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Segregation Again:

North Carolina's Transition from Leading Desegregation Then to Accepting Segregation Now

Jennifer B. Ayscue and Brian Woodward
with
John Kucsera and Genevieve Siegel-Hawley

Foreword by

Gary Orfield

The Civil Rights Project
Proyecto Derechos Civiles

May 14, 2014

6th in a Series

Segregation Again:

NORTH CAROLINA'S TRANSITION FROM LEADING DESEGREGATION THEN TO ACCEPTING SEGREGATION NOW

Jennifer B. Ayscue and Brian Woodward
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This report is the sixth in a series of 13 reports from the Civil Rights Project analyzing school segregation trends in the Eastern states.

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Foreword

North Carolina matters. It is an increasingly diverse and growing state with a promising future and some deep political and social divisions. It was deeply changed by the civil rights revolution and was one of the fortunate states that had county-wide school districts, which proved to be the most successful in the desegregation process, creating lasting diversity and helping to diminish residential divisions that are so characteristic of metropolitan areas divided into many separate school districts where most of the middle-class population has little awareness of the conditions in the poorer areas and little concern about their future. North Carolina is still less segregated than the United States as a whole.

The Charlotte *Swann* decision opened up a new era in school integration and also in the politics of civil rights, as presidential candidate Richard Nixon attacked the court and President Nixon changed the position of the federal civil rights agencies, opposing urban integration. The *Swann* case, which required historically segregated communities to achieve integration even if pupil transportation was required, was the key to desegregating the students of the urban South and produced changes in scores of cities in a very short period. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, Wake County, and other North Carolina districts persisted through the political and legal storms and achieved a level of urban desegregation rarely seen elsewhere in the United States for several decades.

I had the opportunity to visit North Carolina communities and schools several times during this experience and closely followed the reports of the Swann Fellowship, the UNC Center for Civil Rights and others involved in this work. We cosponsored a remarkable meeting in Chapel Hill in 2002 where several hundred educators, community activists, and scholars gathered to discuss new research on civil rights and the future of the South, leading to the UNC Press book, *School Resegregation: Must the South Turn Back?* It was a sign of the deep progress in the state when the leaders of Charlotte-Mecklenburg invested heavily in fighting to continue their desegregation process, confessing that the district still had much to do to create genuinely equal education, and a sign of the deep retreat of the federal courts, remade by conservative judicial appointments, when the federal courts refused their appeal and, in effect, ordered them to resegregate. When it became apparent that the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals was going to dissolve desegregation orders, Wake County impressively developed ways to maintain considerable diversity in their schools by considering the poverty and the test scores of students and preventing the concentration of poor, low-scoring students in schools. The way in which the issue was politicized there and the way in which the community responded in the subsequent election as well as the racial implications were significant. The community rejected the leaders who had ended the county's desegregation effort but has yet to come up with a new plan to foster diversity.

In the history of the Civil Rights Project, we have been blessed with a succession of young researchers from the South who have experienced diverse education and some of whom have been teachers in diverse schools. When I moved the Civil Rights Project from Harvard to UCLA, I was worried about whether this tradition would continue on the other coast. Fortunately it has, and we were extremely lucky to have two young researchers who were educated in North Carolina, who taught in North Carolina, and who love their state, to work on this report. I hope that citizens and educators of the Tar Heel State will look carefully and think deeply about the trends we report here and their implications for the future of what now is a deeply tri-racial state

which has lost most of the tools created by the civil rights revolution. It is very sad for me to see statistics showing a level of segregation that looks like Detroit or Chicago in parts of North Carolina where there had been nothing like that for a third of a century. In spite of the limitations that have now been imposed by narrow majorities on the U.S. Supreme Court, there are still ways, as Wake County has shown, to pursue diversity of the state's communities.

The Supreme Court held six decades ago that segregated schools were "inherently unequal." Despite what some educators and politicians say today and some of the remarkable efforts in a small set of segregated schools with high test scores, this remains true today. In the nature of things, you cannot learn how to live and work effectively in a profoundly diverse society in segregated neighborhoods and separate schools. The authors of this report have offered constructive, non-coercive policy suggestions that deserve the serious attention of North Carolina's educators, policy makers, and citizens. It is true that desegregation is hard but Southern history proves abundantly that successful segregation on a large scale is impossible.

When I was a graduate student, one of my most powerful teachers was the great African American historian John Hope Franklin who spent his later years at Duke University. He taught a seminar that deeply affected me about the way in which the conservative courts and the politicians in the late l9th century gutted the rights created for freedmen after the Civil War and led the country into six decades of rigid segregation. There were terrible costs for the South from so deeply dividing the society and failing to fully develop the human capital of so many of its students. People who think seriously about the history of North Carolina and the fact that their future, more than ever, is dependent upon developing the talents of all of its people in a very multiracial society, should act to prevent another very serious reversal.

Gary Orfield

Executive Summary

North Carolina has a storied history with school integration efforts spanning several decades. In response to the *Brown* decision, North Carolina's strategy of delayed integration was more subtle than the overt defiance of other Southern states. Numerous North Carolina school districts were early leaders in employing strategies to integrate schools at a very modest level. When the l964 Civil Rights Act vastly expanded federal power, desegregation accelerated. In 1971, Charlotte-Mecklenburg gained national attention in the first Supreme Court decision mandating busing as a primary strategy to achieve school integration. By 2000, Wake County public schools became the first metropolitan school district to implement a class-based student assignment policy[1], shifting from a race-based student assignment plan. Yet despite initiating school diversification efforts for a generation, currently North Carolina has reverted back to neighborhood schools while concurrently adopting policies that deemphasize diversity. Today, the state's Latino enrollment, which has grown very rapidly in the post-civil rights era, adds another important dimension to the story. Since racial and economic segregation are strongly related to unequal opportunity, these changes likely have important educational consequences.

This report investigates trends in school segregation in North Carolina over the last two decades by examining measures of concentration, exposure, and evenness by both race and class. After exploring the overall enrollment patterns and segregation trends at the state level, this report turns to three major metropolitan areas within the state—Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, Raleigh-Cary, and Greensboro-High Point—to analyze similar measures of segregation for each metropolitan area.

Major findings in the report include:

North Carolina

- North Carolina's public school enrollment has become increasingly diverse over the last two decades. In 2010, the state's enrollment was 53% white, 26% black, 13% Latino, 3% Asian, 1% American Indian, and 4% mixed, compared to 1989 when the enrollment was 67% white, 30% black, 1% Latino, 1% Asian, and 1% American Indian.
- The share of multiracial schools—those that have any three races representing 10% or more of the total school enrollment—increased by 1,284%, from 2.6% in 1989 to 36% in 2010.
- During the same time, the share of majority minority schools—those in which 50-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students—almost doubled from 23.8% to 43.0%, and the share of intensely segregated schools—those in which 90-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students—tripled from 3.5% to 10.2%.
- The share of black students attending minority segregated schools has steadily increased over the last 20 years, such that seven out of 10 of black students attended majority minority schools and two out of 10 of black students attended intensely segregated schools in 2010.
- The share of Latino students attending minority segregated schools has also increased over the last two decades, such that six out of 10 of Latino students attended majority

[1] Silberman, T. (2002). Wake County schools: A question of balance. *Divided we fail: Coming together through public school choice*, 141-63. New York: The Century Foundation.

minority schools and one out of 10 of Latino students attended intensely segregated schools in 2010.

- In 2010, approximately half of all Latino, Asian, and black students attended multiracial schools whereas almost one-third of all white students attended such schools.
- The gap in exposure of the typical black student to white students versus the overall share of white student enrollment has grown larger during the last two decades such that in 2010, the typical black student attended a school with 34.7% white classmates even though the overall white share of enrollment in the state was 53.2%.
- The same general pattern is true for Latino students, though to a lesser extent. In 2010, the typical Latino student attended a school with 43.3% white classmates compared to the overall white share of enrollment at 53.2%.
- The typical white student is exposed to a larger share of other white students (65.8%) than the overall level of white enrollment in the state (53.2%); this gap has also grown larger over the last 20 years.
- In 2010, both the typical black student and the typical Latino student attended schools that had larger shares of low-income students (59.1%, 59.1%) than the overall share of low-income students in the state (50.2%) while the typical white student and the typical Asian student attended schools with smaller shares of low-income students (43.5%, 41.8%) than the overall share of low-income students in the state.

Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metropolitan Area

- From 1989 to 2010, metro Charlotte's white share of enrollment decreased by 28% such that in 2010, white students accounted for slightly less than half of the total enrollment (48%); the remainder of the enrollment was 31% black, 14% Latino, 3% Asian, and 4% mixed.
- Over the last two decades in both urban and suburban schools, the white share of enrollment has decreased while the Asian and Latino shares of enrollment have increased. Black students are the only racial group that has different enrollment trends in urban versus suburban schools with an increase in urban schools and a relatively stable representation in suburban schools.
- The percentage of multiracial schools has increased considerably over the last two decades, from 1.4% in 1989 to 36.4% of all schools in 2010.
- The share of majority minority schools has more than doubled from 22.3% to 51.6% and the share of intensely segregated schools increased substantially from 0.1% to 20.2%.
- The share of black students attending minority segregated schools has more than doubled over the last two decades, such that in 2010, three out of four black students in the Charlotte metro attended majority minority schools and one out of three black students attended intensely segregated schools.
- The share of Latino students attending minority segregated schools has also more than doubled, such that in 2010, two out of three Latino students attended a majority minority school and one out of four Latino students attended an intensely segregated school.
- In 2010, the majority of Latino (53.2%) students attended multiracial schools; for all other racial groups, between 30 and 40% of each group attended a multiracial school.
- In 2010, the typical black student was least exposed to white students and attended a school that was only 28.2% white; the gap in the typical black student's exposure to

white students versus the white share of enrollment has grown larger over time. The typical Latino student's school was 32.7% white while the typical white student attended a school that was 65.1% white.

- The typical white student is exposed to a smaller share of low-income students (33.6%) than the metro's average (46.6%) while the typical black student (59.7%) and the typical Latino student (62.2%) are exposed to larger shares than the metro's average.
- The level of segregation in metro Charlotte has increased over the last two decades and is currently considered a moderate level of segregation; most of this segregation is due to segregation within school districts rather than between districts.
- In 1989, half of the metro's six enduring districts—those that were open in 1989, 1999, and 2010—were predominantly white (Union County, Gaston County, and Cabarrus County), two were diverse (CMS and Kannapolis City), and one was predominantly nonwhite (Anson County). By 2010, none were predominantly white, four were diverse (Union County, Gaston County, Cabarrus County, and Kannapolis City) and the other two were predominantly nonwhite (CMS and Anson County).

Raleigh-Cary Metropolitan Area

- From 1989 to 2010, the white share of enrollment decreased by 24%, from 69% to 53%, and the black share of enrollment decreased by 16%, from 28% to 23%; during the same time, both the Latino and Asian shares of enrollment increased, from 1% to 15% for Latinos and from 2% to 5% for Asians.
- In both urban and suburban schools, the white share of enrollment decreased but remained the largest share of enrollment. The Asian and Latino shares of enrollment increased in both urban and suburban schools. The black share of enrollment increased in urban schools but decreased in suburban schools.
- The share of multiracial schools in metro Raleigh has increased substantially over the last two decades, from 0.9% in 1989 to 69.4% of all schools in 2010.
- The share of majority minority schools quadrupled from 10.6% to 41.3% while the share of intensely segregated and apartheid schools remained very small at less than 3%. However, metro Raleigh has a smaller share of majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools than metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro.
- The share of black students attending minority segregated schools has more than quadrupled over the last two decades, such that in 2010, more than half of metro Raleigh's black students attended majority minority schools. However, only 4.5% of metro Raleigh's black students attended intensely segregated schools in 2010, a much smaller share than either metro Charlotte or metro Greensboro.
- The share of Latino students attending minority segregated schools has also increased substantially, such that in 2010, almost half of the metro's Latino students attended a majority minority school, but only 2% of Latino students attended intensely segregated schools.
- In 2010, between 65% and 82% of students in each racial group attended multiracial schools in metro Raleigh, which is an increase from two decades earlier; in fact, only one decade earlier, closer to 10-25% of each racial group attended such schools.
- In 2010, the typical black student was least exposed to white students and attended a school that was only 43.6% white; the gap in the typical black student's exposure to

white students versus the white share of enrollment has grown larger over time. The typical Latino student's school was 47.2% white in 2010 while the typical white student attended a school that was 58.2% white.

- The typical white student is exposed to a smaller share of low-income students (30.8%) than the metro's average (34.7%) while the typical black student and the typical Latino student are exposed to larger shares (41.0%, 41.7%) than the metro's average.
- The level of segregation in metro Raleigh has increased over the last two decades and is currently considered a low level of segregation; most of this segregation is due to segregation within school districts rather than between districts.
- In 1989, all of the metro's three enduring districts—Johnston County, Franklin County, and Wake County—were diverse, and although all three have experienced decreases in the white share of enrollment over the last two decades, in 2010, all three remained diverse.

Greensboro-High Point Metropolitan Area

- From 1989 to 2010, metro Greensboro's white share of enrollment decreased from 70% to slightly less than half of the total enrollment (49.6%); the remainder of the enrollment was 31.0% black, 10.4% Latino, 4.0% Asian, and 3.7% mixed.
- Over the last two decades in both urban and suburban schools, the white share of enrollment has decreased while the black, Latino, and Asian shares of enrollment have increased.
- The percentage of multiracial schools has increased considerably over the last two decades, from 1.4% in 1989 to 30.6% of all schools in 2010.
- The share of majority minority schools more than doubled from 20.4% to 52.5%, and the share of intensely segregated schools increased substantially from 0.7% to 15.8%, levels that are similar to metro Charlotte but higher than metro Raleigh.
- The share of black students attending minority segregated schools has doubled over the last two decades, such that in 2010, eight out of 10 black students in the Greensboro metro attended majority minority schools, slightly more than metro Charlotte, and one out of four black students attended intensely segregated schools, slightly less than metro Charlotte; these levels are higher than metro Raleigh.
- The share of Latino students attending minority segregated schools has more than tripled, such that in 2010, over 50% of the metro's Latino students attended a majority minority school and 15% of Latino students attended an intensely segregated school.
- In 2010, 20-50% of each racial group attended multiracial schools.
- In 2010, the typical black student was least exposed to white students and attended a school that was only 31.4% white; the gap in the typical black student's exposure to white students versus the white share of enrollment has grown larger over time. The typical Latino student's school was 43.7% white in 2010, while the typical white student attended a school that was 63.6% white.
- The typical white student is exposed to a smaller share of low-income students (44.4%) than the metro's average (52.8%) while the typical black student (61.8%) and the typical Latino student (63.9%) are exposed to larger shares than the metro's average.
- The level of segregation in metro Greensboro increased from 1989 to 1999 but then decreased from 1999 to 2010; it is currently considered a moderate level of segregation.

Most of this segregation is due to segregation within school districts rather than between districts.

- In 1989, all four of the metro's enduring districts—Guilford County, Randolph County, Rockingham County, and Asheboro City—were predominantly white; by 2010, none was predominantly white, three were diverse (Randolph County, Rockingham County, and Asheboro City) and one was predominantly nonwhite (Guilford County).

Overall, these findings demonstrate that shifts in student assignment plans and strategies for achieving diverse schools (or lack of strategies for doing so) correspond to increases in segregation levels across the state and in its major metropolitan areas. These trends toward increasing segregation by race and class have a variety of negative effects on students of all races as well as the communities in which they live. Ultimately, they will also impact the future of the Tar Heel state. Decades of social science research indicate that segregated schools are strongly related to many forms of unequal educational opportunity and outcomes. Minority segregated schools have fewer experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less stable enrollments, inadequate facilities and learning materials, and high dropout rates. Conversely, desegregated schools are linked to profound benefits for all students. Desegregated learning environments are related to improved academic achievement for minority students with no corresponding detrimental impact for white students, improved critical thinking skills, loftier educational and career expectations, reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes, heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines, and high levels of civic and communal responsibility.

This report provides multiple recommendations for those who are seeking to address the return to segregation in North Carolina's schools:

- Because more segregation occurs within districts than between districts, state-level policies should be developed to provide a framework for developing and supporting intra-district programs with a diversity focus.
- School districts should develop student assignment policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools.
- Magnet schools and transfer programs within district borders should be used to promote more racially integrated schools.
- Charter school enrollments should promote diversity and officials should consider pursuing litigation against charter schools that are receiving public funds but are intentionally segregated, serving only one racial or ethnic group, or refusing service to English language learners.
- The majority of school districts in North Carolina are city-suburban consolidated models, but for those districts which are not, district officials should consider merging to form countywide districts.
- Fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets and bring prosecutions for violations.

North Carolina, a state that has long prided itself on its educational success, no longer lays claim to successfully desegregated schooling. The state is becoming increasingly diverse and multiracial; however, schools across the state are becoming less diverse and students are becoming more racially isolated. It is imperative that state and local leaders, parents, and

educators refuse to accept the resegregation of the state's public schools and instead take steps to once again become leaders in desegregation.

SEGREGATION AGAIN: NORTH CAROLINA'S TRANSITION FROM LEADING DESEGREGATION THEN TO ACCEPTING SEGREGATION NOW

North Carolina has a storied history of school integration efforts spanning several decades. In response to the *Brown* decision, North Carolina's strategy of delayed integration was more subtle than the overt defiance of other Southern states. Numerous North Carolina school districts were early leaders in employing strategies to integrate schools at a modest level. When the l964 Civil Rights Act vastly expanded federal power, desegregation accelerated. In 1971, Charlotte-Mecklenburg gained national attention in the first Supreme Court decision mandating busing as a primary strategy to achieve school integration. By 2000, Wake County public schools became the first metropolitan school district to implement a class-based student assignment policy[2], shifting from a race-based student assignment plan. Yet despite initiating school diversification efforts for a generation, currently North Carolina has reverted back to neighborhood schools while concurrently adopting policies that deemphasize diversity. Today, the state's Latino enrollment, which has grown rapidly in the post-civil rights era, adds another important dimension to the story. Since racial and economic segregation are strongly related to unequal opportunity, these changes likely have important educational consequences.

This report examines trends in school segregation in North Carolina over the last two decades. The report begins with an overview of the history of school desegregation in the state and in several prominent school districts in major metropolitan areas. The report then summarizes several decades of research highlighting the adversarial effects of segregation and the advantages of diverse learning environments. The next section describes the report's data and methods. The report analyzes enrollment patterns and several measures of segregation at the state level. After exploring trends at the state level, the report provides a similar analysis of the Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, Raleigh-Cary, and Greensboro-High Point metropolitan areas as well as a discussion of the degree and type of racial transition occurring in the largest school districts in each metro. The report concludes with a discussion of findings and recommendations for those who seek to address segregation in North Carolina's schools. Additional metropolitan summaries documenting segregation trends in nine of North Carolina's metro areas also accompany this report.

Background and Context

History of School Desegregation at the State Level

The current decline in racially integrated K-12 public schooling in North Carolina is a reversal of decades of work to develop and sustain diverse schools across the state. This trend toward more segregated schooling comes after several decades of progress; however, school segregation in the state dates back to the early 1900s and reignites an educational equity issue. In 1911, public secondary schools were built for rural white students and seven years later they were created for African Americans.[3] By 1929, black students attended segregated public high schools in many of North Carolina's largest counties, including Wake, Mecklenburg, Guilford, Forsyth, and Durham.[4] Not only did North Carolina's students attend schools segregated by race,

[2] Silberman, T. (2002). Wake County schools: A question of balance. *Divided we fail: Coming together through public school choice*, 141-63. New York: The Century Foundation.
[3] Wadelington, F. (2004). Assigned places. *Tar Heel Junior Journal Historian*, 43:2.
[4] Ibid.

but there was a separate Parent Teacher Association specifically for blacks as well. Additionally, the State Department of Public Instruction operated a Division of Negro Education, underscoring a further separation of the state's educational system along racial lines.[5] In the early 20th century the inequalities reached drastic levels. Historian Louis R. Harlan reports: "Whereas in 1900 the discrimination in favor of the white child [in funding] was about 50 percent, in l915 it was about 300 percent….. In l915 the Negro school population was 32.6 percent of the total and Negro schools received 13.0 percent of the school funds."[6] Education beyond the elementary grades was rare for many years. In l940, only one-third of North Carolina blacks were enrolled in high school and only a small portion of them was graduating. [7]

As a prelude to the integration of K-12 public schools throughout the state, in 1951, under court order, the professional and graduate schools integrated at the state's flagship institution, the University of North Carolina.[8] This early action was suggestive of the relatively progressive stance that the state would take on public school segregation within a region of more conservative and defiant Southern states.

Token compliance post-*Brown*. Following the 1954 *Brown* decision, which declared that separate educational facilities were "inherently unequal," North Carolina engaged in a judicial tug-of-war with the federal courts regarding how and when to proceed with school integration. The state's initial response toward the federal mandate to integrate public schools was known as the "North Carolina way."[9] Unlike other Southern states that used more overtly defiant tactics to oppose the federal government, North Carolina's state and local politicians implemented a subtle legal strategy to delay integration as long as possible.[10] In an effort to ensure token compliance with *Brown*, in 1955, North Carolina passed the Pupil Assignment Act. The two-pronged strategy to adhere delicately to integration mandates was to (1) transfer student assignment, enrollment, and transportation authority from the state board of education to the local boards and (2) make the procedure for appealing a school board's decision as complicated as possible in order to stall integration. The second significant piece of legislation used to facilitate North Carolina's "token integration" was the 1956 Pearsall Plan. This plan permitted local school boards to create impediments to delay full integration in a variety of ways, which included: (1) requiring African American parents who wanted to send their children to integrated schools to apply for their child's admission by approaching their local school boards, some of which were openly opposed to desegregation; (2) providing schools an option to close, by majority vote, if integration transpired at an unacceptably high level; and (3) permitting white parents to receive state tuition aid to attend private schools of their choice if their children could

[5] Ibid.
[6] Harlan, L. R. (1969). Separate and unequal: Public school campaigns and racism in the southern seaboard states 1901–1915 (p. 131). New York: Antheneum.
[7] Anderson, J. D. (1988). *The education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (p. 237)*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
[8] Public Education (2006). *Introduction*. Retrieved from the NCPedia Web site: http://www.ncpedia.org/pupil-assignment-act.com
[9] Pupil Assignment Act (2006). Retrieved from the NCPedia Web site: http://www.ncpedia.org/pupil-assignment-act.com
[10] Ibid.

not be conveniently assigned to a non-integrated public school.[11] The Pupil Assignment Plan and the Pearsall Plan both aided North Carolina in appearing to adhere with the *Brown* decision.

Although North Carolina was one of the first states to begin integrating schools, comprehensive desegregation was a gradual process. Despite having only a dozen African American students enrolled at formerly all-white schools across three school districts (Greensboro, Charlotte, and Winston-Salem), North Carolina was one of only four Southern states that had integrated any schools in 1957.[12] By 1959, more black students attended integrated schools in Craven County and Wayne County, which had military bases, than in all the other districts in the state combined.[13]

Comprehensive desegregation. More comprehensive desegregation of elementary and secondary schools in the state would not come to fruition until the late 1960s and early 1970s. The passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance, determined that any school board found in noncompliance with the act was disqualified from receiving federal funds.[14] In 1965, the U.S. Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare released a set of guidelines that defined desegregation standards.[15] The 1965 guidelines required all school districts with a history of school segregation to formulate a voluntary desegregation plan if they were not already subject to a court-ordered plan.[16] It was clear to the superintendents of North Carolina's school system that no federal grants would be approved and no existing programs would be renewed until a desegregation plan was approved in Washington.[17] The Office of Education had to obtain a civil rights compliance pledge from each state department of education, and each district had to draft its own desegregation plan.[18] Therefore, the North Carolina Attorney General announced that to comply with Title VI, all North Carolina school systems would have to submit either a proposed voluntary desegregation plan or a statement indicating that the school system had already desegregated the schools.[19] By 1968, approximately 23% of African American students in North Carolina were attending integrated schools.[20]

Despite gradual implementation of school integration, districts within North Carolina continued to garner national attention for strategies employed to integrate schools. By the mid-to-late 1960s, Charlotte-Mecklenburg appeared on the national stage as a leader in school integration. In 1965, Julius Chambers filed a law suit on behalf of 10 African American parents in Charlotte contending that the desegregation plan did not adequately bring an end to the

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[11] Hawkins, K & McDowell, C. (2008). Desegregation and integration of Greensboro's Public Schools, 1954-1974. Retrieved from University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Department of Cultural Resources Web site: http://library.uncg.edu/dp/crg/topicalessays/schooldeseginteg.aspx

[12] Wadelington, F. (2004). Assigned places. *Tar Heel Junior Journal Historian*, 43:2.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Civil Rights Act of 1964§ 7, 42 U.S.C. § 2000e et seq (1964).

[15] Douglas, D. M. (1995). *Reading, writing, and race: The desegregation of the Charlotte schools* (p. 113).Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

[16] Ibid., 13.

[17] Orfield, G. (1969). *The reconstruction of Southern education: The schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (p. 49). New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

[18] Ibid., 49.

[19] Douglas, 114.

[20] School mixing total in 43 NC counties, *News and Observer*, August 8, 1968.

inequalities of the formerly segregated schools.[21] Despite a seemingly successful revision to integrate schools based on geographical attendance zones, a federal judge concluded that there were still schools that were illegally identifiable by race in 1969. In April of 1971, in the case of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, the Supreme Court ruled that busing students was an acceptable method to fulfill the goal of integration. School districts that had been segregated by law for generations could not avoid desegregation by pointing to residential segregation. Following the *Swann* case, mandatory busing in Charlotte and throughout other large school districts was a primary strategy used to achieve school integration.[22]

By the 1970s, many Southern cities across the country witnessed major efforts at something experienced nowhere in the North—comprehensive city-suburban desegregation in many of the largest urban communities. The South had substantial numbers of major cities where the city and suburban schools were in a single county-wide system, something that did not exist in the great majority of states outside the region. The North Carolina state legislature created an atmosphere that was conducive to city-county school consolidations in major metropolitan areas, beginning with the merger of Charlotte City and Mecklenburg County Schools in 1960. In fact, the state government pressured school districts to consolidate because broader, consolidated districts were believed to be more efficient and more effective in providing strong educational programs.[23] The General Assembly of North Carolina passed "enabling legislation for consummating merger," and during the 1975-76 academic year, both school boards in Wake County voted in favor of unifying the systems.[24] Guilford County Schools was the last of the three largest schools districts in the state to merge both their city and county systems in 1993. Of the state's 100 counties, at present, there are 15 city districts that have not yet merged with the 11 counties in which they are located to form a consolidated county-wide district.

In the 1980s, North Carolina was a national leader in school integration. In 1980, with black students accounting for 29.6% of the state's total enrollment, the black share of enrollment in North Carolina was the seventh largest in the country; however, North Carolina did not rank in the top ten states with highest levels of segregation of black students.[25] In fact, only 4.8% of black students and 0.8% of Hispanic students attended intensely segregated schools—those that were 90-100% non-white.[26] The typical black student in North Carolina in 1980 attended a school that was 54.0% white, an increase from 49.0% in 1970.[27] The typical Latino student attended a school with 66.2% white classmates.[28]

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[21] Brabham, R. (2006) *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*. Retrieved from NCPedia Web site: http://ncpedia.org/swann-v-charlotte-mecklenburg-board

[22] Mickelson, R. A. (2001). Subverting Swann: First-and second-generation segregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, *38*(2), 215-252.

[23] Orfield, G. (2001). Metropolitan school desegregation: Impacts on metropolitan society. In j. a. powell, G. Kearney, & V. Kay (Eds.), *In pursuit of a dream deferred: Linking housing and education policy* (pp. 132 - 133). New York: Peter Lang.

[24] Flinspach, S. L., & Banks, K. E. (2005). Moving beyond race: Socioeconomic diversity as a race-neutral approach to desegregation in the Wake County schools. *School resegregation: Must the South turn back*, 261-280.

[25] Orfield, G. (1983). *Public school desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980* (pp. 10-11). Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

[26] Ibid, 50.

[27] Ibid, 10-11.

[28] Ibid, 50.

Beginning in the 1980s and early 1990s, many of the state's school districts, including Charlotte-Mecklenburg, Wake, and Guilford, adopted school choice plans that used magnet schools, public schools with specialized curricula intended to attract students from across traditional boundary lines, as part of their efforts to create diversity within the schools. The use of magnet schools continues to serve as one of the integral strategies for diversifying schools across the state; currently Guilford County is recognized as a national leader in magnet/school choice programs.[29] Under desegregation plans, magnet schools normally included specific desegregation goals, holding back seats to ensure diversity, parent outreach and recruitment to meet the goals, and a guarantee of free transportation to students who chose to enroll. After desegregation orders were lifted, magnet schools often lost their civil rights policies and resegregated, and the discussion of school choice turned increasingly toward charter schools, an idea which emerged nationally in the early 1990s.

In 1994, five low-wealth rural school districts brought a case against the state, *Leandro v. State*, in which they argued that their school districts did not have sufficient funding to provide students with a quality education. In 1997, the state's Supreme Court ruled that every child in the state has the constitutional "right to a sound basic education" but held that despite funding inequities created by local supplements, the state is only required to provide sufficient funding for a sound basic education and rejected the claim that unequal state funding was unconstitutional.[30] In 2004, *Leandro II* held that the state had violated its constitutional obligation to provide a sound basic education.[31] This opinion also raised the importance of teaching "at-risk students," which included racial and ethnic minorities as one subcategory, who might face additional challenges in accessing a sound basic education. During the last decade, this case has largely focused on school resources, and school segregation has not yet been linked to the inability of school districts to provide their students with a sound basic education.

Waning efforts. In 2001, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which has jurisdiction over North Carolina, issued two decisions that restricted the use of race in student assignment policies.[32] These decisions prompted districts that were never under court ordered desegregation and those that had achieved unitary status, including Charlotte-Mecklenburg and Wake County, to employ various strategies that would end race-based student assignment plans.

Between 2001 and 2004, North Carolina provided an annual $1,800 bonus to certified math, science, and special education teachers who taught in low-income or low-performing schools. However, because of the program's complexity, late start of the program during its first year, implementation problems, the small size of the financial compensation, and the short duration of the program, the program had limited potential to impact the ability of low-income or low-performing schools to retain high-quality teachers.[33] Rather than specifically striving to

[29] About GCS (2013). Retrieved from the Guilford County Schools Web site: http://www.gcsnc.com/education/school/school.php?sectionid=33758
[30] *Leandro v. State* , 346 N.C. 336 (1997)
[31] *Hoke County Board of Education v. State of North Carolina,* 358 N.C. 605 (2004)
[32] *Tuttle v. Arlington County School Board*., 195 F.3d 698 (4th Cir. 1999); *Eisenberg v. Montgomery County Public Schools*., 197 F.3d 123 (4th Cir. 1999)
[33] Clotfelter, C. T., Glennie, E. J., Ladd, H. F., & Vigdor, J. L. (2008). Teacher bonuses and teacher retention in low-performing schools: Evidence from the North Carolina $1,800 teacher bonus program. *Public Finance Review, 36*(1), 63-87.

reduce segregation, this approach attempted to improve the unequal learning opportunities for students attending low-income or low-performing schools.

In 2011, the passage of NC Senate Bill 8 lifted the cap on the establishment of charter schools, which was formerly set at 100.[34] There are currently 127 charter schools in the state, and 28 additional charter schools are scheduled to open for the 2014-2015 school year. All states were under heavy pressure from the Obama Administration to lift these ceilings in order to remain eligible for "Race to the Top" funds from Washington. Without civil rights standards, charter schools can exacerbate segregation and are likely to be more segregated than the traditional public schools in the area.[35] In North Carolina, charter schools are more racially imbalanced than traditional schools,[36] and white students are more isolated from students of color while black and Latino students are less exposed to white students in charter schools than in traditional schools.[37] Segregation of minority and white student populations within charter schools can occur for numerous reasons including sorting mechanisms, interviews, requirements for parent involvement, and disciplinary policies conducted by school personnel to selectively admit students.[38] Thus, maintaining diversity within schools may be an arduous task.

A 2013 report conducted by the UNC Center for Civil Rights revealed how segregated housing patterns within the state prevent equal access to quality schooling by making comparisons between the schools available to cluster residents—residents living in sets of adjacent census blocks in which at least 75% of residents identified as a race other than white—and the schools available to the general population.[39] The report considers three characteristics of schools—racially identifiable student enrollment, failure rates, and high-poverty student population—and finds that living in majority non-white clusters increases the likelihood that children attend a school with one or more of these characteristics.[40] In particular, 63% of the state's residents live in a location where their closest elementary school is racially identifiable. However, for cluster residents, this figure climbs to 79% and for African American cluster residents, 81%.[41] Turning to failure rates, for residents statewide, the likelihood that the closest elementary school is one in which 50% or more of the students are failing is 19%. However, for all concentrated nonwhite clusters, the percentage more than doubles to 46%.[42] Examining poverty levels in various schools yields a similar picture. Across the state, 33% of the population lives closest to an elementary school that is high poverty; however, for cluster residents, that

[34] Senate Bill 8 § S.L. 2011-164
[35] Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Wang, J. (2010). *Choice without equity: Charter school segregation and the need for civil rights standards.* Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles.
[36] Clotfelter, C.T., Ladd, H.F., & Vigdor, J.L. (Forthcoming 2015). Racial and economic imbalance in Charlotte's schools: 1994-2012. In R.A. Mickelson, S.S. Smith, and A.H. Nelson (Eds.), *Yesterday, today, and tomorrow: The past, present, and future of school (de)segregation in Charlotte* (Chapter 5). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
[37] Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Wang, J. (2010). Choice without equity: Charter school segregation and the need for civil rights standards; North Carolina fact sheet. *Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles.*
[38] Institute on Race and Poverty. (2008). *Failed promises: Assessing charter schools in the Twin Cities*. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Race and Poverty.
[39] Gilbert, P. (2013). *The state of exclusion: An empirical analysis of the legacy of segregated communities in North Carolina* (p. 3). Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Center for Civil Rights.
[40] Ibid, 37.
[41] Ibid, 22.
[42] Ibid, 24.

percentage almost doubles to 64%.[43] The numbers are especially jarring for African American and Latino students as the study highlights the percentages of residents of majority black clusters, Latino clusters, and the statewide population who attend an elementary school with each of the three characteristics: racially identifiable school (81%-74%-63%), failing school (48%-38%-19%), or high-poverty school (68%-63%-33%).[44] The report also presents county-by-county findings. When comparing all of the state's counties regarding which have the largest disparities in proximity to a high-poverty school between cluster residents and the county average, Wake ranks 19th, Mecklenburg is 22nd, and Guilford is 26th.[45] Finally, the report examines the disparity in educational outcomes between the schools nearest to clusters and the county average, for each of North Carolina's 100 counties. The findings show that Wake has one of the smallest disparities, but Mecklenburg and Guilford have large disparities, ranking 10th and 14th respectively. Overall, this data demonstrates the strong correlation between residential segregation and the quality of schooling available to students in North Carolina.

During the same time in which school desegregation efforts were waning, the state's population was becoming more diverse and multiracial. Between 2000 and 2010, of all 50 states in the nation, North Carolina had the sixth greatest growth in the Hispanic population, making it the state with the 11th largest Hispanic population in 2010.[46]

Charlotte Metropolitan Area

The Charlotte metropolitan area, home to 2,296,569 residents in 2012, is located in North Carolina's piedmont region and borders South Carolina.[47] The city of Charlotte is a major financial and banking center, second only to New York. With 775, 202 residents, the Queen City is the largest city in North Carolina.[48]

Charlotte's public schools were first organized in 1882 with separate schools for black and white students as well as separate school systems for students in Mecklenburg County and those in the city of Charlotte.[49] Since the early twentieth century, Charlotte has been a thriving city for business and industry, growing and developing to become one of the largest cities in the South but doing so along clear racial lines.[50] At the time of the *Brown* decision in 1954, of the 100 largest cities in the nation, only 13 were more residentially segregated than Charlotte.[51]

From 1954 to 1957, the Charlotte City and Mecklenburg County school boards continued assigning students to schools on the basis of race and rejected the NAACP's multiple petitions to

[43] Ibid, 26.
[44] Ibid., 37.
[45] Ibid, 27.
[46] Governor's Office of Hispanic/Latino Affairs. (2011). Demographic trends of Hispanics/Latinos in North Carolina. Retrieved from http://www.ncdhhs.gov/mhddsas/providers/DWI/hispanic-latinodemographicsreport.pdf
[47] U.S. Census Bureau. (2013). Annual estimates of the population of metropolitan and micropolitan statistical areas: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2012. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/popest/data/metro/totals/2012/
[48] U.S. Census Bureau. (2013) State and county quick facts. Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37/3712000.html
[49] CMS. (n.d.) *CMS timeline*. Retrieved from http://www.cms.k12.nc.us/mediaroom/aboutus/Pages/CMSTimeline.aspx
[50] Douglas, 51.
[51] Ibid., 55.

abolish school segregation.[52] The school boards eventually told NAACP leaders that black students who wanted to attend all-white schools should file transfer requests; hence, during the summer of 1957, 40 black students applied to the Charlotte school board for transfer to previously all-white schools.[53] The board approved five of the applications, though one student moved away, and at the start of the 1957-1958 school year, four black students enrolled at formerly all-white schools in Charlotte.[54] The school board correctly believed that by granting a few transfer requests they could control the pace and level of and school desegregation, provide the appearance of cooperation, and thus avoid unwanted judicial oversight and more extensive court-ordered desegregation.[55] This approach did little to achieve actual integration and was instead the start of a decade of token integration in Charlotte. In 1958, the Charlotte school board did not assign any additional black students to white schools, and in 1959, based on their policy of rejecting applications of black students whose homes were closer to their assigned black school than to their preferred white school, the board denied every transfer request.[56] In 1959, only one black student attended a white school in Charlotte.[57] During the same time, Mecklenburg County school board rejected every transfer request submitted by a black student who wanted to attend an all-white school.[58]

As early as 1949, the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill recommended that the Charlotte City and the Mecklenburg County school systems merge to form a single school district; the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce agreed that consolidation would be the best idea for local schools.[59] However, this merger between Charlotte City and Mecklenburg County, the two largest school systems in the state, did not occur until a decade later in 1960.[60] At the time, the reasoning behind the merger was largely based upon the city's desire to expand, which it proposed to do in 1957. The city and its citizens acknowledged that with two separate school districts, the city's proposed expansion would cut the county's tax base, which would be detrimental to students in the county schools.[61] Therefore, with the desire to support city expansion, voters decided to merge the two school systems to create Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS), one of the largest school systems in the country. One unintended consequence—unrealized until years later—was that by creating such a large, county-wide school district, white flight as a way to avoid desegregation would be limited.[62]

In 1960, the newly formed Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools approved only one transfer request by a black student to attend an all-white school.[63] In 1962, by deciding to assign students to two previously all-white elementary schools on a geographic basis, CMS became one of the first systems in the South to convert its student assignment plan, at least in part, from one based

[52] Ibid., 61-62.
[53] Ibid., 63.
[54] Ibid., 68.
[55] Ibid., 68.
[56] Ibid., 75.
[57] Ibid., 75
[58] Ibid., 75.
[59] CMS. (n.d.) *CMS timeline*. Retrieved from http://www.cms.k12.nc.us/mediaroom/aboutus/Pages/CMSTimeline.aspx
[60] Douglas, 76.
[61] Ibid., 76.
[62] Ibid., 77.
[63] Ibid., 80.

solely on race to one that also considered geography.[64] CMS also implemented a limited freedom-of-choice assignment plan that allowed 40 black, elementary-aged students the choice between a black and a white school.[65] While these actions might suggest a more progressive stance on integration, only 42 of the more than 18,000 black students in the district attended a majority-white school that year. However, it is noteworthy that this number was approximately equal to the total number of black students who had ever attended one of Charlotte's white schools.[66] Ten years after *Brown*, only 21 of CMS's 109 schools enrolled both black and white students and in 15 of those 21 schools, there were fewer than a dozen black students.[67] It is clear that, during this time, CMS embraced token integration.

In 1965, Vera and Darius Swann, with local civil rights lawyer, Julius Chambers, filed a suit against CMS for not allowing their son, James, to attend the all-white school that was closest to their home. In 1969, federal District Judge James McMillan ruled that CMS's freedom-of-choice plan was inadequate and ordered the district to submit a new plan using "all known ways of desegregating, including busing." After debating several different desegregation plans, in 1970, CMS implemented the Finger Plan, a desegregation plan developed by Dr. John A. Finger, one of the plaintiffs' experts in *Swann*. The Finger Plan desegregated all of the district's high schools by creating new attendance zones. Junior high schools were desegregated through a pairing system. For elementary schools, the plan relied on new, and sometimes noncontiguous, attendance zones, and a special pairing of suburban and urban schools.[68] When CMS began its school year in September 1970, it was the most desegregated urban school system in the country.[69]

In 1971, the Supreme Court upheld McMillan's ruling. The *Swann* case was influential across the country as it struck down race-neutral student assignment plans that produced segregation by relying on existing residential patterns of segregation and instead ruled that desegregation must be achieved to the greatest possible extent and authorized busing as an appropriate mechanism for doing so.[70] In 1974, the CMS school board adopted a four-pronged strategy for mandatory busing. The plan relied on: (1) a system for dividing the district into geographic zones to maximize racial diversity, (2) an elementary school pairing system with two-way busing in which black students from urban neighborhoods were bused to the predominantly white suburbs for kindergarten through third grade and white children from the same school were bused to the predominantly black urban schools for fourth through sixth grades, (3) satellite assignment of black students at predominantly white schools for the duration of their elementary schooling in cases where pairing was unsuccessful in achieving diverse schools, and (4) the creation of five magnet schools to draw a diverse group of students from across the district.[71] In 1975, Judge McMillan was satisfied with CMS's progress toward desegregation and removed the district from direct court supervision. With frequent review and

[64] Ibid., 80-81.
[65] Ibid., 81.
[66] Ibid., 81.
[67] Morantz, A. (1996). Desegregation at risk: Threat and reaffirmation in Charlotte. In G. Orfield, S. E. Eaton, & The Harvard Project on School Desegregation (Eds.), *Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education* (p. 180). New York: The New Press.
[68] Douglas, 173, 201.
[69] Ibid., 204.
[70] *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971).
[71] Morantz, 180-181.

appropriate adjustments, this plan was successful in maintaining racially balanced schools across the district through the early 1990s.[72] In fact, CMS was often recognized as one of the country's most successful examples of school desegregation because of the high levels of racial balance that the district achieved and early improvements in academic outcomes for both black and white students.[73] Despite a decrease in the white share of student enrollment from 71% in 1968 to 60% in 1980, during the same time, the percentage of white students in the school of the typical black student increased by 33% in Charlotte.[74]

In the mid- to late-1980s, consensus on supporting integration began to fade as a result of demographic change and instability, a perceived failure in educational quality, and a concern for equity.[75] The Reagan era was a time of continual attacks on desegregation plans from the Administration and in the federal courts which were being remade by conservative appointments. The administration saw desegregation as an unnecessary intervention that should be terminated as much as possible and posited a vision of equalizing schools by strong test-based accountability and sanctions.[76]

During the 1990s, Charlotte experienced significant growth and expansion with CMS's total enrollment increasing by more than 25% in one decade.[77] This demographic change influenced support for the mandatory assignment plan in two ways. First, middle-class white families who moved to Charlotte from other areas of the country were more accustomed to homogeneous, white school districts;[78] therefore, lacking a personal history with Charlotte's struggle for desegregation, they were less willing to accept the inconveniences required to preserve desegregation in Charlotte.[79] Second, many of the incoming white families moved into the outlying areas of the county and their physical distance from black neighborhoods made busing to maintain racial balance more difficult than it previously had been. Consequently, frequent adjustments to the student assignment plan were required and became a source of frustration for parents whose children were repeatedly reassigned to new schools.[80] There was also a concern that the district was not achieving the desired level of educational success, and many newcomers concluded that educational standards had been lowered due to the desegregated educational system.[81] Finally, there was a belief that the student assignment plan was unfair to young black students, who shouldered most of the burden of busing in the earliest grades as a result of the elementary school pairing system and satellite assignments.[82] Concurrently, at the

[72] Clotfelter, C. T. (2004). *After Brown: The rise and retreat of school desegregation* (pp. 49-55). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[73] Mickelson, R. A., Smith, S. S., & Southworth, S. (2009). Resegregation, achievement, and the chimera of choice in post-unitary Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools. In C. E. Smrekar & E. B. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 129-132). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
[74] Orfield, 28; 33.
[75] Morantz, 182.
[76] National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983). *A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education.; Amaker, N. C. (1988). *Civil rights and the Reagan administration*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press.
[77] Morantz, 183.
[78] Mickelson, Smith, & Southworth, 133.
[79] Morantz, 184.
[80] Mickelson, Smith, & Southworth, 133; Morantz, 183.
[81] Morantz, 184-186.
[82] Ibid., 186-188.

national level, President Reagan condemned busing for school integration, and there was a growing national preference for providing families with greater choice in schooling options for their children.

In 1991, amid this local and national shift, the district's new superintendent, John Murphy, proposed a voluntary desegregation plan that would phase out the mandatory assignment plan and instead rely upon a controlled-choice system that included magnet schools; the plan was unanimously adopted in 1992.[83] Murphy's plan stipulated that each magnet school was required to serve a student body that was reflective of the overall racial composition of the district, which at the time was approximately 40% black and 60% white. Three years after the switch to the magnet school plan, schools that had been converted into magnet schools remained racially balanced.[84] However, in the rest of the district, the number of racially imbalanced schools increased and the degree of racial imbalance in most of those schools also increased.[85]

In 1997, William Capacchione, the parent of a CMS student, sued the district, claiming that his daughter was denied enrollment in a magnet elementary school because she was not black and in 1998, a group of six white parents joined this suit to challenge successfully the use of race in maintaining desegregated schools in CMS.[86] U.S. District Court Judge Robert Potter, who had been appointed by Reagan, reactivated the *Swann* case, and two black families joined the *Swann* plaintiffs. CMS took a unique position in this trial. Instead of seeking to be released from court orders requiring desegregation, as most districts typically do, the majority of board members wanted to continue desegregation efforts and therefore CMS fought to remain under court order saying that the school district had not yet fulfilled the standards for full elimination of the historic dual school system and creation of a unitary integrated system set by the Supreme Court in the l968 *Green* decision.[87] Despite CMS's efforts, in 1999, Judge Potter declared that CMS had achieved unitary status, issued an injunction against the use of race in the district's student assignment plan, and mandated that a new student assignment plan be implemented. This ruling was followed by legal appeals by the school board all the way to the Supreme Court and heated community controversy over the new student assignment plan for the district.

Following the Supreme Court's 2002 refusal to review the lower court's unitary status ruling, CMS implemented the Family Choice Plan. This student assignment plan guaranteed students attendance at their neighborhood school, maximized students' stability in school assignment, allowed for choice among magnet schools, maximized schools' capacities, and provided transfer options for poor-performing or low-income students at schools with high concentrations of similar students.[88] The "choice" part of the plan came in two forms, neither of which took race into consideration. Most school board members anticipated that given the plan's primary reliance on neighborhood schools, the existence of residential segregation throughout the county, and the absence of explicit goals to address segregation, this plan would lead to considerable resegregation.[89] Therefore, in an effort to increase resources at schools where

[83] Ibid., 188-191.
[84] Ibid., 193-196.
[85] Ibid., 193-196.
[86] *Capacchione et al. v. Charlotte–Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 57 F. Supp. 2d 228 (W.D.N.C. 1999).
[87] Mickelson, Smith, & Southworth, 133-134.
[88] Ibid., 136.
[89] Ibid., 129-130.

resegregation was most likely to occur, the board also adopted the Equity Plan. According to the Equity Plan, high-poverty, low-performing schools would not only receive extra funding for renovations, learning materials, and supplies, but also be guaranteed a lower teacher-to-student ratio, salary supplements for teachers, and tuition for teachers completing advanced degrees.[90]

Theoretically, parents were allowed to opt out of high-poverty, low-performing schools and enroll their children in higher-performing schools. However, very few students actually had a choice to transfer schools, due to two factors—the paucity of seats available in high-performing schools and a lack of accessible information provided to parents. Significant growth in outlying neighborhoods meant that there were few, if any, spots available to students from central city schools who might be interested in transferring to higher-performing schools in suburban neighborhoods.[91] Further, in August 2004, just before the start of the school year, the parents of 8,200 students were notified that their children could transfer but only 8% of eligible students decided to transfer to new schools. Of these 658 students, very few students were transferred to top-performing schools because most of those schools were already full; instead, many of these 658 students transferred to other low-performing schools or schools that were only slightly higher achieving.[92] In terms of access to the better schools, the plan did not provide equal treatment for those in the segregated nonwhite neighborhoods, since the default for many of those students was a segregated concentrated poverty school while the default in many whiter neighborhoods was a middle-class school with better prepared peer groups. Consequently, the new plan did not truly provide for choice and, as predicted, led to an increase in resegregation by race and socioeconomic status, which sharply increased immediately after the plan was implemented in 2003.[93]

In the first several years after the Family Choice Plan was put in place, dissatisfaction with CMS increased, particularly among white parents.[94] Their frustration was in part due to overcrowding at schools in outlying, predominantly white middle-class neighborhoods and also stemmed from a more general decline in the community's sense of commitment to CMS as a county-wide district because of the Family Choice Plan's focus on neighborhood schools.[95] As a result, residents in Mecklenburg County's outlying areas staged several failed attempts at deconsolidating CMS and dividing it into three smaller districts.

Although several minor modifications have been made to the Family Choice Plan over the last 10 years, the guiding principles for the district's student assignment plan have remained consistent, focusing on neighborhood schools, magnet options, and stability and predictability.[96] The current guiding principles also include mention of diversity such that "the student assignment plan will reflect demographics of the feeder areas."[97] In most cases, however, the feeder areas are residentially segregated neighborhoods; therefore, this guideline has been ineffective in promoting or encouraging real diversity.

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[90] Ibid., 135-136.
[91] Ibid., 138.
[92] Ibid., 139.
[93] Ibid., 141-143
[94] Ibid., 136.
[95] Ibid., 136-137.
[96] CMS Board of Education. (n.d.) *Guiding principles for student assignment.* Retrieved from http://www.cms.k12.nc.us/boe/Pages/2010%20GuidingPrinciplesforStudentAssignment.aspx
[97] Ibid.

In addition to the concrete change in student assignment, a philosophical shift was also evident when CMS's vision statement made a noteworthy change in 2006. From the early 1990s, the district's vision statement had included an aspiration to be "the premier, urban integrated school system in the nation." However, in 2006, the district changed the vision statement, which is still in place at present, to instead be a district that "provides all students the best education available anywhere," dropping the reference to the district's commitment to integration.[98] In addition to this vision, CMS believes that its 2013 mission "to maximize academic achievement by every student in every school" can best be met through "effective school-based leadership and teaching, differentiated staffing, and equitable and differentiated allocation of resources," again affirming a focus on differentiated resource allocation rather than integration and diversity of the student body.[99] The idea of preparing students effectively to live and work in multiracial communities was replaced by the focus on test scores so pervasive in the No Child Left Behind era.

The 2007 school board election was the first since 1968 in which no black citizen sought a seat on the board. This fact could be attributable to a variety of reasons, one of which is the possibility that after the race-neutral choice plan was adopted, there could have been political demobilization of black citizens surrounding issues related to education.[100]

In 2011, CMS was awarded the Broad Prize for Urban Education and was praised by U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan as "a model for innovation in urban education" because, under the leadership of Superintendent Peter Gorman, a 2004 graduate of the Broad Superintendents Academy, the district showed the greatest academic gains among the nation's 75 largest urban school districts over the previous three years.[101] Criteria for winning the award include performance and improvement on state tests, reduction in the achievement gap between racial groups and low-income and non-low-income students, graduation rates, advanced placement exam participation and passing rates, and SAT and ACT participation rates and scores; finalists are also evaluated during a site visit in which policies and practices that affect teaching and learning are analyzed.[102] The next year, overall test scores declined across the district.[103] Despite this recognition, it is evident that CMS, which was once a national symbol for successful school desegregation, has reverted to a resegregated system following the declaration of its unitary status more than a decade ago and no longer places primary importance on integration and diversity.

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[98] Mickelson, Smith, & Southworth, 140-141.
[99] CMS Board of Education. (n.d.) *Guiding principles for student assignment.* Retrieved from http://www.cms.k12.nc.us/boe/Pages/2010%20GuidingPrinciplesforStudentAssignment.aspx; CMS Board of Education. (n.d.) *Core beliefs and commitments.* Retrieved from http://www.cms.k12.nc.us/boe/Pages/CoreBeliefs.aspx
[100] Mickelson, Smith, & Southworth, 153.
[101] Koebler, J. (2011, September 20). Charlotte-Mecklenburg School District wins prestigious Broad prize. *U.S. News and World Report*. Retrieved from http://www.usnews.com/education/high-schools/articles/2011/09/20/charlotte-mecklenburg-school-district-wins-prestigious-broad-prize
[102] The Broad Foundation (n.d.) *The Broad prize for urban education: Process and criteria.* Retrieved from http://www.broadprize.org/about/process.html
[103] Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools. (2011, July 21). *Graduation rates rise at CMS; overall test scores decline.* Retrieved from http://www.cms.k12.nc.us/News/Pages/2010-11AYPandTitleIResults.aspx

Raleigh Metropolitan Area

Raleigh, located in the piedmont region, was selected as North Carolina's state capital in 1788 and incorporated in 1792. Along with Durham and Chapel Hill, it is part of the Triangle, an area known for the Research Triangle Park—an area with many high-tech companies and enterprises—and several prominent universities. In 2012, Raleigh's metro area had an estimated population of 1,188,564 people, and the city of Raleigh was home to 423,179 North Carolinians, making it the second largest city in the state.[104]

In the 1860s, two black institutions of higher education—Shaw University, which was the South's first black college, and St. Augustine College—were founded in Raleigh. As a result, these two Historically Black Colleges and Universities drew many highly educated and talented black residents to Raleigh.[105] The city's role as the state capital also provided government employment that supported a black middle class. However, despite a successful, educated black middle class, there was still significant segregation in Raleigh.[106]

The first indication that desegregation might be underway in North Carolina occurred during the 1930s when the reading room in the state library, which was located in Raleigh, was silently desegregated.[107] Progress toward school equality in Raleigh began just slightly prior to the 1954 *Brown*[108] decision, as school facilities for black students were improved, per pupil expenditures in black and white schools were almost equalized, and in 1953, the Catholic bishop of Raleigh desegregated the city's Catholic schools.[109] Although there was no massive resistance to desegregation following the *Brown* decision, the city experienced only token school desegregation for more than a decade. During this time, attacks on Jim Crow practices were more successful outside of schools, including in places of employment and at churches, lunch counters, and other public facilities.[110] In 1960, the son of Ralph Campbell, the president of the local chapter of the NAACP, was the first black student admitted to a white public school in Raleigh.[111] In April 1960, black college students from across the South gathered at Shaw University for a conference during which the first steps were taken toward the founding of what became the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).[112] Despite this forward progress, in 1965, 10 years after the *Brown* decision, only 1% of Raleigh's black students attended schools that had previously been white.[113]

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, change began to occur in the state's capital city. In 1968, Raleigh began to integrate black and white teaching staffs and a few black students

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[104] U.S. Census Bureau. (2013). Annual estimates of the population of metropolitan and micropolitan statistical areas: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2012. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/popest/data/metro/totals/2012/; U.S. Census Bureau. (2013) State and county quick facts. Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37/3755000.html

[105] Grant, G. (2011). *Hope and despair in the American city: Why there are no bad schools in Raleigh* (p. 83). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] *Brown v. Board of Education*. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

[109] Grant, 84-85.

[110] Ibid., 86-87.

[111] Ibid., 85.

[112] Ibid., 86.

[113] Ibid., 87.

attended predominantly white schools.[114] As a result of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the threat that federal funds would be cut off to noncompliant school districts brought about the start of integration of Raleigh's public schools by 1970; however, substantial integration did not occur until after the 1971 *Swann*[115] decision that allowed for the use of busing as a tool for desegregation.[116] After more than a decade of discussion about a county-wide merger and amid strong disapproval from residents, in 1976, the largely white county school system and the predominantly black Raleigh City school system voluntarily merged to form one county-wide school district—Wake County Public School System.[117]

During the 1980s, Wake County expanded two-way busing, which relied on both white students traveling to formerly black schools and black students being bused to predominantly white schools.[118] In order to make busing more attractive, in 1982, the district converted 27 schools, most of which were located in racially isolated minority communities, into new magnet schools; the effort was successful, and all 27 magnet schools were racially diverse and filled to capacity, many with waiting lists.[119] Wake County continued to build upon its magnet school strategy for decades.

Wake County has long been heralded as an example of successful school desegregation where balanced diversity levels were consistently maintained throughout the district and student achievement was high in comparison to the rest of the state.[120] During the 1980s, the district shifted its desegregation goal from one that had attempted to have every school, including magnets, reflect the racial balance of the district to one in which every school's enrollment of black students would be within 15 percent above or below the district's overall share of black students.[121]

However, in 2000, just after a federal district court ruled against race-based student assignment in Charlotte-Mecklenburg[122] and the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals struck down the use of race in two other student assignment cases in Virginia[123] and Maryland[124], Wake County shifted from a race-based student assignment policy to a policy based on poverty and test scores and dropped the explicit goal of racial balance among the schools.[125] Wake County was the first metropolitan school district to move away from measuring a school's diversity by considering racial balance and instead focusing on economic balance and balance in test scores.[126] This was not necessarily a rejection of the goal of racial integration but a change in the technique used to pursue it in the face of the actions of a hostile U.S. Court of Appeals. Since

[114] Ibid., 96.
[115] *Swann v Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education,* 402 U.S. 1 (1970).
[116] Grant, 87-96.
[117] Flinspach, S. L., & Banks, K. E. (2005). Socioeconomic diversity as a race-neutral approach to desegregation in the Wake County Schools. In J. C. Boger & G. Orfield (Eds.), *School resegregation: Must the South turn back?* (p. 264). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
[118] Ibid., 97-99.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid; Silberman, T. (2002).
[121] Flinspach & Banks, 266-267.
[122] *Capacchione v. Charlotte–Mecklenburg Board of Education,* 57 F. Supp. 2d 228 (W.D.N.C. 1999).
[123] *Tuttle v. Arlington County School Board*., 195 F.3D 698 (4TH Cir. 1999).
[124] *Eisenberg v. Montgomery County Public Schools*, 197 F.3d 123 (4th Cir. 1999).
[125] Flinspach & Banks, 269-270.
[126] Silberman, 105.

that time, racial diversity in the district's schools has decreased such that by 2006, approximately two out of five schools in the district would not have been in compliance had the district continued to pursue its previous goals for racial diversity.[127] The decrease in racial balance could be, in part, due to the removal of race as an explicit criterion for student assignment. It could also be partially attributed to the rapid population growth of the district, particularly the western part of the district, which doubled in size during the 1990s.[128] In spite of the decrease, the economic-based strategy preserved more racial integration than was present in many other large U.S. metro areas.

Alongside Wake County's success in preserving racial integration, the district has also been academically successful, with some, including Gerald Grant, stating that "there are no bad schools in Raleigh."[129] With impressive test scores, Wake County reduced the gaps in educational achievement between rich and poor students and between black and white students.[130] Grant argues that this success can be attributed to three main factors. First, by merging the city and suburban schools in 1976, Wake County was able to find the right balance of racial and economic assets in each of the district's schools.[131] Second, in creating a critical mass of magnet schools, teachers, parents, and students had an opportunity for choice.[132] Third, even prior to No Child Left Behind, Wake County set a goal for 95 percent of its students to pass the state tests and saw success on tests as a means to reform rather than the goal of reform, driving reform in the district's curriculum and instruction.[133]

Debate about the district's student assignment plan and the value of diversity continues into the present. Over the last decade, the goals of the Wake County school board have been divided with some school board members adamant about pursuing the goal of diversity, backed by many of the county's business leaders who believe diverse schools produce a more effective workforce for their businesses and a thriving economy for the community, and others who are insistent that the district return to the policies of neighborhood schools and expand choice options across the district. In 2010, a heated controversy arose over switching from the diversity-focused student assignment plan to neighborhood schools. With the school board voting to end Wake County's diversity policy, the district's Superintendent Del Burns, who was unable to support such a decision, resigned in 2010.[134] The NAACP, along with NC HEAT (Heroes Emerging Among Teens) and an individual African American student, filed a civil rights

[127] Siegel-Hawley, G. (2011). Is class working? Socioeconomic student assignment plans in Wake County, North Carolina, and Cambridge, Massachusetts. In E. Frankenberg & E. DeBray (Eds.), *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multiracial generation* (p. 215). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
[128] Silberman, 141-166.
[129] Grant, 92.
[130] Ibid., 92.
[131] Ibid., 120.
[132] Ibid., 121.
[133] Ibid., 122-123.
[134] Keung Hui, T., & Goldsmith, T. (2010, February 17). Citing conscience, Wake Schools chief resigns. *News and Observer.* Retrieved from http://www.newsobserver.com/2010/02/17/342924/citing-conscience-schools-chief.html

complaint with the Office of the U.S. Department of Education, asserting that the plan would increase racial segregation.[135]

Following several years of contentious debate, the district adopted a controlled choice plan that disregarded diversity and instead provided families with a list of multiple schools from which they could choose to send their children beginning in the 2012-2013 school year.[136] Tension continued to surround the student assignment controversy, and in 2012, Wake County's Superintendent Tony Tata, who supported a return to neighborhood schools while the majority of school board members did not, was fired.[137] The disagreement over a student assignment plan continues and another change is underway for the 2013-2014 school year—the element of choice was eliminated from this year's plan and instead a student's home address corresponds to his/her school assignment.[138]

Greensboro Metropolitan Area

Greensboro and High Point are located in the north-central region of North Carolina and are two of the three primary cities that comprise the Piedmont Triad. In addition to holding a prominent place in the history of the American civil rights movement, the area is recognized as an educational and cultural region. As of 2012, the Greensboro-High Point metro had an estimated population of 736,065.[139] The city of Greensboro was home to 277,080 residents and High Point had a population of 106,586.[140]

The Guilford County public school system has a long and storied history, which includes numerous firsts. It has been noted that as early as 1875, the city of Greensboro established Lindsey Street School, the state's first permanent public grade school, where education and skill sets were divided into various grades.[141] Guilford County is also noted as having the first brick school in the state built for African American students.[142] By 1887, there were a total of 98 schools, 75 of which served white students and 23 for black students. Post-World War I, there were 123 communities with schools, 88 serving white students and 35 serving black students.[143] The conventional racial binary within the school district, which began in the late nineteenth

[135] McCrummen, S. (2011, January 12). Republican school board in N.C. backed by Tea Party abolishes integration policy. *The Washington Post.* Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/11/AR2011011107063.html?tid=wp_featuredstories&sid=ST2011011202619
[136] Goldsmith, T., & Keung Hui, T. (2011, October 19). Wake board oks school choice plan. *News and Observer*. Retrieved from http://www.newsobserver.com/2011/10/19/1578413/wake-board-oks-school-choice-plan.html
[137] Goldsmith, T., & Keung Hui, T. (2012, September 25). Wake School Board fires Superintendent Tata. *News and Observer*. Retrieved from http://www.newsobserver.com/2012/09/25/2368798/wake-school-board-will-vote-today.html
[138] Keung Hui, T. (2012, December 11). Wake School Board approves 2013-2014 assignment plan. *News and Observer*. Retrieved from http://www.newsobserver.com/2012/12/11/2539222/wake-school-board-approves-2013.html
[139] U.S. Census Bureau. (2013). Annual estimates of the population of metropolitan and micropolitan statistical areas: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2012. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/popest/data/metro/totals/2012/
[140] U.S. Census Bureau. (2013). State and county quick facts. Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37/3728000.html; U.S. Census Bureau. (2013) State and county quick facts. Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37/3731400.html
[141] Education in Guilford County. (2013). Retrieved from Guilford County Schools Web site: http://www.gcsnc.com/education/components/scrapbook/default.php?sectiondetailid=369454&
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.

century, persisted long after the *Brown* decision, and despite numerous gains toward integration, the resegregation of the district's schools seems inevitable.

Present-day Guilford County Schools was formerly three separate school systems—Guilford County, High Point City, and Greensboro City. Immediately following the *Brown* case, all three school boards implemented the strategy of "token" integration, the familiar North Carolinian response to the federal mandate to integrate schools.

Guilford County Schools prior to consolidation. In response to the *Brown* case, the Guilford County school board developed a committee to investigate solutions to the desegregation "dilemma." In the late 1950s, state legislation, such as the Pupil Assignment Act and the Pearsall Plan, empowered local school boards with the authority to determine student placement in schools. As was true in many districts, the onus of applying for admittance into integrated schools was placed on the parents of students, and black parents, in particular, found this task to be a burdensome and difficult process. In Guilford County, African American parents of four students sought admittance for their children to an all-white school, but they were required to prove the children were of Indian (Native American) ancestry to be admitted to the desired school.[144] African American parents were conflicted about whether to support the dual system; some campaigned for renovated black schools and others urged having their children attend integrated schools.[145]

Placating local residents would not be the only task of the school board, as officials of the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) would eventually determine if the integration plans were sufficient. The district's first plan recommended that first graders and transfer students would be allowed to have freedom of choice regarding which school they would attend.[146] The second plan extended the freedom of choice to cover grades 1, 9th, 10th, and 12th in addition to specifying that all school facilities, extracurricular activities, and transportation would be available to students irrespective of their race.[147] In 1966, HEW required Guilford County to provide freedom of choice to students in all grades, provide evidence of black student enrollment for each grade, and grant all transfer requests to desegregated schools.[148] Despite the fact that Guilford County's voluntary compliance plan was approved by the federal government, minimal change was evident a decade after the *Brown* decision as only 1% of black students attended desegregated schools.[149] By the late 1960s, the federal Office for Civil Rights was requiring much more far-reaching plans. Ultimately, Guilford County implemented a pairing plan to reach full compliance status and avoid federal oversight. The plan stated that students, regardless of race, would attend one school from kindergarten to second grade and another school from third to sixth grade. HEW agreed that the plan was adequate and by 1970 the Guilford County school system was in full compliance with desegregation laws; 16 years had passed before the school system made the necessary changes to integrate schools. High Point and Greensboro City Schools took similar paths on their road to integration.

[144] Batchelor, J. (1991). The Guilford County Schools: A history *(pp. 125-126).* Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair.
[145] Ibid., 143-144.
[146] Ibid., 144.
[147] Ibid., 145.
[148] Ibid., 146.
[149] Ibid., 147.

High Point City Schools prior to consolidation. Immediately following the *Brown* decision, African American parents in the city of High Point saw this as an opportune time to voice their concerns about the schooling inequities between black and white schools. Black parents expressed a particular need for black schools that were closer in proximity to their homes, a black junior high school, and course offerings similar to those offered in the predominantly white schools, leaving the black schools fully segregated.[150] In accordance with the Pearsall Plan, the school board of High Point followed a policy of student assignment on an individual basis, gradually integrating black students into the all-white schools. On August 27, 1959, sisters Miriam and Brenda Fountain became the first black students to enroll in formerly all-white schools in High Point.[151] The school board was intentional in choosing the Fountain sisters, who previously attended integrated schools in Manhattan.[152] Despite initial integration efforts, the school board's strategy was to place a minimal number of black students in all-white schools. Consequently, by the 1960-1961 academic year, there were a total of seven black students in three white schools.[153]

Token integration, disguised as the Freedom of Choice plan, began to concern black parents who were requesting reassignment for their children but were often denied by the board. The overwhelming denial of reassignment requests resulted in the 1964 court case *Gilmore et al. v. High Point City Board of Education.* The plaintiffs argued that black students were denied admission to white schools based on their race. Furthermore, the plaintiffs noted that they lived closer to predominantly white schools than their assigned black school, and therefore the school board was moving toward a unitary non-racial system.[154] Under pressure from HEW, in addition to seeking compliance under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, the High Point school board approved an integration policy to assign students to elementary schools based on geography.[155] The new policy culminated with the closing of the historic all-black high school William Penn, and the opening of a new school—Andrews. [156] By the end of the 1960s, the *Gilmore* case was reopened due to the plaintiffs' argument that the student assignment plan preserved the segregated school system; although there were 486 black students by 1967-1968, only 25 black students were attending desegregated schools in 1963-1964, which was held up as an example of token integration.[157] To address the slow rate of integration, the board implemented a racial proportional representation student assignment policy. In 1969, the board decided that "no school shall have a percentage of its student body made up of black students which exceeds 15% above the percentage of black students in the total number of High Point City Schools."[158] Additionally, teachers were assigned to schools on a 30-70 basis, 30% black and 70 % white.[159] By 1970 the desegregation of students and faculties at both elementary and junior high schools was nearly complete.[160]

[150] Pierce, M (1993). History of High Point Public Schools 1897-1993. High Point Public Schools.
[151] Ibid., 102.
[152] Ibid., 102.
[153] Ibid., 103
[154] Ibid., 105
[155] Ibid., 106.
[156] Ibid., 107.
[157] Ibid., 109.
[158] Ibid., 111.
[159] Ibid., 110.
[160] Ibid., 112.

Greensboro City Schools prior to consolidation. One day following the historic *Brown* decision, Greensboro became the first city in the South to publicly announce its adherence to the ruling by declaring the integration of its public schools.[161] However, what initially appeared as a Southern city moving toward progressive changes in education proved to be a ploy to implement token segregation. Despite taking numerous first steps toward an integrated school system, from 1955 to 1967 Greensboro utilized freedom of choice plans and other tactics to avoid actual desegregation. With the public announcement supporting integration and the appointment of Dr. David Jones, an African American, to the school board, the reversal of the dual schooling system looked promising.[162] On Sept. 3, 1957, Harold Davis, Brenda Florence, Jimmy Florence, Daniel Herring, and Elijah Herring, Jr. became the first African American students in Greensboro to integrate a white school by attending the orientation at Gillespie Park Elementary School. That same year, Josephine Boyd integrated Greensboro Senior High School.[163]

However, the school board's compliance with the Pearsall Plan created an impediment for African American parents who sought to have their children admitted to predominantly white schools on an individual basis. By 1959, Greensboro had the same number of black students in integrated courses that were previously in place three years prior, causing concern for black parents.[164] The response to the 1960 *McCoy v. Greensboro City Board of Education* case exemplifies this cause for concern.[165] On the grounds that the all-white Caldwell School was closer to his residence and had better facilities than the predominantly black Pearson Street School, the plaintiff filed a complaint and requested that his children attend Caldwell.[166] In response to the suit, the school board merged Pearson Street with Caldwell and assigned all the students, both black and white, to Caldwell. To appease parents who opposed the recent changes, the board approved the reassignment of 245 white children from Caldwell to Gillespie Park, which still had a majority white student population.[167] In addition, the board granted all of Caldwell's white teachers' requests to be reassigned. Ultimately, the formerly predominantly white Caldwell School was comprised of majority black students and a black staff by 1959-1960.[168]

By the early 1960s, the ability of local school boards to manipulate desegregation began to wane. After the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the threat of local school boards losing federal funds prompted a gradual compliance toward full enforcement of integration. In addition, HEW officials visited Greensboro and noted insufficient staff desegregation, unequal course offerings, and the perpetuation of racially identifiable schools, providing justification to require broader plans for integration.[169] One challenge, typical of many Southern schools, was to find ways to increase white enrollment of formerly black schools. Despite being the first Southern city to publicly announce its cooperation with the *Brown* decision, Greensboro was one of the last cities

[161] Chafe, W. H. (1980). *Civilities and civil rights*: *Greensboro, North Carolina and the black struggle for freedom* (p. 6). New York: Oxford University Press.
[162] Ibid., 43.
[163] Hawkins & McDowell.
[164] Ibid.
[165] *McCoy vs. Greensboro City Board of Education* 283 F. 2d 667 (1960).
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Chafe, 169, 166.

to fully integrate its public schools.[170] In the early 1970s, following *Swann*, Greensboro was placed under a new assignment plan that utilized busing to eliminate the last of the segregated schools.[171] Throughout the 1970s, local citizens' frustration with implementation of the busing strategy exacerbated racial tension within the city, and many began to question whether the effects of what they viewed as forced integration of African American students was positive or negative.[172] In 1980, a school attended by a typical black student in Greensboro was 60.1% white, an increase of 18.6% from ten years earlier.[173]

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as an alternative to mandatory student transfers, school choice options, including magnet schools, day schools, and academies, increased educational choice options for parents.[174] The gradual shift toward increasing school choice options, particularly in the South, was primarily a result of parental demand for more choices and courts not looking as favorably upon desegregation.[175] In Guilford County prior to consolidation, parents had a choice of sending their children to a specialized high school that focused on advanced science and math.[176] Similarly, in Greensboro City, students had the option to take advanced placement courses at particular schools, such as Weaver, provided they had their own transportation. Additionally, a growing number of day schools and prep academies offered alternative schools to wealthy white parents who were opposed to school busing and segregation.[177] James Benson Dudley High School first adopted the academy concept in Greensboro in the late 1980s with the establishment of a Mathematics, Science, and Technology Academy.[178] In the years to follow, Guilford County implemented the International Baccalaureate program in various schools as another form of school choice options intended to aid in efforts to integrate schools.

Merger into consolidated Guilford County Schools. By 1982, debates began about the merger of the three neighboring schools systems of Guilford County, High Point City, and Greensboro City.[179] At the time of the discussions, the three systems' white-black pupil ratios stood at 82:18 for Guilford County, 54:46 for High Point City, and 50:50 for Greensboro City, with a declining white enrollment trend in both of the city systems.[180] As the merger seemed to be a viable option to facilitate integration, busing continued as the prominent school assignment policy to maintain racial diversity in both the High Point and Greensboro City school systems

[170] Hawkins & McDowell.
[171] "N.C. May Lead South in Integration, *News and Observer*, August 19, 1971.
[172] Hawkins & McDowell.
[173] Orfield, 41.
[174] Jones-Sanpei, H. (2006). *School choice, segregation, and academic outcomes: Educational trajectories under a controlled choice student assignment policy*, p. 3. (Doctoral Dissertation). University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
[175] Ibid., 35-36.
[176] Batchelor, *254.*
[177] Re-segregation of public Schools a by-product of budget cuts. (2010) Retrieved from: http://suite101.com/article/re-segregation-of-public-schools-a-by-product-of-budget-cuts-a236720
[178] The early college academies of education, engineering and health sciences at James B. Dudley High School. Retrieved from the Guilford County Schools Web site: http://www.gcsnc.com/education/staff/staff.php?sectiondetailid=137076
[179]Education in Guilford County. (2013).
[180] Batchelor, 218.

but not in the county school system.[181] By 1991, Guilford County voters approved the school system merger, which officially took effect in 1993.[182]

In a 2005 study conducted by Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor, it was noted that schools and classrooms in all four grades (first, fourth, seventh, and tenth) that they studied in each of the large school districts in North Carolina became more segregated between 1994 and 2000, following the Supreme Court's 1991 decision permitting the termination of desegregation plans, with Guilford County incurring the highest overall segregation levels.[183] The authors of the study noted that in Guilford County, school and classroom level segregation exceeded the state's average.[184] Moreover, the typical white student during this period at all grade levels in Guilford County sat in a classroom where fewer than a third of the pupils were non-white.[185] One primary explanation offered by the authors for these exceedingly high levels of segregation was that when the three independent and diverse districts merged, they did so without making any significant changes to their school assignment policies.[186] Additionally, the authors asserted that changing racial attitudes, relaxed judicial oversight, and Hispanic immigration were directly related to increased segregation as well.[187]

By 1998, Guilford County district officials and families were experiencing difficulty with the creation of racially balanced and neighborhood-focused schools.[188] In 1999, Guilford County Schools implemented a new redistricting policy based on redrawn attendance maps.[189] With calls to end large-scale busing in the system, in the wake of the Supreme Court's decisions dismantling existing court orders, emphasis was placed on improving neighborhood schools.[190] Within the district, race was deemphasized in student assignment plans concurrently with a push to increase the number of magnet schools and school choice options.

Recently, Guilford County Schools has been recognized as a national leader in providing specialized schools and instructional programs, offering varied magnet-themed schools.[191] Some argue that the proliferation of magnet schools assists in resegregation because these programs advance racial segregation in education through individual, institutional, and structural discrimination.[192] If magnet schools adopt civil rights standards and diversity goals, such as basing enrollment on strong student and family interest rather than tests and screening, they can be used as a tool for integration; however, if magnets lack the diversity goals and provisions such as free transportation, they can instead further stratify the district, leading to the resegregation of

[181] Jones-Sanpei, 49.
[182] Education in Guilford County. (2013).
[183] Clotfelter, C. T., Ladd, H. F., & Vigdor, J. (2005). Classroom-level segregation and resegregation in North Carolina. *School resegregation: Must the South turn back*? 76-77.
[184] Ibid., 78.
[185]Ibid., 78.
[186] Ibid., 80.
[187] Ibid., 79-81.
[188] Education Guilford County, (2013).
[189] Green, J.
[190] Blackford, L. (1997). Get back! The resegregation of American schools. *The Journal of the Southern Regional Council, 19*(2).
[191] *Magnet schools (1993).* Retrieved from the Guilford County Schools Web site: http://www.gcsnc.com/education/school/school.php?sectionid=36281&
[192] Taggart, A., & Shoho, A. R. (2013). Attracting diverse students to a magnet school risking aspirations or swallowing one's beliefs. *Journal of Cases in Educational Leadership, 16*(2), 20-32.

schools. It is not yet clear whether Guilford County's adherence to local attendance zones coupled with numerous school choice options will result in the diversification of schools or lead to resegregated schools.

In 2006, Guilford County Schools implemented Mission Possible, an incentive plan to recruit and retain highly qualified administrators and teachers in certain subject areas and grade levels at schools with the most critical needs as determined by socioeconomic status of the student body, test scores, and teacher turnover rates.[193] Rather than directly targeting segregation, this approach attempts to improve the learning opportunities of students in unequal schools.

Pitt County

Though not a central focus of the data analysis for the current report, Pitt County, in the eastern part of North Carolina and home to Greenville, merits mention as it is currently the subject of a federal court case focusing on school segregation—*Everett v. Pitt County Board of Education*. Argued in July 2013, the case questions whether a 2011 Pitt County Schools student assignment plan resegregated schools or whether the district has achieved unitary status and can be released from further federal oversight that has been ongoing since the 1960s.[194] In September 2013, Senior U.S. District Court Judge Malcolm Howard ruled that the school board had, in good faith, complied with desegregation orders and granted the school district unitary status.[195] Even though there was no court ruling, the judge ruled that the district had attained unitary status as early as 1986 and therefore the board had no duty to address any subsequent segregation or take race into account in any of its policies or practices. Thus, the current segregation—even that directly caused by the student assignment plan adopted by the board in 2011 that increased segregation—was discounted by the court's retroactive unitary status determination. The case is now being appealed to the Fourth Circuit. More than 100 districts across the South and about a dozen in North Carolina are still under court supervision, but this case is the first major case in North Carolina since 1999.

Pitt County also merits discussion because it is an example of a more rural area in North Carolina. This report focuses on the major metropolitan areas of the state, but it is important to acknowledge that rural areas across the state are also facing similar issues with increasing segregation.[196] Rural areas might also face additional challenges alongside segregation, such as declining enrollment or low-density residential housing. Although rural areas are not a central focus of the current report, they merit attention and future research.

Summary

In adopting the 1955 Pupil Assignment Act and the 1956 Pearsall Plan, the state of North Carolina's early response to school desegregation relied upon a subtle strategy, "the North

[193] Guilford County Schools (2008). *Mission Possible overview*. Retrieved from http://www1.gcsnc.com/depts/mission_possible/background.htm
[194] Ayers, K. (2013, July 23). Case judges district's equality. *The Daily Reflector*. Retrieved from http://www.reflector.com/news/case-judges-district146s-equality-2118253
[195] Ayers, K. (2013, September 25). Pitt schools achieve unitary status. *The Daily Reflector*. Retrieved from http://www.reflector.com/news/pitt-schools-achieve-unitary-status-2172713
[196] Dorosin, M., Haddix, E., Jones, B. N., & Trice, C. L. (2011). *"Unless our children begin to learn together…" The state of education in Halifax County.* Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Center for Civil Rights.

Carolina way," to delay integration by allowing districts across the state to implement limited, token forms of desegregation for a decade following *Brown.* Many districts across the state adopted freedom-of-choice plans that placed the burden for desegregation on individual black families rather than providing a comprehensive strategy to be implemented at the district level. School board members from Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem met together and agreed to accept the first transfer requests of black students petitioning to attend formerly all-white schools for the 1957-1958 school year, making these three districts the first in the state to do so. The first black students were allowed reassignment to formerly all-white schools in High Point in 1959 and Raleigh followed suit in 1960. By relying on individual requests to transfer, school districts across the state were able to control the speed and level of desegregation, ensuring that it occurred in a token form and also providing the appearance of adherence to desegregation.

With the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the threat of losing federal funding if districts were found to be in noncompliance, the issuance of federal guidelines, and the active prosecution of more than 100 non-complying Southern districts, desegregation truly began in North Carolina. All of the state's school systems were required to submit desegregation plans to the federal government.

An important part of this history is the unique state-level policy to incentivize the consolidation of smaller school districts into singular, county-wide school districts. For decades the state government has favored and incentivized the merger of school districts within counties to create systems that often serve all or much of a metropolitan area. This effort was pursued as a way to achieve efficiency and educational progress but it also had the effect of making possible desegregation plans that incorporated entire metropolitan communities rather than only the central cities where trying to integrate a district with few white or middle-class students could be an exercise in futility. In one of the earliest mergers, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools became one of the largest school districts in the country when it consolidated in 1960. Wake County Schools formed in 1976 and Guilford County merged in 1993. There are 15 city districts in the state that have not yet merged with the 11 counties in which they are located to form a consolidated county-wide district. This organizational structure ensured that, in many cases, county-wide districts were more diverse than they would have been if there had been separate city and county districts, making desegregation efforts more feasible. It also meant that when desegregation efforts were underway, it was more difficult for white families to flee the desegregating schools to attend other nearby schools because all public schools were part of the same district and all were participating in desegregation.

Following the 1971 *Swann* decision, many districts across the state began mandatory busing, using a variety of approaches that included two-way busing, school pairings, and satellite assignments. Although busing was controversial and desegregation continued to face opposition across the state, during this period, many of the state's school districts were successfully desegregated.

In the 1980s and 1990s, busing began to give way to a focus on controlled choice and the use of magnet schools as a tool for desegregation. In 1982, Wake County opened 27 magnet schools. A decade later, Charlotte-Mecklenburg's 1992 Murphy Plan incorporated magnet schools to attract diverse student populations. In 1999, Guilford County's plan incorporated a return to neighborhood schools that also emphasized school choice. Magnet schools, which included diversity goals and provided transportation so as not to limit access to any students,

were used as a way to voluntarily encourage school desegregation and were often attractive options for both black and white families.

Even as Supreme Court decisions and enforcement of the Civil Rights Act drove desegregation in the state, the Supreme Court's decisions from 1991 to 2007 led to the dissolution of plans.[197] Most recently, districts across North Carolina have dropped the pursuit of diversity in schools and have instead returned to neighborhood schools. In 2002, Charlotte's Family Choice Plan focused on neighborhood schools, and in 2010, Wake County dropped its socioeconomic-based diversity plan and the district now assigns students to neighborhood schools as well.

North Carolina was once recognized as a leader in successful school desegregation. Just one day following the *Brown* decision, Greensboro was the first city in the South to announce publicly its adherence to the new mandate. Charlotte was catapulted to the national stage as all eyes watched the district successfully desegregate its schools following the landmark 1971 *Swann* decision. In response to legal decisions limiting the use of race in student assignment policies, in 2000, Wake County became the first metropolitan district in the country to try to achieve diversity through a focus on socioeconomic status, and the district's long-standing commitment to diversity in student assignment policies has been admired across the country. However, in the last decade, North Carolina and its school districts have done little to proactively maintain diverse and desegregated schools. Although this shift has not been universally accepted, as evidenced by heated controversy in districts and communities across the state, many districts across the state have returned to focusing on neighborhood schools.

As the data in the remainder of this report will demonstrate, these shifts in student assignment plans and strategies for achieving diverse schools (or lack of strategies for doing so) correspond to increases in segregation levels across the state and in major metropolitan areas. North Carolina, a state that has long prided itself on its educational success, no longer lays claim to successfully desegregated schooling. The state is becoming increasingly diverse and multiracial; however, schools across the state are becoming less diverse and students are becoming more racially isolated. As we will discuss in the following section, this trend toward increasing segregation by race and class has a variety of negative effects on students of all races as well as the communities in which they live. Ultimately, it will also impact the future of the Tar Heel state.

Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says[198]

The consensus of nearly 60 years of social science research on the harms of school segregation is clear: separate remains extremely unequal. Racially and socioeconomically isolated schools are strongly related to an array of factors that limit educational opportunities and

[197] Orfield, G., Eaton, S. E., & The Harvard Project on School Desegregation (Eds.), *Dismantling desegregation: The Quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education*. New York: The New Press; *Board of Education of Oklahoma v. Dowell,* 498 U.S. 237 (1991); *Freeman v. Pitts,* 503 U.S. 467 (1992); *Missouri v. Jenkins*, 115 S. Ct. 2038 (1995); *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 551 U.S. 701 (2007).

[198] This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus … separation? Deepening double segregation for more students.* Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project. Available at: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students

outcomes. These factors include less experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less successful peer groups, and inadequate facilities and learning materials.

Teachers are the most powerful influence on academic achievement in schools.[199] One recent longitudinal study showed that having a strong teacher in elementary grades had a long-lasting, positive impact on students' lives, including reduced teenage pregnancy rates, higher levels of college-going, and higher job earnings.[200] Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified[201] and experienced[202] teachers are spread very unevenly across schools, and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.[203] Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools of concentrated poverty.[204]

Findings showing that the motivation and engagement of classmates are strongly linked to educational outcomes for poor students date back to the famous 1966 Coleman Report. The central conclusion of that report (as well as numerous follow-up analyses) was that the concentration of poverty in a school influenced student achievement more than the poverty status of an individual student. [205] This finding is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance, and college-going are normalized by peers.[206] Attitudinal differences toward schooling among low- and middle-to-high income students stem from a variety of internal and external factors, including the difficulty level and relevance of the learning materials that are provided to students in different school settings. Schools serving low-income and segregated neighborhoods have been shown to provide less

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[199] Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement. *Econometric*a, *73*(2), 417-58.

[200] Chetty, R., Friedman, J. N., & Rockoff, J. E. (2011). The long-term impacts of teachers: Teacher value-added and student outcomes in adulthood (NBER Working Paper # 17699). Retrieved from: http:// obs.rc.fas.harvard.edu/chetty/value_added.pdf

[201] Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2005). Who teaches whom? Race and the distribution of novice teachers. *Economics of Education Review, 24*(4), 377-392; Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, (2005).

[202] See, for example, Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2002). Teacher sorting and the plight of urban schools: A descriptive analysis. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 24*(1), 37-62; Watson, S. (2001), *Recruiting and retaining teachers: Keys to improving the Philadelphia public schools.* Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education. In addition, one research study found that in California schools, the share of unqualified teachers is 6.75 times higher in high-minority schools (more than 90% minority) than in low-minority schools (less than 30% minority). See Darling-Hammond, L. (2001). Apartheid in American education: How opportunity is rationed to children of color in the United States, In T. Johnson, J. E. Boyden, & W. J. Pittz (Eds.), *Racial profiling and punishment in U.S. public schools* (pp. 39-44). Oakland, CA: Applied Research Center.

[203] Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2010). Teacher mobility, school segregation, and pay-based policies to level the playing field. *Education, Finance, and Policy, 6*(3), 399-438; Jackson, K. (2009). Student demographics, teacher sorting, and teacher quality: Evidence from the end of school desegregation. *Journal of Labor Economics, 27*(2), 213-256.

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

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

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

challenging curricula than schools in more affluent communities that largely serve populations of white and Asian students.[207] The impact of the standards and accountability era has been felt more acutely in minority-segregated schools where a focus on rote skills and memorization, in many instances, takes the place of creative, engaging teaching.[208] By contrast, students in middle-class schools normally have little trouble with high-stakes exams, so the schools and teachers are free to broaden the curriculum. Segregated school settings are also significantly less likely than more affluent settings to offer AP- or honors-level courses that help boost student GPAs and garner early college credits.[209]

All these things taken together tend to produce lower educational achievement and attainment—which in turn limits lifetime opportunities—for students who attend high poverty, high minority school settings.[210] Additional findings on expulsion rates, dropout rates, success in college, test scores, and graduation rates underscore the negative impact of segregation. Student discipline is harsher and the rate of expulsion is much higher in minority-segregated schools than in wealthier, whiter ones.[211] Dropout rates are significantly higher in segregated and impoverished schools (nearly all of the 2,000 "dropout factories" are doubly segregated by race and poverty),[212] and if students do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be

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

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

[209] Orfield, G., & Eaton, S. E. (1996). *Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education*. New York: The New Press; Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project.

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

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

[212] Balfanz, R., & Legters, N. E. (2004). Locating the dropout crisis: Which high schools produce the nation's dropouts? In G. Orfield (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 57-84). Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2004; Swanson, C. (2004). Sketching a portrait of public high school graduation: Who graduates? Who doesn't? In G. Orfield, (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 13-40). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.[213] Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students' success in school and later life.[214]

On the other hand, there is also a mounting body of evidence indicating that desegregated schools are linked to profound benefits for all children. In terms of social outcomes, racially integrated educational contexts provide students of all races with the opportunity to learn and work with children from a range of backgrounds. These settings foster critical thinking skills that are increasingly important in our multiracial society—skills that help students understand a variety of different perspectives.[215] Relatedly, integrated schools are linked to reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes.[216] Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.[217]

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students,[218] with no corresponding detrimental impact for white students.[219] These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations,[220] and high levels of civic and communal responsibility.[221] Black students who attended desegregated

[213] Camburn, E. (1990). College completion among students from high schools located in large metropolitan areas. *American Journal of Education, 98*(4), 551-569.
[214] Wells, A. S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research, 64*, 531-555; Braddock, J. H., & McPartland, J. (1989). Social-psychological processes that perpetuate racial segregation: The relationship between school and employment segregation. *Journal of Black Studies, 19*(3), 267-289.
[215] Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing.
[216] Mickelson, R.A., & Nkomo, M. (2012). Integrated schooling, life-course outcomes, and social cohesion in multiethnic democratic societies. *Review of Research in Education, 36*, 197-238; Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783; Ready, D., & Silander, M. (2011). School racial and ethnic composition and young children's cognitive development: Isolating family, neighborhood and school influences. In E. Frankenberg & E. DeBray (Eds.), *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multiracial generation* (pp. 91-113). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
[217] Killen, M., Crystal, D., & Ruck, M (2007). The social developmental benefits of intergroup contact among children and adolescents. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
[218] Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press; Crain, R., & Mahard, R. (1983). The effect of research methodology on desegregation-achievement studies: A meta-analysis. *American Journal of Sociology, 88*(5), 839-854; Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing.
[219] Hoschild, J., & Scrovronick, N. (2004). *The American dream and the public schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[220] Crain, R. L. (1970). School integration and occupational achievement of Negroes. *American Journal of Sociology, 75*, 593-606; Dawkins, M. P. (1983). Black students' occupational expectations: A national study of the impact of school desegregation. *Urban Education, 18*, 98-113; Kurlaender, M., & Yun, J. (2005). Fifty years after *Brown*: New evidence of the impact of school racial composition on student outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research, and Practice, 6*(1), 51-78.
[221] Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

schools are substantially more likely to graduate from high school and college, in part because they are more connected to challenging curriculum and social networks that support such goals.[222] Earnings and physical well-being are also positively impacted: a recent study by a Berkeley economist found that black students who attended desegregated schools for at least five years earned 25% more than their counterparts in segregated settings. By middle age, the same group was also in far better health.[223] Perhaps most important of all, evidence indicates that school desegregation can have perpetuating effects across generations. Students of all races who attended integrated schools are more likely to seek out integrated colleges, workplaces, and neighborhoods later in life, which may in turn provide integrated educational opportunities for their own children.[224]

In the aftermath of *Brown*, we learned a great deal about how to structure diverse schools to make them work for students of all races. In 1954, a prominent Harvard social psychologist, Gordon Allport, suggested that four key elements are necessary for positive contact across different groups.[225] Allport theorized that all group members needed to be given equal status, that guidelines needed to be established for working cooperatively, that group members needed to work toward common goals, and that strong leadership visibly supportive of intergroup relationship building was necessary. Over the past 60-odd years, Allport's conditions have held up in hundreds of studies of diverse institutions across the world.[226] In schools those crucial elements can play out in multiple ways, including efforts to detrack students and integrate them at the classroom level, ensuring cooperative, heterogonous groupings in classrooms and highly visible, positive modeling from teachers and school leaders around issues of diversity.[227]

Data and Methods

In this report, we explore the demographic and segregation trends over the last two decades for the state of North Carolina and for each *main* metropolitan area of the state—those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 2010. For each main metropolitan area, we also investigate district racial stability over time. Below is an overview of our data, as well as the segregation and district racial stability analyses. See Appendix B for more details.

This study explores demographic, segregation, and district racial stability patterns by analyzing education data from the National Center for Education Statistics. Data consisted of

[222] Guryan, J. (2004). Desegregation and Black dropout rates. *The American Economic Review 94*(4), 919-943; Kaufman, J. E., & Rosenbaum, J. (1992). The education and employment of low-income black youth in white suburbs. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis,14*, 229-240.
[223] Johnson, R. C., & Schoeni, R. (2011). The influence of early-life events on human capital, health status, and labor market outcomes over the life course. *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy Advances, 11*(3), 1-55.
[224] Mickelson, R. (2011). Exploring the school-housing nexus: A synthesis of social science evidence. In P. Tegeler (Ed.), *Finding common ground: Coordinating housing and education policy to promote integration* (pp. 5-8). Washington, DC: Poverty and Race Research Action Council; Wells, A.S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research, 6*, 531-555.
[225] Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.
[226] Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783.
[227] Hawley, W. D. (2007). Designing schools that use student diversity to enhance learning of all students. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files.

The segregation analyses consisted of three different dimensions of school segregation over time: average exposure or contact with racial group members and low-income students, evenness or even distribution of racial group members, and the concentration of students in segregated and diverse schools. Exposure or isolation rates were calculated by exploring the percent of a certain group of students (e.g., Latino students) in school with a particular student (e.g., white student) in a larger geographical area and finding the average of all these results. This measure might conclude, for example, that the average white student in a particular district attends a school with 35% Latino students. That average is a rough measure of the potential contact between these groups of students.

The evenness of racial group members across schools in a larger area was assessed using the dissimilarity index and the multi-group entropy (or diversity) index. These measures compare the actual pattern of student distribution to what it would be if proportions were distributed evenly by race. For example, if the metropolitan area were .35 (or 35%) black and .65 (or 65%) white students and each school had this same proportion, the indices would reflect perfect evenness. At the other end, maximum possible segregation or uneven distribution would be present if all of the schools in the metropolitan area were either all white or all Latino. With the dissimilarity index, a value above .60 indicates high segregation (above .80 is extreme), while a value below .30 indicates low segregation. For the multi-group entropy index, a value above .25 indicates high segregation (above .40 is extreme), while a value below .10 indicates low segregation.

School segregation patterns by the proportion or concentration of each racial group in segregated schools (50-100% of the student body are students of color), intensely segregated schools (90-100% of the student body are students of color), and apartheid schools (99-100% of the schools are students of color) were also explored. Such schools, especially hypersegregated and apartheid schools are nearly always associated with stark gaps in educational opportunity.[228] To provide estimates of diverse environments, the proportion of each racial group in multiracial schools (schools with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body) was calculated.

It is important to note that each of these segregation measures tells us something important but also has very significant limitations. For one, they do not make conclusions about the causes of segregation, but only the degree and associated ramifications of segregation.

To explore district stability patterns in *main* metropolitan areas—those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 2010—districts, as well as their metropolitan area, were categorized into predominantly white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominantly nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.[229] The degree to which district white enrollment has changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area was explored, resulting in three different

[228] Carroll, S., Krop, C., Arkes, J., Morrison, P., & Flanagan, A. (2005). *California's K-12 public schools: How are they doing?* Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation; Orfield, G., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Kucsera, J. (2011). *Divided we fail: Segregated and unequal schools in the Southland*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.
[229] Similar typography has been used with residential data; See Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). *America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges*. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.

degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable. Following, the type and direction (i.e., white or nonwhite) of the change in school districts was assessed, which allowed us to determine whether districts are resegregating, integrating, or remaining segregated or stably diverse.

State Trends

North Carolina's public school enrollment increased by 38% over the last two decades (Table 1). It grew from 1,074,120 students in 1989 to 1,478,941 students in 2010. The state's growth in enrollment is greater than the rest of the South, which increased by 30%, and close to twice the national level, which increased by 22%.

Table 1 – *Public School Enrollment, North Carolina, the South, and the Nation*

	Total Enrollment
North Carolina	
1989-1990	1,074,120
1999-2000	1,266,500
2010-2011	1,478,941
South	
1989-1990	12,210,352
1999-2000	14,092,913
2010-2011	15,892,720
Nation	
1989-1990	39,937,135
1999-2000	46,737,341
2010-2011	48,782,384

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

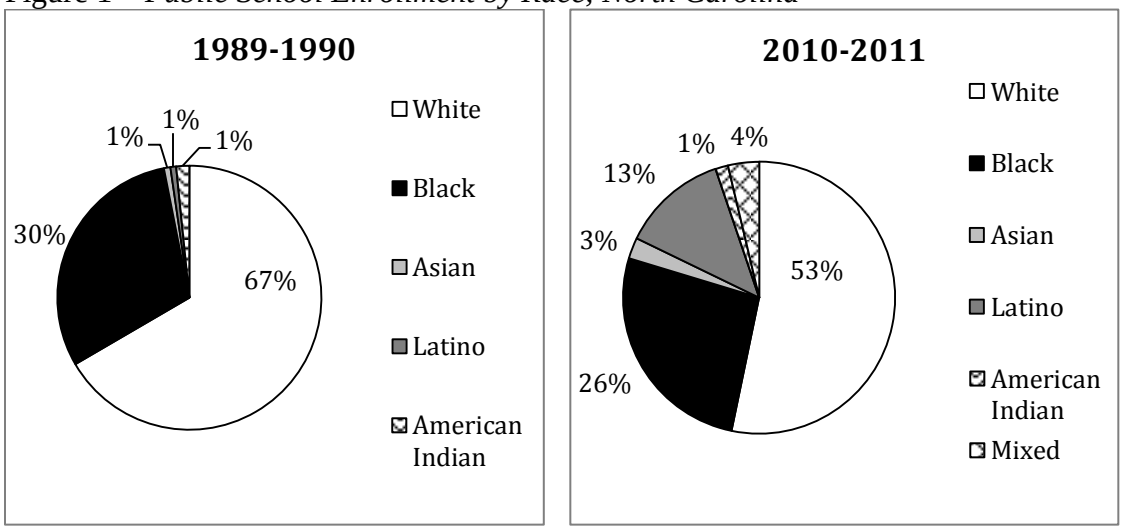
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The racial composition of North Carolina's public schools has changed considerably over the last two decades, with a decrease in the white share of enrollment from 66.6% in 1989 to 53.2% in 2010 (Figure 1). The state's decline is slightly less than the decrease in white enrollment nationwide from 68.4% in 1989 to 52.1% in 2010 (Table A-1). Although it was very small at only 0.7% in 1989, the Latino share of enrollment grew substantially to account for 12.6% of the public school enrollment in 2010. During the same time, there was a slight decrease in the black share of enrollment, yet black students still account for the largest non-white share of enrollment. Though still a small share of the total enrollment at 2.5%, the Asian share of enrollment tripled from 0.8% in 1989. From 96% black and white in l989, the state now has more than a fifth of its students falling outside this traditional pattern. Latinos were outnumbered by blacks 30-1 in l989 but only 2-1 in 2010, and birth and migration trends indicate that these changes are likely to continue, making North Carolina destined to be a profoundly diverse state.

These changes are due to changing birthrates and migration patterns of the white and non-white populations, including a substantial Latino immigration into the state, not a flight from public education. In 2010, the white birthrate—live births per 1,000 people—in North Carolina

was 10.9 compared to the black birthrate of 13.9 and the Hispanic birthrate of 23.4.[230] Only a decade earlier in 2000, the white birthrate was higher at 14.4 while the birthrate for minorities was 16.1.[231] In 2012, immigrants, 52.4% of whom were Latino, accounted for 7.7% of the state's population, an increase from 2000 when immigrants accounted for 5.3% of the state's population and 1990 when immigrants accounted for only 1.7% of the state's population.[232] The share of students enrolled in the state's public schools has remained stable over the last decade with 93.3% of students attending public schools during the 1999-2000 school year and 93.6% attending public schools during the 2009-2010 school year.[233] Together, these data indicate that the diversifying public school enrollment in the state is a result of changes in birthrates and immigration rather than a departure of students from public education.

Figure 1 – *Public School Enrollment by Race, North Carolina*



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

Alongside the growth in North Carolina's student enrollment over the last two decades, the number of schools in the state has also increased (Table 2). Among these schools, there are four different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students—multiracial schools, majority minority schools, intensely segregated schools, and apartheid schools. Multiracial schools are those in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups. The percentage of multiracial schools in North Carolina increased significantly from 2.6% in 1989 to 36% in 2010. More than one in three schools across the state are now multiracial, suggesting that although black students and whites students account for nearly four-fifths of the state's enrollment, a formerly black-white society has become truly

[230] North Carolina State Center for Health Statistics, North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services (2012). *North Carolina vital statistics, volume 1: Population, births, deaths, marriages, divorces* [Data file]. Retrieved from http://www.schs.state.nc.us/schs/vitalstats/volume1/2010/nc.html
[231] North Carolina State Center for Health Statistics, North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services (2012). *North Carolina vital statistics, volume 1: Population, births, deaths, marriages, divorces* [Data file]. Retrieved from http://www.schs.state.nc.us/schs/vitalstats/volume1/2000/north_carolina.html
[232] Migration Policy Institute (n.d.). *State immigration data profiles: North Carolina demographics and social* [Data file]. Retrieved from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/state-profiles/state/demographics/NC
[233] U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Elementary/Secondary Information System, Common Core of Data and Private School Survey

multiracial. Multiracial schools can offer many different kinds of scenarios, ranging from a school in which a substantial group of black or Latino students attend a high-achieving middle-class white school with more than one-tenth Asians to a high-poverty school with a great majority of black and Latino students in school with one-tenth white students. Therefore, the presence of multiracial schools should not be equated with integration, particularly with integration that offers a more challenging school program and peer groups.

Majority minority schools are schools in which 50-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students. In 2010, almost half of all of the state's schools were majority minority, a percent change of 81% since 1989. The share of intensely segregated schools, those that are 90-100% minority, has also increased such that in 2010, one in 10 schools in North Carolina were intensely segregated, an increase of 191% from two decades earlier when desegregation orders were still in effect in many school systems. Apartheid schools are those in which are 99-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students. The share of apartheid schools has remained fairly stable and low at around 1%, far lower than in many Northern states.

Table 2 – *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, North Carolina*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
North Carolina					
1989-1990	1905	2.6%	23.8%	3.5%	0.7%
1999-2000	2077	9.9%	34.0%	6.1%	1.1%
2010-2011	2457	36.0%	43.0%	10.2%	0.9%

Note: NS = No Schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

In addition to the concentration of students by race, it is important to consider the concentration of low-income students in each type of school. The overall share of low-income students in the state has increased from 39.0% to 50.2% over the last 20 years (Table 3). In all types of minority segregated schools, the share of low-income students is greater than the overall share of low-income students in the state. Intensely segregated schools have the largest share of low-income students at 81.5% and apartheid schools are similar in that they enroll 78.5% low-income students. This finding shows that as the share of minority students increases, the share of low-income students also increases, indicating a double segregation of students by race and poverty. Racial segregation is usually accompanied by severe segregation from middle-class students as well.

Table 3 – *Students Who Are Low-Income in Minority Segregated Schools, North Carolina*

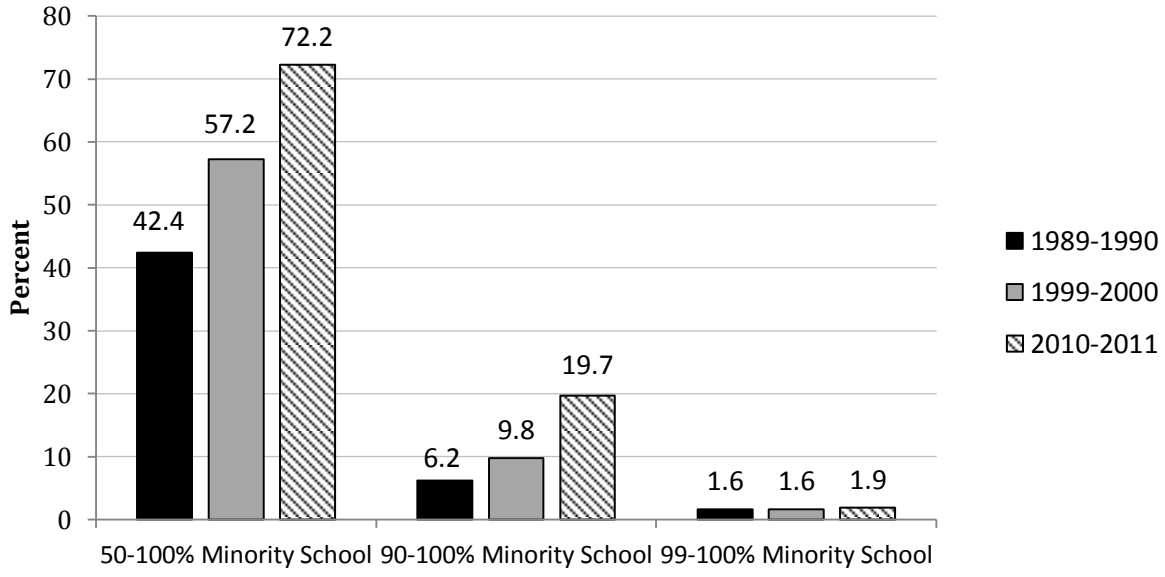
	Overall % Low-Income in State	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
North Carolina				
1999-2000	39.0%	58.9%	74.7%	71.3%
2010-2011	50.2%	64.5%	81.5%	78.5%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

The share of black students who are enrolled in minority segregated schools (i.e., majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools) has steadily increased over the last 20 years (Figure 2). As a result of court orders and plans negotiated with federal education offices, North Carolina, with its county-wide school districts, had experienced several decades of substantial desegregation. Two decades ago, less than half of all black students attended majority minority schools, but in 2010 almost three-fourths of black students attend such schools. Importantly, this change has also occurred alongside an increase in the percentage of minority students in the state's schools (Figure 1). However, in 2010, about one in five black students attended an intensely segregated school, more than triple the share of black students in such schools in 1989. A very small and stable share of black students has attended apartheid schools over the last 20 years, which is not surprising given that less than 1% of the state's schools are apartheid schools (Table 2).

Figure 2 – *Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, North Carolina*

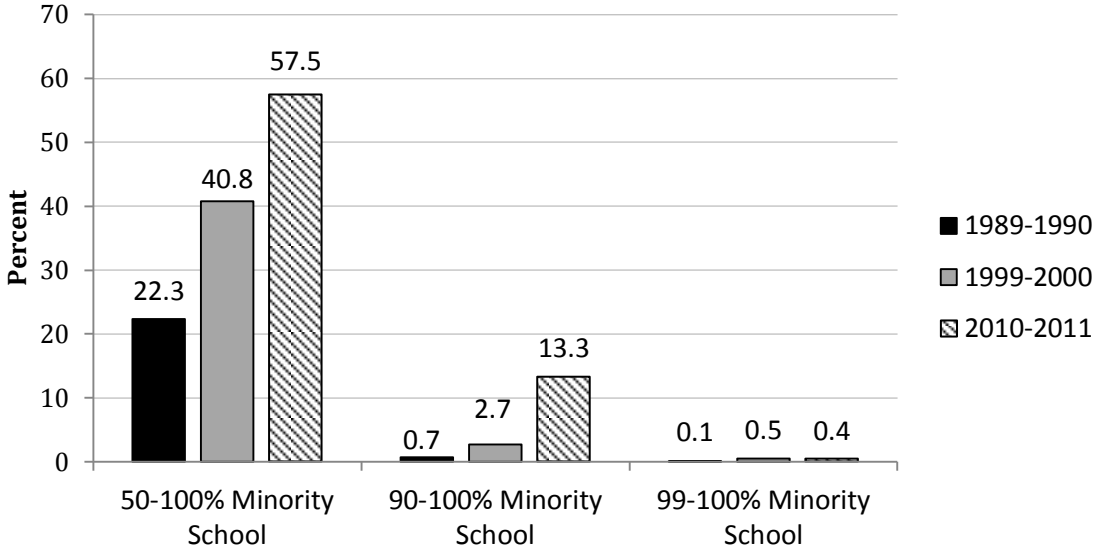


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

Similar to the state's black students, Latino students have also experienced an increase in the share of their racial group attending minority segregated schools (Figure 3). However, the overall level of Latino students in each type of minority segregated school (majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid) is lower for Latino students than for black students. In 2010, over half of all Latino students attended majority minority schools and more than one in 10 Latino students attended intensely segregated schools, both of which were large increases compared to 1989.

Figure 3 – *Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, North Carolina*

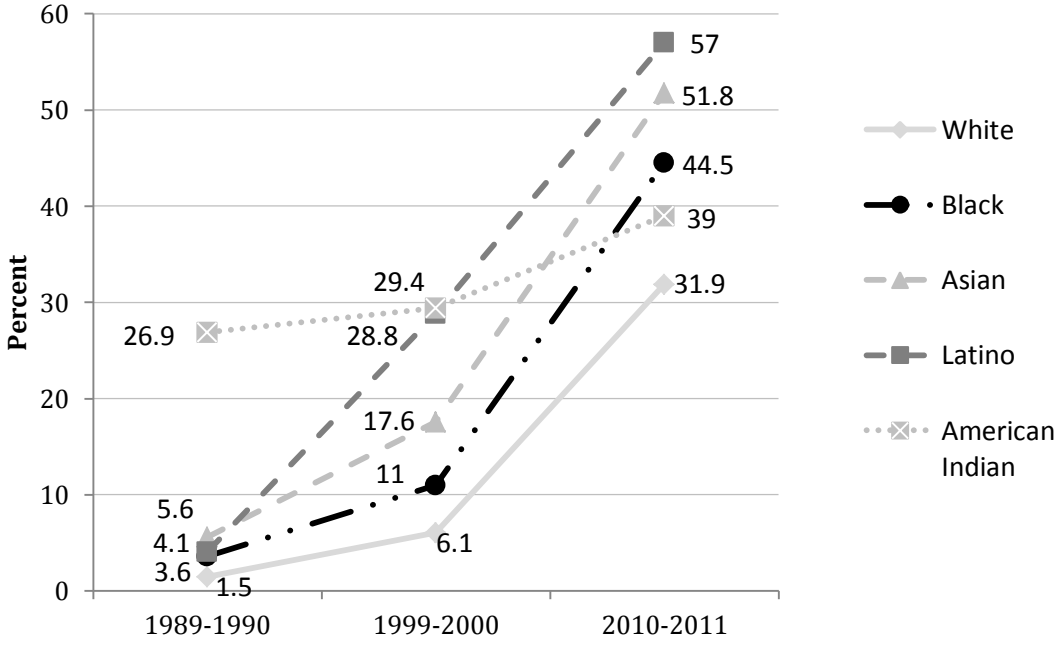


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

The share of students from each racial group in multiracial schools has increased significantly over the last 20 years with a substantial amount of the growth occurring for most groups during the last decade (Figure 4). In 2010, approximately half of all Latino, Asian, and black students attended multiracial schools whereas almost one-third of all white students attended such schools. Of all racial groups, Latino students enrolled the largest share of students in multiracial schools, followed by Asian and then black students.

Figure 4 – *Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, North Carolina*



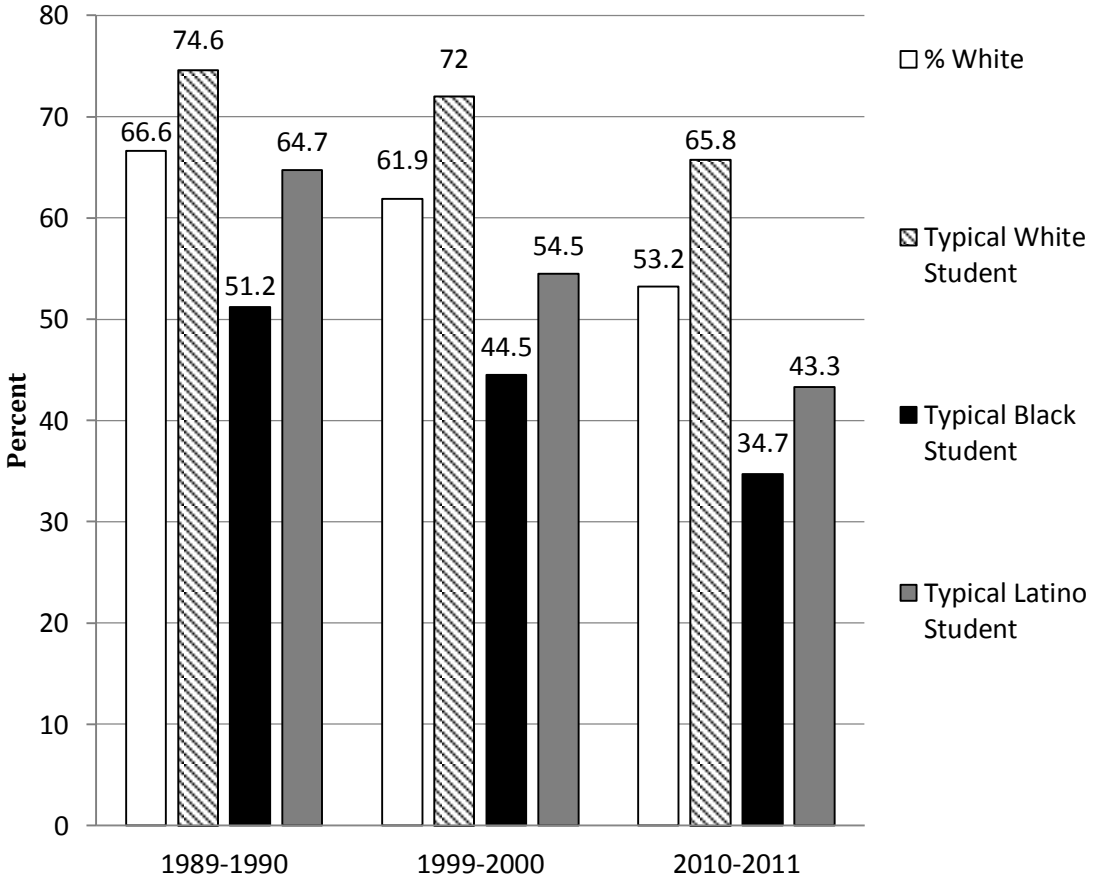
Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment respectively.

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

In addition to the concentration of students in schools, another approach for determining levels of segregation in schools is to examine exposure rates, which measure the level of interracial contact among students. In Figure 5, the white column represents the overall share of white students in the state. For each time point, the next three columns represent the exposure rate of the typical white, black, and Latino student to white students. The exposure rate of the typical student of each race should be compared to the percentage of white student enrollment. Overexposure to white students is indicated by an exposure rate that is greater than the percentage of white students and underexposure to white students is indicated by an exposure rate that is less than the percentage of white students.

The gap in exposure of the typical black student to white students versus the overall share of white student enrolment has grown larger during each of the last two decades such that in 2010, the typical North Carolina black student attended a school with 34.7% white classmates even though the overall white share of enrollment in the state was 53.2% (Figure 5). The same general pattern is true for Latino students, though to a lesser extent. In 2010, the typical Latino student attended a school with 43.3% white classmates compared to the overall share of white students at 53.2%. The typical white student is exposed to a larger share of other white students than the overall level of white enrollment in the state; this gap has also grown larger over the last 20 years such that in 2010, the typical white student attended a school that was 65.8% white even though white students only accounted for 53.2% of the state's total enrollment.

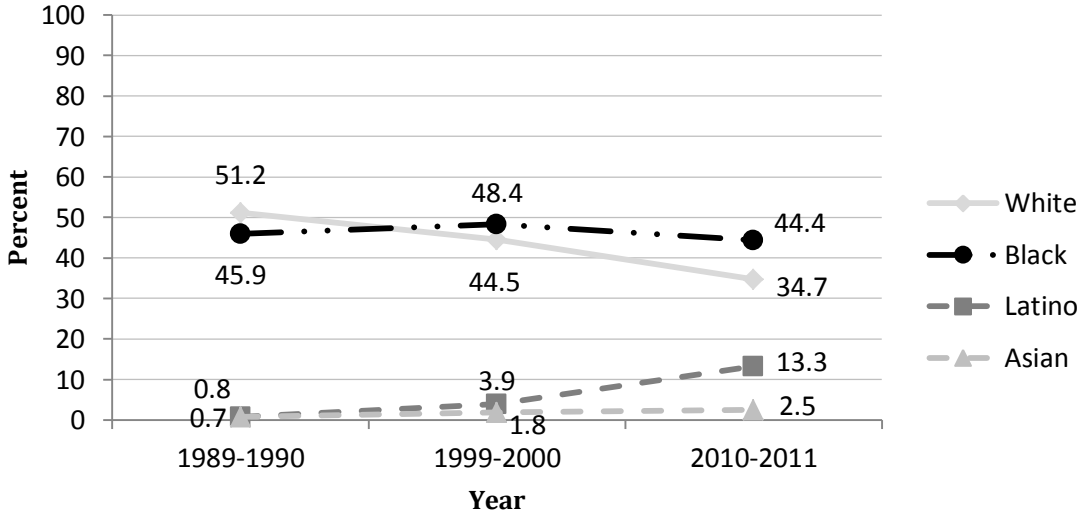
Figure 5 – *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, North Carolina*



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

In 1989, the typical black student attended a school that was majority white (51.2%), but in 2010, the typical black student attended a school in which other black students accounted for the largest share of enrollment (44.4%) (Figure 6). Over the last two decades, white students have been underrepresented in the typical black student's school and their representation has been declining. The black share of enrollment in the typical black student's school has remained fairly stable over the last two decades, though it has been higher than the overall share of black students in the state's enrollment at all time points. One of the most significant changes in the typical black student's school has been the increase in the presence of Latino students, who now account for 13.3% of the typical black student's classmates.

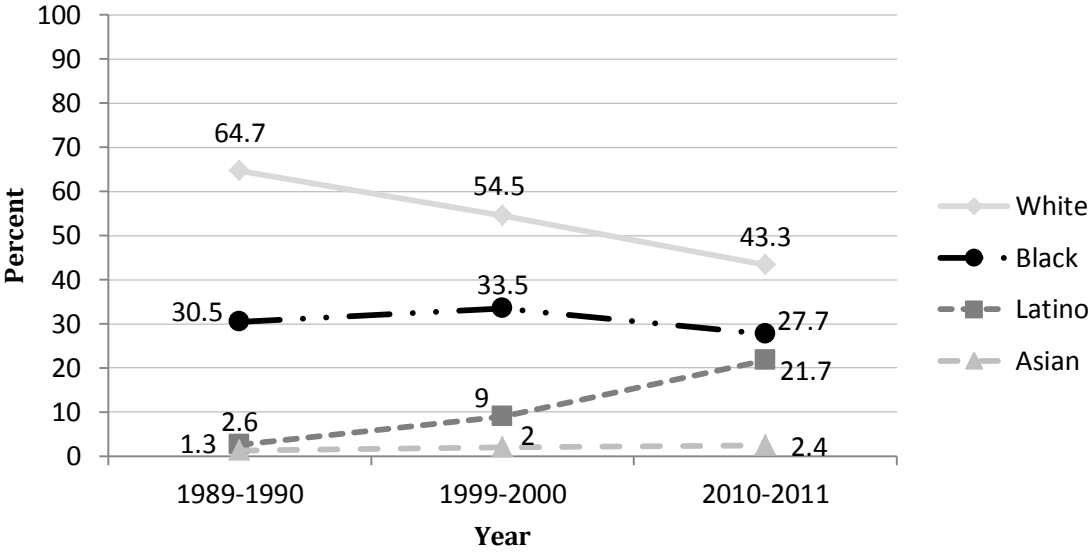
Figure 6 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, North Carolina*



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

The racial composition of the typical Latino student's school has also changed substantially since 1989; it has become less white and more Latino (Figure 7). White students now account for the largest share of the typical Latino student's school rather than the absolute majority as they did 20 years ago. The share of black students in the typical Latino student's school has remained relatively stable.

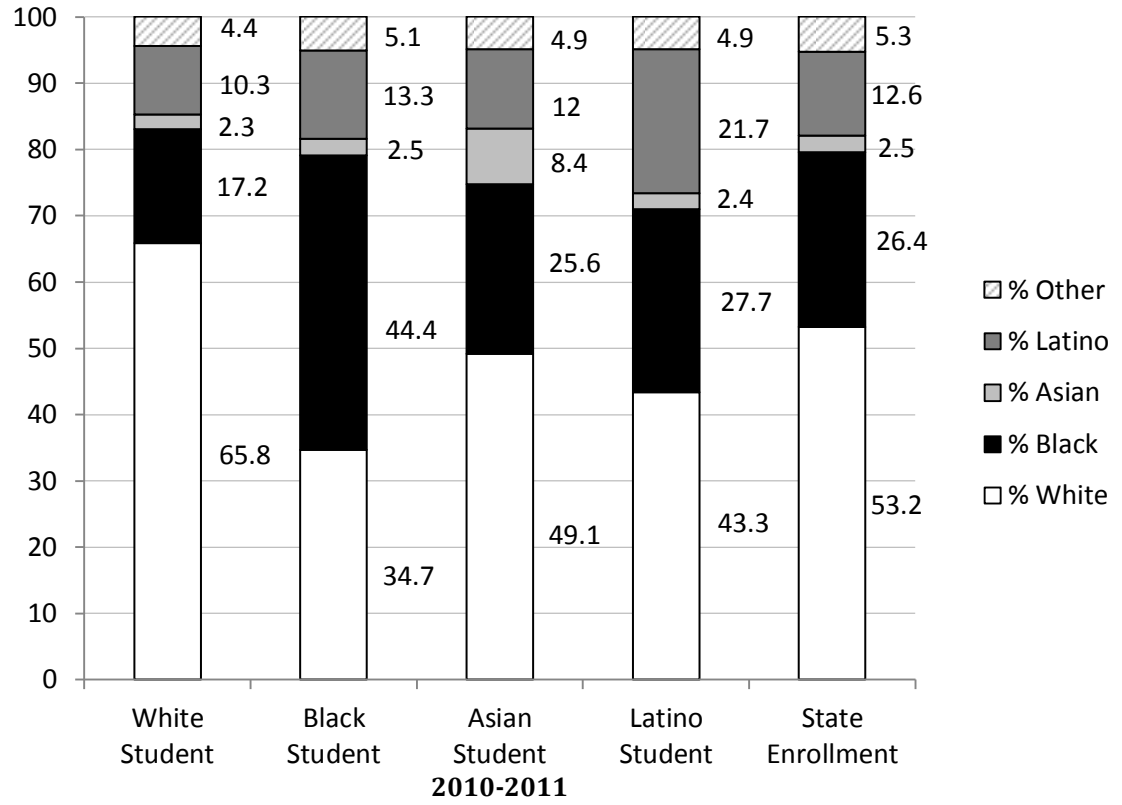
Figure 7 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, North Carolina*



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

In North Carolina, the typical Asian student attends a school that most closely resembles the overall racial composition of the state's enrollment while the typical black student is enrolled in a school that is least similar to the overall racial composition of the state's student enrollment (Figure 8). The typical white student attends a school with a higher percentage of other white students when compared to the typical student of each other racial group.

Figure 8 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, North Carolina*

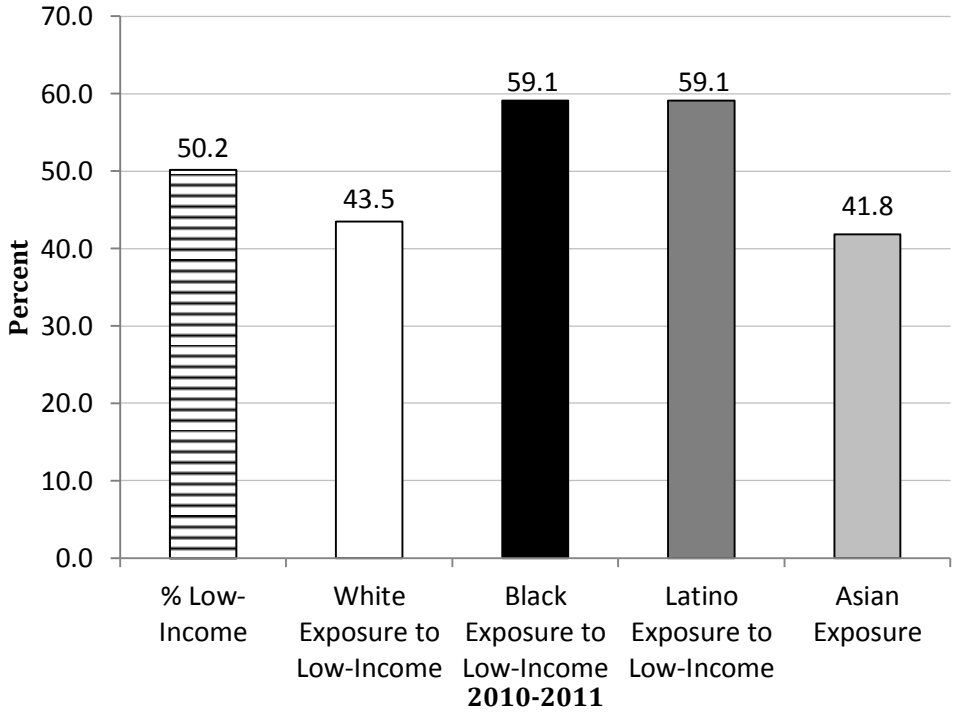


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

The typical white student and the typical Asian student are least exposed to low-income students and attend schools that have smaller shares of low-income students than the state's overall share of low-income students, which is 50.2% (Figure 9). Conversely, both the typical black student and the typical Latino student attend schools that have larger shares of low-income students (59.1%) than the overall share of low-income students in the state. This pattern indicates that North Carolina's students are disproportionately distributed to schools not only by race but also by class, revealing a double segregation of students by race and class. This double segregation is a key factor in understanding the impact of segregation on educational and other outcomes.

Figure 9 – *Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, North Carolina*



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

Metropolitan Trends

As enrollments around the country grow more diverse, the racial makeup of school systems in metropolitan areas often shifts rapidly. A district that appears integrated or diverse at one point in time can transition to a resegregating district in a matter of years. A recent study of neighborhoods, based on census data from the 50 largest metropolitan areas, found that diverse areas with nonwhite population shares over 23 percent in 1980 were more likely to become predominantly nonwhite over the ensuing 25 years than to remain integrated.[234] School districts reflect similar signs of instability. In today's metropolitan society the growth of nonwhite enrollment is heavily concentrated in sectors of suburbia. Nearly one-fifth of suburban school districts in the 25 largest metro areas are experiencing rapid racial change.[235]

The process of transition is fueled by a number of factors, including pervasive housing discrimination (to include steering families of color into specific neighborhoods and whites to others), the preferences of families and individuals, mortgage lending discrimination, and school zoning practices that intensify racial isolation. Importantly, schools that are transitioning to

[234] Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). *America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges*. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.
[235] Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation: A typology of suburban districts. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield, (Eds.), *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

minority segregated learning environments are much more likely than stably integrated settings to be associated with negative factors such as high levels of teacher turnover.[236]

Stably diverse schools and districts, on the other hand, are linked to a number of positive indicators. Compared to students and staff at schools in racial transition, teachers, administrators, and students in stable environments experience issues of diversity differently. In a 2005 survey of more than 1,000 educators, those working in stable, diverse schools were more likely to think that their faculty peers could work effectively with students from all races and ethnicities.[237] They were also significantly more likely to say that students did not self-segregate. And although white and nonwhite teachers perceived levels of tension somewhat differently, survey respondents reported that tension between racial groups was lowest in schools with stable enrollments and much higher in rapidly changing schools.[238] It stands to reason, then, that school and housing policies should help foster stable diversity—and prevent resegregation—whenever possible.

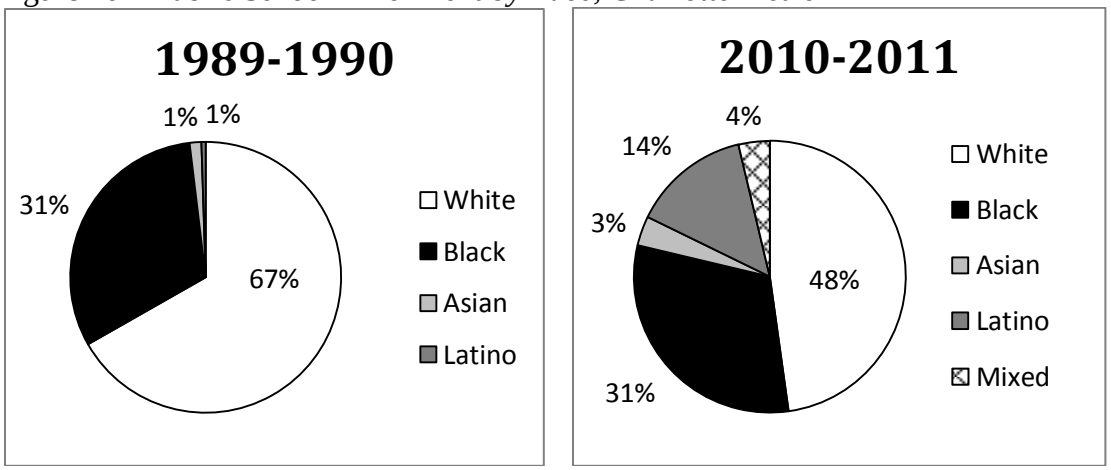
North Carolina's three largest consolidated metropolitan areas—Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, Raleigh-Cary, and Greensboro-High Point—educate almost 40% of the state's public school students. In local discussions, metropolitan areas can have many meanings; in this report, we use the Census definition of a metropolitan statistical area (MSA), often covering considerably larger areas than are used in local planning.[239] The next section explores the enrollment, segregation, and poverty concentration patterns of public school students in these three metropolitan areas. The degree and type of racial transition occurring in each metro's largest school districts is also presented.

Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro Area[240]

From 1989 to 2010, the student enrollment in metro Charlotte became increasingly diverse (Figure 10). Over these two decades, the white share of enrollment decreased such that in 2010, white students accounted for slightly less than half of the total enrollment. The Latino share of enrollment increased by 2,700% over this 20-year period, similar to other metros where the Latino share of enrollment also increased significantly (Figure 21 and Figure 31). The black share of enrollment remained stable at around 31%. Charlotte's Asian share of enrollment increased but remains a small share of the total enrollment.

[236] Jackson, (2009).
[237] Siegel-Hawley, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2012). *Spaces of inclusion: Teachers' perceptions of school communities with differing student racial and socioeconomic contexts*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.
[238] Ibid.
[239] We used the Census Reference Bureau's 2010 Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as the unit of metropolitan analysis for all years. A MSA must contain at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more inhabitants. See Appendix B for further details.
[240] From this point forward, we use "Charlotte metro" to refer to the Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord metropolitan area. In this report our data includes only the districts in this metropolitan area that are located in the state of North Carolina. The 2010 MSA boundaries included Cabarrus County, Gaston County, Iredell County, Lincoln County, Mecklenburg County, Rowan County, and Union County.

Figure 10 – *Public School Enrollment by Race, Charlotte Metro*



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 141,597. In 2010, total enrollment was 253,217.

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

Alongside an overall decrease in white enrollment, over the last two decades in both urban and suburban schools, the white share of enrollment has decreased while the Asian and Latino shares of enrollment have increased (Table 4). The dramatic immigration that began nationally in the l970s to the Southwest and major immigrant destinations and led to a later secondary immigration to the North Carolina-Georgia area is a basic reason for the rapid growth in the state's enrollment. In 2010, Latino students accounted for approximately the same share of enrollment, 15-17%, in both urban and suburban schools; the same is true for Asians, who accounted for 2.5-4.5% of the enrollment in both types of schools. Both groups have slightly larger representation in urban schools than suburban schools. On the other hand, even as their overall share of the enrollment has remained stable, black students are the only racial group that has different enrollment trends in urban versus suburban schools with an increase in urban schools and a relatively stable representation in suburban schools. This trend is in contrast to trends in many metro areas, such as Washington, D.C. and Los Angles, where African American suburbanization is rapidly increasing.

In 2010, at 43.3%, black students accounted for the largest segment of enrollment in Charlotte's urban schools while white students comprised the majority enrollment in suburban schools at 58.5%. This pattern represents a change from only one decade earlier when white students were the majority in both urban and suburban schools.

Although this data includes the entire Charlotte metro, consisting of school districts in seven counties—Cabarrus, Gaston, Iredell, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Rowan, and Union—Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) has a strong effect on trends in the overall metro because it enrolls such a large percentage of the metro's students. In 2010, CMS enrolled 53% of the metro's total student population—134,912 of the 253,217 students in the entire metro area.

Table 4 – *Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Charlotte Metro*

	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools				
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**
Charlotte Metro										
1989-1990	58.3%	38.3%	2.2%	0.8%	0.4%	81.9%	17.0%	0.6%	0.2%	0.3%
1999-2000	48.8%	42.3%	3.9%	4.6%	0.4%	72.5%	21.5%	2.0%	3.7%	0.3%
2010-2011	30.7%	43.3%	4.6%	17.1%	4.3%	58.5%	19.9%	2.4%	14.7%	4.5%

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other includes American Indian students and students who identify with two or more races. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

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

There are four different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students in metro Charlotte—multiracial schools, majority minority schools, intensely segregated schools, and apartheid schools. The percentage of multiracial schools—schools in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups—has increased significantly over the last two decades, from 1.4% in 1989 to 36.4% of all schools in 2010. Again, multiracial schools can offer many different kinds of opportunities and should not be equated with integration.

The share of majority minority schools—those in which 50-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students—has more than doubled since 1989 (Table 5). In intensely segregated schools—those that are 90-100% minority—there was an even larger and substantial increase from 0.1% in 1989 to 20.2% in 2010. In fact, since 1999, close to the time when CMS's desegregation plan ended, there has been an increase of 405% in the metro's share of intensely segregated schools. Apartheid schools—those in which 99-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students—represent a small share of Charlotte's schools at 1.5%; however, it is important to recognize the presence of such schools as there were none two decades earlier.

Table 5 – *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Charlotte Metro*

	Total Schools	**% of Multiracial Schools**	**% of 50-100% Minority Schools**	**% of 90-100% Minority Schools**	**% of 99-100% Minority Schools**
Charlotte Metro					
1989-1990	220	1.4%	22.3%	0.1%	NS
1999-2000	251	10.8%	41.0%	4.0%	0.4%
2010-2011	341	36.4%	51.6%	20.2%	1.5%

Note: NS = No Schools. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

The overall share of low-income students in metro Charlotte increased from about one-third in 1999 to almost one-half in 2010 (Table 6). This increase is similar to the pattern at the state level (Table 3). As the level of racial segregation increases, so too does the share of low-income students. For example, in 2010, in apartheid schools in Charlotte, nine out of 10 students were low-income and in majority minority schools closer to seven out of 10 students were low-income. These differences show a disproportionate distribution of low-income students to minority segregated schools and indicate a double segregation of students by both race and class.

Table 6 – *Students Who Are Low-Income in Minority Segregated Schools, Charlotte Metro*

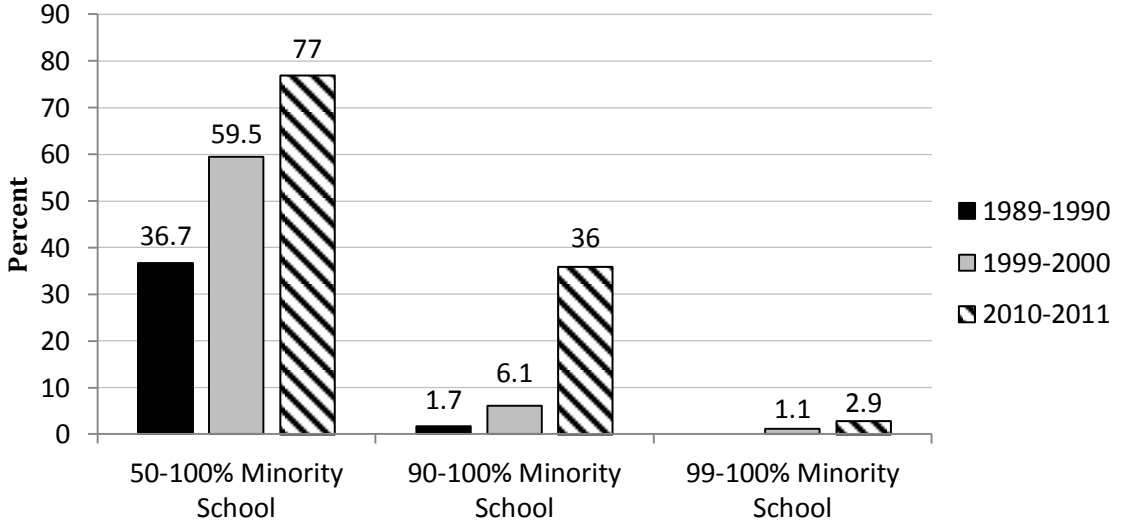
	Overall % Low-Income in Metro	**% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools**	**% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools**	**% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools**
Charlotte Metro				
1999-2000	34.7%	53.2%	73.5%	96.6%
2010-2011	46.6%	67.1%	81.7%	92.1%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

The share of black students attending minority segregated schools in the Charlotte area has more than doubled over the last two decades (Figure 11). In 2010, three out of four black students in the Charlotte metro attended minority segregated schools. Also in 2010, one in three black students attended a school that was 90-100% minority, a major increase from just one decade earlier in 1999 when only one out of 16 black students attended such a school and the prior decade in 1989 when only one out of 50 black students attended an intensely segregated school. The significant increase in black students' enrollment at intensely segregated schools followed the declaration of CMS as unitary in 1999, the abandonment of the district's desegregation plan, and the return to neighborhood schools in 2002. The share of black students attending each type of minority segregated school is higher in Charlotte than the average for the state (Figure 2). This generation of black students is having much less integrated educational opportunities than the generation shaped by civil rights policies.

Figure 11 – *Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Charlotte Metro*

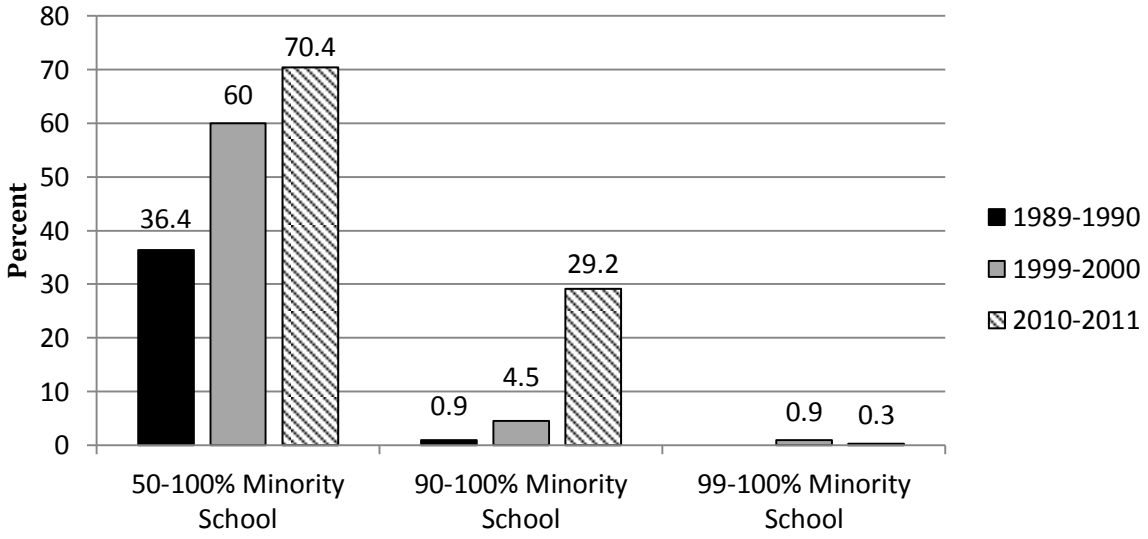


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

Although not quite as extreme as the situation for black students, Latino students have become increasingly segregated in minority schools in Charlotte over the last two decades as well (Figure 12). In 2010, two out of three Latino students attended a minority segregated school and one out of four Latino students attended a school that was 90-100% minority, also a large increase from 10 years earlier in 1999 when one out of 20 Latino students attended such a school and one decade prior in 1989 when one out of 100 Latino students attended an intensely segregated school.

Figure 12 – *Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Charlotte Metro*

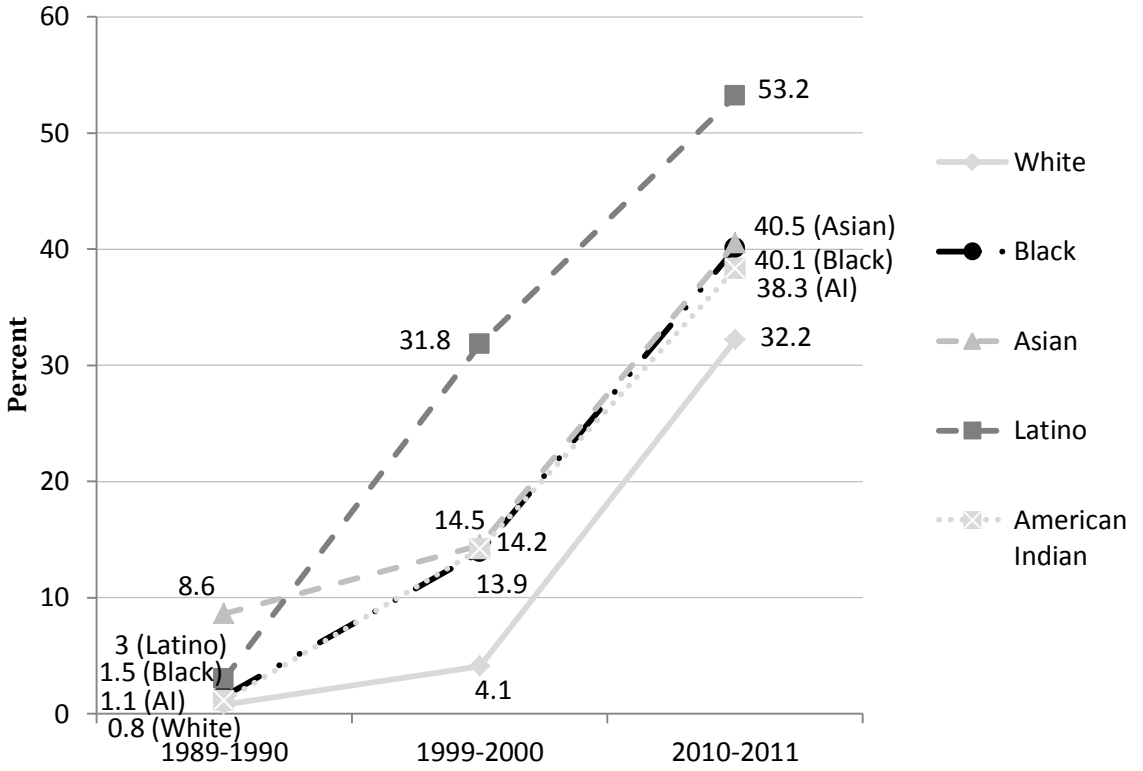


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

In 2010, the majority of Latino students attended multiracial schools (Figure 13). For all other racial groups, between 30 and 40% of each group attended a multiracial school in 2010, though for whites, the percentage was the lowest at 32.2%. Similar to the state's pattern, the share of students in each racial group attending multiracial schools increased over both decades but made a particularly large increase over the last decade (Figure 4).

Figure 13 – *Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Charlotte Metro*

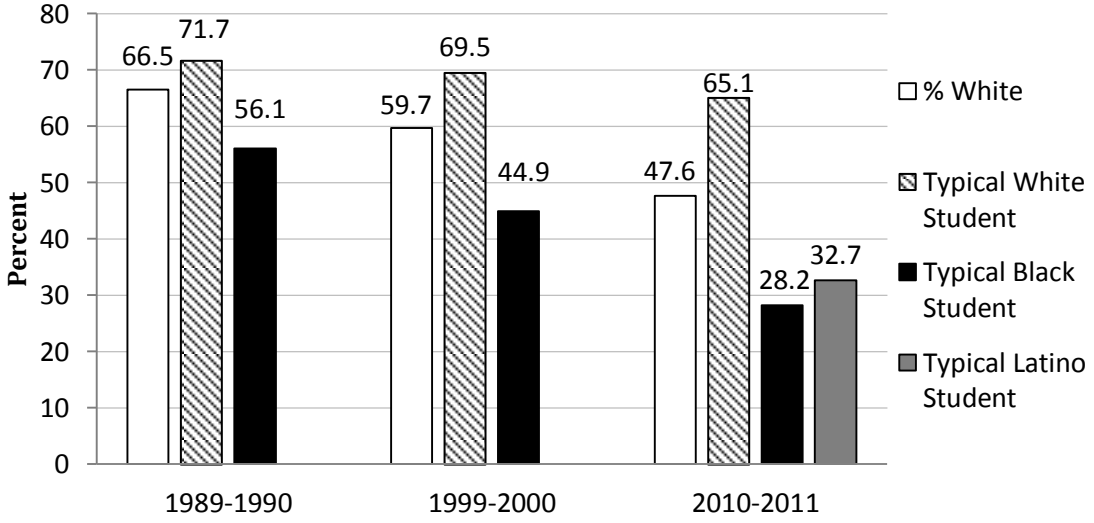


Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

The gap in the typical black student's exposure to white students versus the white share of enrollment has grown larger over time, which again likely corresponds to the shift in CMS's student assignment policy, in which the district dropped the goal of racial diversity about a decade ago and instead began focusing on neighborhood schools. In all three decades, the typical white student attended schools with more white students than the overall share of the metro population while the typical black student's school had a smaller share of white students than the overall share of the metro population; the same was true for Latino students in 2010 (Figure 14). In 2010, the typical black student was least exposed to white students and attended a school that was only 28.2% white; the typical Latino student's school was 32.7% white, only slightly more white than that of the typical black student. In 2010, less than one-third of the students at the typical black student's school and the typical Latino's student school were white, but almost two-thirds of the students at the typical white student's school were white.

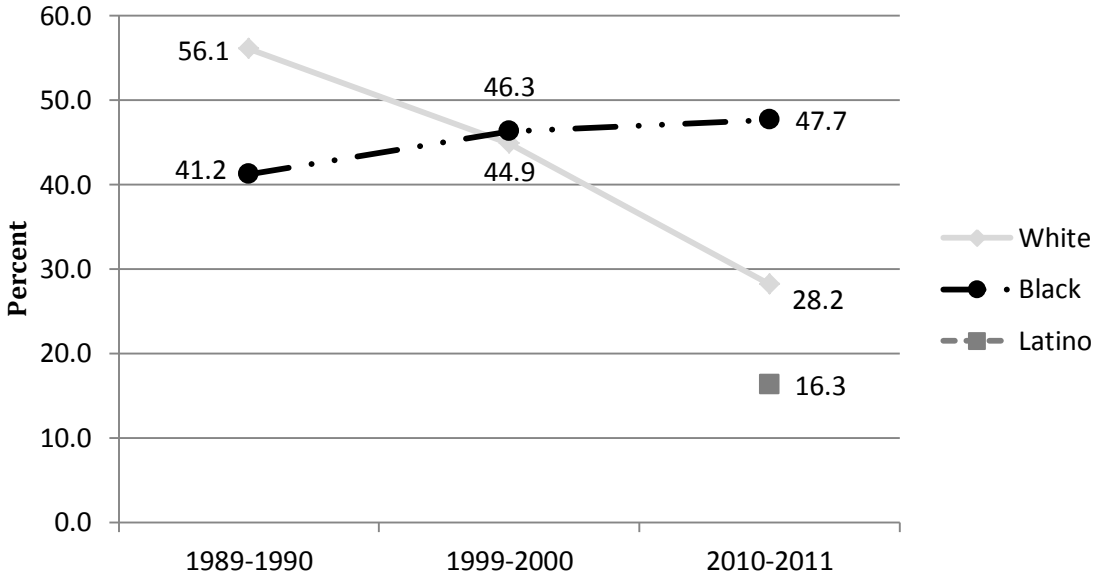
Figure 14 – *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Charlotte Metro*



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

The school that the typical black student attends has become more black and less white over the last 20 years (Figure 15). In fact, two decades ago it was 56.1% white, but now it is only 28.2% white even though the metro's overall enrollment is still almost half white.[241]

Figure 15 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Charlotte Metro*

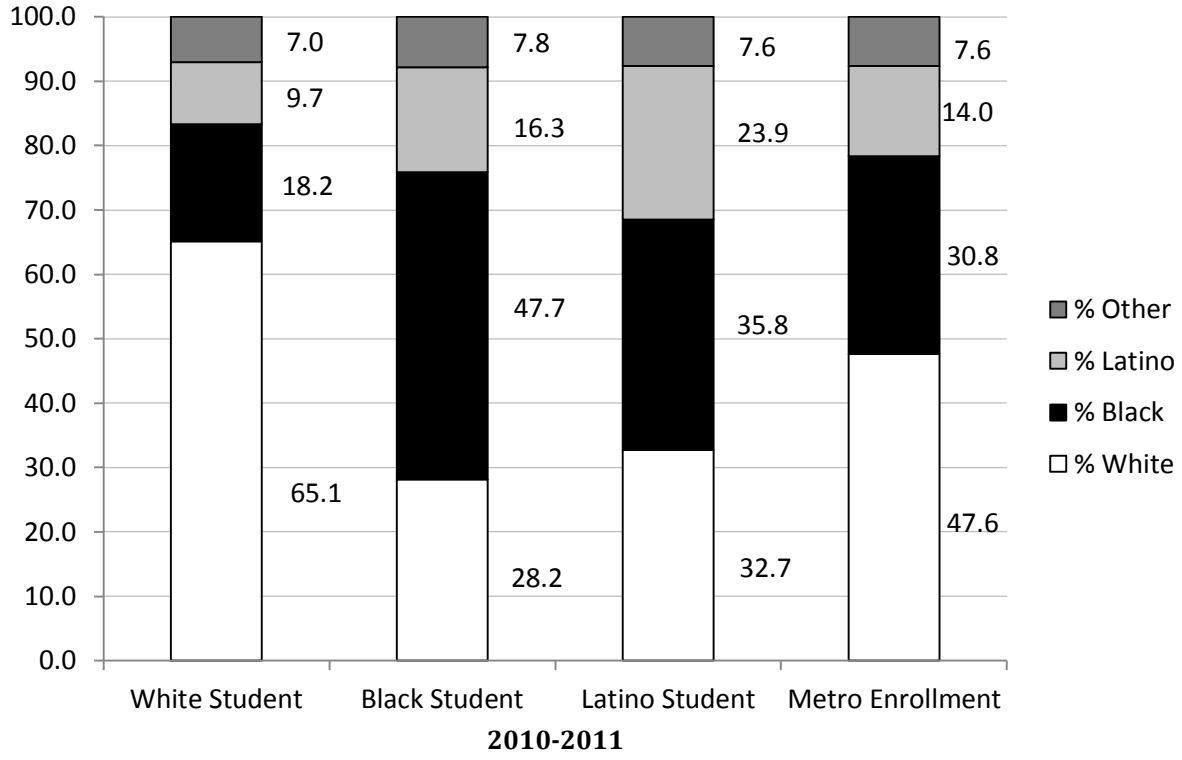


Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

[241] Compared to the school of the typical black student, the typical Latino student's school is more white (32.7%), more Latino (23.9%), and less black (35.8%).

The typical black student's school is least similar to the overall metro's racial composition (Figure 16). The typical white student's school is largely comprised of white students, a much larger share than the overall metro. The proportion of black and Latino students in the school attended by the typical black and Latino student is disproportionately large in comparison to the overall metro.

Figure 16 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Charlotte Metro*

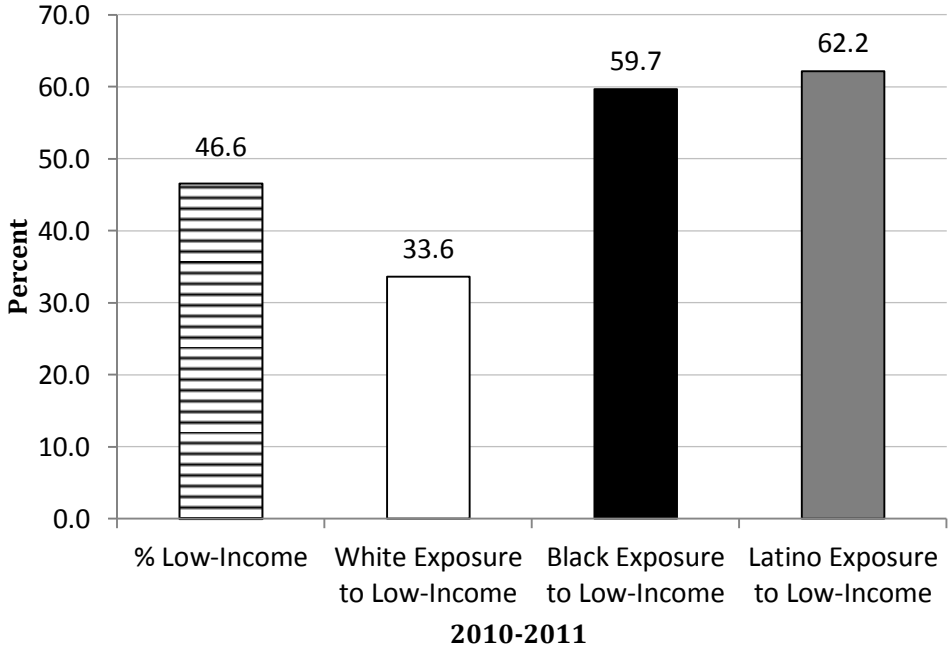


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

The distribution of low-income students in Charlotte's schools also is disproportionate by race (Figure 17). The typical white student is exposed to a smaller share of low-income students than the metro's average. Conversely, the typical black and the typical Latino student are both exposed to larger shares of low-income students; approximately six out of 10 of their classmates are low-income even though less than five of 10 students in the metro are low-income. This pattern is consistent with the state (Figure 9).

Figure 17 – *Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Charlotte Metro*



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

According to another measure of segregation, the level of segregation in metro Charlotte has increased over the last two decades and is currently considered a moderate level of segregation, though there was a very slight decrease from 1999 to 2010 (Table 7). These levels are lower than those in metro Greensboro (Table 17) but higher than metro Raleigh (Table 12). Most of this segregation is due to segregation within school districts rather than between districts; because CMS is a city-suburban district that accounts for more than half of the metro's enrollment, it is not surprising that most segregation is occurring within districts. Segregation within districts has increased over time while segregation between districts has remained relatively stable and low with a slight decrease over the last decade.

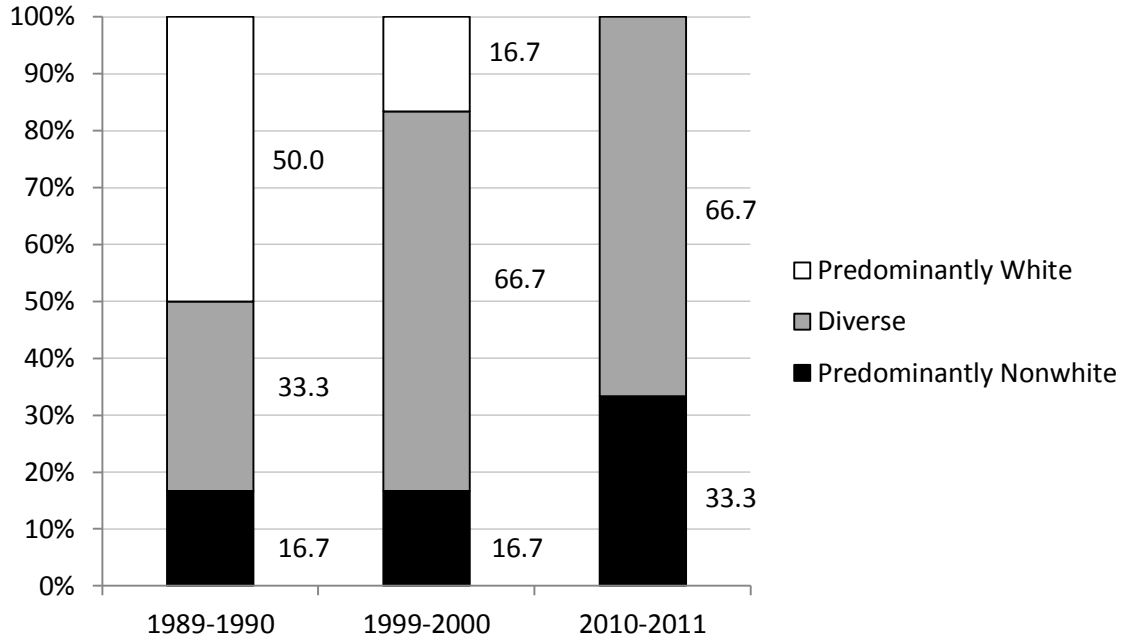
Table 7 – *Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Charlotte Metro*

	H	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Charlotte Metro			
1989-1990	0.13	0.06	0.06
1999-2000	0.17	0.11	0.06
2010-2011	0.16	0.13	0.03

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

In 1989, half of the metro's six enduring districts—those that were open at all three time points—were predominantly white, two were diverse, and one was predominantly nonwhite (Figure 18). In general, these districts have become less white such that by 2010, none of the districts that were open in all three time points remained predominantly white, four of the six districts were diverse and the other two districts were predominantly nonwhite.

Figure 18 – *Racial Transition by District, Charlotte Metro*



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly non-white districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. *N*=6 districts that were open and had enrollment of at least 100 students for each time period.

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

Corresponding to an overall decrease in white enrollment, the white share of enrollment decreased over the last two decades in all six of metro Charlotte's enduring districts (Table 8). In CMS, Anson, and Kannapolis, the share of white students has decreased to become less than 50%. All districts changed classifications from 1989 to 2010 except for Anson County Schools, which remained predominantly nonwhite at all three time points, and Kannapolis City Schools, which remained diverse. The other four districts became less white, transitioning from predominantly white to diverse or diverse to predominantly nonwhite. None of the six districts remains predominantly white. These changes likely would have occurred whether or not there were significant desegregation plans and fundamentally reflect different migration patterns, age structures, and birth rates of the groups. The reality is that with low white birth rates and a national immigration that is overwhelmingly Latino and Asian, those trends are shaped by forces outside the schools.

Table 8 – *White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and School Districts, Charlotte Metro*

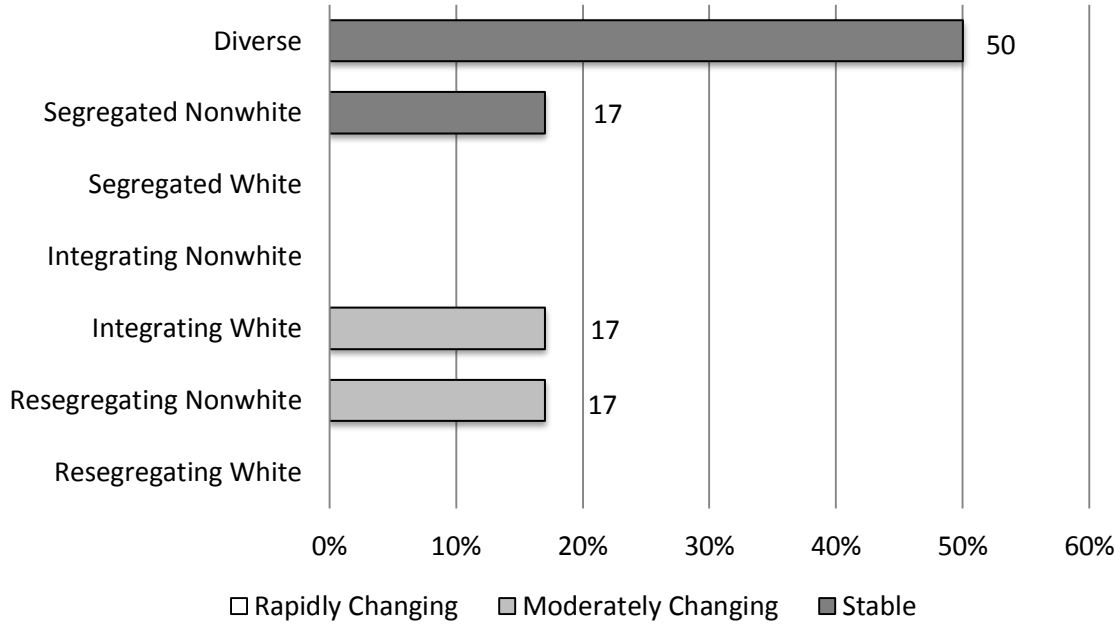
	White Proportion			**Classification**		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Charlotte Metro	66.5%	59.7%	47.6%	D	D	D
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	57.2%	48.4%	32.9%	D	D	PNW
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	84.7%	76.1%	68.8%	PW	D	D
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	81.1%	76.3%	66.5%	PW	D	D
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	85.0%	81.1%	63.6%	PW	PW	D
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	37.8%	34.6%	32.6%	PNW	PNW	PNW
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	71.6%	60.5%	43.8%	D	D	D

Note: D=Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW=Predominantly non-white area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW=Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period. Districts are those that were open and had enrollment of at least 100 students for each time period.

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

From 1999 to 2010, half of the metro's districts—or three out of six, including Union County, Gaston County, and Kannapolis City Schools—remained stably diverse, and one out of the metro's six districts—Anson County—remained stably predominantly nonwhite (Figure 19). CMS was resegregating nonwhite at a moderate rate and Cabarrus County was integrating white at a moderate rate.

Figure 19 – *Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Charlotte Metro, 1999 to 2010*

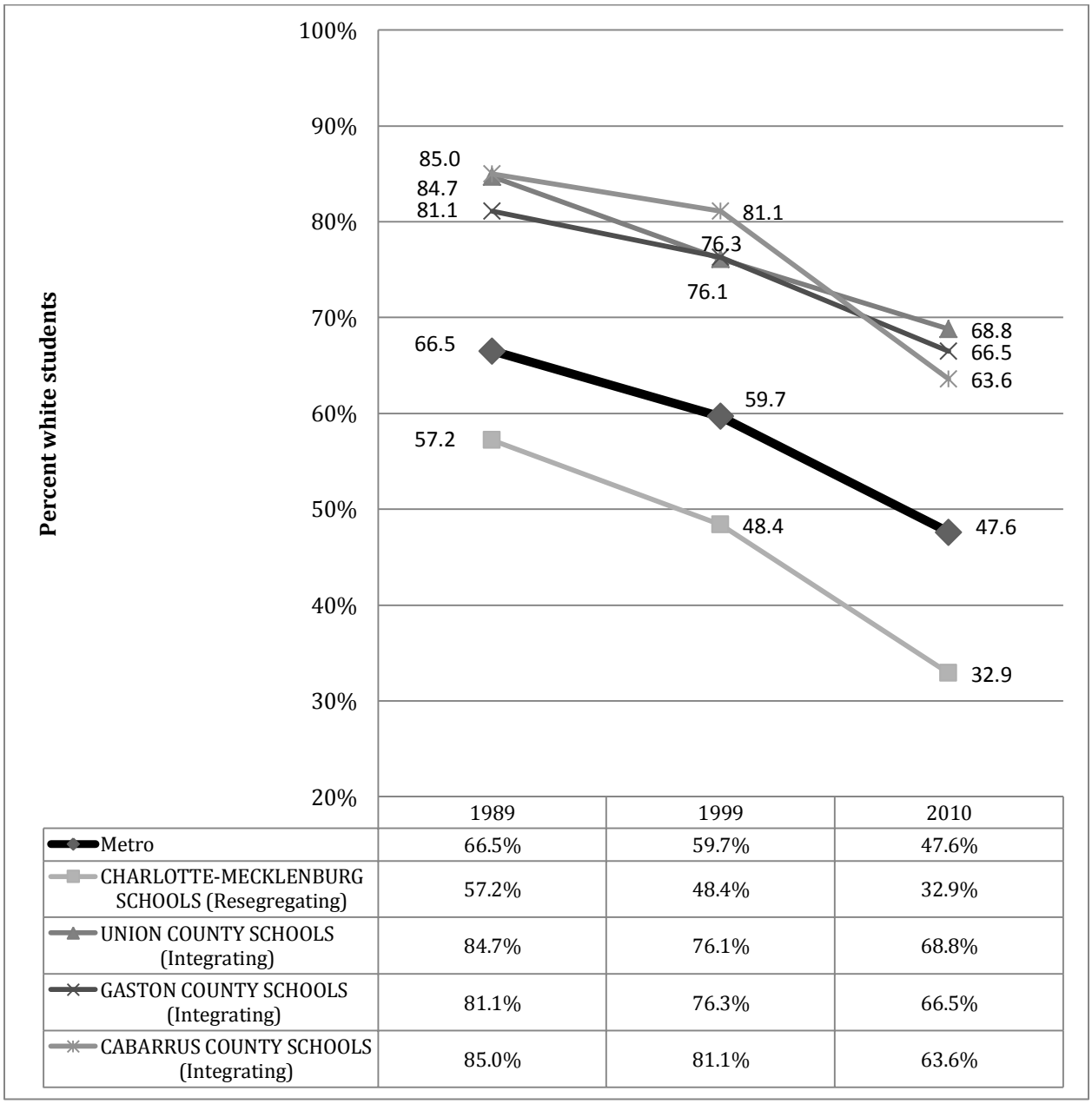


Note: *N*=6 districts that were open and had enrollment of at least 100 students for each time period. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominantly type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

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

CMS, Union County, Gaston County, and Cabarrus County were the four districts in the metro that experienced moderate change during the last two decades (Figure 20). CMS was resegregating at a moderate pace from its classification as diverse in 1989 and 1999 to predominantly nonwhite in 2010. Union, Gaston, and Cabarrus Counties were integrating at a moderate pace from predominantly white in 1989 to diverse in 2010. Of the four districts, CMS is the only one with a share of white students lower than the overall metro area at all three time points.

Figure 20 –*Rapidly or Moderately Transitioning Districts, Charlotte Metro, 1989 to 2010*



	1989	1999	2010
Metro	66.5%	59.7%	47.6%
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS (Resegregating)	57.2%	48.4%	32.9%
UNION COUNTY SCHOOLS (Integrating)	84.7%	76.1%	68.8%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS (Integrating)	81.1%	76.3%	66.5%
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS (Integrating)	85.0%	81.1%	63.6%

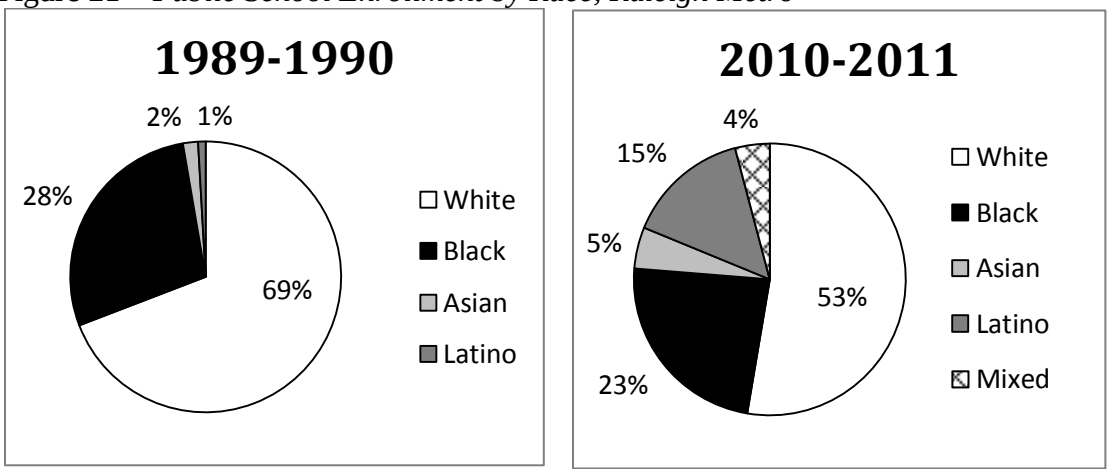
Note: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the prior year and classified as the other predominantly type in the latter year. Integrating are districts classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the prior year and diverse in the latter year. Segregating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both periods but experienced a white % change greater than 2 times the metro white % change. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period.

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

Raleigh-Cary Metro Area[242]

Both the black share of enrollment and the white share of enrollment decreased in metro Raleigh from 1989 to 2010. However, white students still account for more than half of the student enrollment (53%) in metro Raleigh, unlike the Charlotte metro (Figure 10) and the Greensboro metro (Figure 31) where white students account for slightly less than half of the student enrollment. Even though the black enrollment has decreased in metro Raleigh, black students still account for the second largest share of enrollment (23%) in metro Raleigh. During the same time period, the Latino share of enrollment increased by 1,522% in metro Raleigh from 0.9% to 14.6% and the Asian share of enrollment increased by 172% from 1.8% to 4.9% (Figure 21). The Latino growth in metro Raleigh is similar to that of metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro. All these changes in the racial composition of metro Raleigh's schools occurred during a period of significant overall growth in which the metro's student enrollment more than doubled from 82,842 students in 1989 to 191,520 students in 2010.

Figure 21 – *Public School Enrollment by Race, Raleigh Metro*



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 82,842. In 2010, total enrollment was 191,520.

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

In both urban and suburban schools, the white share of enrollment decreased but remained the largest share of enrollment, though by a larger margin in suburban schools where white students accounted for 56.9% of students than in urban schools were they comprised 43.8% of the 2010 student enrollment (Table 9). This pattern is different than that of metro Charlotte (Table 4) and metro Greensboro (Table 14) where black students, rather than white students, account for the largest share of enrollment in urban schools. From 1989 to 2010 in metro Raleigh, the black share of enrollment increased in urban schools but decreased in suburban schools. Similar to metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro, black students account for a larger share of enrollment (29.6%) in metro Raleigh's urban schools than they do in the metro's suburban schools (19.1%). The Asian and Latino shares of enrollment increased in both urban

[242] From this point forward, we use "Raleigh metro" to refer to the the Raleigh-Cary metropolitan area. In this report our data includes only the districts in this metropolitan area that are located in the state of North Carolina. The 2010 MSA boundaries included Franklin County, Johnston County, and Wake County.

and suburban schools and account for similar proportions of the enrollment in both types of schools; Asians account for about 5-7% and Latinos account for about 14%.

Table 9 – *Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Raleigh Metro*

	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools				
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**
Raleigh Metro										
1989-1990	68.1%	27.5%	3.4%	0.8%	0.2%	74.1%	24.6%	0.6%	0.5%	0.2%
1999-2000	61.8%	29.0%	5.2%	3.8%	0.2%	69.5%	24.3%	2.6%	3.4%	0.2%
2010-2011	43.8%	29.6%	7.2%	14.5%	4.9%	56.9%	19.1%	5.0%	14.1%	4.9%

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other includes American Indian students and students who identify with two or more races. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

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

Since 1989 when less than 1% of metro Raleigh's schools were multiracial, the metro has experienced significant growth in its share of multiracial schools, which now account for more than two-thirds of all of the metro's schools. As previously explained, multiracial schools can offer many different kinds of opportunities and should not be equated with integration.

The share of majority minority schools more than quadrupled from 10.6% in 1989 to 41.3% in 2010 (Table 10). The share of intensely segregated schools remained small and fairly stable at around 2%, which is significantly lower than the share of intensely segregated schools found in metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro (Table 5 and Table 15). The share of apartheid schools in metro Raleigh is also very low and is about half the size of the share of such schools in Greensboro and Charlotte. These differences could be related to more long-standing desegregation policies and diversity-related student assignment plans in metro Raleigh's school districts, particularly Wake County, which, with 143,745 of the metro's total enrollment of 191,520 students, accounted for 75% of the metro enrollment in 2010.

The share of majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools in metro Raleigh is lower than in Charlotte and Greensboro while the share of multiracial schools in metro Raleigh is about double the share in Charlotte and Greensboro.

Table 10 – *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Raleigh Metro*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Raleigh Metro					
1989-1990	113	0.9%	10.6%	NS	NS
1999-2000	160	14.4%	19.4%	1.9%	0.6%
2010-2011	235	69.4%	41.3%	2.6%	0.9%

Note: NS = No Schools. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

The share of low-income students in metro Raleigh has increased over the last decade (Table 11). However, at 34.7% in 2010, it remains lower than the state's overall share of low-income students at 50.2% (Table 3), which is likely related to the economy of the Research Triangle Park, the area's universities, and other thriving economies in the metro. Similar to the state, the share of low-income students in all types of minority segregated schools except apartheid schools is higher than the overall share of low-income students in the metro area. In all types of schools, the share of low-income students in metro Raleigh is lower than that of Charlotte and Greensboro (Table 6 and Table 16).

Table 11 – *Students Who Are Low-Income in Minority Segregated Schools, Raleigh Metro*

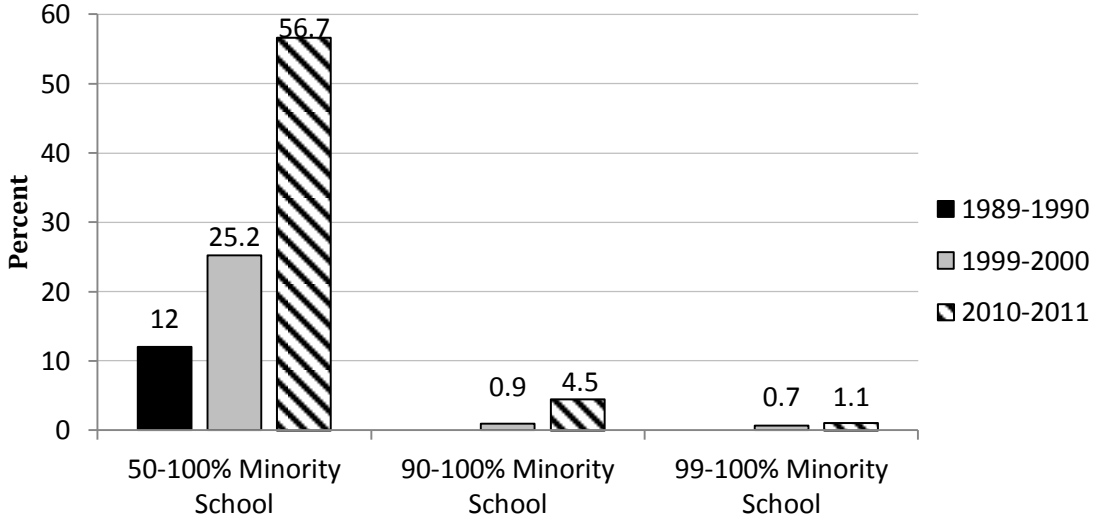
	Overall % Low-Income in Metro	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Raleigh Metro				
1999-2000	25.1%	44.8%	NS	NS
2010-2011	34.7%	46.8%	56.3%	18.1%

Note: NS = No Schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

The share of black students in majority minority schools has increased over the last two decades such that more than half of the black students in metro Raleigh now attend a school that is majority minority (Figure 22). However, this figure is lower than the three out of four black students in Charlotte and Greensboro who are enrolled in majority minority schools (Figure 11 and Figure 32). This trend also corresponds with the uptick in minority enrollment in the metro (Figure 21). In 2010, the share of black students enrolled in Raleigh's intensely segregated and apartheid schools is also substantially lower than in Charlotte and Greensboro. For each type of minority segregated school, metro Raleigh's share of black students enrolled is lower than the average for the state, indicating that proportionally fewer black students in metro Raleigh attend minority segregated schools than the state average.

Figure 22 – *Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Raleigh Metro*

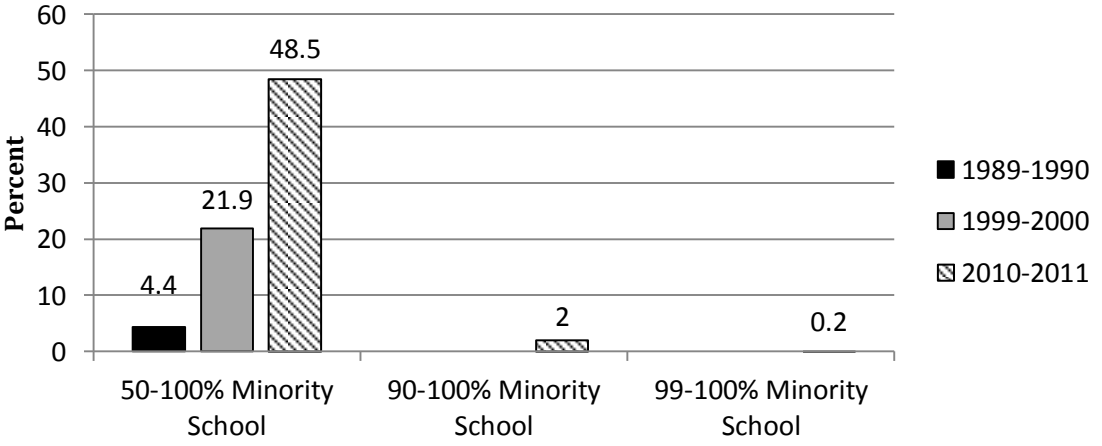


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

The trend for Latino students in minority segregated schools is similar to that of black students (Figure 23). The share of Latino students attending majority minority schools has increased over the last two decades, such that almost half of Latino students attended majority minority schools in 2010. A comparison of Latino students and black students shows that the share of Latino students enrolled in each type of minority segregated school is lower than the share of black students in comparable schools. As is the case for black students, for each type of minority segregated school, metro Raleigh's share of Latino students enrolled is lower than the average for the state, metro Charlotte, and metro Greensboro, indicating that proportionally fewer Latino students in metro Raleigh attend minority segregated schools than the state average (Figure 3).

Figure 23 – *Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Raleigh Metro*

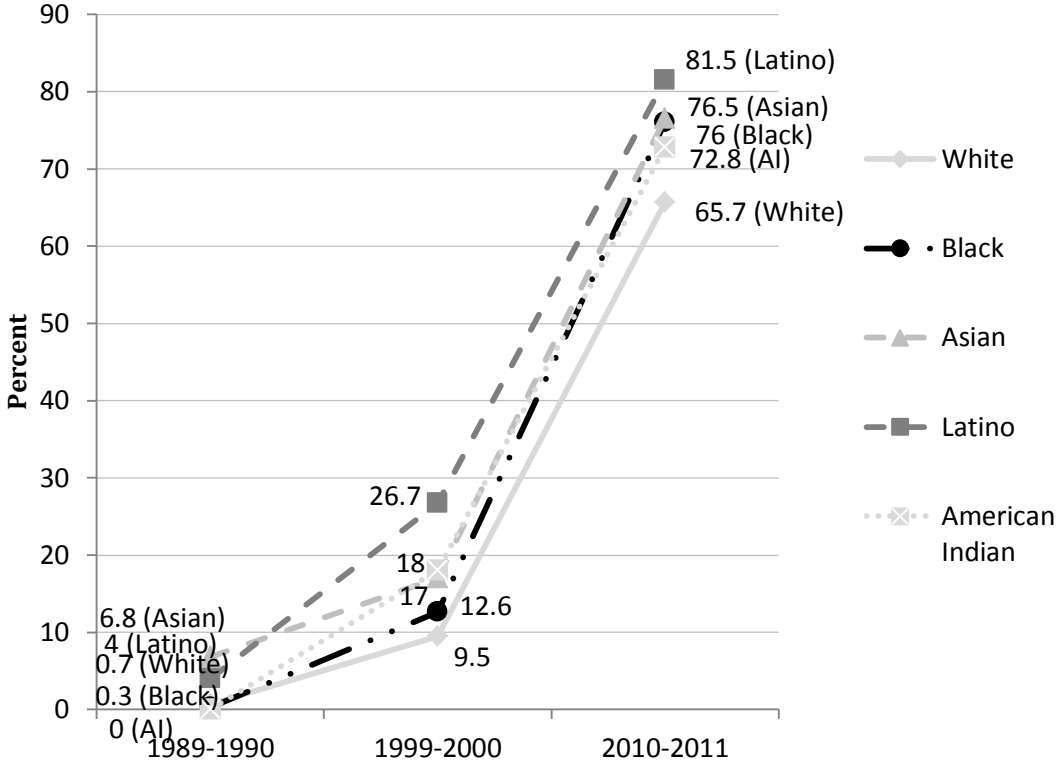


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

In 2010, between 65% and 82% of students in each racial group attended multiracial schools in metro Raleigh (Figure 24). This is an increase from the previous two decades; in fact, only one decade earlier, closer to 10-25% of each racial group attended such schools. For each racial group, the share of students attending multiracial schools is considerably greater than the figures for the state as a whole; however, white students are still the least likely of all racial groups to attend multiracial schools. These levels are significantly higher than in metro Charlotte, metro Greensboro, and the state (Figure 13, Figure 34, and Figure 4).

Figure 24 – *Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Raleigh Metro*

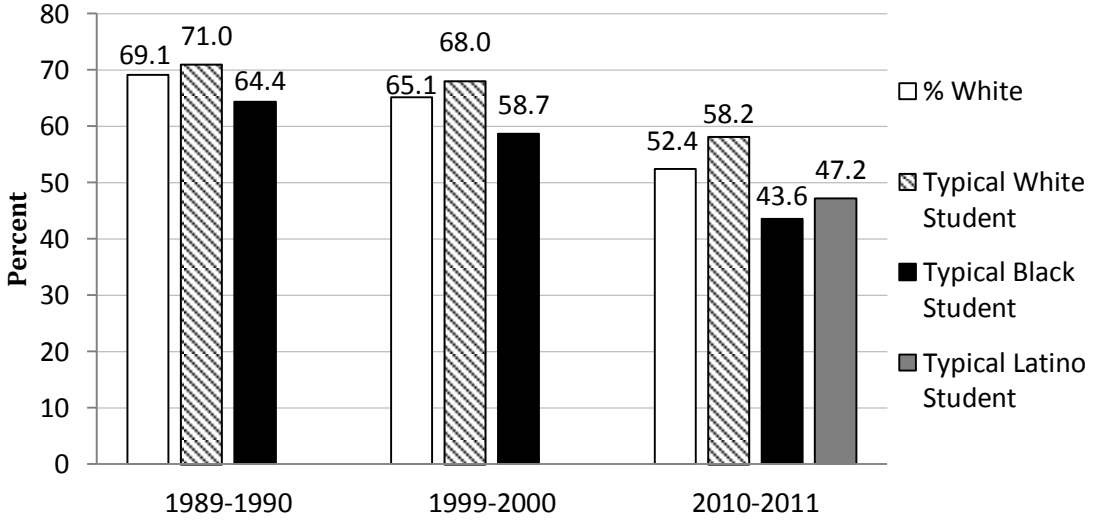


Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

In all three decades, the typical white student in metro Raleigh attended a school with a slightly larger share of white students than the overall share of the metro population while the typical black student's school had a smaller share of white students than the overall share of the metro population; the same was true for Latino students in 2010 (Figure 25). These differences are modest in size. In 2010, the typical black student was least exposed to white students and attended a school that had only 43.6% white students versus the typical Latino student whose school had 47.29% white students. The gap in the typical black student's exposure to white students versus the white share of enrollment has grown larger over time; however, the gap in metro Raleigh is smaller than that of the state, the Charlotte metro area, and the Greensboro metro area, indicating that metro Raleigh is closer to an equitable distribution of white students than metro Charlotte, metro Greensboro, or the state as a whole (Figure 14, Figure 35, and Figure 5).

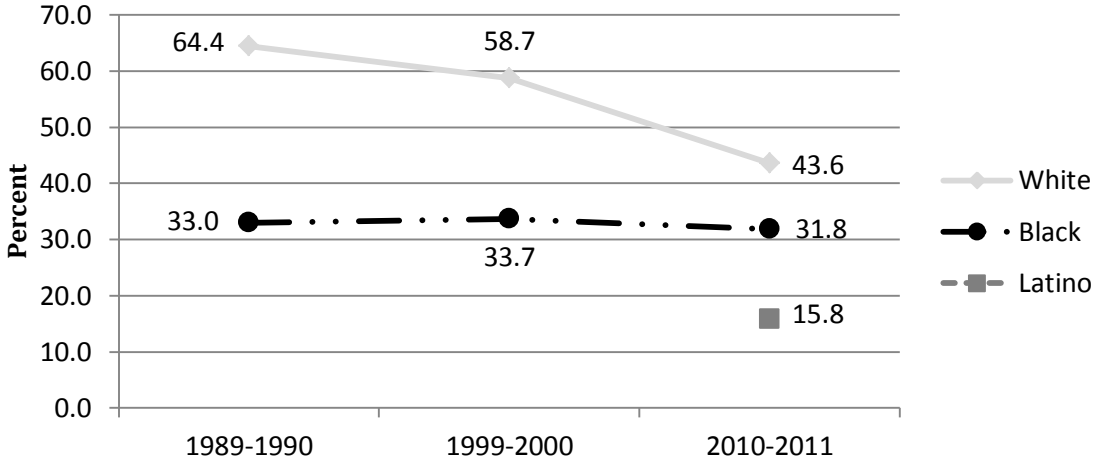
Figure 25 – *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Raleigh Metro*



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

In the past, the typical black student attended a school that was majority white (Figure 26).[243] By 2010, the typical black student's school had become less white, though white students still accounted for the largest racial group. It also had become slightly less black, though black students still accounted for nearly a third of the student enrollment, and the school had a notable Latino presence at 15.8% of the enrollment. These changes occur alongside the increasingly diverse enrollment (Figure 21) and long-standing desegregation policies and diversity-related student assignment plans.

Figure 26 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Raleigh Metro*

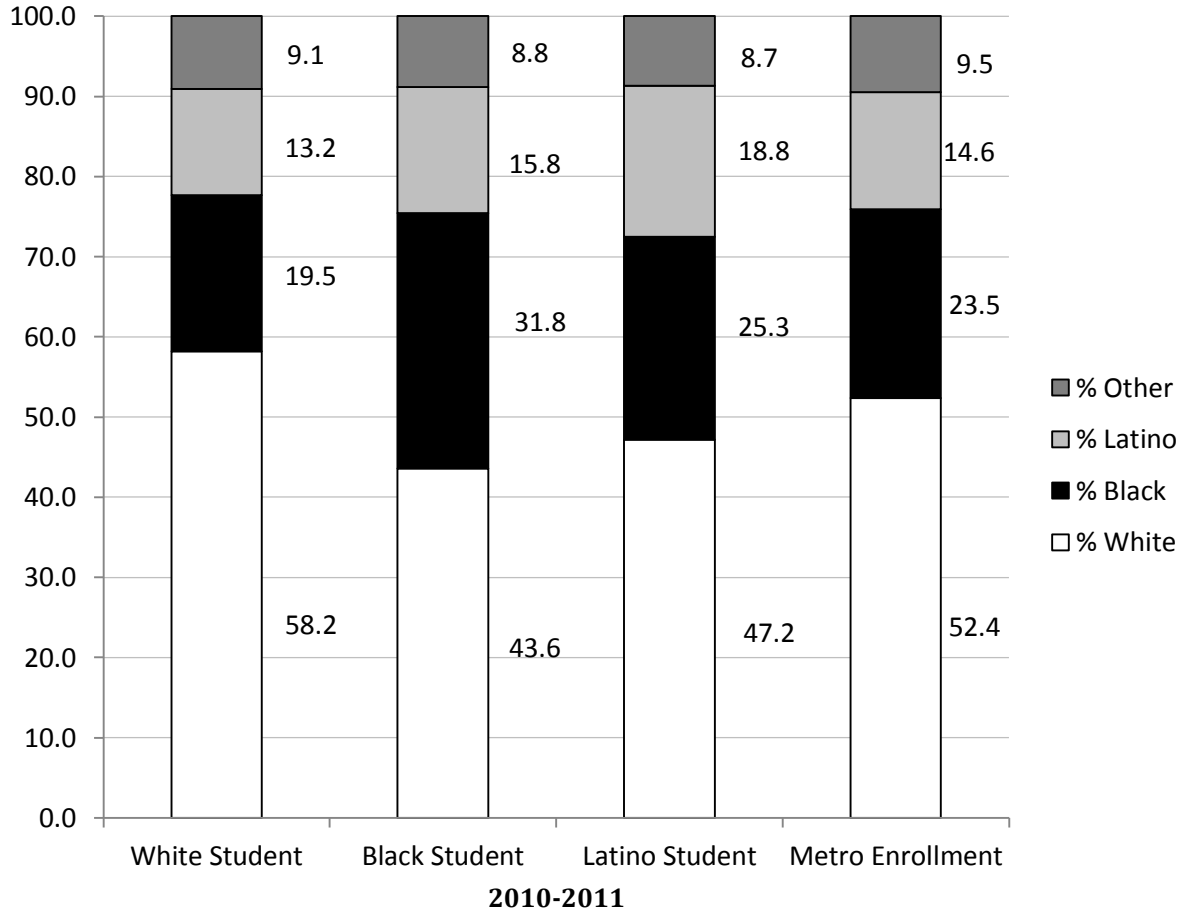


Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

[243] In contrast to the typical black student, the typical Latino student's school was more white (47.2%), more Latino (18.8%), and less black (25.3%) in 2010.

In 2010, the racial composition of the typical black student's school was least similar to the overall racial composition of the metro's student enrollment (Figure 27).

Figure 27 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Raleigh Metro*

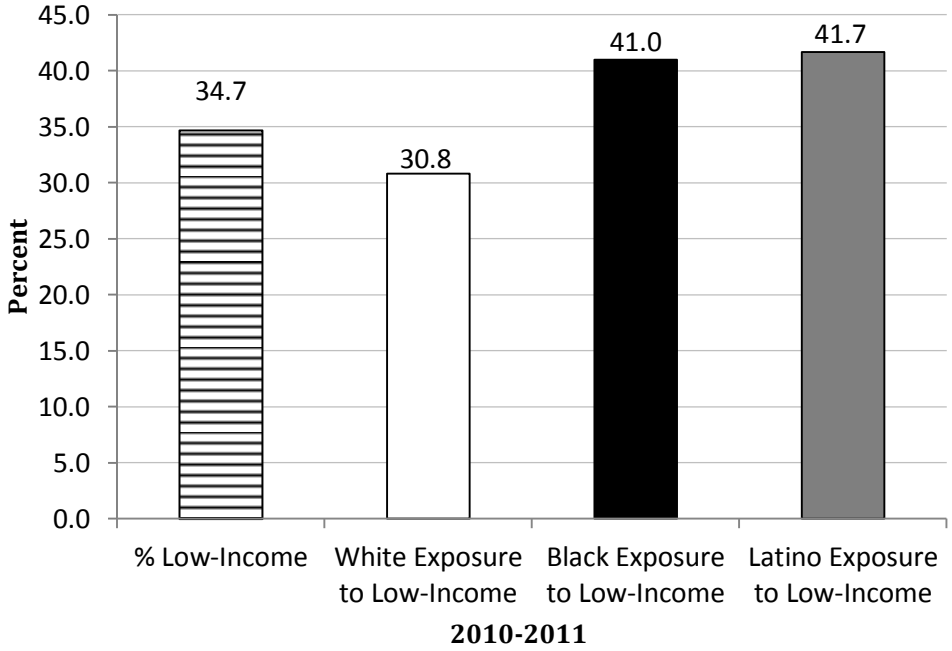


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

Figure 28 shows the disproportionate distribution of low-income students by race in metro Raleigh. The typical white student is exposed to a smaller share of low-income students than would be expected if the 34.7% of low-income students were distributed evenly across the metro's schools. Conversely, the typical black student and the typical Latino student are both exposed to larger shares of low-income students. The same pattern is present in metro Charlotte, metro Greensboro, and the state, though the gaps are smaller in metro Raleigh (Figure 17, Figure 38, and Figure 9).

Figure 28 – *Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Raleigh Metro*



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

The level of segregation in metro Raleigh has increased over the last two decades but is still considered to be a low level of segregation (Table 12). The level of segregation between school districts has remained stable while the segregation within districts has increased. As is also the case in metro Greensboro and metro Charlotte, Raleigh's segregation is more attributable to segregation within school districts than between school districts because of the large scope of county-wide districts that encompass a much larger share of metropolitan population than in states with separate central city districts (Table 7 and Table 17). The levels of segregation in metro Raleigh are lower than those in metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro.

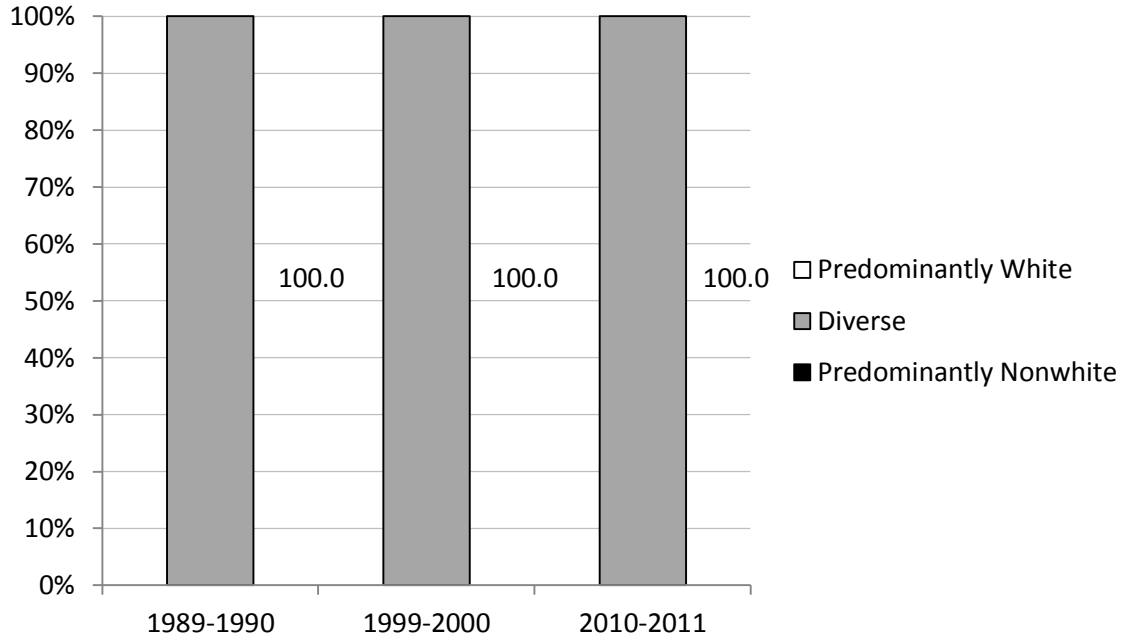
Table 12 – *Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Raleigh Metro*

	H	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Raleigh Metro			
1989-1990	0.07	0.05	0.02
1999-2000	0.08	0.07	0.02
2010-2011	0.10	0.08	0.02

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

In 1989, 100% of enduring districts—those that were open at all three time points—were diverse (Figure 29).

Figure 29 – *Racial Transition by District, Raleigh Metro*



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly non-white districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. *N*=3 districts that were open and had enrollment of at least 100 students for each time period.

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

Of the districts that were open or included in metro Raleigh's Core-Based Statistical Area (CBSA) at all three time points, the white share of enrollment in all three districts has decreased, which is similar to the metro's general decrease in white enrollment (Table 13). All three of the districts—Johnston County, Franklin County, and Wake County—have remained diverse over the last two decades.

Table 13 – *White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and School Districts, Raleigh Metro*

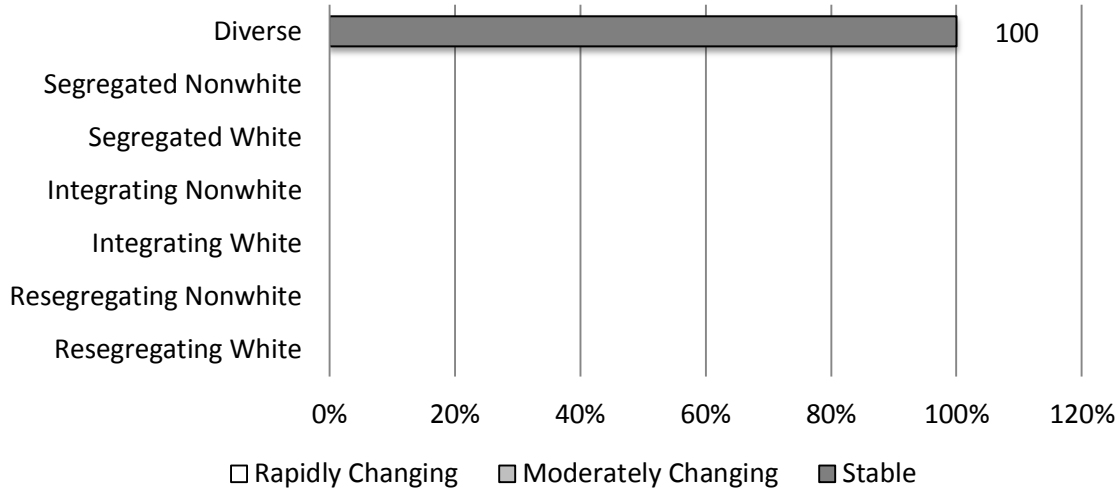
	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Raleigh Metro	69.1%	65.1%	52.4%	D	D	D
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	73.0%	70.2%	62.3%	D	D	D
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	56.7%	53.6%	52.0%	D	D	D
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	69.8%	64.8%	49.5%	D	D	D

Note: D=Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW=Predominantly non-white area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW=Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period. Districts are those that were open and had enrollment of at least 100 students for each time period.

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

Over the last two decades, 100% of districts that were open in all three time points remained stably diverse (Figure 30).

Figure 30 – *Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Raleigh Metro, 1999 to 2010*



Note: *N*=3 districts that were open and had enrollment of at least 100 students for each time period. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominantly type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

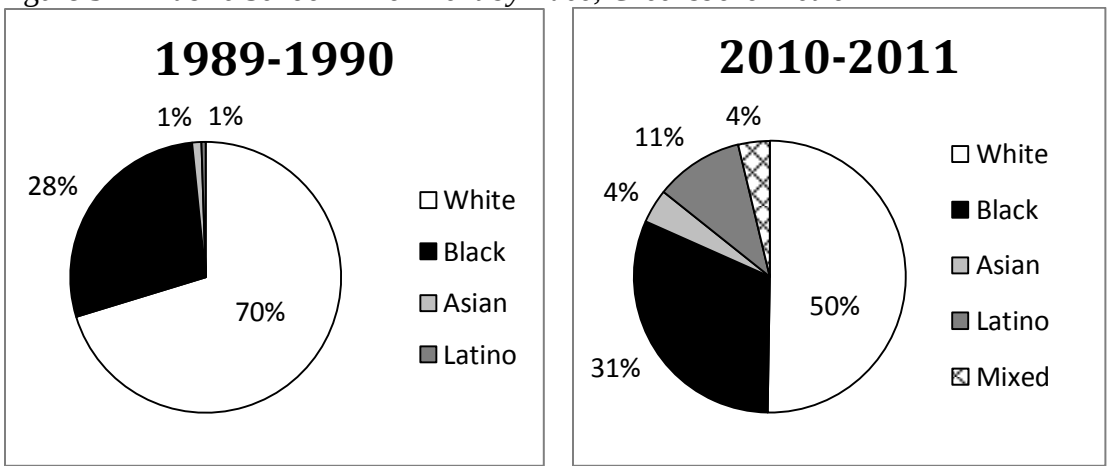
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Greensboro-High Point Metro Area[244]

Over the last 20 years, public school enrollment in metro Greensboro has become increasingly racially diverse (Figure 31). Similar to trends in the Charlotte and Raleigh metro areas (Figure 10 and Figure 21), the share of white enrollment in metro Greensboro's public schools has decreased and white students account for just under half (49.6%) of the metro's enrollment. Concurrently, within the last two decades the Latino share of enrollment increased from 0.5% to 10.4%. Unlike metro Raleigh where black enrollment decreased and metro Charlotte where black enrollment remained relatively stable, metro Greensboro was the only major metro where the black share of student enrollment slightly increased from 28% to 31%. Additionally, the Asian share of enrollment in metro Greensboro increased, although Asians comprise only 4.0% of the total enrollment in the metro. Metro Greensboro's total enrollment increased by 35.7% from 82,686 in 1989 to 112,238 in 2010.

[244] From this point forward, we use "Greensboro metro" to refer to the the Greensboro-High Point metropolitan area. In this report our data includes only the districts in this metropolitan area that are located in the state of North Carolina. The 2010 MSA boundaries included Guilford County, Randolph County, and Rockingham County.

Figure 31 – *Public School Enrollment by Race, Greensboro Metro*



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 82,686. In 2010, total enrollment was 112,238.

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

Over the last two decades, the white share of enrollment has decreased substantially in both urban and suburban schools (Table 14). In urban schools, the white share of enrollment decreased from approximately three-fourths in 1989 to less than one-third in 2010. In suburban schools, despite the decrease, in 2010, white students were still the majority with 73.5% of the total suburban enrollment. The decreasing white student enrollment occurred alongside increasing shares of Latino and Asian enrollments. In 2010, the shares of Asian and Latino student enrollments in urban schools (6.6%, 9.0%) were slightly higher in comparison to suburban schools (3.5%, 6.2%). Black student enrollment trends in urban schools were unique in that this was the only racial group which saw an increase during the first decade followed by a slight decrease in the second decade. From 1990 to 2000, the black share of enrollment in urban schools more than doubled from 23.3% to 50.6%; however, by 2010, the black share in urban schools dropped slightly to 48.3%. In suburban schools, the black share of enrollment increased during both decades to a high of 13.4% in 2010. Similar to metro Charlotte, in 2010, black students accounted for the largest share of enrollment in urban schools and white students comprised the largest share of enrollment in suburban schools. These numbers coincide with Guilford County's emphasis on adhering to local attendance zones concurrently with increasing the number of school choice options.

Table 14 – *Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Greensboro Metro*

	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools				
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**
Greensboro Metro										
1989-1990	74.2%	23.3%	1.3%	0.7%	0.5%	91.4%	7.0%	0.6%	0.5%	0.5%
1999-2000	40.8%	50.6%	4.8%	3.2%	0.6%	84.2%	12.5%	1.4%	1.4%	0.5%
2010-2011	30.5%	48.3%	6.6%	9.0%	5.6%	73.5%	13.4%	3.5%	6.2%	3.4%

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other includes American Indian students and students who identify with two or more races. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

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

Over the past two decades, metro Greensboro has experienced considerable growth in the share of multiracial schools and the other various minority segregated schools (Table 15). The share of multiracial schools in metro Greensboro is lower than the state average while the share of each type of minority segregated school is higher than the state average (Table 2).

Almost one-third of metro Greensboro's schools are multiracial, a substantial increase from a decade earlier when slightly more than one in 10 of the metro's schools were multiracial. However, the share of multiracial schools in metro Greensboro is still lower than the Charlotte and Raleigh metros.

Metro Greensboro has experienced an increase in minority segregated schools such that over half of the metro's schools are presently labeled as such. The share of intensely segregated schools in the metro increased significantly from 0.7% in 1989 to 15.8% in 2010. It is also important to note that despite not having apartheid schools two decades earlier, apartheid schools in 2010 represented approximately 2% of the schools in the metro Greensboro area. Although still a small share of the metro's schools, the number of apartheid schools is higher in Greensboro than either the Raleigh or Charlotte (Table 5 and Table 10) metros. The overall increase in the number of all three categories of minority segregated schools (majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid) may correspond with school district policies that have led to an increasing number of school choice options concurrently with an adherence to neighborhood school attendance zone.

Table 15 – *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Greensboro Metro*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Greensboro Metro					
1989-1990	147	1.4%	20.4%	0.7%	NS
1999-2000	152	11.2%	34.9%	5.9%	NS
2010-2011	183	30.6%	52.5%	15.8%	1.6%

Note: NS = No Schools. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

In 2010, 52.8% of students in metro Greensboro were low-income (Table 16), which is higher than the percentage of low-income students in the Charlotte and Raleigh metro areas (Table 6 and Table 11). Metro Greensboro's overall share of low-income students increased from one-third of the total student population in 1999 to more than half in 2010. The percentage of low-income students in majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools all increased over the 10-year span. The most dramatic rise of low-income students occurred in intensely segregated schools, which increased from 64.5% in 1999 to 84.6% in 2010.

Table 16 – *Students Who Are Low-Income in Minority Segregated Schools, Greensboro Metro*

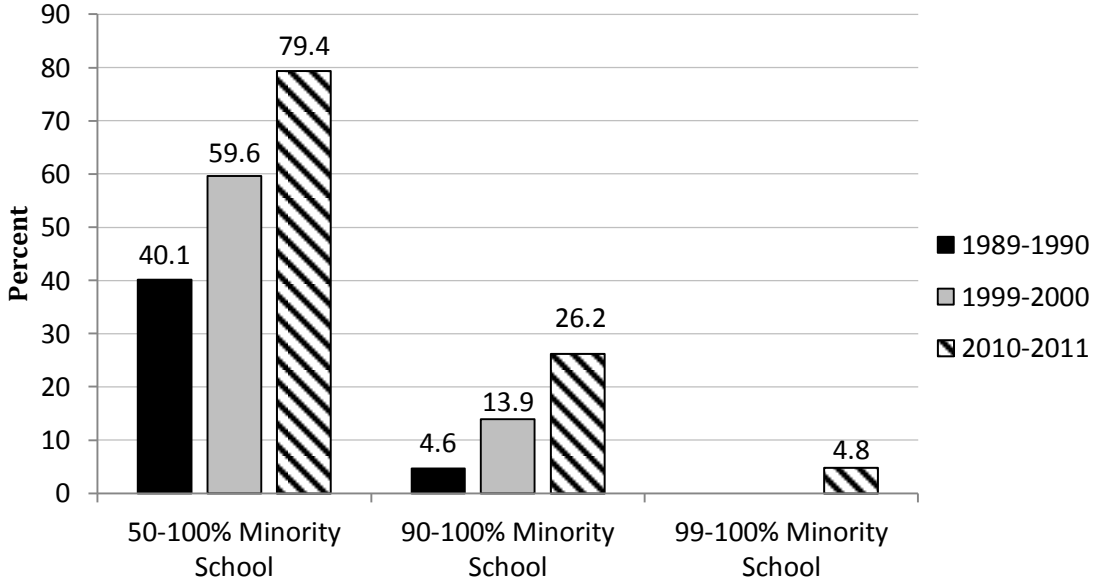
	Overall % Low-Income in Metro	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Greensboro Metro				
1999-2000	35.9%	59.7%	64.5%	NS
2010-2011	52.8%	65.2%	84.6%	75.5%

Note: NS = No Schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

The share of black students attending minority segregated schools in metro Greensboro doubled during the last two decades (Figure 32). In 1989, four out of 10 black students attended majority minority schools but by 2010, eight out of 10 black students attended such schools. Furthermore, in 1989, one out of 20 black students attended intensely segregated schools but by 2010 one out of four black students attended these schools. There was also an increase in the share of black students attending apartheid schools, with 4.8% of black students attending these schools in 2010, up from none a decade earlier. The share of black students in metro Greensboro who are enrolled in minority segregated, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools exceeds the state average for these schools (Figure 2). The increase in enrollment of black students at these segregated schools corresponds with Guildford County's 1999 redistricting plan that emphasized neighborhood schools.

Figure 32 – *Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Greensboro Metro*

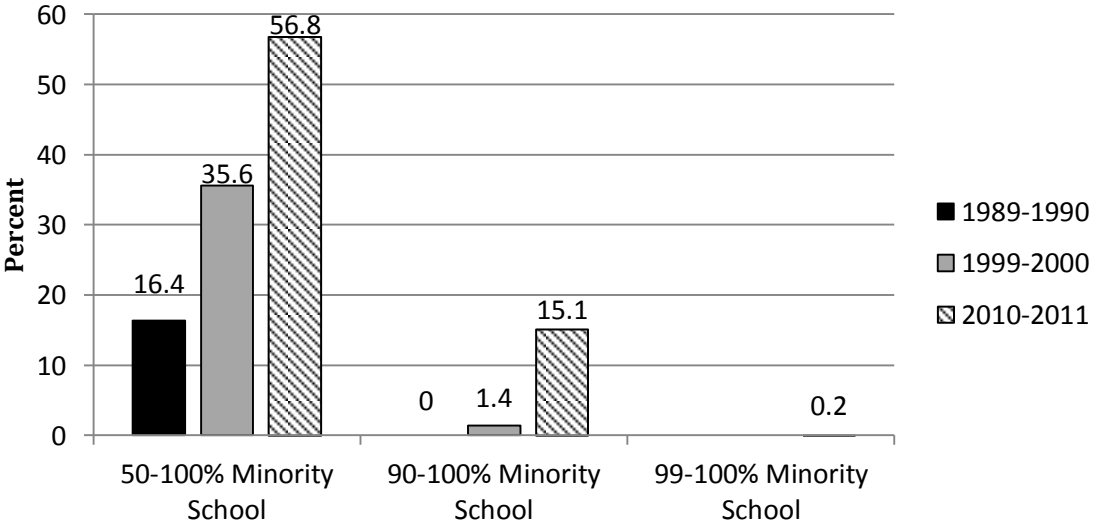


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

Although not quite as extreme as the levels for black students in metro Greensboro, the share of Latino students attending minority segregated, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools all increased substantially over the last two decades (Figure 33). In 2010, more than half of all Latino students attended minority segregated schools, and one out of seven Latino students was enrolled in intensely segregated schools.

Figure 33 – *Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Greensboro Metro*

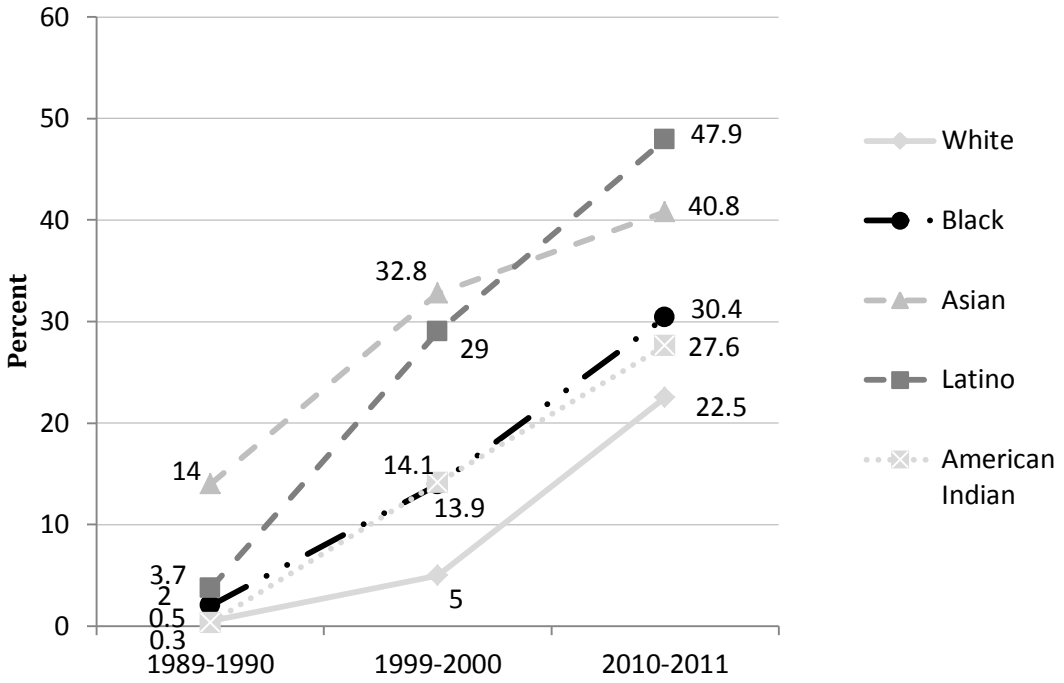


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

From 1989 to 1999, there was a significant increase in the percentages of all the racial groups attending multiracial schools in metro Greensboro (Figure 34). In 2010, 20-50% of each racial group attended multiracial schools. With almost half of the metro's Latino students attending multiracial schools, Latino students are the most likely to attend such schools. Alternatively, white students are the least likely to attend multiracial schools with about one in four white students attending such schools in 2010. In comparison to the Raleigh and Charlotte metro areas (Figure 24 and Figure 13) as well as overall state percentages of racial groups attending multiracial schools (Figure 4), metro Greensboro has the lowest percentages of all racial groups attending these schools.

Figure 34 – *Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Greensboro Metro*

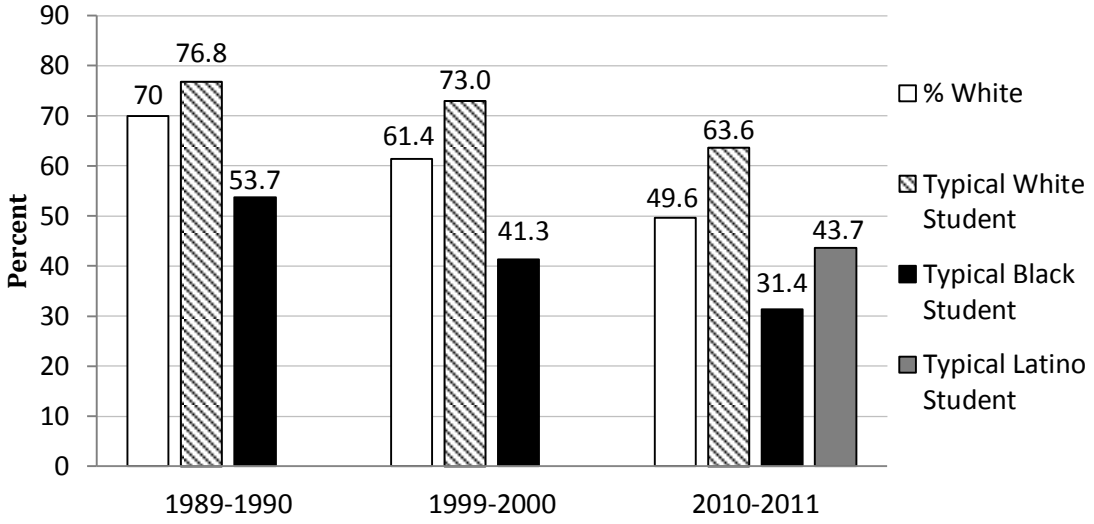


Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

In the last two decades, the typical white student in metro Greensboro attended a school with more white students than the overall share of the metro's enrollment, while the typical black student's school had a smaller share of white students than the overall share of the metro enrollment; the same was true for Latino students in 2010 (Figure 35). Similar to the Charlotte and Raleigh metros (Figure 14 and Figure 25), the typical black student was least exposed to white students and attended a school that was only 31.4% white, while the typical Latino students' school was 43.7% white. The gap in the typical black student's exposure to white students versus the white share of enrollment in the entire metro increased from 1989 to 1999 but then decreased slightly from 1999 to 2010. The typical white student is exposed to a larger share of other white students than the overall level of white enrollment in the metro; this gap has also grown larger over the last 20 years such that in 2010, the typical white student attended a school that was 63.6% white even though white students only accounted for 49.6% of the metro's total enrollment.

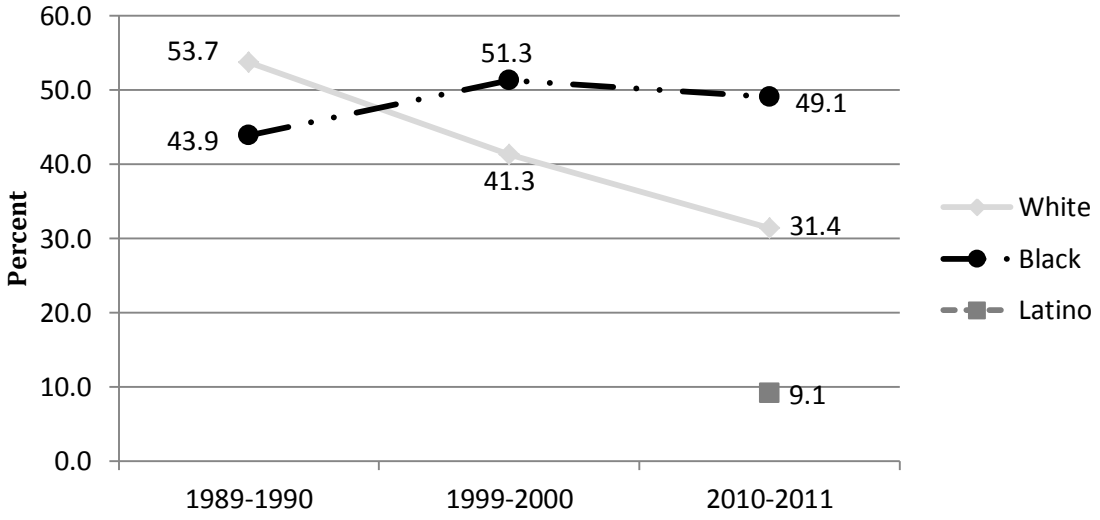
Figure 35 – *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Greensboro Metro*



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

The school that the typical black student attends has become slightly more black and considerably less white (Figure 36). In 1989, the typical black student attended a school that was majority white, but by 2010 the typical black student attended a school that was 49.1% black, 31.4% white, and 9.1% Latino, even though the metro's overall enrollment is still almost half white (Figure 31).[245]

Figure 36 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Greensboro Metro*

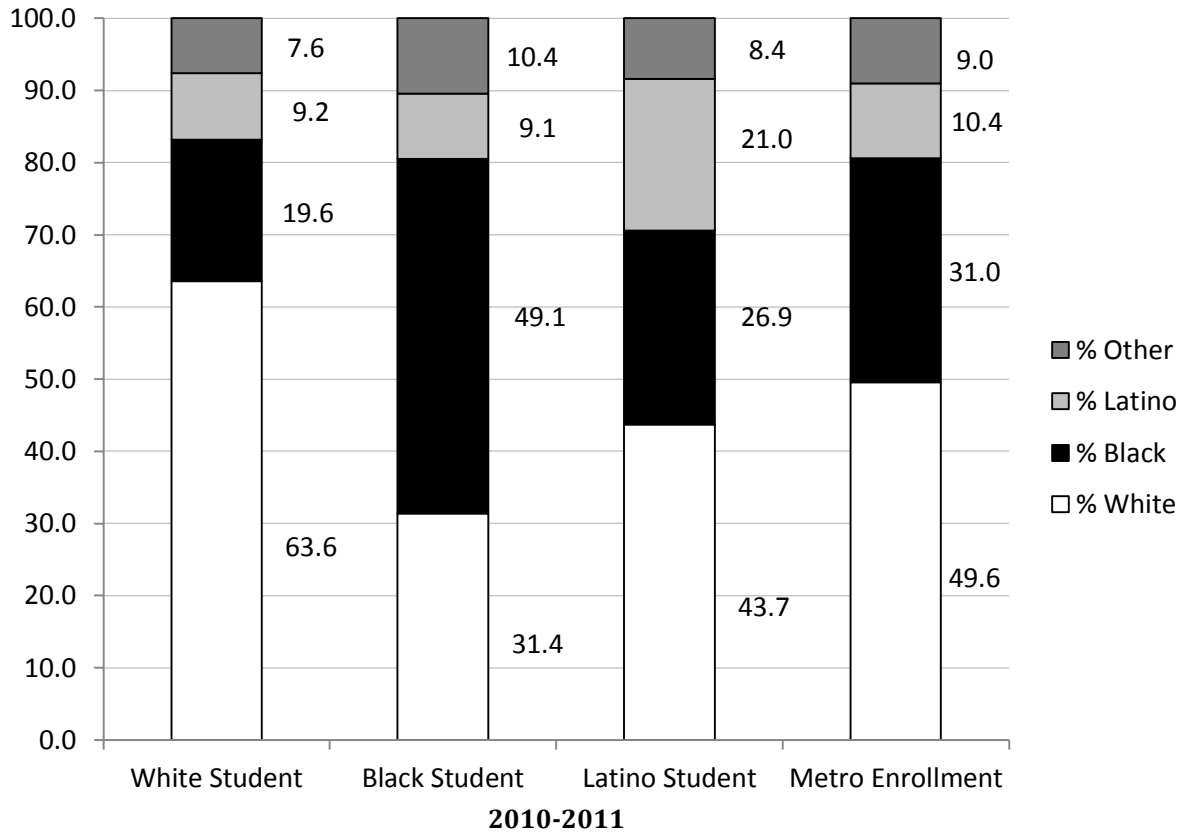


Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

[245] Compared to the school of the typical black student, the typical Latino student's school is more white (43.7%), more Latino (21.0%), and less black (26.9%).

The racial composition of the typical black student's school is least similar to the overall racial composition of metro Greensboro's student enrollment (Figure 37). The typical white student's school is largely comprised of white students at a level that is significantly higher than the overall metro. Alternatively the typical black student attends a school with a larger share of black students than the share of black students in the metro, and the typical Latino student's school has a larger share of Latino students than the overall percentage of Latinos in the metro. Greensboro's racial composition of schools attended by Latinos are comparable to the Raleigh metro (Figure 27), while schools attended by the typical black student has a racial composition similar to metro Charlotte (Figure 16). Black students in Greensboro attend schools that have more blacks and fewer Latinos in comparison to the typical Black student's school in the comparative metros. The typical white student in the Greensboro, Raleigh, and Charlotte metros attends schools that have similar racial compositions.

Figure 37 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Greensboro Metro*



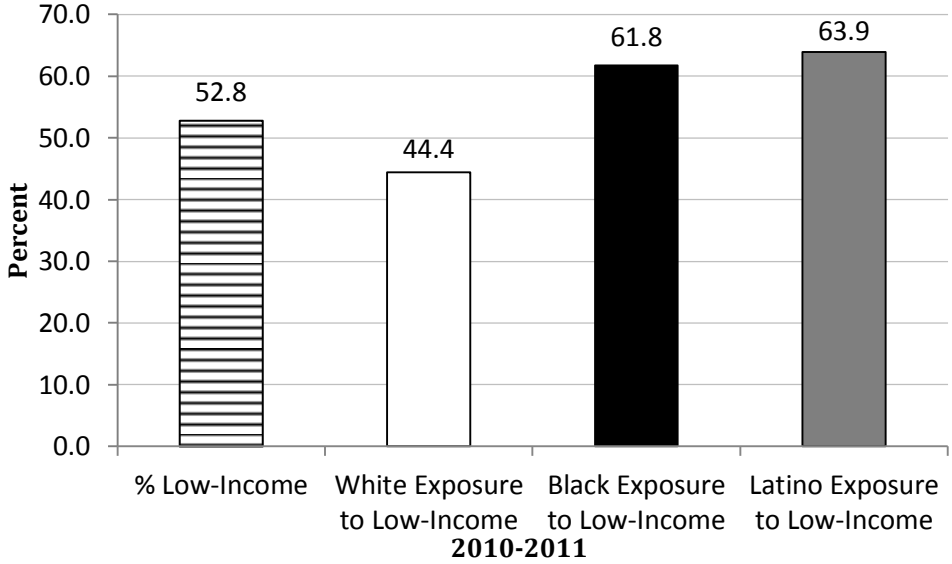
Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

In comparison to metro Charlotte, metro Raleigh, and the overall level for the state (Figure 17, Figure 28, and Figure 9), metro Greensboro has the highest percentage of low-income students at 52.8% (Figure 38). Additionally, the typical black and Latino students are exposed to larger shares of low-income students than the typical white student in the metro. This

pattern is similar to metro Raleigh, metro Charlotte, and the state. For the typical black and Latino students, almost two-thirds of their classmates are low income. Conversely, the typical white student attends a school where less than half of his or her classmates are low income. This data reveals the disproportionate distribution of low-income students by race.

Figure 38 – *Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Greensboro Metro*



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

The level of unevenness in metro Greensboro has fluctuated over the last two decades (Table 17). The last decade of the twentieth century saw the level of unevenness in the metro rise to a considerably high level at 0.23. In 2010, there was a slight drop in the level of unevenness, but metro Greensboro still had a higher level of unevenness than metro Raleigh (Table 12) and metro Charlotte (Table 7). In the past, metro Greensboro's segregation was primarily due to segregation between districts, but now it is more attributable to segregation within school districts. Like other metros in the state, a number of the school districts in metro Greensboro are city-suburban districts which may account for the rising levels of segregation within districts.

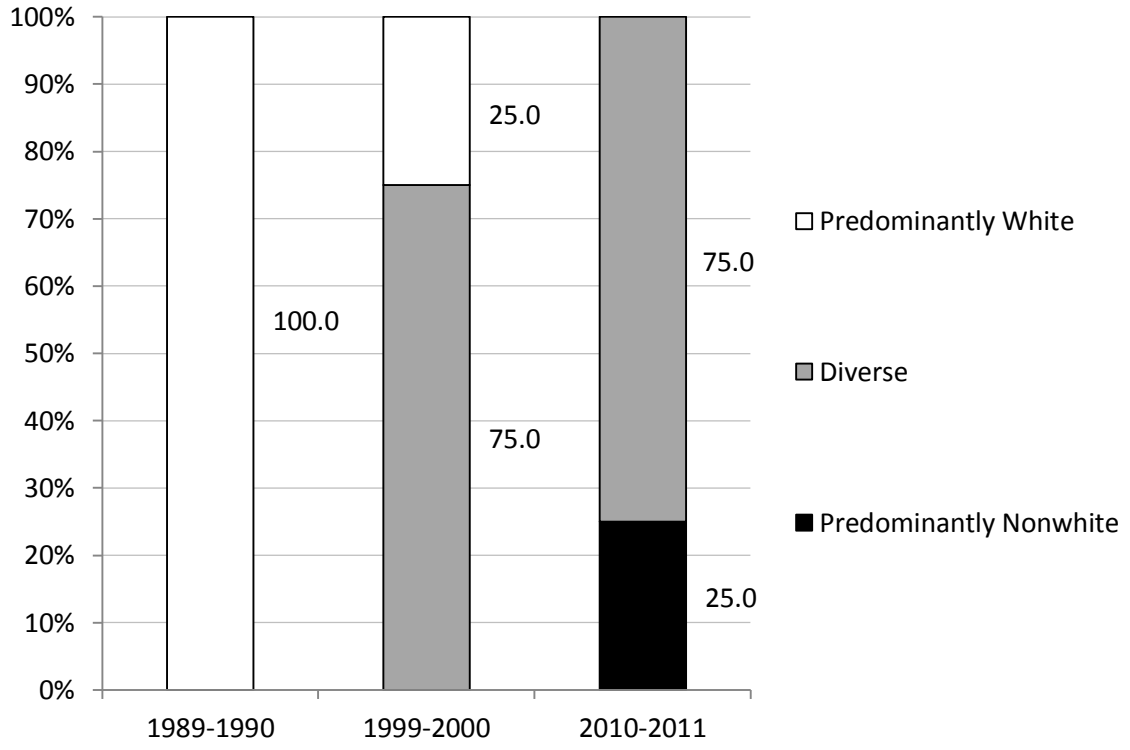
Table 17 – *Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Greensboro Metro*

	H	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Greensboro Metro			
1989-1990	0.19	0.07	0.13
1999-2000	0.23	0.16	0.07
2010-2011	0.21	0.13	0.08

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

In 1989, all four of the metro's districts that were open during all three time points were predominantly white (Figure 39). The overall pattern of district categorization shows that these districts have become less white. By 1999, three of the four districts were diverse and only one remained predominantly white. By 2010, none of the districts were predominantly white, three were diverse, and one had become predominantly nonwhite.

Figure 39 – *Racial Transition by District, Greensboro Metro*



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly non-white districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. *N*=4 districts that were open and had enrollment of at least 100 students for each time period.

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

All four of the districts that were open or included in metro Greensboro's Core-Based Statistical Area (CBSA) at all three time points experienced decreases in white enrollment from 1989 to 2010 (Table 18). From 1989 to 2010, districts that changed classifications from predominantly white to diverse include Randolph, Rockingham, and Asheboro. Guilford County is the only school district in the metro whose classification has changed at all three time points. In 1989, Guilford County was predominantly white, a decade later the district was classified as diverse, and in 2010 Guilford County was classified as predominantly nonwhite.

Table 18 – *White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and School Districts, Greensboro Metro*

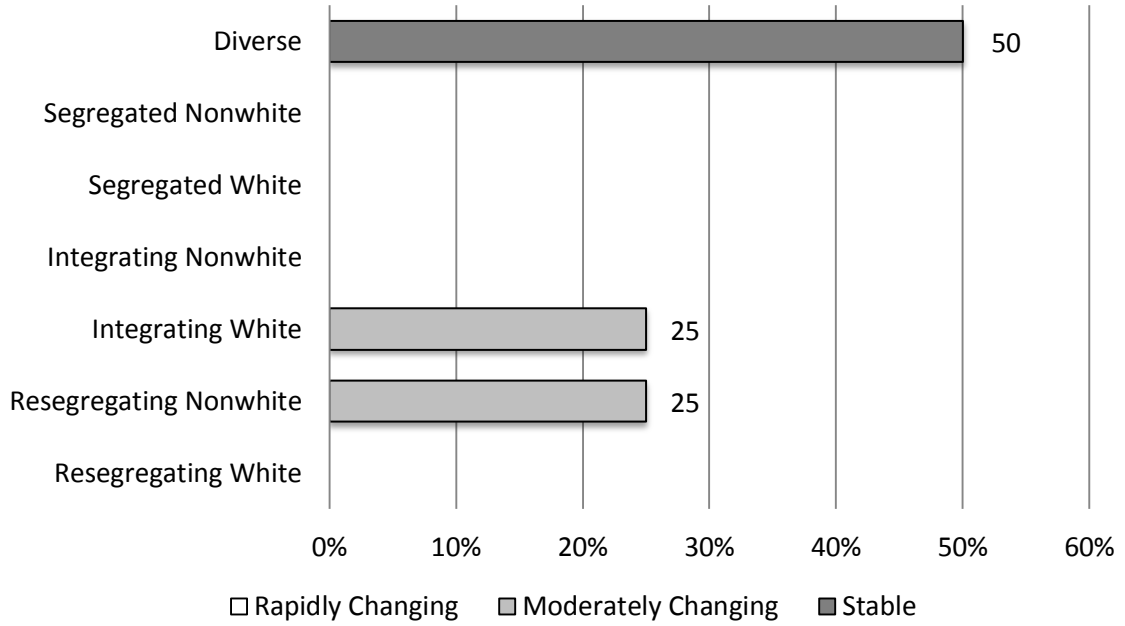
	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Greensboro Metro	70.0%	61.4%	49.6%	D	D	D
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	80.6%	51.6%	39.6%	PW	D	PNW
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	93.6%	89.0%	78.7%	PW	PW	D
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	80.0%	70.3%	63.5%	PW	D	D
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	83.7%	64.9%	42.7%	PW	D	D

Note: D=Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW=Predominantly non-white area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW=Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period. Districts are those that were open and had enrollment of at least 100 students for each time period.

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

Over the last decade, two of the metro's four districts—Rockingham and Asheboro—remained stably diverse (Figure 40). From 1999 to 2010, Randolph county was integrating white at a moderate pace, while Guilford county was resegregating nonwhite.

Figure 40 – *Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Greensboro Metro, 1999 to 2010*

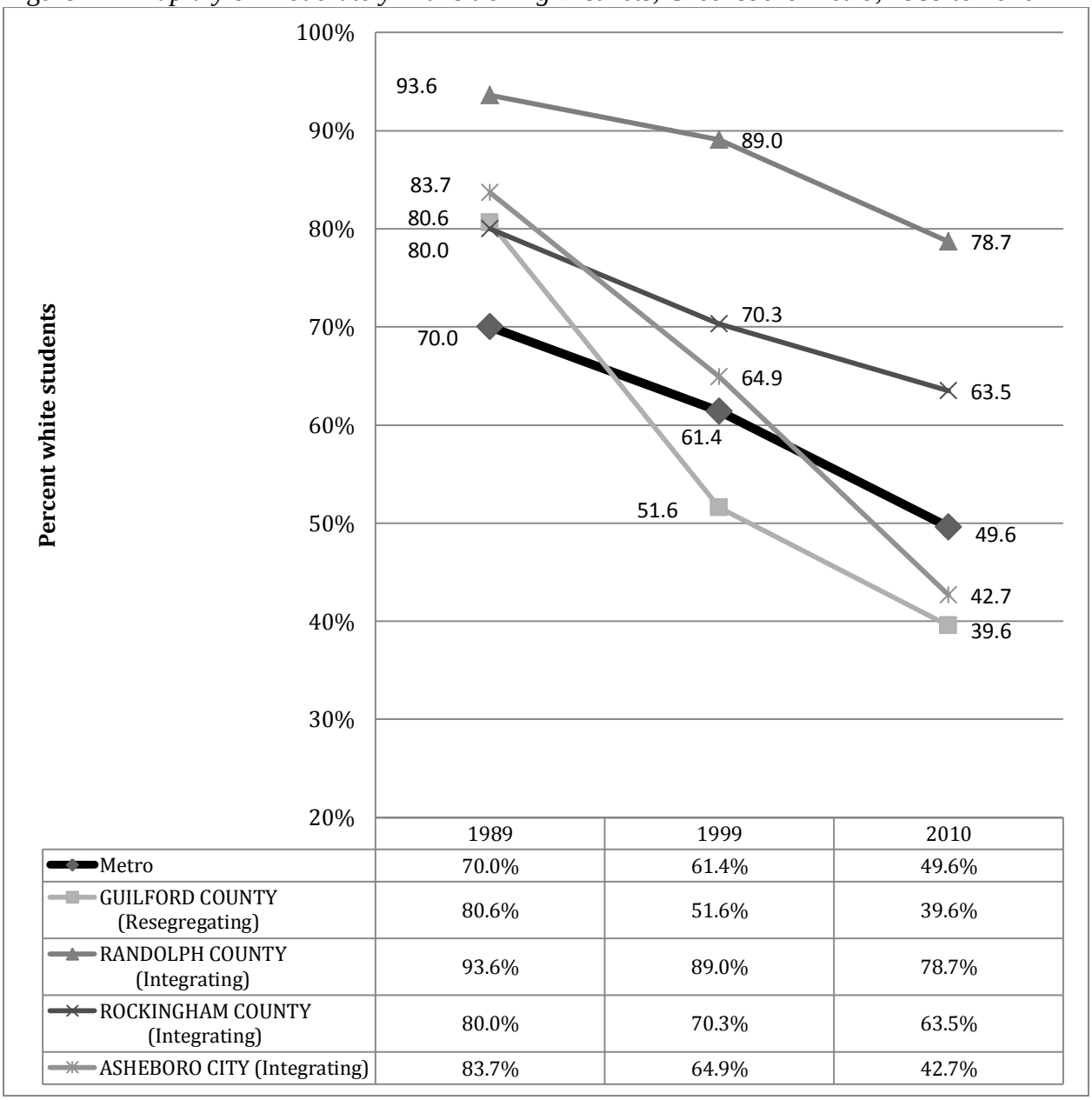


Note: *N*=4 districts that were open and had enrollment of at least 100 students for each time period. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominantly type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

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

All four of the metro's districts that were open at all three time points had a greater percentage of white students than the percentage of white students in the overall metro in 1989 and experienced moderate racial change during the following two decades (Figure 41). Randolph, Rockingham, and Asheboro have experienced moderate rates of decline in their share of white enrollment and have been integrating from predominantly white to diverse. Guilford County also experienced a moderate change in white enrollment over the last 20 years but has changed from being classified as predominantly white to predominantly nonwhite, which classifies it as resegregating. Guilford County and Rockingham County are the two districts whose white share of the enrollment is lower than the white share of enrollment in the metro.

Figure 41 – *Rapidly or Moderately Transitioning Districts, Greensboro Metro, 1989 to 2010*



	1989	1999	2010
Metro	70.0%	61.4%	49.6%
GUILFORD COUNTY (Resegregating)	80.6%	51.6%	39.6%
RANDOLPH COUNTY (Integrating)	93.6%	89.0%	78.7%
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY (Integrating)	80.0%	70.3%	63.5%
ASHEBORO CITY (Integrating)	83.7%	64.9%	42.7%

Note: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the prior year and classified as the other predominantly type in the latter year. Integrating are districts classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the prior year and diverse in the latter year. Segregating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both periods but experienced a white % change greater than 2 times the metro white % change. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period.

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

Conclusions

At both the state and metropolitan levels, North Carolina's student enrollment is growing in size and is becoming increasingly diverse. Although white students account for over half of the student enrollment in the state and metro Raleigh, they make up slightly less than half of the enrollment in metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro. In all three metros and the state, black students comprise the next largest racial group, accounting for about 20-30% of the student enrollment. The Latino share of enrollment ranges from 11-15% in the three metros and the state while Asian students account for 3-5%, and students of more than one race account for 4% of the total enrollment. The fundamental forces at work in the state reflect changing birthrates and migration patterns of the white and nonwhite populations and a massive Latino immigration into North Carolina and nearby states in recent years, not a flight from public education.

In both urban and suburban schools in all three metros, the white share of enrollment has decreased while the Asian and Latino shares of enrollment have increased; in metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro, there was an overall increase in black enrollment in both urban and suburban schools from 1989 to 2010, but in metro Raleigh, black enrollment increased in urban schools but decreased in suburban schools. Although the white share of enrollment has decreased in both urban and suburban schools in all three metros, white students comprise the largest share of suburban school enrollment and continue to account for a larger share of enrollment in suburban schools than urban schools. In 2010, in metro Raleigh, white students accounted for the largest share of enrollment in urban schools. Conversely, in 2010, in metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro, black students accounted for the largest share of enrollment in urban schools. In metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro, there are slightly larger shares of Latino students in urban schools than suburban schools, but in metro Raleigh, the share of Latino students is about 14% in both urban and suburban schools. In all three metros, there are slightly larger shares of Asian students in urban schools than suburban schools. In general, urban and suburban schools in metro Raleigh are more similar to each other than urban and suburban schools in either of the other metro areas. It is likely that Wake County's diversity-related student assignment policy maintained schools that were more racially similar to each other through 2010. Wake county's policy stood in contrast to the policies of Charlotte and Greensboro, which shifted the focus from desegregation to neighborhood schools and thus allowed residential segregation and choice programs to determine the racial composition of schools.

The share of multiracial schools has increased across the state such that in 2010, slightly over one-third of the state's schools were multiracial. Metro Raleigh has the largest share of multiracial schools (69.4%) while the share of multiracial schools in metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro is closer to the state average at around one third. Not surprisingly then, larger shares of each racial group attend multiracial schools in metro Raleigh than in either of the other two metros or the state. Again, this difference could be due to Wake County's long-standing desegregation plans and diversity-related student assignment policies that were in place through 2010.

The share of minority segregated schools has also increased across the state such that in 2010, just under half of the state's schools were majority minority. This occurred alongside demographic change which resulted in a state student enrollment that was almost half non-white in 2010. However, the extent to which minority segregated schools exist varies by metro, which is likely a result of differing approaches to student assignment policies, with metro Raleigh

maintaining a focus on diversity and metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro making diversity less of a priority. Both metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro have a larger share of majority minority schools than the state average of 43.0%; metro Greensboro has the largest share at 52.5%. Of the three metro areas, metro Charlotte has the largest share (20.2%) of intensely segregated schools. In all three metro areas, the share of apartheid schools is small, ranging from 0.9-1.6%. However, two decades ago there were no apartheid schools in any of the three metros; therefore, this change merits attention over the next decade.

There have been significant increases in the shares of black and Latino students attending minority segregated schools, though in all three metros and the state, larger shares of black students attend each type (majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid) of minority segregated school than Latino students. Of particular concern and considerably higher than the state average, one out of three black students in Charlotte and one out of four black students in Greensboro attend intensely segregated schools. Of the three metro areas, metro Greensboro has the largest share of black students attending majority minority schools (79.4%), and metro Charlotte has the largest share of black students attending intensely segregated schools (36%). The largest share of black students attending apartheid schools is in metro Greensboro (4.8%). For Latino students, the largest share attending majority minority schools (70.4%), intensely segregated schools (29.2%), and apartheid schools (0.3%) is in Charlotte. Students in metro Raleigh have a greater likelihood of attending multiracial schools and are less likely to attend minority segregated schools than those in either of the other two metros.

In all three metros and the state, the typical black student attends a school that is least similar to the overall racial composition of the corresponding metro or the state. The typical black students in metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro have even more disparate racial compositions in their schools than the typical black student in metro Raleigh.

Consistent with previously discussed measures of segregation, using the entropy index, metro Raleigh is the least segregated and metro Greensboro is the most segregated of the three metro areas. The overall level of segregation has consistently increased in metro Raleigh over the last two decades while in both metro Charlotte and metro Greensboro, the overall level of segregation increased from 1989 to 1999 but then decreased from 1999 to 2010. In all three metros, segregation is more evident within school districts than between school districts, which is likely due to the large scope of countywide districts that encompass a much larger share of the metropolitan population than in states with separate central city districts

In all three metros and the state, the share of low-income students has increased. At 52.8%, metro Greensboro has the largest share of low-income students while metro Raleigh's share is the smallest at 34.7%. In all three metros and the state, as the level of racial segregation in a school increases, so too does the share of low-income students, revealing a double segregation of students by both race and class. In all three metros and the state, the typical white student attends a school with a smaller share of low-income students than the metro or state's overall level of low-income students while the typical black student and the typical Latino student attend schools with larger shares of low-income students.

Although the state's student population is becoming increasingly diverse, students across the state are exposed to less diversity in their schools. In all metro areas, students are becoming increasingly isolated by both race and class. Although the level of segregation varies by metro,

with Raleigh being the least segregated, the moderately high levels of segregation in all three metros merit close attention.

These trends toward increasing segregation by race and class necessitate serious consideration as they have a variety of negative effects on students of all races as well as the communities in which they live. Decades of social science research indicate that segregated schools are strongly related to many forms of unequal educational opportunity and outcomes. Minority segregated schools have fewer experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less stable enrollments, inadequate facilities and learning materials, and high dropout rates. Conversely, desegregated schools are linked to profound benefits for all students. Desegregated learning environments are related to improved academic achievement for minority students with no corresponding detrimental impact for white students, improved critical thinking skills, loftier educational and career expectations, reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes, heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines, and high levels of civic and communal responsibility. If North Carolina hopes to benefit from the opportunities presented by an increasingly diverse student enrollment, it is imperative that state and local leaders, parents, and educators refuse to accept the resegregation of the state's public schools and instead take steps to once again become leaders in desegregation

Recommendations[246]

State Level

Many steps can be taken at the state level to create and maintain integrated schools. State-level policies that focus on reducing racial isolation and promoting diverse schools are critical. Ohio recently developed an updated version of such policies that could provide direction for other states. Ohio's policy, which applies to both regular public schools and charter schools, provides guidance to school districts concerning the development of student assignment policies that foster diverse schools and reduce concentrated poverty. The policy encourages inter-district transfer programs and regional magnet schools. Ohio's policy promotes the recruitment of a diverse group of teachers and also requires districts to report to the Ohio state superintendent of public instruction on diversity-related matters. Massachusetts's Racial Imbalance Act, which required districts to improve the racial balance of schools and funded magnet schools and interdistrict transfers, is another example of state policy that could guide other states.

State-level policies to promote diversity in schools are needed across the United States. Policies should provide guidance about how districts can create student assignment policies that foster diverse schools. Policies should also consider how to recruit a diverse teaching staff and states should set credentialing standards for training a more diverse teaching force. Within the three major metros in North Carolina, more segregation occurs within districts than between districts primarily because the majority of districts have city-county consolidated school systems. Thus it is important for state-level policies to provide a framework for developing and supporting intra-district programs with a diversity focus, and states should play a role in the development of such programs. Additionally, states should require that districts report to the state on diversity-related matters for both public and charter schools.

[246] This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kucsera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students.* Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

Residential segregation, which is correlated with school segregation, is still a concern in North Carolina, particularly in the Piedmont region, which is home to the three metro areas in the study. [247] Therefore, fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets, particularly in and around areas with diverse school districts. The same groups should bring significant prosecutions for violations. Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies for projects receiving federal direct funding or tax credit subsidies so that they support integrated schools rather than foster segregation.

State and local officials should work to promote diversity in charter school enrollments, in part by encouraging extensive outreach to diverse communities, interdistrict enrollment, and the provision of free transportation. Officials should also consider pursuing litigation against charter schools that are receiving public funds but are intentionally segregated, serving only one racial or ethnic group, or refusing service to English language learners. They should investigate charter schools that are virtually all white in diverse areas or schools that provide no free lunch program, making it impossible to serve students who need these subsidies in order to eat and therefore excluding a large share of nonwhite students. White students are more isolated from students of color, and students of color are more isolated from white students in North Carolina's charter schools than in the comparable public schools, thus making the monitoring of segregation in charter schools particularly salient.[248]

Local Level

At the local level, raising awareness is an essential step in preventing further resegregation and encouraging integrated schooling. Civil rights organizations and community organizations in nonwhite communities should study the existing trends and observe and participate in political and community processes and action related to boundary changes, school siting decisions, and other key policies that make schools more segregated or more integrated. Local communities and fair housing organizations must monitor their real estate market to ensure that potential home buyers are not being steered away from areas with diverse schools. Community institutions and churches need to facilitate conversations about the values of diverse education and help raise community awareness about its benefits. Local journalists should cover the relationships between segregation and unequal educational outcomes and realities, in addition to providing coverage of high quality, diverse schools.

Many steps can be taken in terms of advocacy as well. Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions and advocate for low-income housing to be set aside in new communities that are attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County, Maryland, just outside Washington, D.C. New schools—both public and charter—should not be built or opened in racially isolated areas of the district unless they are part of a magnet strategy and hold promise to result in diverse student bodies. Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn. Communities need to provide consistent and vocal support for promoting school diversity and recognize the power of local school boards

[247] Gilbert, P. (2013). *The state of exclusion: An empirical analysis of the legacy of segregated communities in North Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Center for Civil Rights.
[248] Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Wang, J. (2010). Choice without equity: Charter school segregation and the need for civil rights standards; North Carolina fact sheet. *Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles.*

to either advocate for integration or work against it. Efforts should be made to foster the development of suburban coalitions to influence state-level policy-making around issues of school diversity and equity.

School district policy-makers also have control over student assignment policies and thus can directly influence the levels of diversity within each school. Districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools. Although Wake County still has the lowest level of segregation of the three metros examined in this report, by de-emphasizing race in its student assignment policy, Wake County has experienced an increase in segregation levels; therefore, district officials should return to considering race in their diversity policy. In addition, the majority of school districts in North Carolina are city-suburban consolidated models, but for those districts that are not, district officials should work toward merger.

Magnet schools and transfer programs within district borders can also be used to promote more racially integrated schools. These programs are particularly important in North Carolina as most segregation occurs within school districts rather than between school districts as a result of the number of countywide consolidated districts.

The enforcement of laws guiding school segregation is essential. Many communities have failed to comply with long-standing desegregation plans and have not been released by the federal courts. Such noncompliance and/or more contemporary violations are grounds for a new or revised desegregation order. Many suburban districts never had a desegregation order because they were virtually all white during the civil rights era. However, many of them are now diverse and may be engaged in classic abuses of racial gerrymandering of attendance boundaries, school site selection that intensifies segregation and choice plans, or operating choice plans with methods and policies that undermine integration and foster segregation. Where such violations exist, local organizations and parents should ask the school board to address and correct them. If there is no positive response, they should register complaints with the U.S. Department of Justice or the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education.

Educational Organizations and Universities

Professional associations, teachers' organizations, and colleges of education need to make educators and communities fully aware of the nature and costs of existing segregation. Foundations should fund research dedicated to exploring the continued harms of segregation and the benefits of integration. Education opinion leaders must not continue to reinforce the notion that separate schools are equal schools, or that school reform efforts can make them equal while largely ignoring the politically sensitive issues of increasing racial and economic segregation. Researchers and advocates need to analyze and publicize the racial patterns and practices of public charter schools. Nonprofits and foundations funding charter schools should not incentivize the development of racially and economically isolated programs but instead they should support civil rights and academic institutions working on these issues.

Institutions of higher education can also influence the development of more diverse K-12 schools by informing students and families that their institutions are diverse and that students who have not been in diverse K-12 educational settings might be unprepared for the experiences they will encounter at such institutions of higher education. Admission staffs of colleges and

universities should also consider the skills and experiences that students from diverse high schools will bring to their campuses when reviewing college applications and making admissions decisions.

Private and public civil rights organizations should also contribute to enforcing laws.[249] They need to create a serious strategy to enforce the rights of Latino students in districts where they have never been recognized and major inequalities exist.

The Courts

The most important public policy changes affecting desegregation have been made not by elected officials or educators but by the courts. The U.S. Supreme Court has changed basic elements of desegregation policy by 180 degrees, particularly in the 2007 *Parents Involved* decision, which sharply limited voluntary action with desegregation policies by school districts using choice and magnet school plans. The Court left intact race-conscious school desegregation policies that did not dictate the assignment of individual students, such as consideration of race in school siting, teacher assignment, and the racial composition of neighborhoods. The Court is now divided 5-4 in its support of these limits and many of the Courts of Appeals are deeply divided, as are courts at the state and local level. Since we give our courts such sweeping power to define and eliminate rights, judicial appointments are absolutely critical. Interested citizens and elected officials should support judicial appointees who understand and seem willing to address the history of segregation and minority inequality and appear ready to listen with open minds to sensitive racial issues that are brought into their court rooms.

At the state level, based on *Leandro,* North Carolina is obligated to provide all students with a sound basic education, which includes an explicit requirement to meet the needs of at-risk students, including racial and ethnic minority students. Given the ways in which student assignment policies that create and maintain racial and economic segregation make it difficult to fulfill the obligation of providing a sound basic education, it is possible that litigation against school segregation in North Carolina could be pursued based on the principles of *Leandro.*[250]

Federal Level

At the federal level, our country needs leadership that expresses the value of diverse learning environments and encourages local action to achieve school desegregation. The federal government should establish a joint planning process between the Department of Education, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to review programs and regulations that will result in successful, lasting community and school integration. Federal equity centers should provide effective desegregation planning, which was their original goal when they were created under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

[249] See The UNC Center for Civil Rights and The North Carolina Justice Center's Education and Law Project for additional advocacy, policy, outreach, and litigation efforts regarding segregation in North Carolina.
[250] Dorosin, M., & Largess, L. (Forthcoming 2015). The law's delay: Continuing the struggle for school diversity and equity in *Leandro's* shadow. In R.A. Mickelson, S.S. Smith, and A.H. Nelson (Eds.), *Yesterday, today, and tomorrow: The past, present, and future of school (de)segregation in Charlotte* (Chapter 12). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Federal choice policies should include civil rights standards. Without such requirements, choice policies, particularly those guiding charter schools, often foster increased racial segregation.

Federal policy should recognize and support the need for school districts to diversify their teaching staff. The federal government should provide assistance to districts in preparing their own paraprofessionals, who tend to represent a more diverse group, to become teachers.

Building on the Obama administration's grant program for Technical Assistance for Student Assignment Plans, a renewed program of voluntary assistance for integration should be reenacted. This renewed program should add a focus on diversifying suburbs and gentrifying urban neighborhoods. The program should provide funding for preparing effective student assignment plans, reviewing magnet plans, implementing summer catch-up programs for students transferring from weaker to stronger schools, supporting partnerships with universities, and reaching out to diverse groups of parents.

The Justice Department and the Office for Civil Rights need to take enforcement actions in some substantial school districts to revive a credible sanction in federal policy for actions that foster segregation or ignore responsibilities under desegregation plans.

Courts that continue to supervise existing court orders and consent decrees should monitor them for full compliance before dissolving the plan or order. In a number of cases, courts have rushed to judgment to simplify their dockets without any meaningful analysis of the degree of compliance.

As an important funding source for educational research, the federal government should support a research agenda that focuses on trends of racial change and resegregation, causes and effects of resegregation, the value of alternative approaches to achieving integration and closing gaps in student achievement, and creating housing and school conditions that support stable neighborhood integration.

Appendix A: Additional Data Tables

State-Level Data

Table A-1 – *Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools*

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
North Carolina					
1989-1990	66.6%	74.6%	51.2%	64.2%	64.7%
1999-2000	61.9%	72.0%	44.5%	58.3%	54.5%
2010-2011	53.2%	65.8%	34.7%	49.1%	43.3%
South					
1989-1990	59.9%	75.2%	39.0%	60.5%	29.1%
1999-2000	54.6%	72.5%	34.2%	54.4%	27.9%
2010-2011	45.2%	65.0%	28.8%	43.9%	25.0%
Nation					
1989-1990	68.4%	83.2%	35.4%	49.4%	32.5%
1999-2000	61.2%	80.2%	31.4%	44.8%	26.7%
2010-2011	52.1%	73.1%	27.8%	39.6%	25.1%

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

Table A-2 – *Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools*

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
North Carolina					
1989-1990	30.3%	23.3%	45.9%	30.8%	30.5%
1999-2000	31.1%	22.4%	48.4%	31.4%	33.5%
2010-2011	26.4%	17.2%	44.4%	25.6%	27.7%
South					
1989-1990	27.2%	17.7%	55.4%	21.0%	10.4%
1999-2000	27.5%	17.2%	56.4%	22.3%	13.3%
2010-2011	24.5%	15.6%	52.0%	19.4%	14.2%
Nation					
1989-1990	16.5%	8.6%	54.6%	11.0%	11.5%
1999-2000	16.8%	8.6%	54.5%	11.7%	10.9%
2010-2011	15.7%	8.4%	49.4%	10.8%	10.9%

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

Table A-3 – *Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools*

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
North Carolina					
1989-1990	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	3.3%	1.3%
1999-2000	1.8%	1.7%	1.8%	5.6%	2.0%
2010-2011	2.5%	2.3%	2.5%	8.4%	2.4%
South					
1989-1990	1.4%	1.4%	1.1%	7.3%	1.4%
1999-2000	2.0%	2.0%	1.6%	7.9%	1.9%
2010-2011	3.0%	2.9%	2.3%	11.5%	2.6%
Nation					
1989-1990	3.3%	2.4%	2.2%	23.8%	4.6%
1999-2000	4.1%	3.0%	2.9%	24.4%	4.6%
2010-2011	5.0%	3.8%	3.5%	24.2%	4.6%

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

Table A-4 – *Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools*

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
North Carolina					
1989-1990	0.7%	0.6%	0.7%	1.1%	2.6%
1999-2000	3.7%	3.2%	3.9%	4.2%	9.0%
2010-2011	12.6%	10.3%	13.3%	12.0%	21.7%
South					
1989-1990	11.2%	5.4%	4.3%	10.9%	58.9%
1999-2000	15.6%	8.0%	7.5%	15.1%	56.6%
2010-2011	24.6%	13.6%	14.3%	21.7%	56.1%
Nation					
1989-1990	10.8%	5.2%	7.5%	15.2%	50.8%
1999-2000	16.6%	7.2%	10.8%	18.4%	57.1%
2010-2011	23.6%	11.4%	16.5%	21.7%	56.9%

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

Table A-5 – *Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools*

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	**Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students**	**Difference**
North Carolina			
1989-1990	67.4%	52.3%	-15.1%
1999-2000	63.7%	47.4%	-16.3%
2010-2011	55.8%	39.9%	-15.8%
South			
1989-1990	61.3%	37.3%	-24.0%
1999-2000	56.6%	33.6%	-23.0%
2010-2011	48.2%	29.4%	-18.8%
Nation			
1989-1990	71.7%	37.7%	-34.0%
1999-2000	65.4%	32.8%	-32.6%
2010-2011	57.1%	30.3%	-26.8%

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

Table A-6 – *Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools*

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low-Income Students	Black Exposure to Low-Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low-Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students
North Carolina					
1999-2000	39.0%	33.1%	48.8%	35.6%	46.5%
2010-2011	50.2%	43.5%	59.1%	41.8%	59.1%
South					
1999-2000	41.4%	31.4%	54.2%	31.1%	55.1%
2010-2011	53.0%	45.2%	65.9%	38.9%	56.6%
Nation					
1999-2000	36.9%	26.3%	55.1%	35.7%	57.9%
2010-2011	48.3%	37.7%	64.5%	39.9%	62.2%

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

Table A-7 – *Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students Across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness Within and Between School Districts*

	H	HW	HB
North Carolina			
1989-1990	.20	.06	.15
1999-2000	.21	.09	.12
2010-2011	.22	.10	.12
South			
1989-1990	.42	.09	.32
1999-2000	.40	.09	.31
2010-2011	.36	.09	.27
Nation			
1989-1990	.44	.07	.38
1999-2000	.46	.08	.39
2010-2011	.41	.07	.34

Note: H = Multi-Group Entropy Index or Theil's H. HW = the degree of un/evenness (H) that is within (W) districts. HB = the degree of un/evenness (H) that is between (B) districts.

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

Table A-8 – *Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups Across Public Schools*

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino
North Carolina						
1989-1990	.42	.54	.52	.58	.56	.57
1999-2000	.47	.52	.46	.54	.44	.55
2010-2011	.53	.52	.43	.53	.40	.53
South						
1989-1990	.55	.57	.76	.69	.82	.75
1999-2000	.57	.55	.70	.65	.75	.68
2010-2011	.58	.55	.63	.62	.65	.61
Nation						
1989-1990	.67	.63	.74	.74	.75	.65
1999-2000	.69	.63	.73	.73	.73	.66
2010-2011	.67	.61	.68	.70	.66	.63

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

Metropolitan-Level Data

Table A-9 – *Enrollment in Urban, Suburban, and Other Schools, Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metropolitan Area*

	Total Enrollment	Urban Schools	Suburban Schools	Other Schools
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro				
1989-1990	141,597	66,310	29,930	45,357
1999-2000	180,261	85,893	45,763	48,605
2010-2011	253,217	113,287	53,870	86,060

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other schools refer to those in a town or rural area. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

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

Table A-10 – *Enrollment in Urban, Suburban, and Other Schools, Raleigh-Cary Metropolitan Area*

	Total Enrollment	Urban Schools	Suburban Schools	Other Schools
Raleigh-Cary Metro				
1989-1990	82,842	39,379	14,769	28,694
1999-2000	124,827	50,749	28,040	46,038
2010-2011	191,520	59,402	42,466	89,652

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other schools refer to those in a town or rural area. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

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

Table A-11 – *Enrollment in Urban, Suburban, and Other Schools, Greensboro-High Point Metropolitan Area*

	Total Enrollment	Urban Schools	Suburban Schools	Other Schools
Greensboro-High Point Metro				
1989-1990	82,686	6,737	5,719	70,230
1999-2000	97,881	39,728	8,053	50,100
2010-2011	112,238	46,674	8,023	57,541

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other schools refer to those in a town or rural area. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

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

Table A-12 – *Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups Across Public Schools*

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	**White Asian**	**White Latino**	**Black Asian**	**Black Latino**	**Asian Latino**
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro						
1989-1990	.35	*	*	*	*	*
1999-2000	.43	*	*	*	*	*
2010-2011	.49	*	.46	*	.29	*
Raleigh-Cary Metro						
1989-1990	.23	*	*	*	*	*
1999-2000	.28	*	*	*	*	*
2010-2011	.35	*	.28	*	.24	*
Greensboro-High Point Metro						
1989-1990	.44	*	*	*	*	*
1999-2000	.50	*	*	*	*	*
2010-2011	.53	*	.46	*	.50	*

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

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

Table A-13 – *Racial Transition by District, Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metropolitan Area, 1989-1999*

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	1(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	1(100%)
Diverse	(0%)	2(100%)	(0%)	2(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	2(67%)	1(33%)	3(100%)
Total	1(17%)	4(67%)	1(17%)	6(100%)

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

Table A-14 – *Racial Transition by District, Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metropolitan Area, 1999-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	2(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	2(100%)
Diverse	1(25%)	3(75%)	(0%)	4(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	1(50%)	1(50%)	2(100%)
Total	3(38%)	4(50%)	1(13%)	8(100%)

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

Table A-15 – *Racial Transition by District, Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metropolitan Area, 1989-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	1(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	1(100%)
Diverse	1(50%)	1(50%)	(0%)	2(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	3(100%)	(0%)	3(100%)
Total	2(33%)	4(67%)	(0%)	6(100%)

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

Table A-16 – *Racial Transition by District, Raleigh-Cary Metropolitan Area, 1989-1999*

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Diverse	(0%)	3(100%)	(0%)	3(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Total	(0%)	3(100%)	(0%)	3(100%)

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

Table A-17 – *Racial Transition by District, Raleigh-Cary Metropolitan Area, 1999-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Diverse	(0%)	4(67%)	2(33%)	6(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	1(25%)	3(75%)	4(100%)
Total	(0%)	5(50%)	5(50%)	10(100%)

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

Table A-18 – *Racial Transition by District, Raleigh-Cary Metropolitan Area, 1989-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Diverse	(0%)	3(100%)	(0%)	3(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Total	(0%)	3(100%)	(0%)	3(100%)

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

Table A-19 – *Racial Transition by District, Greensboro-High Point Metro Area, 1989-1999*

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Diverse	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	3(75%)	1(25%)	4(100%)
Total	(0%)	3(75%)	1(25%)	4(100%)

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

Table A-20 – *Racial Transition by District, Greensboro-High Point Metro Area, 1999-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Diverse	1(33%)	2(67%)	(0%)	3(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	1(50%)	1(50%)	2(100%)
Total	1(20%)	3(60%)	1(20%)	5(100%)

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

Table A-21 – *Racial Transition by District, Greensboro-High Point Metro Area, 1989-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Diverse	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)
Predominantly white	1(25%)	3(75%)	(0%)	4(100%)
Total	1(25%)	3(75%)	(0%)	4(100%)

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

Top Enrolling Districts in Metro Areas

Table A-22 – *Public School Enrollment, 2010-2011*

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	Percentage					
			White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro								
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	urban	134,912	32.9%	41.0%	5.1%	16.4%	0.4%	4.2%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	other	39,598	68.8%	13.6%	1.5%	13.6%	0.3%	2.3%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	suburban	31,893	66.5%	19.4%	1.3%	9.1%	0.2%	3.5%
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	other	28,962	63.6%	17.7%	2.2%	12.6%	0.4%	3.5%
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	suburban	5,207	43.8%	27.8%	1.4%	22.1%	0.1%	4.8%
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	other	3,746	32.6%	58.9%	2.1%	3.3%	0.6%	2.5%
Greensboro-High Point Metro								
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	urban	72,576	39.6%	41.1%	5.6%	8.2%	1.8%	3.8%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	other	18,935	78.7%	3.9%	1.1%	13.4%	0.6%	2.3%
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	other	13,944	63.5%	20.7%	0.5%	10.0%	0.3%	4.9%
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	other	4,840	42.7%	14.5%	1.4%	36.9%	0.4%	4.1%
GREENSBORO ACADEMY	urban	722	85.3%	5.8%	3.9%	2.6%	0.0%	2.4%
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY	urban	421	39.2%	50.8%	3.8%	2.9%	0.2%	3.1%
GUILFORD PREPARATORY	urban	314	2.9%	93.6%	0.6%	0.3%	0.3%	2.2%
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC	other	296	51.4%	28.0%	9.8%	3.0%	0.7%	7.1%
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE	other	190	82.6%	6.3%	2.1%	4.2%	0.0%	4.7%
Raleigh-Cary Metro								
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	urban	143,745	49.5%	24.6%	6.1%	14.7%	0.4%	4.5%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	other	32,441	62.3%	16.6%	0.7%	16.8%	0.5%	3.1%
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	urban	8,573	52.0%	31.4%	0.5%	12.9%	0.4%	2.7%
FRANKLIN ACADEMY	urban	1,268	88.2%	5.1%	2.0%	1.9%	0.2%	2.6%
EAST WAKE ACADEMY	other	1,080	85.8%	8.2%	0.6%	4.1%	0.5%	0.7%
STERLING	other	564	55.7%	12.6%	19.5%	7.8%	0.0%	4.4%

MONTESSORI ACADEMY								
PREEMINENT CHARTER	other	563	1.6%	92.5%	0.4%	4.8%	0.0%	0.7%
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH	other	553	73.1%	6.0%	13.4%	2.5%	0.5%	4.5%
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL	suburban	450	93.1%	0.7%	2.0%	2.4%	0.2%	1.6%
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY	other	434	0.7%	85.0%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%

Note: AI = American Indian. Blank urbanicity represents rural, missing, or other. "Other" urbanicity reflects rural classification or missing data.

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

Table A-23 – *Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro					
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	169	37.3%	74.0%	36.1%	2.4%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	50	32.0%	18.0%	4.0%	
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	53	34.0%	26.4%		
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	36	58.3%	19.4%		
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	8	100.0%	87.5%		
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	10		90.0%	10.0%	
Greensboro-High Point Metro					
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	114	30.7%	71.9%	24.6%	2.6%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	31	9.7%	3.2%		
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	25	44.0%	24.0%		
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	8	87.5%	62.5%		
GREENSBORO ACADEMY	1				
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY	1		100.0%		
GUILFORD PREPARATORY	1		100.0%	100.0%	
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC	1				
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE	1				
Raleigh-Cary Metro					
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	159	78.0%	49.7%	1.9%	
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	42	61.9%	19.0%		
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	15	73.3%	46.7%		
FRANKLIN ACADEMY	1				
EAST WAKE ACADEMY	1				
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY	1	100.0%			
PREEMINENT CHARTER	1		100.0%	100.0%	
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH	1				
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL	1				
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY	1		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: Blank cells represent no schools or other. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

Table A-24 – *Percentage of Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011*

	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro				
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	53.4%	53.4%	68.3%	82.6%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	56.0%	56.0%	78.6%	89.9%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	72.3%	72.3%	74.4%	
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	49.7%	49.7%	66.7%	
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS		66.8%	66.0%	
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS			0.0%	0.0%
Greensboro-High Point Metro				
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	62.3%	62.3%	64.3%	84.5%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	54.1%	63.3%	79.4%	
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	60.2%	67.9%	69.8%	
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	63.3%	64.1%	79.6%	
GREENSBORO ACADEMY	67.9%			
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY			26.8%	
GUILFORD PREPARATORY			88.5%	88.5%
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC				
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE	64.1%			
Raleigh-Cary Metro				
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	35.7%	35.7%	43.7%	65.7%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	49.1%	49.1%	74.3%	
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	50.1%	61.4%	67.8%	
FRANKLIN ACADEMY	23.6%			
EAST WAKE ACADEMY	61.4%			
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY	50.6%	0.0%		
PREEMINENT CHARTER	47.9%		64.7%	64.7%
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH	75.6%			
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL				
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY			0.0%	0.0%

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

Table A-25 – *Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated School, 2010-2011*

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latino	% of Black	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro						
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	85.2%	87.7%	68.3%	43.9%	46.8%	82.6%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	47.5%	43.4%	78.6%	10.9%	7.8%	89.9%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	49.6%	54.1%	74.4%			
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	29.5%	19.4%	66.7%			
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	92.3%	92.5%	66.0%			
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	79.2%	92.8%	0.0%	9.6%	9.9%	0.0%
Greensboro-High Point Metro						
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	82.8%	85.5%	64.3%	29.9%	29.6%	84.5%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	7.2%	8.4%	79.4%			
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	28.4%	43.1%	69.8%			
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	63.9%	47.6%	79.6%			
GREENSBORO ACADEMY						
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY	100.0%	100.0%	26.8%			
GUILFORD PREPARATORY	100.0%	100.0%	88.5%	100.0%	100.0%	88.5%
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC						
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE						
Raleigh-Cary Metro						
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	53.3%	62.2%	43.7%	2.2%	2.9%	65.7%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	33.0%	24.2%	74.3%			
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	40.3%	42.8%	67.8%			
FRANKLIN ACADEMY						
EAST WAKE ACADEMY						
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY						
PREEMINENT CHARTER	100.0%	100.0%	64.7%	100.0%	100.0%	64.7%
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH						
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL						
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

Table A-26 – *Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools, 2010-2011*

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro					
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	38.6%	36.0%	43.9%	46.0%	39.0%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	21.9%	56.8%	21.9%	58.9%	38.8%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	23.7%	61.7%	30.6%	61.4%	30.4%
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	47.7%	64.3%	45.5%	78.2%	55.3%
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS					
Greensboro-High Point Metro					
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	23.9%	27.4%	42.7%	52.0%	27.9%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	7.5%	28.3%	5.1%	16.9%	9.8%
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	29.5%	54.1%	43.4%	52.3%	43.5%
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	91.6%	94.0%	87.0%	76.4%	76.2%
GREENSBORO ACADEMY					
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY					
GUILFORD PREPARATORY					
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC					
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE					
Raleigh-Cary Metro					
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	71.5%	80.8%	78.0%	83.4%	80.0%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	56.4%	66.8%	55.9%	77.2%	51.3%
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	70.0%	68.0%	61.0%	79.9%	65.7%
FRANKLIN ACADEMY					
EAST WAKE ACADEMY					
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
PREEMINENT CHARTER					
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH					
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL					
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY					

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. AI = American Indian. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student population.

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

Table A-27 – *Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011*

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro					
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	32.9%	54.5%	19.7%	36.1%	21.5%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	68.8%	76.6%	51.1%		46.0%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	66.5%	71.8%	54.0%		55.5%
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	63.6%	66.2%	59.4%		56.3%
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	43.8%	44.0%	43.9%		43.3%
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	32.6%	39.3%	28.5%		
Greensboro-High Point Metro					
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	39.6%	54.5%	28.1%	35.3%	29.7%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	78.7%	80.4%			70.7%
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	63.5%	67.9%	52.9%		58.8%
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	42.7%	45.1%	44.0%		39.2%
GREENSBORO ACADEMY	85.3%	85.3%	85.3%		
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY	39.2%	39.2%	39.2%		
GUILFORD PREPARATORY	2.9%				
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC	51.4%	51.4%	51.4%	51.4%	
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE	82.6%	82.6%	82.6%		
Raleigh-Cary Metro					
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	49.5%	54.9%	41.8%	48.9%	45.2%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	62.3%	66.0%	57.0%		54.0%
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	52.0%	53.2%	50.8%		50.3%
FRANKLIN ACADEMY	88.2%	88.2%	88.2%		
EAST WAKE ACADEMY	85.8%	85.8%	85.8%		
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY	55.7%	55.7%	55.7%	55.7%	55.7%
PREEMINENT CHARTER	1.6%				
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH	73.1%	73.1%	73.1%	73.1%	
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL	93.1%	93.1%			
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY	0.7%				

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

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

Table A-28 – *Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011*

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro					
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	41.0%	24.6%	53.7%	37.2%	43.4%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	13.6%	10.1%	22.7%		22.6%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	19.4%	15.8%	28.8%		26.0%
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	17.7%	16.5%	20.5%		19.5%
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	27.8%	27.9%	28.5%		27.0%
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	58.9%	51.4%	63.7%		
Greensboro-High Point Metro					
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	41.1%	29.2%	52.4%	39.4%	41.7%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	3.9%				
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	20.7%	17.3%	30.7%		21.6%
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	14.5%	14.9%	15.8%		13.5%
GREENSBORO ACADEMY	5.8%	5.8%	5.8%		
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY	50.8%	50.8%	50.8%		
GUILFORD PREPARATORY	93.6%		93.6%		
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC	28.0%	28.0%	28.0%	28.0%	
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE	6.3%	6.3%	6.3%		
Raleigh-Cary Metro					
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	24.6%	20.8%	32.1%	20.2%	26.7%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	16.6%	15.2%	20.2%		18.3%
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	31.4%	30.7%	32.7%		31.5%
FRANKLIN ACADEMY	5.1%	5.1%	5.1%		
EAST WAKE ACADEMY	8.2%	8.2%	8.2%		
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY	12.6%	12.6%	12.6%	12.6%	12.6%
PREEMINENT CHARTER	92.5%		92.5%		
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH	6.0%	6.0%	6.0%	6.0%	
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL	0.7%				
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY	85.0%		85.0%		85.0%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

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

Table A-29 – *Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011*

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro					
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	5.1%	5.6%	4.6%	7.3%	4.6%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	1.5%				
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	1.3%				
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	2.2%				
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	1.4%				
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	2.1%				
Greensboro-High Point Metro					
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	5.6%	5.0%	5.3%	10.1%	6.6%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	1.1%				
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	0.5%				
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	1.4%				
GREENSBORO ACADEMY	3.9%				
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY	3.8%				
GUILFORD PREPARATORY	0.6%				
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC	9.8%	9.8%	9.8%	9.8%	
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE	2.1%				
Raleigh-Cary Metro					
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	6.1%	6.1%	5.0%	13.9%	5.0%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	0.7%				
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	0.5%				
FRANKLIN ACADEMY	2.0%				
EAST WAKE ACADEMY	0.6%				
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY	19.5%	19.5%	19.5%	19.5%	19.5%
PREEMINENT CHARTER	0.4%				
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH	13.4%	13.4%	13.4%	13.4%	
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL	2.0%				
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY	0.0%				

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

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

Table A-30 – *Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011*

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro					
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	16.4%	10.7%	17.4%	14.9%	25.8%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	13.6%	9.1%	22.7%		27.9%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	9.1%	7.6%	12.2%		13.2%
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	12.6%	11.2%	13.9%		18.7%
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	22.1%	21.8%	21.4%		23.0%
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	3.3%				
Greensboro-High Point Metro					
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	8.2%	6.1%	8.3%	9.6%	17.0%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	13.4%	12.0%			20.3%
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	10.0%	9.2%	10.4%		13.7%
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	36.9%	33.8%	34.3%		41.7%
GREENSBORO ACADEMY	2.6%				
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY	2.9%				
GUILFORD PREPARATORY	0.3%				
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC	3.0%				
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE	4.2%				
Raleigh-Cary Metro					
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	14.7%	13.4%	15.9%	12.1%	18.0%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	16.8%	14.6%	18.5%		23.4%
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	12.9%	12.5%	13.0%		14.6%
FRANKLIN ACADEMY	1.9%				
EAST WAKE ACADEMY	4.1%				
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY	7.8%	7.8%	7.8%	7.8%	7.8%
PREEMINENT CHARTER	4.8%				
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH	2.5%				
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL	2.4%				
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY	14.3%		14.3%		14.3%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

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

Table A-31 – *Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011*

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro			
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	38.0%	24.9%	-13.1%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	70.3%	49.6%	-20.7%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	67.7%	55.6%	-12.2%
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	65.8%	60.0%	-5.8%
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	45.2%	45.0%	-0.1%
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	34.7%	30.8%	-3.9%
Greensboro-High Point Metro			0.0%
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	45.1%	33.9%	-11.2%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	79.8%	72.0%	-7.9%
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	64.1%	55.4%	-8.7%
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	44.1%	41.9%	-2.2%
GREENSBORO ACADEMY	89.2%	89.2%	0.0%
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY	43.0%	43.0%	0.0%
GUILFORD PREPARATORY	3.5%	3.5%	0.0%
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC	61.1%	61.1%	0.0%
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE	84.7%	84.7%	0.0%
Raleigh-Cary Metro			0.0%
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	55.7%	48.1%	-7.6%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	63.0%	56.1%	-6.8%
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	52.5%	51.1%	-1.4%
FRANKLIN ACADEMY	90.1%	90.1%	0.0%
EAST WAKE ACADEMY	86.5%	86.5%	0.0%
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY	75.2%	75.2%	0.0%
PREEMINENT CHARTER	2.0%	2.0%	0.0%
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH	86.4%	86.4%	0.0%
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL	95.1%	95.1%	0.0%
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY	0.7%	0.7%	0.0%

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

Table A-32 – *Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011*

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	**White Exposure to Low-Income Students**	**Black Exposure to Low-Income Students**	**Asian Exposure to Low-Income Students**	**Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students**
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord Metro					
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	53.0%	32.2%	64.9%	48.1%	66.6%
UNION COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	33.2%	25.6%	50.8%		55.8%
GASTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	56.2%	52.5%	64.4%		65.6%
CABARRUS COUNTY SCHOOLS	39.4%	36.9%	42.5%		49.5%
KANNAPOLIS CITY SCHOOLS	66.8%	66.5%	65.7%		68.2%
ANSON COUNTY SCHOOLS	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
Greensboro-High Point Metro					
GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS	52.7%	39.3%	62.2%	56.0%	65.5%
RANDOLPH COUNTY SCHOOLS	50.6%	49.2%			57.5%
ROCKINGHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS	56.0%	53.1%	61.6%		61.5%
ASHEBORO CITY SCHOOLS	67.2%	64.3%	65.5%		71.3%
GREENSBORO ACADEMY	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
TRIAD MATH AND SCIENCE ACADEMY	26.8%	26.8%	26.8%		
GUILFORD PREPARATORY	88.5%		88.5%		
PHOENIX ACADEMY INC	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
BETHANY COMMUNITY MIDDLE	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
Raleigh-Cary Metro					
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	32.8%	28.8%	39.2%	25.9%	38.3%
JOHNSTON COUNTY SCHOOLS	42.8%	38.7%	47.2%		53.4%
FRANKLIN COUNTY SCHOOLS	57.8%	56.6%	58.5%		60.5%
FRANKLIN ACADEMY	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
EAST WAKE ACADEMY	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		
STERLING MONTESSORI ACADEMY	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
PREEMINENT CHARTER	64.7%		64.7%		
RALEIGH CHARTER HIGH	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
ENDEAVOR CHARTER SCHOOL	0.0%	0.0%			
TORCHLIGHT ACADEMY	0.0%		0.0%		0.0%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of racial or low-income enrollment.

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

Appendix B: Data Sources and Methodology

Data

The data in this study consisted of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Using this data, we explored demographic and segregation patterns at the national, regional, state, metropolitan, and district levels. We also explored district racial stability patterns for each *main* metropolitan area in North Carolina—those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 2010.

Geography

National estimates in this report reflect all 50 U.S. states, outlying territories, Department of Defense (overseas and domestic), and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Regional analyses include the following regions and states:

- **Border**: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia
- **Northeast**: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont
- **South**: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

Patterns for metropolitan areas are restricted to schools within each state, due to some metropolitan boundaries spanning across two or more states. In this report, as well as in the accompanying metropolitan factsheets, we provide a closer analysis for main metropolitan areas, including 2010 numbers for the ten highest enrolling districts in larger metros.

Data Analysis

We explored segregation patterns by first conducting two inversely related indices, exposure and isolation, both of which help describe the demographic and socioeconomic composition of schools that the average member of a racial/ethnic group attends. Exposure of one group to other groups is called the index of exposure, while exposure of a group to itself is called the index of isolation. Both indices range from 0 to 1, where higher values on the index of exposure but lower values for isolation indicate greater integration.

We also reported the share of minority students in schools with concentrations of students of color—those where more than half the students are from minority groups—along with the percent of minorities in intensely segregated schools, places where 90-100% of students are minority youth, and apartheid schools—schools where 99-100% of students are minority. To provide estimates of diverse environments, we calculated the proportion of each racial group in multiracial schools (schools in which any three races represent 10% or more of the total student body).

Finally, we explored the segregation dimension of evenness using the index of dissimilarity and the multi-group entropy (or diversity) index, both of which measure how evenly race/ethnic population groups are distributed among schools compared with their larger geographic area. The dissimilarity index is a dual-group evenness measure that indicates the degree students of two racial groups are evenly distributed among schools. Higher values (up to 1) indicate that the two

groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution or more integration. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes: above .60 indicating high segregation (above .80 is extreme), .30 to .60 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .30 indicating low segregation.[251]

The multi-group entropy index, Theil's *H*, measures the degree students of multiple groups are evenly distributed among schools. *H* is also an evenness index that measures the extent to which members from multiple racial groups are evenly distributed among neighborhoods in a larger geographic area. More specifically, the index measures the difference between the weighted average diversity (or racial composition) in schools to the diversity in the larger geographical area. So, if H is .20, the average school is 20% less diverse than the metropolitan area as a whole. Similar to *D*, higher values (up to 1) indicate that multiple racial groups are unevenly distributed across schools across a geographic area while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution. However, *H* has often been viewed superior to *D*, as it is the only index that obeys the "principle of transfers," (the index declines when an individual of group X moves from unit A to unit B, where the proportion of persons of group X is higher in unit A than in unit B).[252] In addition, *H* can be statistically decomposed into between and within-unit components, allowing us, for example, to identify how much the total segregation depends on the segregation between or within districts. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes: above .25 indicating high segregation (above .40 is extreme), between .10 and .25 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .10 indicating low segregation.

To explore district stability patterns for key metropolitan areas, we restricted our analysis to districts open across all three data periods (1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011), districts with 100,000 or greater students in 2010, and districts in metropolitan areas that experienced a white enrollment change greater than 1%. With this data, we categorized districts, as well as their metropolitan area, into predominantly white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominantly nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.[253] We then identified the degree to which district white enrollment has changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area. This analysis resulted in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable.[254] We classified rapidly changing districts as those with a white percentage change three times greater than the metro white percentage change. For moderately changing districts, the white student percentage changed two times but less than three times greater than the metropolitan white percentage change. Also included in the category of moderate change were those districts that experienced a white percentage change less than two times the metropolitan white percentage change but were classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. We identified stable

[251] Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
[252] Reardon, S. F., & Firebaugh, G. (2002). Measures of multigroup segregation. *Sociological Methodology, 32,* 33-67.
[253] Similar typography has been used with residential data; See Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). *America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges.* Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.
[254] Similar typography has been used in Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation: A typology of suburban districts. In E. Frankenberg and G. Orfield (Eds.), *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

districts as those that experienced a white percentage change less than two times the metropolitan white percentage change.

Next, we explored the type and direction of change in school districts, which resulted in the following categories: resegregating white or nonwhite, integrating white or nonwhite, segregated white or nonwhite, or diverse. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominantly type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

Data Limitations and Solutions

Due to advancements in geocoding technology, as well as changes from the Office of Management and Budget and Census Bureau, metropolitan areas and locale school boundaries have changed considerably since 1989. To explore metropolitan patterns over time, we matched schools and districts to metropolitan areas by spatially merging the geographic location of each U.S. public school, which was obtained via the NCES CCD, with the boundaries of each school district and the boundaries of each metropolitan area, which were both obtained from the U. S. Census TIGER/Line system. Thus, geographic boundaries of each metropolitan area in the study were held constant, using fixed 2010 U. S. Census boundary definitions of metropolitan statistical areas across all study years. To control for locale school boundary changes over time, data for the analysis only comprised schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We then applied 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Another issue relates to missing or incomplete data. Because compliance with NCES reporting is voluntary for state education agencies (though virtually all do comply), some statewide gaps in the reporting of student racial composition occur. To address this limitation, particularly for our national and regional analyses, 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

1999-2000:
• States missing FRL and racial enrollment:
  ○ Arizona
  ○ Idaho
  ○ Illinois
  ○ Tennessee
  ○ Washington
	1998-1999:
	• Tennessee: racial enrollment only
	2000-2001:
	• Arizona: racial enrollment only
	• Idaho: FRL and racial enrollment
	2001-2002:
	• Illinois: FRL and racial enrollment
	• Washington: FRL and racial enrollment

1989-1999:
• Many states missing FRL enrollment for this year
• States missing racial enrollment:
  ○ Georgia
  ○ Maine
  ○ Missouri
  ○ Montana
  ○ South Dakota
  ○ Virginia
  ○ Wyoming
	1990-1991:
	• Montana**:** racial enrollment only
	• Wyoming**:** racial enrollment only
	1991-1992:
	• Missouri: racial enrollment only
	1992-1993:
	• South Dakota: racial enrollment only
	• Virginia: racial enrollment only
	1993-1994:
	• Georgia: racial enrollment only
	• Maine: racial enrollment only
	Other:
	• Idaho is missing racial composition data from 1989 to 1999 and thus excluded from this year

A final issue relates to the fact that all education agencies are now collecting and reporting multiracial student enrollment counts for the 2010-2011 data collection. However, because the Department of Education did not require these states to collect further information on the race/ethnicity of multiracial students, as we suggested they do (http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/data-proposals-threaten-education-and-civil-rights-accountability), it is difficult to accurately compare racial proportion and segregation findings from 2010 to prior years due to this new categorical collection. We remain very concerned about the severe problems of comparison that began nationally in the 2010 data. The Civil Rights Project and dozens of civil rights groups, representing a wide variety of racial and ethnic communities, recommended against adopting the Bush-era changes in the debate over the federal regulation.