is caused by the very rapid growth in the number of Latino students in several major states. Regardless of the reasons, Latino students now experience more isolation from whites and more concentration in high poverty schools than any other group of students. This was long true in the centers of Puerto Rican settlement in the Northeast but it is rapidly increasing now for students in the areas where the Latino communities are overwhelmingly of Mexican background.¹

¹Distribution of Latinos by ethnicity and state is reported in M. Beatriz Arias, "The Context of Education for Hispanic Students: An Overview," *American Journal of Education*, vol. 95, no. 1 (November 1986): 26-57.

The segregation is not simply racial separation; it is segregation by class and family and community educational background as well. Segregated black and Latino schools are fundamentally different from segregated white schools in terms of the background of the children and many things that relate to educational quality. This report shows that only a twentieth of the nation's segregated white schools face conditions of concentrated poverty among their children but more than 80% of segregated black and Latino schools do. Desegregation is not only sitting next to someone of the other race. A child moving from a segregated African American or Latino school to a white school will very likely exchange conditions of concentrated poverty for a middle class school. Exactly the opposite is true when a child is sent back from an interracial school to a segregated neighborhood school as is happening under a number of recent court orders which end busing or desegregation choice plans.

This is of fundamental importance to educational opportunity. The United States is a nation with a shrinking proportion of white students and a rising share of black and Hispanic students, groups which experience far less success in American public education and are concentrated in schools with lower achievement levels and less demanding competition. Recent court decisions approving a return to segregated neighborhood schools in various parts of the country will intensify the isolation.

The Supreme Court's 1954 conclusion that intentionally

segregated schools are "inherently unequal" and contemporary evidence indicating that this remains true today, means that it is very important to continuously monitor the extent to which the nation is realizing the promise of equal educational opportunity in schools that are now racially segregated. Education was vital to the success of the black tenth of the U.S. population when *de jure* segregation was declared unconstitutional in 1954. It is far more important today, in an era in which millions of the good, low-education jobs have vanished. Now we are talking about a society which now has one-third non-white² public school students where whites will make up only half of the school age population in a third of a century if well-established trends continue.³ The stakes are much higher and this report shows that we are moving backward toward greater separation rather than pressing gradually forward as we were between the 1950s and the mid-1980s for black students.

This report presents the latest available evidence on segregation trends from federal enrollment statistics. It shows a delayed impact of the Reagan Administration campaign to reverse desegregation orders, which made no progress while Reagan was

²in this report "white" means non-Hispanic whites, Hispanic or Latino is treated as part of the "non-white" population although many Latinos define themselves as whites in racial terms. These definitions are used to avoid the awkward and confusing language that would otherwise be necessary and is not an attempt to define Latinos as a race.

³U.S. Bureau of Census Projections, Steven A. Holmes, "Census Sees a Profound Ethnic Shift in U.S.," *New York Times*, March 14, 1996; *Education Week*, March __ 1996.

President but now has had a substantial impact through appointments which transformed the federal courts. The 1991-94 period following the Supreme Court's first decision authorizing resegregation witnessed the continuation of the largest backward movement toward segregation for blacks in the 43 years since *Brown v. Board of Education*.

During the 1980s, the courts rejected efforts to terminate school desegregation and the level of desegregation actually increased although the Reagan and Bush Administrations advocated reversals. Congress rejected proposals for major steps to reverse desegregation, and there has been no trend toward increasing hostility to desegregation in public opinion. In fact, opinion is becoming more favorable.⁴ The policy changes have come from the courts. The Supreme Court in decisions from 1991 to 1995 has given lower courts discretion to approve resegregation on a large scale and it is beginning to occur.

The statistics reported today show only the first phase of what is likely to be an accelerating trend. These statistics for the 1994-95 school year do not reflect post-1994 decisions to end desegregation plans in a number of areas including metropolitan

⁴Gary Orfield, "Public Opinion and School Desegregation," *Teachers College Record*, vol. 96, no. 4 (Summer 1995); Gallup Poll in *USA Today*, May 12, 1994; Gallup Poll in *Phi Delta Kappan*, September 1996. The 1996 survey reported that "the percentages who say integration has improved the quality of education for blacks and for whites have been increasing steadily since these questions were first asked in 1971." The report also showed that 83% of the public believed that interracial schools were desirable. (PDK, Sept. 1996: 48).

Wilmington, Broward County Florida, Denver, Buffalo, Mobile, Cleveland, and a number of others. Important cases in a number of other cities are pending in court now. These decisions are virtually certain to accelerate the trend toward increased racial and economic segregation of African American and Latino students. Thus the trends reported today should be taken as a modest sign of larger changes now under way.

Background of Desegregation. Forty-three years ago, in 1954, the Supreme Court began the process of desegregating American public education in its landmark decision, Brown v. Board of Education. Thirty-three years ago, Congress took its most powerful action for school desegregation with the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Twenty-six years ago, in 1971, the great national battle over urban desegregation began with the Supreme Court's decision in the Charlotte, North Carolina busing case, Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1 (1971). With Swann, there was comprehensive set of policies in place for massive desegregation in the South.

No similar body of law ever developed in the North and West. The Supreme Court first extended some desegregation requirements to the cities of the North and recognized the rights of Hispanic as well as black students from illegal segregation in 1973.⁵ In the early 1970s Congress enacted legislation to help pay for the training and educational changes (but not the busing)

⁵Keyes v. Denver School District No. 1, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).

needed to make desegregation more effective. The last major initiatives intended to foster desegregation took place more than two decades ago.

Since 1974 almost all of the policy changes have been negative and there has been a major increase in the nation's non-white population, particularly among school age children. The key decision limiting metropolitan desegregation, *Milliken v. Bradley* (418 U.S. 717 (1974)), concerned metropolitan Detroit and was a drastic limitation on the possibility of substantial and lasting city-suburban school desegregation in what was rapidly becoming a society dominated by suburbia, a society in which only a small fraction of white middle class children were growing up in central cities. That decision ended significant movement toward less segregated schools and made desegregation virtually impossible in many metro areas where the nonwhite population was concentrated in central cities. (It is not surprising that the state of Michigan ranks second in the nation in segregation of black students two decades after the Supreme Court confined desegregation efforts within the boundaries of a largely black and rapidly declining central city.)⁶

The Supreme Court ruled that the courts could try to make segregated schools more equal in its second Detroit decision in 1977, *Milliken v. Bradley II*.⁷ The Court authorized an order

⁶Calculations of metropolitan segregation from 1992 Common Core data.

⁷433 U.S. 267 (1977).

that the State of Michigan pay for some needed programs in Detroit which were aimed at repairing the harms inflicted by segregation in schools that would remain segregated because of the 1974 decision blocking city-suburban desegregation.

Unfortunately, there was little serious follow-up on the educational remedies by the courts and the Supreme Court would radically limit their reach in the 1995 *Jenkins* decision.

The government turned actively against school desegregation in 1981 under the Reagan Administration, with the Justice Department reversing policy on many pending cases and attacking urban desegregation orders.⁸ Congress accepted the Administration's proposal to end the federal desegregation assistance program⁹ in the 1981 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act. Twelve years of active efforts to reverse desegregation orders and remake the federal courts followed before the Clinton Administration which defended some orders but developed no coherent policy and took no significant initiatives for desegregation.

By far the most important changes in policy in the 1990s came from the Supreme Court. The appointment of Justice Clarence

⁸Norman C. Amaker, *Civil Rights and the Reagan Administration*, Washington: Urban Institute Press, 1988: 32-48.

⁹The Emergency School Aid Act was created during the Nixon Administration to provide training and assistance in the operation of interracial schools. It did not pay for busing but for the educational and human relations changes needed for effective interracial instruction. Evaluations showed benefits both for educational achievement and race relations.

Thomas in 1991 consolidated a majority favoring cutting back civil rights remedies requiring court-ordered changes in racial patterns. In the 1991 *Dowell* decision¹⁰ the Supreme Court ruled that a school district that had complied with its court order for several years could be allowed to return to segregated neighborhood schools. In the 1992 *Pitts*¹¹ decision, the Court made it easier to end student desegregation even when the other elements of a full desegregation order had never been accomplished. Finally, in its 1995 *Jenkins* decision¹², the Court's majority ruled that the court-ordered programs designed to make segregated schools more equal educationally and to increase the attractiveness of the schools to accomplish desegregation through voluntary choices were temporary and did not have to work before they could be discontinued.

In other words, desegregation was redefined from the goal of ending schools defined by race to a temporary and limited process that created no lasting rights and need not overcome the inequalities growing out of a segregated history. These decisions stimulated efforts in a number of cities to end the court orders, sometimes even over the objection of the school districts involved.

Racial Composition of American Schools. As the courts were

¹⁰*Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell*, 498 U.S. 237 (1991).

¹¹*Freeman v. Pitts*, 503 U.S. 467 (1992)

¹²*Missouri v. Jenkins*, 115 S.Ct. 2038 (1995).

cutting back on desegregation requirements the proportion of minority students in public schools was growing rapidly and becoming far more diverse. American public schools enrolled more than 43 million students in the fall of 1994 of whom 66 percent were white, 17% African American, 13% Latino, 4% Asian and 1% Indian and Alaskan. By 1994 the proportion of Latinos in the U.S. was higher than that of blacks at the time desegregation began in 1954 and the proportion of whites far lower. The two regions with the largest enrollments, the South and the West, were 58% and 57% white, foreshadowing a near future in which large regions of the U.S. will have white minorities. Table 1 shows that there has been a huge 178% growth in the number of Latino students during the 26 years from 1968 when data was first available nationally to 1994, while the number of white (Anglo) students declined 9% and the number of black students rose 14%.

Table 1

ENROLLMENT CHANGES, 1968-1994, IN MILLIONS

	1968	1980	1994	CHANGE
Hispanics	2.00	3.18	5.57	+3.57 (178%)
Anglos	34.70	29.16	28.46	-6.24 (-9%)
Blacks	6.28	6.42	7.13	+ .85 (14%)

Source: DBS Corp., 1982, 1987; Orfield, George, and Orfield, 1986; 1994 Common Core data.

On a regional level, African Americans remained the largest minority group in the schools of all regions except the West and Alaska and Hawaii. The proportion of black students in the South was, however, about twice the proportion in the Northeast and Midwest and more than four times the level

in the West. Latinos, on the other hand had more than a fourth of the enrollment in the West but only about a fiftieth in the Border region and a twenty-fifth in the Midwest (table 2).

Table 2
Regular Public School Enrollments by Race/Ethnicity
by Region, 1994-95 School Year

REGION	ENROLLMENT	WHITE	BLACK	LATINO	ASIAN	INDIAN
South	13,104,747	57.8	27.2	13.0	1.7	0.4
Border	3,356,431	75.0	18.7	2.0	1.6	2.7
Northeast	7,566,103	70.9	14.8	10.5	3.6	0.3
Midwest	9,382,999	80.1	13.0	4.2	1.9	0.8
West **	9,478,267	56.6	6.3	27.4	7.6	2.1
Alaska	121,895	64.4	4.8	2.5	4.2	24.1
Hawaii	183,737	23.2	2.7	4.9	68.8	0.4
U.S. Total ***	43,194,179	65.9	16.5	12.9	3.6	1.1

* See Appendix A for a list of states included in each region.

** The racial proportions for Idaho are estimated here from data collected by the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) for the 1989-90 school year. The OCR data include 42 percent of students in Idaho for that year. The proportions are closely similar to those reported in the 1990 U.S. Census.

*** Alaska, Hawaii, and Idaho are included in this table but are omitted from subsequent analyses for this report (see Appendix A).

The dramatic changes in the composition of American school enrollment is most apparent in five states which already have a majority of non-white students statewide. These include the nation's two most populous states, California and Texas which

12

enroll 6.8 million students and are both moving rapidly toward a Latino majority in their school systems (table 3).

Table 3

Enrollment in Majority Nonwhite States
1994-95 School Year

	Total	W	B	L	Asian
Indian					
California	5,168,334	41.4	8.5	37.8	11.4
.8					
Hawaii	83,737	23.2	2.7	4.9	68.8
.4					
Mississippi	502,985	48.0	51.0	.3	.5
.1					
New Mexico	320,832	39.9	2.4	46.4	1.0
10.4					
Texas	3,624,056	47.2	14.3	36.0	2.3
.2					

National Increase in Segregation. In fall 1972, after the Supreme Court's 1971 busing decision which led to new court orders for scores of school districts, 63.6% of black students were in schools with less than half white enrollment; fourteen years later, it was virtually the same; but now it is 67.1% (see Table 4). Desegregation remained at its high point until about 1988 but then began to fall significantly on this measure.

Table 4
Percent of U.S. Black and Latino Students in Predominantly
Minority and 90-100 Percent
Minority Schools, 1968-1994

	<u>Predominantly Minority</u>		<u>90-100% Minority</u>	
	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Latino</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Latino</u>
1968-69	76.6	54.8	64.3	23.1
1972-73	63.6	56.6	38.7	23.3
1980-81	62.9	68.1	33.2	28.8
1986-87	63.3	71.5	32.5	32.2
1991-92	66.0	73.4	33.9	34.0
1994-95	67.1	74.0	33.6	34.8

Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980*, tables 1 and 10; 1991 and 1994 NCES Common Core of Data.

Table 5
Percent of White Students in Schools Attended by
Typical Black or Latino Student, 1970-1994

	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Latinos</u>
1970	32.0	43.8
1980	36.2	35.5
1986	36.0	32.9
1991	34.4	31.2
1994	33.9	30.6

A second measure of segregation, which looks at the number of students experiencing intense isolation in schools with less than one-tenth whites, shows that the proportion of black students facing extreme isolation dropped sharply with the busing decisions, declining from 64% in 1968 to 39% in 1972 and continuing to decline slightly through the mid 1980s. This kind of intense isolation has increased gradually from 1988 to 1991 but actually declined slightly from 1991-1994. This is the only measure that does not show increased black segregation.

The third measure of desegregation used in this study, the "exposure index" which shows the percent of white students in the school attended by the typical black student shows a level of contact with whites almost as low as it was before the busing decisions in the early 1970s, 33.9%, down from its 1980 level of 36.2%. Overall, the level of black segregation in U.S. schools is increasing slowly, continuing a historic reversal first apparent in the 1991 enrollment statistics.

African American Segregation Climbing in the Heartland of the Old Segregation. The South and the Border State Region are leading the nation in the turn back toward segregation for black students, because they have been the most desegregated regions and have the most progress to lose. Ever since the civil rights

revolution in the 1960s, the seventeen states of these two regions (the eleven states of the Old Confederacy and the adjoining six states from Oklahoma to Delaware which also maintained state-mandated segregation) have been the center of the least segregated region for black students. The transformation of this huge region, with more than one-third of the states, from an area of complete educational apartheid to the least segregated area in the U.S. was a historic accomplishment. That accomplishment is being lost.

Two of the three measures used in this study, show that the South has fallen behind another region of the country. The Border state region is now reporting an extremely high level of intense segregation, exceeded only by the Northeast. These regions are clearly slipping back toward their far more segregated pasts.

In terms of the proportion of black students in desegregated majority white schools, the South increased dramatically from virtually total segregation in 1960 to 14% of blacks in majority white schools in 1967, 36% in 1972 and a high of 44% in 1988. Since then the number dropped to 39.2% in 1991 and 36.6% in 1994, losing all the slow progress of the last two decades and heading back toward the levels of segregation before the cities were desegregated. On the other measures of segregation the pattern for the region was similar. Its level of intense segregation increased slightly and the exposure of its black students to white students fell.

The Border state region, encompassing the six states from

Oklahoma to Delaware which were not part of the old Confederacy but had a system of mandated segregation at the time of the Brown decision, experienced a more rapid rise in segregation from 1991-1994-95. The Border State region went from having 41% of its black students in majority white schools to 36% in just three years, a very rapid rate of change. The percent in intensely segregated schools climbed from 33% to 37% and exposure of black students to whites also declined significantly.

The most segregated regions for the past generation, the Northeast and the Midwest continued to lead the list this year, except the Border region surpassed the Midwest in terms of intense segregation. Segregation was increasing gradually for black students in the region on two of the three measures. Segregation in the most segregated region, the Northeast, remained about the same. The region now has about half of its African American students in schools that are 90-100% nonwhite, far surpassing other regions in the level of intense segregation.

Trends for Latino Students

Latino segregation has become substantially more severe than African American segregation by each of the measures used in this study. In the Northeast, the West, and the South, more than three-fourths of all Latino students are in predominantly non-white schools, a level of isolation found for African American students only in the Northeast. We have been reporting these

trends continuously for two decades. They are clearly related to inferior education for Latino students.¹³ Though survey data is limited, the surveys that have been done tend to show considerable interest in desegregated education among the Latino family and substantial support for busing if there is no other way to achieve integration.¹⁴

All three measures of segregation reported in tables 4 and 5 show a continuing gradual national increase in segregation for Latino students. The most significant change comes in the proportion of students in intensely segregated schools, which rose to 34.8% in 1994. In 1968, only 23% of Latino students were in these isolated and highly impoverished schools compared to 64% of black students. Now the percentage of Latino students in such schools is up by almost half and is slightly higher than the level of intense segregation for black students.

¹³Ruben Espinosa and Alberto Ochoa, "Concentration of California Hispanic Students in Schools with Low Achievement: A Research Note," *American Journal of Education*, vol. 95, no. 1 (1986): 77-95; "Segregation, Desegregation, and the Integration of Chicano Students: Problems and Prospects" in Richard R. Valencia, ed., *Chicano School Failure and Success: Research and Policy Agendas for the 1990s*, London: Falmer Press, 1991: 27-63.

¹⁴A national survey by the *Boston Globe* in 1992 reported that 82% of Latinos said that they favored busing if there was no other way to achieve integration and that Latinos expressing an opinion said that they would be "willing to have your own children go to school by bus so the schools would be integrated." ("Poll Shows Wide Support Across U.S. for Integration," *Boston Globe*, January 5, 1992: 15; for evidence of more closely divided opinion earlier see Orfield, "Hispanic Education: Challenges, Research, and Policies," *American Journal of Education*, vol. 95, no. 1 (1986): 11-12.

Regional Segregation for Latinos. Since the statistics on Latino segregation were first collected, segregation has always been most intense in the Northeast, where most Latinos are from Puerto Rico and other Caribbean islands. In 1970, for example, the typical Latino in the schools of the Northeast was in a school with 71% nonwhites, compared to only 32% in the Midwest and 44% in the West, regions where the dominant Latino groups were from Mexico.¹⁵ By 1994, the isolation had increased only slightly in the Northeast but the school of the typical Latino in the Midwest was a 53% nonwhite school. In the West the school was 70% nonwhite. The areas deeply shaped by the migration of Mexican Americans and Mexicans in the West had changed from very substantial desegregation to a level of isolation exceeding that of blacks nationally.

Latino Segregation By Region, 1994-95
Percent of Latino Students in Region in Schools

	0-50% <u>Minority</u>	50-100% <u>Minority</u>	90-100% <u>Minority</u>
South	24.4	75.6	38.0
Border*	59.2	40.8	12.3
Northeast	22.4	77.6	45.1
Midwest	46.9	53.1	21.8
West	24.1	75.9	32.1
U.S. Total	26.0	74.0	34.8

SOURCE: National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 1994-95;
Harvard Project on Desegregation.

¹⁵Almost two-thirds of Latino students are of Mexican origin.
(Arias, 1986.)

Since Latino students are experiencing far higher dropout rates than African Americans and the majority of Latino students live in two states where the education officials have adopted policies ending affirmative action for college admissions, the increasing concentration of students in low achieving, high-poverty schools where few children prepare competitively for college raise extremely important issues. If the growing community of Latino students is increasingly isolated in inferior schools and standards are raised without the schools having the means to meet them, there could be a vicious cycle of declining opportunity.

Race and Poverty. The relationship between segregation by race and segregation by poverty in public schools across the nation is exceptionally strong. The correlation between the percent of black and Latino enrollments and the percent of students receiving free lunches is an extremely high .72. This means that when we talk about racially segregated schools, they are very likely to be segregated by poverty as well.

There is strong and consistent evidence from national and state data from across the U.S. as well as from other nations that high poverty schools usually have much lower levels of

educational performance on virtually all outcomes. This is not all caused by the school; family background is a more powerful influence.

Schools with concentrations of low income isolated children have less prepared children. Even better prepared children can be harmed academically if they are placed in a school with few other prepared students and, in some cases, in a social setting where academic achievement is not supported.

School level educational achievement scores in many states and in the nation show a very strong relation between poverty concentrations and low achievement.¹⁶ This is because high poverty schools are unequal in many ways that effect educational outcomes. The students' parents are far less educated--a very powerful influence--and the child is much more likely to be living in a single parent home which is struggling with multiple problems. Children are much more likely to have serious developmental and untreated health problems. Children move much more often, often moving involuntarily in the midst of a school year, meaning that schools often do not have the students for sufficient time to make an impact. High poverty schools have to

¹⁶See, for example, discussion of relationship of disadvantaged school status and educational opportunity in Samuel S. Peng and Susan T. Hill, *Understanding Racial-Ethnic Differences in Secondary School Science and Mathematics Achievement*, Washington, U.S. Department of Education, 1995: 18-20, 51; Jeannie Oakes, R. Ormseth, and P. Campbell, *Multiplying Inequalities: The Effects of Race, Social Class, and Tracking on Opportunities to Learn Mathematics and Science*, Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1990.

devote far more time and resources to family and health crises, security, children who come to school not speaking standard English, seriously disturbed children, children with no educational materials in their homes, and many children with very weak educational preparation. These schools tend to draw less qualified teachers and to hold them for shorter periods of time. They tend to have to invest much more heavily in remediation and much less adequately in advanced and gifted classes and demanding materials. The level of competition and peer group support for educational achievement are much lower in high poverty schools. Such schools are viewed much more negatively in the community and by the schools and colleges at the next level of education as well as by potential employers. In those states that have implemented high stakes testing that denies graduation or flunks students, the high poverty schools tend to have by far the highest rates of sanctions.¹⁷

None of this means that the relationship between poverty and educational achievement is inexorable and that there are not exceptions. Many districts have one or a handful of high poverty schools that perform well above the normal pattern. Students of the same family background may perform at many different levels of achievement and there are some talented students and teachers

¹⁷; a study of 1992 test scores in greater Cleveland showed that district poverty level differences "explained as much as 39 percent of the differences in school district passing rates" on the state proficiency test. (Cleveland Plain Dealer, Oct. 8, 1995: 3-C).

in virtually every school. The overall relationships, however, are very powerful. Students attending high poverty schools face a much lower level of competition regardless of their own interests and abilities.

This problem is intimately related to racial segregation. Table 7 shows that 60.7% percent of the schools in the U.S. have less than one-fifth black and Latino students while 9.2%, concentrated in big cities, have 80-100% black and Latino students. At the extremes, only 5.4% of the schools with 90-100% white and Asian students have less than half low income students and 70% of them have less than one-fourth poor students. Among schools that are 90-100% African American and/or Latino, on the other hand, almost nine-tenths (87.8%) are predominantly poor and only 3% have less than one-fourth poor children. A student in a segregated minority school is 16.3 times more likely to be in a concentrated poverty school than a student in a segregated white school.¹⁸

¹⁸Asian students, who are having far greater success in U.S. schools, attend schools that have only about one-fourth African American and Latino students and they are far less likely to be in high poverty schools, factors which help account for their mobility. (*Asian Students and Multiethnic Desegregation*, Harvard Project on School Desegregation, October 1994.

Relationship Between Segregation by Race and by Poverty, 1994-95

Percent of Black and Latino Students in School										
% Poor in Schools	0-10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%	50-60%	60-70%	70-80%	80-90%	90-100%
0-10%	33.1	21.1	7.2	3.2	2.2	2.0	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.2
10-20%	37.4	39.4	34.1	22.1	12.4	7.9	3.8	3.1	2.9	1.6
25-50%	24.1	31.8	45.9	52.5	49.6	40.3	27.5	18.0	14.2	9.5
50-100%	5.4	7.2	12.8	22.2	35.8	49.7	67.4	77.5	81.7	87.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% of U.S. Schools	50.3	10.4	7.8	6.3	5.4	4.4	3.4	2.8	2.7	6.5

Note: The Correlation between Black and Latino enrollments and percent free lunch eligible is .72.

Source: 1994-1995 Common Core of Data; Harvard Project on Desegregation.

Where is Segregation Concentrated: The Long-Term Effects of the Supreme Court's Decision Against Suburban Desegregation.

Blacks living in rural areas and in small and medium sized towns or the suburbs of small metropolitan areas are far more likely to experience substantial school desegregation than those living in the nation's large cities. Students living in towns and rural areas and in suburbs of small metropolitan complexes attend school with an average of about half white students (see Table 8). In contrast, those in the big central cities attend schools those that have an average of 83% nonwhite students. Suburbs of big and small central cities occupy an intermediate position, with black students in schools with about 40% whites and 60% nonwhite students. (see table 8). Considering the small proportion of minority students in many suburban rings this level of segregation is a poor omen for the future of suburbs which will become more diverse.

The nation's nonwhite population is extremely concentrated in metropolitan areas. Outside the South, this concentration tends to be in the largest metropolitan areas with the largest ghettos and barrios. Many of the small cities and towns in Illinois and Michigan, for example, have few African American students and the vast majority of the white students live in suburbs divided into scores of separate school districts, all laid over extremely segregated metropolitan housing markets. This means that the central city school districts become extremely isolated by race and poverty and are critical only for nonwhite students. Since the minority communities are constantly expanding along their boundaries and virtually all-white developments are continuously being constructed on the outer periphery of suburbia, the central cities have a continual increase in their proportion of black and Latino students.

The suburbs are now the dominant element of our society and our politics. As the nation's population changes dramatically in the coming decades, they are destined to become much more diverse. What kind of access black and Latino children will have to mainstream suburban society will be affected by the racial characteristics of suburban schools. It raises serious concerns

to realize that by 1994, blacks were in schools that averaged 59% nonwhite and Latino students were in schools what were 64% nonwhite in the suburbs of the largest cities although the whites in those suburban rings were in schools with an average of only 14% combined black and Latino enrollments. Latino students, but not blacks, were almost as segregated in the suburbs of smaller metropolitan areas. If these patterns intensify as the suburban African American and Latino population grows, we may be facing problems that are as serious as those that led to desegregation conflicts in many central cities.

It would be profoundly ironic if the Supreme Court decision that meant to protect suburban boundary lines, Milliken v. Bradley, ended up making it impossible for suburban communities in the path of racial change to avoid rapid resegregation. Individual suburban school districts are often so small that they can go through racial change much more rapidly and irreversibly than a huge central city. A suburb will often have only the enrollment of a single high school attendance area in a city and has little hope of stabilizing its enrollment once a major racial change begins without drawing on students from a broader geographic area. This means that in areas with many fragmented school districts, not only the central city but also substantial portions of suburban rings may face high levels of segregation.

Since nonwhite suburbanization began in earnest in the 1970s the cities have also been losing many of their minority middle class families, leaving the central cities with a higher

and higher concentration of poverty. Table 9 shows the enrollment in the nation's ten? largest central city school districts in 1994-95. These districts contain 18% of the black students, 23% of the nation's Latino students, 13% of Asians, but only 2% of the whites. About a fifth of black and Latino students depend on districts that do not matter to 98% of white families. Most of these systems have faced recurrent fiscal and political crises for years and have low levels of educational achievement. Desegregation has become virtually impossible in some of these systems since the 1974 Supreme Court decision in the Detroit case. The trends of metropolitan racial change that have been operating since World War II suggest that segregation will become worse in the future.

Table 9

Enrollment of Ten Largest Central City Districts, 1994-95
and Percent of National Enrollment, by Race

city	enrollment	white%	black%	Latino%	Asian%
New York	953,535	17.6	36.0	36.5	9.5
Los Angeles	613,192	11.4	14.0	67.2	7.2
Chicago	402,136	11.3	54.7	30.6	3.2
Dade (Miami)	314,881	15.1	33.8	49.7	1.3
Philadelphia	202,387	21.1	63.1	10.9	4.7
Houston	197,722	11.7	35.2	50.3	2.7
Detroit	164,258	6.3	89.7	2.8	.9
Dallas	142,630	12.8	43.5	41.6	1.7
San Diego	125,389	30.7	16.7	32.3	19.7
Memphis	109,611	16.8	81.8	.4	1.1
% of U.S.					
TOTAL	7.5%	1.7%	17.8%	22.7%	12.5

Sources: NCES Common Core and computations by Harvard Project on School Desegregation

Consequences of Smaller Districts. Different parts of the country traditionally have very different patterns of organizing school districts, depending in part on local traditions and, in part, on whether or not the districts were organized back when the horse and buggy meant that units of local government must be very small. In much of the South, counties have traditionally been more important and municipalities less important. In New England the towns existed long before they became part of suburban rings in large metropolitan areas. School districts in the South were often county-wide; in the Northeast and the older parts of the midwest, they were often defined by the structure of local town government set generations in the past. When the Supreme Court decided in 1974 to make it very difficult to desegregate across school district boundary lines it virtually guaranteed that the regions with large districts would be far less segregated than those with small districts.

The nation's largest school districts included the states of Maryland, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, West Virginia, and Delaware, all states in the Southern and Border regions. Illinois, New York, New Jersey, and Michigan, consistently the most segregated states for black students, had much smaller districts as did Texas and California, where most Latino students were concentrated. There was no absolute relationship between district size and segregation, of course, because of the widely varying proportions of black and Latino students within various states and because of different types of desegregation plans in

place in different areas. Nonetheless, the most segregated states tended to be fragmented into a great many small districts and the most integrated states tended to have very different patterns, though there were significant exceptions to this pattern. The Maryland and Louisiana statistics show, for example, that it is possible to have very large districts with very high levels of segregation, while the Indiana and Ohio statistics show that small districts in states with multiple desegregation orders and small black population are compatible with a lower level of intense segregation.

No state with small districts and a substantial African American population has come anywhere near the level of desegregation achieved in the most successful states with large systems. North Carolina and Tennessee, which already have relatively large districts have seen city and suburban districts consolidated in several counties in recent years to create more county-wide systems.

Table 10
Median Size of School Districts and Segregation of
Black Students, Selected States 1994-1995

Black Segregation at the State Level.

State	Median District Size	%in 90-100% Min.Schs
Maryland	13,955	46.0
Florida	12,700	26.1
Louisiana	6,343	37.6
North Carolina	5,704	7.1
Delaware	3,797	.9
South Carolina	3,723	17.0
Virginia	3,509	12.7
Tennessee	3,280	38.0
Alabama	3,255	38.2

Connecticut	1,920	35.1
Indiana	1,920	23.3
Ohio	1,831	18.3
Michigan	1,642	59.6
California	1,509	34.1
New York	1,475	57.1
New Jersey	1,063	53.7
Wisconsin	981	20.5
Illinois	859	61.9
Texas	841	31.9

Changing Patterns of Segregation at the State Level. The four states with the highest levels of segregation for black students are unchanged since 1980. In Illinois, Michigan, and New York, only about a fifth of the students in the school of the typical black student were white and in New Jersey it was a fourth. These are averages--each of these states had many completely segregated schools. Since 1980, Michigan and New Jersey actually increased their already very high proportion of black students in intensely segregated schools since 1980.

Table 11

MOST SEGREGATED STATES FOR BLACK STUDENTS, 1994-95						% in
Majority		in 90-100%		% Whites in School		
<u>White Schools</u>		<u>Minority Schools</u>		<u>of Typical Black</u>		
New York	15.1	Illinois	61.9	Illinois	20.0	
California	17.5	Michigan	59.6	New York	20.1	
Michigan	18.8	New York	57.1	Michigan	20.8	
Illinois	20.2	New Jersey	53.7	New Jersey	25.7	
Mississippi	23.3	Pennsylvania	47.0	California	26.0	
Maryland	25.9	Maryland	46.0	Maryland	27.3	
New Jersey	26.6	Alabama	38.2	Mississippi	28.5	
Louisiana	28.8	Tennessee	38.0	Louisiana	30.4	
Wisconsin	29.2	Louisiana	37.6	Pennsylvania	30.4	
Pennsylvania	30.4	Mississippi	36.9	Alabama	32.9	

Other northern states that rank very high in the segregation of black students are Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Connecticut has a relatively small black enrollment (12.9%), but its share of black students in intensely segregated schools (35.1%) is almost the same as Mississippi which has 51% black students. Connecticut is getting worse faster, partly because of the extreme fragmentation of its relatively compact metropolitan areas. In Connecticut, the state supreme court has ruled that the system of segregated districts in metropolitan Hartford violates the state constitution and ordered the legislature to design a remedy. In Pennsylvania, Philadelphia is the center of segregation.

The most dramatic change is the rapid increase of segregation below the Mason-Dixon line. After a long period following the civil rights revolution in which none of the seventeen states which had mandated segregation by state law were among the leaders in segregation, the pattern is changing in the 1990s. Three of those states are now among the ten most segregated for black students on all three measures calculated for this study--Maryland, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Alabama is close behind. Maryland and Tennessee, together with Michigan are leaders in the growth of intense segregation of black students since 1980. Maryland has seen a rapid spread of suburban segregation in Prince George's County, Montgomery, and Baltimore Counties, major suburbs of Washington, D.C. and Baltimore. Mississippi has the nation's highest proportion of black students.

Long Term Trends in Black Segregation by State.

The largest increases in segregation of black students during the last 14 years came in Oklahoma, Florida, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. Oklahoma City was the first city to be permitted to return to segregated neighborhood schools under a Supreme Court decision. In Florida the major cause was a great expansion of the state's urban communities without the development of updated desegregation plans as ghettos expanded and vast new areas of white suburbia were built. In Wisconsin the problem was one of metropolitan Milwaukee. The area had extreme residential

segregation and, with the continuing loss of white from the city, the desegregation plan has more limited effect. The failure of the city schools to win its lawsuit for full metropolitan desegregation helped set the stage for the turn toward vouchers in part of the city's black community. During the 1970s there were substantial increases in desegregation for blacks in a number of states, with huge gains from the city-suburban desegregation orders in Kentucky and Delaware and very substantial gains from the urban desegregation plans, limited to the central cities in Wisconsin and Ohio. The only states with more than 5% black students to experience a significant increase in desegregation of blacks since 1980, however, were Missouri and Indiana, two of the very few states to obtain court orders for desegregation across city-suburban boundary lines. Almost all of the other states with significant black enrollments were moving toward shrinking contact between black and white students.

Table 12

Changing Patterns of Black Segregation by States
Changes in the Percent of White Students
in Schools Attended by Typical Black Students

STATE	1970	1980	1994	change '70-94	change Since '80
Alabama	32.7	39.7	32.9	+ .2	-7.2
Arkansas	42.5	46.5	42.3	- .2	-4.2
California	25.6	27.7	26.0	+ .4	-1.7
Colorado	44.1	40.3	51.0	+ 6.9	+10.7
Connecticut	44.1	40.3	34.7	- 9.4	-5.6
Delaware	46.5	68.5	63.0	+16.5	-5.5
Florida	43.2	50.6	40.1	- 3.1	-10.5
Georgia	35.1	38.3	34.1	- 1.0	-4.2

Illinois	14.6	19.0	20.0	+ 5.4	+1.0
Indiana	31.7	38.7	47.2	+15.5	+8.5
Kentucky	49.4	74.3	70.5	+24.9	-3.3
Louisiana	30.8	32.8	30.4	- .4	-2.4
Maryland	30.3	35.4	27.3	- 3.0	-8.1
Massachusetts	47.5	50.4	43.2	- 4.3	- 7.2
Michigan	21.9	22.5	20.8	- 1.1	-1.7
Mississippi	29.6	29.2	28.5	- 1.1	- .7
Missouri	21.4	34.1	39.6	+18.2	+5.5
New Jersey	32.4	26.4	25.7	- 6.7	- .7
New York	29.2	23.0	20.1	- 9.1	-1.9
North Carolina	49.0	54.0	49.2	+ .2	-4.8
Ohio	28.4	43.2	38.8	+10.4	-4.4
Oklahoma	42.1	57.6	47.4	+ 5.3	-10.2
Pennsylvania	27.8	29.3	30.4	+ 2.6	+1.1
Rhode Island	NA	65.8	47.2		-18.6
South Carolina	41.2	42.7	40.9	- .3	-1.8
Tennessee	29.2	38.0	35.1	+ 5.9	-2.9
Texas	30.7	35.2	33.0	+ 2.3	-2.2
Virginia	41.5	47.4	45.5	+ 4.0	-2.9
Wisconsin	25.7	44.5	35.4	- 9.7	-10.1

Segregation in States with Few Blacks. Among the states where fewer than a twentieth of the students are African American, three, New Mexico, Minnesota, and Arizona, have the highest levels of segregation. New Mexico, which has almost half Latino and Indian students is a special case since the state has relatively few white students even though it has a small black enrollment. Much more perplexing are Minnesota and Arizona, which have only 4% black students but each report more than 53% of those students attend majority nonwhite schools. Arizona also reports that an eighth of its African American students are in intensely segregated schools with more than nine-tenths non-white students. One major problem is the division of into many separate school systems of students living within the Phoenix city boundaries. The Minneapolis school board and mayor are now pressing for an end of the city's desegregation plan,

which would intensify the segregation. Oregon and Washington also have very small fractions of black students and considerable segregation.

State Segregation Levels for Latinos One of the reasons why the explosion of Latino enrollment has received so little attention and the issue of Latino segregation has been largely ignored is that though the effects are very large in a small number of states, including the nation's largest, the large majority of Latinos live in just eight states. The growth of Latino enrollment in most of these states has been massive. In the last quarter century period, six of the eight high enrollment Latino states have had an increased Latino enrollment of at least 130% in a period of little overall growth in enrollments. These are enormous changes, particularly those affecting three of the nation's four largest states.

Table 13
Growth of Latino Enrollments, 1970-1994
States with more that 100,000 Latino Students in 1994

	1994	1970	Change 1970-94	
	Enrollment	Enrollment	Number	Percent
California	1,953,343	706,900	1,246,443	176.3
Texas	1,304,269	565,900	738,369	130.5
New York	440,043	316,600	123,443	39.0
Florida	301,206	65,700	235,506	358.5
Illinois	218,568	78,100	140,468	179.9
Arizona	203,097	85,500	117,597	137.5
New Mexico	148,772	109,300	39,472	36.1
New Jersey	148,345	59,100	89,245	151.0

Source: DBS Corp., 1982; 1987; 1991-92 NCES Common Core of Data Public Education Agency Universe; 1994-95 NCES Common Core of Data School Universe.

New York has been the national leader in segregation of Latino students since 1980 and it remains in that position (see Table 12). New York is maintaining a long-established pattern of

intense segregation, both in residence and schools, for Latinos. Puerto Ricans, who are heavily concentrated in New York, have long been more segregated than other major Latino groups.

The biggest increases in segregation for Latinos came in California, Nevada and Connecticut. New York, the most segregated state a quarter century ago, remains about the same. Other states are moving toward its intense level of segregation.

Of the states with a significant Latino enrollment, only Colorado, Nevada and Wyoming continued to have their Latino students in schools which averaged over half white in 1994 and only Wyoming has experienced increasing desegregation.

Table 14

Changes in the Percentage of White
Students in Schools Attended by Typical Latino Students
(1980-1994)

state	1970	1980	1994	Change
Arizona	45.5	43.5	38.2	-7.3
California	54.4	35.9	24.8	-29.6
Colorado	56.8	59.0	53.4	- 3.4
Connecticut	47.8	37.9	35.0	-22.8
Florida	46.4	35.3	34.5	-11.9
Massachusetts	NA	52.6	42.8	- 9.8
Nevada	83.7	75.3	56.4	-27.3
New Jersey	38.2	29.6	29.3	- 8.9
New Mexico	36.9	32.6	31.0	- 5.9
New York	21.6	20.8	19.2	- 2.4
Texas	31.1	35.1	25.0	- 6.1
Wyoming	75.3	82.8	83.4	+ 8.1

Colorado had a gain in desegregation for Latinos in the 1970s thanks to the Supreme Court decision ordering desegregation for

Mexican Americans as well as blacks in Denver.¹⁹ After the data in this report were collected, Denver received permission from the federal court to resegregate its schools, which was done in the fall on 1996. When the next data is collected, Colorado will probably look more like the rest of the Southwest.

The nation's two largest states, California and Texas, both show substantial increases in segregation of Latino students and in each Latino students are attending schools with average enrollments that are three-fourths nonwhite. These two states are home to 59% of the nation's Latino students and rank second and third in the national segregation measures. New Jersey ranks fourth in Latino segregation, thanks to the residential segregation of Latinos and the fragmentation of the state's urban communities into many independent school districts.

Table 15
State Rankings in the Segregation of Latino Students
by Three Measures, 1994-95 School Year

<u>% in Majority</u> <u>White Schools</u>		<u>% in 90-100%</u> <u>Minority Schools</u>		<u>% Whites in School</u> <u>of Typical Latino</u>	
New York	13.8	New York	57.3	New York	19.2
California	17.3	New Jersey	43.4	California	24.8
Texas	19.6	Texas	43.0	Texas	25.0
New Mexico	21.6	California	38.7	New Jersey	29.3
Rhode Island	24.8	Illinois	34.9	Illinois	30.9
Illinois	26.5	Connecticut	32.4	New Mexico	31.0
New Jersey	27.3	Florida	27.6	Florida	34.5
Connecticut	31.9	Pennsylvania	25.8	Connecticut	35.0
Florida	33.2	New Mexico	20.0	Rhode Island	38.0
Arizona	34.0	Arizona	18.9	Arizona	38.2
Pennsylvania	38.3	Indiana	17.0	Pennsylvania	40.9
Massachusetts	39.4	Maryland	14.3	Massachusetts	42.8

Desegregation of Whites. In a nation where whites are destined

¹⁹Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver Colorado, 1973.

to become one of several minorities in the schools if the existing trends continue, it is important not only to consider isolation of nonwhite students from whites but also the isolation of whites from the growing parts of the population.

Except in the historic de jure states for blacks and the states taken from Mexico in the war in the 1840s, most white students have not yet experienced substantial desegregation. Although they are growing up in a society where the Census Bureau predicts that more than half of school age children will be non-white in a third of a century, many are being educated in overwhelmingly white schools with little contact with black or Latino students.²⁰ As the American workforce changes skills in race relations will become increasingly valuable in many jobs.

Southern and Border states tend to have substantially larger proportions of black students than other states and higher levels of desegregation. Not only did they have to overcome a very rigid segregation but they also had to bring much larger shares of black students into interracial schools. As a result of desegregation orders their white students tend to be in schools with much larger proportions of black students than whites in other parts of the country. In no state in the Northeast, the Midwest, nor the West do whites, on average, go to schools with 10% of more black classmates. Thirteen Southern and border states have higher shares of black students than any state in the North or West. White students attend school with the largest proportions of black students in the following states:²¹

Mississippi	30.3
South Carolina	29.9

²⁰A recent Gallup Poll shows that 93% of the public and 96% of school parents thought it was very important to teach students "acceptance of people of different races and ethnic backgrounds." (*Phi Delta Kappan*, October 1993: 139,145).

²¹ These percentages are the average percent black in schools attended by the typical white student in 1994-95.

Delaware	27.2
Louisiana	26.8
North Carolina	22.9
Georgia	21.6
Alabama	18.9
Virginia	17.7
Florida	16.9
Maryland	15.9

The most segregated states of the North had little interracial experience for white students. In Illinois, New York, and California the typical white student attended a school with less than 7% blacks, in New Jersey, less than 8%, and in Michigan less than 5%. Some states with developing patterns of serious segregation, such as Wisconsin and Minnesota, have proportions that are even lower.

There were 23 states where the number of black students per classroom in the schools attended by white students was less than one percent. Northern whites who may be inclined to assume their superiority to southerners in terms of racial attitudes and policies should reflect on the fact that southern white students have experienced far more actual desegregation for a quarter century and some northern states with very small black enrollments have been more resistant and made less progress than southern states with far larger black communities.

The exposure of whites to schools which average more than 10% Latino enrollment is limited to six Southwestern states--New Mexico (36%), California (23%), Texas (19%), Arizona (19%), Colorado (13%), and Nevada (13%). In eight other states, the typical white is in a school with more than one-twentieth Latinos. The number is lower in the other 36 states and that is

a major reason that national attention on this extremely important population is limited. In the long run, secondary immigration may distribute Latinos much more broadly across the nation.

Federal and State Policy

The Clinton administration has no stated policy on the movement back toward segregation and has given no priority to supporting successful desegregation. Although it is presiding over the period of the most rapid resegregation of the South since the Brown decision, it has not proposed any initiative, though the hostility of the previous 12 years has ended and positions have been changed on some important cases. There has been no proposal to restore the federal desegregation aid program that reached its peak under President Carter and whose funding was eliminated under President Reagan. Although the administration is asking for large increases in compensatory education, to a total of \$7B for children in high poverty low performance schools, it has no initiative to move children out of such failing schools or even to slow the termination of desegregation plans in communities where equal education for minority students has never been achieved.

The only two desegregation-related items left in the education budget are for the small desegregation assistance

centers set up under the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Magnet school program, which is often used to help pay for some of the voluntary elements in desegregation plans. The White House has requested zero increases for each program.

School desegregation has not been chosen as a priority issue by the Education department's Office for Civil Rights or the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division and no major new research on the consequences of segregation or the best methods for improving the successful operation of multiracial schools and classrooms have been commissioned. The leaders of both the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division and the Education Department's Office for Civil Rights recently stated that neither department has issued any statement of its policy on school desegregation during the Clinton Administration and that each is responding on a case-by-case basis.²²

Handwritten notes:
 FY 98: requested increase in Training Advisory Service
 Jan 7.3 M to 14.3 M
 level - Pending
 Dr. [unclear] Advisory Center but restoring
 Henry [unclear] SEA's.
 Proposed level - Pending Magnet Schools.

Very few states had active state government efforts to enforce school desegregation in the middle 1990s. Some that once had rules or state legal requirements had suspended them or had terminated the offices that administered them. In California, for example, where segregation was increasing rapidly for both blacks and Latinos, and for some groups of Asian students, the State Department of Education's Intergroup Relations Office was abolished, though the state provides funds for court ordered remedies. In

²²Interviews with Assistant Secretary Norma Cantu and Acting Assistant Attorney General Isabel Pinzler, March 18, 1997.

Illinois, the state supreme court took away the state board of education's right to enforce desegregation requirements. In New Jersey, the state desegregation office was abolished under Governor Christie Whitman.]

In Connecticut the state supreme court has ordered the state to do more and the issue is pending before the legislature.

Many states have adopted policies to publicize achievement results by district and school and they repeatedly publish lists that show urban minority schools with very high levels of concentrated poverty at the bottom in academic achievement without ever discussing the very frequent relationship between segregated education and low achievement.²³ If standards are to be raised with high stakes for students, states must be concerned about the structural fairness of their system to minority students.

²³A *New York Times* analysis of the 4,100 school in the state reported, for instance, that all ten of the weakest third grade reading achievement scores were in New York City public schools, four of which had 99% or more poor children and only one of which had a majority of children not on free lunch. The analysis showed an extremely strong relationship between poverty and achievement with city schools with totally low income enrollments having an average of less than a fifth of children reading above grade level while schools with no low income children in the city had about 75% scoring above grade level. ("Rating the Schools: Best Report Cards, and Worst," *New York Times*, January 3, 1997: B4; "Beyond Wealth and Poverty: About the Adjusted Scores," *Ibid.*: B5).

Conclusion

In American race relations, the bridge from the twentieth century may be leading back into the nineteenth century. We may be deciding to bet the future of the country once more on separate but equal. There is no evidence that separate but equal today works any more than it did a century ago.

The debate that has been stimulated by recent Supreme Court decisions is a debate about how and when to end desegregation plans. The most basic need now is for a serious national examination of the cost of resegregation and the alternative solutions to problems with existing desegregation plans. Very few Americans prefer segregation and most believe that desegregation has had considerable value, but most whites are still opposed to plans which involve mandatory transportation of students. During the last fifteen years plans have been evolving to include more educational reforms and choice mechanisms to try to achieve desegregation and educational gains simultaneously. A stronger fair housing law, a number of settlements of housing segregation cases, and federal initiatives to change the operation of subsidized housing--as well as the very rapid creation of brand new communities in the sunbelt all offer opportunities to try to change the pattern of segregated housing that underlies school segregation. Policies that would help move the country back toward a less polarized society include:

- 1) resumption of serious enforcement of desegregation by the Justice Department and serious investigation

of the degree to which districts have complied with all Supreme Court requirements by the Department of Education. Such requirements could be appropriately specified in a federal regulation

- 2) creation of a new federal education program to train students, teachers, and administrators in human relations, conflict resolution, and multi-ethnic education techniques and to help districts devise appropriate plans and curricula for successful multi-racial schools
- 3) serious federal research on multiracial schools and the comparative success of segregated and desegregated schools
- 4) a major campaign to increase nonwhite teachers and administrators through a combination of employment discrimination enforcement and resources for recruitment and education of potential teachers
- 5) incorporation of successful desegregation into the national educational goals
- 6) federal and state efforts to expand the use of integrated two-way bilingual programs from the demonstration stage to become a major technique for improving both second language acquisition for both English speakers and other language speakers and successful ethnic relationships
- 7) additional Title IV resources to expand state

Have
request
these
funds

education department staffs working on desegregation
and racial equity in the schools

- 8) federal, state, and local plans to coordinate housing
policy with school desegregation policy
- 9) examination of choice and charter school plans to
assure that they are not increasing segregation and
to reinforce their potential contribution to
desegregation
- 10) examination of high stakes state testing programs
to assure that they are not punishing the minority
students who must attend inferior segregated
schools under existing state and local policies

APPENDIX A Data Sources

Unless otherwise noted, the data source for all tables on 1994 statistics is the 1994-95 NCES Common Core of Data School Universe. Schools included in the analyses are all Type 1 (regular) schools in Types 1 - 4 agencies. Alaska, Hawaii, and U.S. possessions are excluded, except when noted. Idaho is excluded from most table because school enrollments by race were not reported by that state to NCES. The data analyzed are from 78,605 schools in 14,283 districts in 47 states and Washington DC. The following states did not report the number of free lunch eligible students: Alabama, Arizona, Illinois, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, and Washington and, therefore, could not be included in the national calculations of the relationship between race and poverty in the schools.

Appendix B: Definition of Regions

South:Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Border:Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

Northeast:Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

Midwest:Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

West:Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

Notes:Alaska and Hawaii are excluded from most parts of this study because of their unique ethnic compositions and isolation from the regions studied here. Analyses of these states would require close attention to Asian and American Indian populations and could be carried out from the same dataset.

Idaho is excluded from this study because school enrollments by race were not reported by that state.

Appendix C

45

Change in the Segregation of Black Students, 1989-94
State Rankings on Three Measures

% in Majority White Schools		% in 90-100% Minority Schools		% Whites in School of Total Black	
Minnesota	-15.2	Maryland	12.5	Nevada	-12.1
Nevada	-14.3	Nevada	7.5	Minnesota	-7.0
Rhode Island	-12.8	Massachusetts	3.4	Rhode Island	-6.8
Arizona	-11.1	Ohio	3.2	Wisconsin	-6.7
Kansas	-7.6	Louisiana	4.3	Florida	-5.7
Colorado	-7.5	Alabama	3.7	Delaware	-5.6
Idaho	-7.5	Rhode Island	3.4	Nebraska	-5.5
North Carolina	-6.1	Wisconsin	2.7	Oklahoma	-5.5
Utah	-6.0	Florida	2.6	Ohio	-5.2
New Mexico	-5.2	Texas	2.1	Utah	-5.2
Arkansas	-5.0	Oklahoma	2.0	Maryland	-5.1
Florida	-4.7	Michigan	1.6	Colorado	-5.1
Texas	-4.6	Dist. of Columbia	1.5	Arizona	-2.9
California	-4.0	Pennsylvania	1.5	Washington	-2.9
Alabama	-3.7	Illinois	1.3	Texas	-2.8
Louisiana	-3.7	North Carolina	0.9	Arkansas	-2.7
Ohio	-3.7	Delaware	0.9	Louisiana	-2.7
Oklahoma	-3.6	Washington	0.8	Kansas	-2.5
Maryland	-3.3	Colorado	0.4	Vermont	-2.3
Mississippi	-3.1	Minnesota	0.4	Alabama	-2.2
Indiana	-3.1	Mississippi	0.1	New Mexico	-2.2
Iowa	-3.0	Kentucky	0.0	Iowa	-2.1
Wisconsin	-2.9	Nebraska	0.0	North Carolina	-2.0
Connecticut	-2.6	New Hampshire	0.0	California	-1.9
South Carolina	-2.4	Oregon	0.0	Mississippi	-1.8
New York	-2.0	Utah	0.0	Kentucky	-1.7
Kentucky	-1.3	Vermont	0.0	Massachusetts	-1.4
Tennessee	-1.0	West Virginia	0.0	South Carolina	-1.1
Pennsylvania	-0.8	New Mexico	-0.1	Pennsylvania	-0.8
Massachusetts	-0.8	South Carolina	-0.3	Connecticut	-0.8
Delaware	-0.2	North Dakota	-0.3	Tennessee	-0.6
Michigan	-0.1	New York	-0.3	New York	-0.6
Dist. of Columbia	0.0	California	-0.3	Michigan	-0.3
New Hampshire	0.0	New Jersey	-0.3	Illinois	-0.1
Vermont	0.0	Tennessee	-0.8	Dist. of Columbia	-0.1
North Dakota	0.4	Iowa	-0.8	New Jersey	0.0
Illinois	0.4	Arizona	-1.2	West Virginia	0.0
Washington	0.4	Kansas	-1.4	New Hampshire	0.3
New Jersey	0.5	Connecticut	-1.9	Indiana	0.4
West Virginia	1.4	Arkansas	-2.2	North Dakota	1.9
Oregon	3.7	Indiana	-4.4	Oregon	3.6
Georgia	"	Georgia	"	Georgia	"
Maine	"	Maine	"	Maine	"
Missouri	"	Missouri	"	Missouri	"
Montana	"	Montana	"	Montana	"
South Dakota	"	South Dakota	"	South Dakota	"
Virginia	"	Virginia	"	Virginia	"
Wyoming	"	Wyoming	"	Wyoming	"

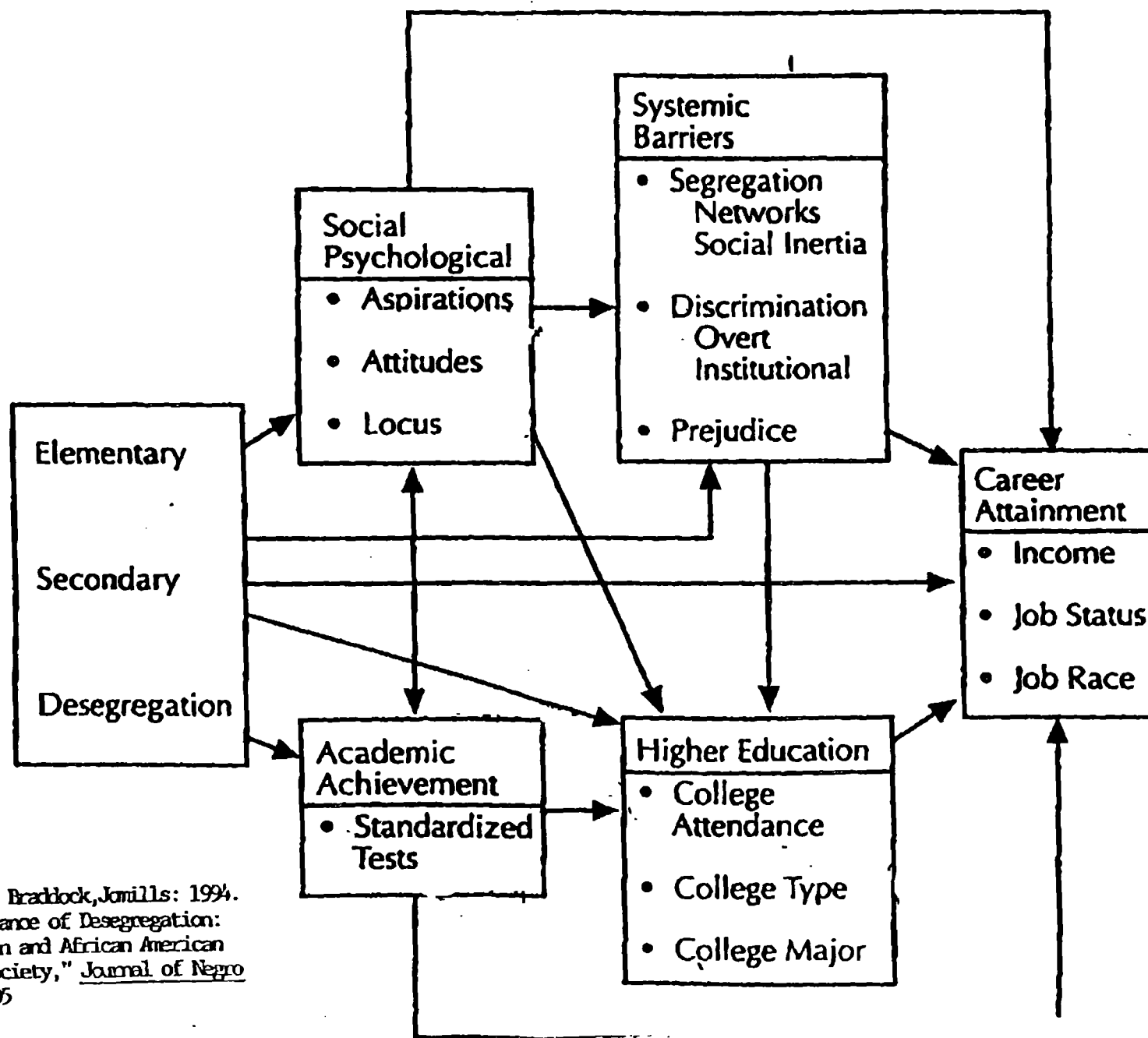
State Rankings in the Segregation of Black Students
by Three Measures, 1994-95 School Year

<u>% in Majority White Schools</u>		<u>% in 90-100% Minority Schools</u>		<u>% Whites in School of Total Black</u>	
Dist. of Columbia	96.1	Dist. of Columbia	36.1	Dist. of Columbia	1.4
New York	61.9	Illinois	61.9	Illinois	39.0
California	39.6	Michigan	39.6	New York	38.1
Michigan	37.1	New York	37.1	Michigan	30.8
Illinois	33.7	New Jersey	33.7	New Jersey	25.7
Mississippi	27.0	Pennsylvania	27.0	California	23.7
Maryland	26.0	Maryland	26.0	Maryland	23.0
New Jersey	24.2	Alabama	24.2	Mississippi	23.5
Louisiana	23.0	Tennessee	23.0	Louisiana	20.4
Wisconsin	22.6	Louisiana	22.6	Pennsylvania	20.4
Pennsylvania	20.4	Mississippi	20.4	Alabama	22.9
Georgia	20.3	Connecticut	20.3	Texas	22.0
Texas	21.3	California	21.3	Georgia	24.1
Ohio	32.8	Texas	31.9	Connecticut	23.7
Alabama	34.1	Georgia	27.9	Tennessee	23.1
Connecticut	34.3	Missouri	26.3	Wisconsin	23.4
Tennessee	34.5	Florida	26.1	Ohio	24.3
Arkansas	37.1	Indiana	23.3	Missouri	23.6
Missouri	37.3	Wisconsin	20.3	Florida	40.1
Massachusetts	39.7	Ohio	18.3	South Carolina	40.9
South Carolina	39.7	Massachusetts	17.0	Arkansas	41.5
Rhode Island	40.2	South Carolina	17.0	Massachusetts	43.2
Virginia	44.3	Oklahoma	14.5	New Mexico	43.9
Florida	44.6	Virginia	12.7	Virginia	45.2
New Mexico	45.0	Arkansas	12.3	Arkansas	46.0
Minnesota	46.1	Nevada	7.3	Indiana	47.2
Arizona	46.9	Arizona	7.3	Rhode Island	47.2
Indiana	49.7	North Carolina	7.1	Oklahoma	47.4
Colorado	49.8	New Mexico	6.4	North Carolina	49.2
North Carolina	51.5	Rhode Island	6.1	Colorado	51.0
Oklahoma	54.2	Kansas	5.2	Nevada	52.1
Nevada	59.8	Montana	1.6	Minnesota	53.9
Kansas	60.3	Delaware	0.9	Kansas	54.2
Nebraska	66.7	Washington	0.5	Nebraska	60.1
Oregon	67.5	Colorado	0.4	Oregon	60.6
Washington	70.5	Massachusetts	0.4	Washington	61.2
West Virginia	90.5	North Dakota	0.1	Delaware	63.0
Iowa	91.5	Utah	0.1	Kentucky	70.3
Utah	91.8	Iowa	0.0	Iowa	74.9
Kentucky	92.0	Kentucky	0.0	West Virginia	75.7
Delaware	93.1	Maine	0.0	Utah	80.5
Montana	94.2	Nebraska	0.0	Wyoming	81.1
Wyoming	95.6	New Hampshire	0.0	Montana	83.9
South Dakota	99.0	Oregon	0.0	South Dakota	86.5
North Dakota	99.7	South Dakota	0.0	North Dakota	88.7
Maine	100.0	Vermont	0.0	New Hampshire	93.3
New Hampshire	100.0	West Virginia	0.0	Maine	94.5
Vermont	100.0	Wyoming	0.0	Vermont	95.5

* These states did not report school enrollments by race to NCEES for the 1989-90 school year.

FIGURE 1

A Model of School Desegregation's Impact on African American Career Attainment



10 in: Dawkins, Marvin and Braddock, Jonills: 1994.
 10: Continuing Significance of Desegregation:
 10: School Racial Composition and African American
 10: Exclusion in American Society," *Journal of Negro
 Education*, 63(3): 394-405

Table 1 : Elementary school desegregation experiences and race relations (attitudes and contact) in high school among African-American (Black) and White students in a national sample (1993)

Racial Attitudes in High Sch. Feels that it is desirable to	Whites			Blacks		
	Elem school was			Elem school was		
	Seg	Deseg	(N)	Seg	Deseg	(N)
Have close personal friends of another race	42.2	51.8 ^b	1819	34.7	45.3	365
Have a job supervisor of a different race	27.5	34.8 ^a	1821	15.1	21.5	364
Have family of different race move next door	35.5	40.1	1819	25.9	34.9	365
Have children's friends all be of other races	15.4	13.2	1808	22.9	15.7	360
Have some of children's friends be other races	42.9	48.8	1814	33.2	41.3	365
Have job with all employees of your race	18.6	14.1 ^b	1814	20.9	19.3	362
Have job with some employees of other races	31.0	31.1	1817	26.6	33.9	363
Have job with most employees of other races	9.3	16.4 ^b	1815	13.6	18.7	362
Live in area with all neighbors of your race	24.7	20.2 ^b	1812	24.4	20.6	363
Live in area with some neighbors of other races	26.5	29.1	1816	25.0	25.9	362
Live in area with most neighbors of other races	7.5	13.1 ^b	1814	9.9	14.7	362
Have children attend school with all children of your race	22.6	18.1 ^b	1814	21.8	19.3	364
Have children attend school with some children of different races	33.3	35.2	1815	30.2	32.2	363
Have children attend school with most children of different races	7.1	13.0 ^b	1813	12.0	19.3	363

Racial Contact in High Sch.

All to mostly all of my closest friends are my race	89.2	60.0 ^c	1820	90.1	64.0	365
Do a lot of things (conversations, sports, eat) with people of other races	23.7	45.8 ^c	1819	24.0	52.6	363
Very good experiences with people of other races	26.3	31.4	1817	18.2	24.6	363

Significance levels based on the chi-square test (due to small cell sizes, tests were not appropriate for Blacks)

^ap < .05

^bp < .01

^cp < .001

Source: Analyses were performed on data from the Monitoring the Future Project (1993),
Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

TABLE I
Summary of Recent Research Evidence on the Effects of Desegregation

Study and Data	Independent/Control Variables	Dependent Variables	Findings
Braddock (1980) Survey in 1972 of Black students attending four colleges in Florida (N=253)	High school racial composition/socioeconomic status, sex, high school grades, college costs and reputation, financial aid, and proximity to college	Racial composition of college	Black students from majority-White high schools are more likely to enroll at majority-White four-year colleges.
Braddock and McPartland (1982) Black subsample of the National Longitudinal Study (NLS) High School Class of 1972 (N=3,119)	Elementary-secondary school racial composition/socioeconomic status, sex, high school grades and test scores, region, and proximity to college	Racial composition of college	Black students from majority-White elementary-secondary schools are more likely to enroll in and persist at majority-White two- and four-year colleges.
Braddock, McPartland, & Trent (1984) Black and White subsamples of the NLS Class of 1972 merged with survey data from their 1976 and 1979 employers (Blacks = 1,518; Whites = 1,957)	High school and college racial composition/sex, age, public vs. private employment, educational attainment, region and community racial composition	Racial composition of employment firm	Blacks and Whites from desegregated elementary-secondary schools are more likely to work in desegregated firms; Blacks from predominantly White colleges are also more likely to work in desegregated firms.
Gain & Weisman (1972) Survey in 1966 of Blacks living in North and West (N=1,651)	Elementary-secondary school racial composition/socioeconomic status, age, sex, region of birth	Interracial contact, neighborhood racial composition, racial composition of occupation	Blacks from desegregated elementary-secondary schools are more likely to have White social contacts and live in integrated neighborhoods.
Braddock & McPartland (1983; 1989) Two-year follow-up of Black subsample of NLS 1980-81 Youth Cohort (N=1,074)	High school racial composition/sex, age, public vs. private employment, job status and community racial composition	Racial composition of co-worker groups and attitudes toward White supervisors and White co-workers	Northern Blacks from majority-White high schools are more likely to have White co-workers. In the South, this relationship is also positive but confounded with community racial composition. Desegregated Blacks evaluate White co-workers and supervisors more positively than do segregated Blacks.
Green (1981; 1982) Ten-year follow-up of 1971 Black college freshmen surveyed by American Council on Education (N=1,400)	High school and college racial composition/sex, high school grades, college major, etc.	Racial composition of co-worker and friendship groups	Black adults who graduated from majority-White high schools or majority-White colleges and who grew up in majority-White neighborhoods are more likely to have White work associates and friends.
Wilkins (1983) Black subsample of the NLS High School Class of 1972 (N=3,119)	Elementary-secondary school racial composition/region, socioeconomic status, teacher's influence, high school grades, test scores and curriculum, educational goals, job values, self-esteem, and college admission decisions.	Occupational expectations	Southern Black males from desegregated high schools have greater expectations of entering high-status, nontraditional occupations.

From: Dawkins, Marvin and Braddock, Jamills: 1994. "The Continuing Significance of Desegregation: School Racial Composition and African American Inclusion in American Society," Journal of Negro Education, 63(3): 394-405.

TABLE I (continued)
Summary of Recent Research Evidence on the Effects of Desegregation

Study and Data	Independent/Control Variables	Dependent Variables	Findings
Crain (1984a) Survey in 1982 of Project Concern participants (N=660)	Elementary-secondary school racial composition/socio-economic status, age, and test scores.	Interracial contact, neighborhood racial composition	Blacks who attend desegregated schools are more likely to move into integrated neighborhoods and have a greater number of White friends.
Crain (1984b) Survey of employers of NLS respondents (N=4,080)	Inner-city school vs. suburban school/race, age, sex, education, and how applicant came to firm	Employment decisions about applicants	Employers give preference to Blacks from desegregated (i.e., suburban) schools.
Farley (1980) 14 communities	Change in school segregation indices/communities matched by size, region, racial composition	Change in degree of desegregation in housing and in marketing policies in housing	Communities with a communitywide school desegregation plan have more integration in housing and less "racial steering" by the real estate industry.
Farley, Crain, & Farley (1984) 25 large cities	Change in school segregation indices/city size, racial composition, previous level of segregation	Change in housing segregation indices	Central cities where schools are desegregated have more desegregation in housing.
Braddock (1986) Black subsample of High School and Beyond (HSB) National Survey of 1980 seniors (N=3,000)	High school racial composition/region, social class, high school grades and test scores, residential proximity	Racial composition of college, college major	Blacks who attend desegregated high schools are more likely to attend desegregated colleges and (in two-year colleges) to major in scientific or technical fields.
Braddock, Dawkins, & Trent (1994) Samples from three independent surveys: 1979-80 National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA) (N=2,107); 1976-79 NLS Employer Survey (N=4,078); and 1987 follow-up of NLS-Youth Cohort (Blacks=2,923); Hispanics=1,924; Whites=6,721)	High school racial composition/region, sex, age, public vs. private employment, occupational level, community racial composition, and educational attainment	Racial composition of firm and coworker groups	Blacks, Whites, and Mexican Americans who attend desegregated high schools are more likely to work in desegregated work settings.

From: Dawkins, Marvin and Braddock, Jomills, 1994. "The Continuing Significance of Desegregation: School Racial Composition and African American Inclusion in American Society," Journal of Negro Education, 63(3): 394-405