New York State's Extreme School Segregation

Inequality, Inaction and a Damaged Future

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with
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Foreword by

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5th in a Series

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This report is the fifth in a series of 12 reports from the Civil Rights Project analyzing East Coast school segregation.

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Foreword

New York's record on school segregation by race and poverty is dismal now and has been for a very long time. The children who most depend on the public schools for any chance in life are concentrated in schools struggling with all the dimensions of family and neighborhood poverty and isolation. In spite of the epic struggle for more equitable funding in New York, there is a striking relationship between segregated education and unequal school success. Although many middle class families of all races would like their children to be educated in successful diverse schools, there are few such opportunities.

A great center of American liberalism, New York seemed to turn away when race issues came close to home. The city, its leaders, its members of Congress, its intellectuals, its religious leaders, the great philanthropic foundations, were on the front lines of the struggle to desegregate the South. New York's Kenneth Clark was one of the intellectual leaders in this struggle that led to *Brown v. Board of Education,* but his pleas to do something about New York's separate schools were largely ignored. There were very big protests asking for school integration in New York City. The truth is, however, that most of the country's effort to end segregated schools came during the civil rights era of the l960s and early l970s, and were located in the South. By the time the urban desegregation issue was seriously raised in the North in the mid-1970s, there was little will to do anything serious about the issues in most of the state. In some suburbs there was true leadership and Buffalo, for example, was an early pioneer in magnet schools, but these were exceptions. For a while, state leaders tried to initiate action but the effort was abandoned. The failure of New York City's school board to keep its promise and integrate a single school in Harlem led to the school decentralization movement. This broke the city up into more than 30 school districts, in hope that local control would produce educational breakthroughs, but it left inequality largely untouched. For several decades, the state has been more segregated for blacks than any Southern state, though the South has a much higher percent of African American students.

Early on, New York was also the leader in segregating its Latinos. As immigration from across Latin America has surged and families have grown, so has Latino segregation.

It is not that New York has not tried all the basic educational reforms of the post-civil rights era, which became popular with the Reagan administration and have dominated state and federal policy ever since: raising standards, intensely testing children, and enacting harsh sanctions on students, schools and staffs to try to force change, and implementing the Common Core test. The state and New York City system bet on school choice with charter schools and small schools, both usually implemented without integration policies or even basic civil rights standards. For years, when I've been invited to speak on the issue in New York, I point out that they live in the epicenter of educational segregation for the nation. It is incredible to me that the city, in the last generation, has created new sets of schools that produce even more isolation that the very segregated public school system.

Sometimes I think New Yorkers are so afraid of doing anything about segregation, and so convinced that integration has been a failure, because they have never experienced it. When the South made major changes in the civil rights era, whites in most areas were strongly opposed initially, but often changed their views once they learned that their fears were largely groundless. One of the most interesting facts about the busing controversy was that the group most opposed were people with no children in school who had no actual contact with integrated education. Before the Supreme Court ended long-term mandatory plans nearly a quarter century ago, most white parents whose children were actually bused for desegregation said that it was a beneficial experience. Many New Yorkers cannot imagine the positive experiences that took place in Southern metropolitan areas, where city and suburban children attended integrated schools together for a third of a century-- before plans were ended following transformation of the Supreme Court by a series of conservative presidential appointments.

For three decades almost all new desegregation plans in the U.S. have been voluntary in terms of student assignment, with school districts creating intentionally integrated magnet schools and funding transfers that increase integration. When critics say, "busing failed," they imply that segregation is inevitable, should simply be accepted, and, implicitly, that we know how to equalize schools segregated by race and poverty. Good busing plans actually worked quite well in many ways. In this report, we are, however, only talking about using choice to create more opportunities for integrated education in schools that reflect the society, rather than only its segregated segments. When we have neighborhood schools in very highly stratified neighborhoods, white and Asian children tend to end up in middle class schools with better opportunity, with African American and Latino students in schools of concentrated poverty with less prepared teachers, less competition and much weaker contacts with colleges.

This is ultimately a discussion about choice. Choice can either increase opportunity and integration, or increase inequality and stratification. In a society where the most disadvantaged children typically get the weakest schools, and the most privileged attend schools that give them even more advantages, the last thing we should do is to stratify children even more. We learned in the South a half-century ago that choice plans without civil rights standards increase stratification of schools and leave almost all the children of color still segregated. Such "freedom of choice" and "open enrollment" plans were tried in many hundreds of districts. The record, as the Supreme Court recognized in l968, was a failure. Only when choice is linked to key civil rights standards, such as strong public information and outreach, free transportation, serious planning and training for successful diversity, authentic educational options worth choosing, and no admissions screening, can choice be a force for successful integration.[1]

New Yorkers often tell me that integration might be a good idea but it is impossible, because there are too few whites in the state's big cities and the distances are too great to desegregate everyone. This is true, of course, about achieving full integration in some circumstances, but the argument that because *everything* cannot be done, means nothing should

[1] See G. Orfield and E. Frankenberg, *Educational Delusions? How Choice Can Deepen Inequality and How to Make Schools Fair,* Univ. of California Press, 2013.

be done makes no sense. We do not use this argument in implementing other policies. Because we cannot end all crime, no one would suggest that we do nothing. Because we cannot heal all patients, we do not give up on hospitals, clinics and public health. It is time to move beyond that illogical argument and create more opportunities for children to develop in truly diverse educational settings, ones that reflect our overall society, not just segregated segments. Gentrification is a major force in many neighborhoods. What are we doing to bring the newcomer families into the neighborhood schools, where they will demand and support schools that prepare their children, and the children of families already there, for college? Without making integration a goal, it cannot happen.

What is being done to help the many racially changing sectors of suburbia to remain integrated rather than simply resegregate, first by race and then by poverty? Can't we see beyond only the declining number of middle class whites to recognize how the schools would be enriched by also bringing back African American and Latino middle class families settling in the suburbs? Or more effectively engaging the rapidly growing and educationally successful Asian communities? Connecticut, right next door, has implemented excellent and very popular regional magnet schools that enroll integrated groups of children across school district lines. Can't New York do this? Can't magnet and charter schools do more than replicate or even intensify neighborhood segregation, stratifying students by race and class? In a state with a great deal of linguistic diversity and a great many students who never master a second language in our globalized economy, can't the very successful dual language immersion policies be used on a large scale to deepen the language talents and create diverse settings for many more students? Since it is clear that all of our children, including whites, are going to be living in a society where everyone is a member of a racial minority, shouldn't it be a priority that schools actually prepare children to live and work more effectively, *with* others, who will share all our institutions?

There is much that could be done, almost all by using voluntary strategies with strong equality policies, and by collaboration between schools, housing and civil rights agencies. I hope that this sobering report helps the leaders and the people of New York to think about the sadly isolated education in their diverse state and what can be done to foster the lasting, positive integration of schools and communities. New York surely has the talent to find creative ways to do much better, and all its children deserve schools that help build a flourishing multicultural society with more equal opportunity for all.

Gary Orfield
March, 2014

Executive Summary

New York has the most segregated schools in the country: in 2009, black and Latino students in the state had the highest concentration in intensely-segregated public schools (less than 10% white enrollment), the lowest exposure to white students, and the most uneven distribution with white students across schools.[2] Heavily impacting these state rankings is New York City, home to the largest and one of the most segregated public school systems in the nation.[3]

Forty years ago, school desegregation was a serious component of the state's education policy, as a result of community pressure and legal cases. Key desegregation cases arose throughout a number of segregated communities. The U.S. Justice Department case in Yonkers was the first in history to combine housing desegregation and school desegregation claims simultaneously. The remedy for the school desegregation case in Rochester led to one of the country's eight existing voluntary interdistrict programs. The magnet school plan for the school desegregation case in Buffalo was hailed as a model for other similar cities across the country. In New York City, a citywide desegregation case was never brought but community control of local schools sometimes helped integration efforts, as many school officials and community members challenged practices and policies that perpetuated racial imbalance and educational inequity across schools.

In light of these efforts, local and political resistance influenced New York's history of school desegregation. Around the time of Reagan's administration, the state moved away from desegregation efforts and instead focused on other practices and policies like accountability systems, school choice, and charter schools. By the early twenty-first century, most desegregation orders in key metropolitan areas were small and short-lived due to unitary status, and many programs designed to voluntary improve racial integration levels, like magnet schools, are now failing to achieve racial balance levels due to residential patterns, a lack of commitment, market-oriented framework, and school policy reversals. In New York City, the area has been experiencing significant school choice programs and policies that are exacerbating racial isolation as demographics continue to change.

In this report, we provide a synthesis of over 60 years of research showing that school integration is still a goal worth pursuing. From the benefits of greater academic achievement, future earnings, and even better health outcomes for minority[4] students, and the social benefits resulting from intergroup contact for all students – like the possible reduction in prejudice and greater interracial communication skills – we found that "real integration" is indeed an

[2] Orfield, G., Kucsera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus…separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project.
[3] Fessenden, F. (2012, May 11). A portrait of segregation in New York City's schools. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/05/11/nyregion/segregation-in-new-york-city-public-schools.html?_r=0
[4] For the purposes of this report, we define minority as black, Latino, American Indian, Asian, Pacific Islander, and multi-racial students.

invaluable goal worth undertaking in growing multiracial societies.[5] Can separate be equal, yes. If measured by test scores, a few resegregated schools show high performance. But even if equality can be reached between racially isolated schools, students may never achieve the skills and abilities required to navigate an increasingly diverse nation.

Due to such benefits of racial integration, we next explore the demographic and segregation patterns across New York over the last 20 years in a variety of geographical areas. A number of findings resulted from this analysis.

For one, we found a growing diversity of student enrollment in schools and school districts across the state and main metropolitan areas, particularly in urban schools. This changing demography, accompanied by a lack of diversity-focused policies over the last two decades, has inevitably been linked to another main finding: persisting segregation patterns, and in some contexts, an increase. With school poverty so closely linked to so many harmful social and educational conditions and outcomes, we then explored a number of associations between race and class, leading to another main finding: the overexposure to low-income students for black and Latinos across geographical levels. Next, we found high racial isolation for the average charter school and lower segregation for the average magnet school across New York City. However, we did find substantial variation within magnets with close to 20% enrolling less than 1% of white students. Finally, due to the lack of voluntary metropolitan or other large interdistrict policies across upstate New York, as well as the proliferation of numerous small, fragmented school districts, we found that the majority (close to 90% or above) of segregation is occurring among rather than within upstate districts. Specific findings at various geographical levels include:

Statewide:

- At the state level, the proportion of Latino and Asian students in New York has nearly doubled from 1989 to 2010.
- Concentration levels in intensely-segregated schools, where less than 10% of the student body is white, have increased for black students, and there has been a dramatic increase in black exposure to Latino students over the last 20 years.
- Latino and Asian isolation have also increased, while exposure of these groups to white students has decreased.
- In terms of poverty concentration, statewide patterns indicate that as a school becomes heavily minority, the school also becomes more low-income.
- Nearly half of public school students in New York were low-income in 2010, but the typical white student attended school where less than 30% of classmates were low-income. Conversely, the typical black or Latino student attended a school where close to 70% of classmates were low-income.

[5] Walker, V. S. (2009). Second-class integration: A historical perspective for a contemporary agenda. *Harvard Educational Review, 79*(2), 269-284.

New York Metropolitan Area:

- For the New York City metro in 2010, the five boroughs represented nearly 60% of the state's total black students, two-thirds of the total Asian and Latino students, but only 10% of white students.
- Only 20% of total school districts across the metro were considered diverse[6] in both 1999 and 2010. Of these diverse districts, less than a third were racially stable.[7] Both percentages are quite low for such a diverse metro.
- Charter schools take the metro's segregation to an extreme. In Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan (where charter schools are a significant proportion of total schools), nearly all charters were intensely segregated in 2010 with less than 10% white student enrollment (100% of the Bronx charters, 90% of those in Brooklyn, and 97% of the Manhattan charters were intensely segregated).
- Both the inner-ring region of the metro (consisting of Rockland and Westchester counties) and New York City region experienced a segregation increase (i.e., uneven distribution) between white and black students over the last 20 years.
- In the inner-ring region, the typical white student attended school with half the proportion of poor students in the region, even as the typical black or Latino student attended school with around twice the regional proportion of poor students.
- The proportions of black and Latino students attending intensely segregated schools in Yonkers City School District increased from 5% to nearly 50% from pre-unitary status (1989 or 1999) to post-unitary status (2010).

New York City:

- Across the 32 Community School Districts (CSDs) in New York City, 19 had 10% or less white students in 2010, which included all districts in the Bronx, two-thirds of the districts in Brooklyn (central to north districts), half of the districts in Manhattan (northern districts), and only two-fifths of the districts in Queens (southeast districts).
- In 2010, Staten Island's CSD 31 had the highest white student proportion at 53% for the city, but the district also had substantial internal variation, with a third of schools serving greater than 80% of white students and another third serving less than 40% of white students. While much smaller proportions of white students are enrolled in other CSDs, they often follow similar patterns of extreme variation among schools, even within the most gentrified districts.
- Across New York City, 73% of charters were considered apartheid schools (less than 1% white enrollment) and 90% percent were intensely segregated (less than 10% white enrollment) schools in 2010. Only 8% of charter schools were multiracial[8] and with over a 14.5% white enrollment (the New York City average); these included the Brooklyn

[6] Diverse districts are broadly defined as those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students.
[7] Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change between time periods.
[8] We define multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body.

Prospect Charter, Community Roots Charter, and Our World Neighborhood Charter, among others.

- Magnet schools across the New York City district had the highest proportion of multiracial schools and lowest proportion of segregated schools. However, 17% of magnets had less than 1% white enrollment and 7% had greater than 50% white enrollment, with PS 100 Coney Island having a white proportion of 81%.

Upstate Metropolitan Areas:

- Quite possibly due to the elimination of Buffalo's desegregation order in 1995, black and Latino students in the metropolitan area experienced a substantial increase in the percentage concentrated in intensely-segregated schools since 1989.
- In the Syracuse metropolitan area, the proportion of black students grew by 4% points, but black isolation rates skyrocketed from 1989 to 2010. The average black student attended school in 1989 with a third of students from their own race; twenty years later, the typical black student attended schools with nearly half black students.
- At the district level, the majority of school districts in Upstate New York remain predominately white. In the Rochester metro, however, near a quarter of school districts are drastically changing with the majority substantially integrating nonwhite students.
- In Buffalo, the typical white student attended a school with 30% of poor students in comparison to 73% of poor students for the typical black student.
- In the Albany metro, 97% of the metro's multigroup segregation – measured by the distribution of racial groups in schools across the metro – occurred between rather than within districts. A total of 59 out of 65 districts in 2010 were predominately white or nonwhite.

From these main and specific findings, we provide a number of policy recommendations that should be implemented (or are being implemented but need further support) at the local, state, and federal level to create and maintain integrated schools across New York. These include:

- The state and local education agencies need to develop policies (e.g., controlled choice) that focus on reducing racial isolation, promoting diverse schools, and ensuring an equal distribution of resources. Such policies should address how agencies can create student assignment and choice policies that foster diverse schools, discuss how to recruit a diverse teaching staff, provide a framework for developing and supporting intra and inter-district or universal programs, reinforce a commitment to achieving racial and economic diversity, and require that districts report to the state or local agency on diversity-related matters for all (regular, magnet, specialty, and charter) schools.
- Districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools. Charters can implement other creative strategies, such as strategic location, weighted admissions, and target recruitment.
- Magnet schools and transfer programs within and across district borders should also be used to promote more racially integrated schools, without sacrificing any diversity currently present in traditional schools. However, magnets, or any choice program for

that matter, must have a commitment toward increasing racial and economic integration, recruit actively to create a diverse student body, provide transportation for students, and have no academic screening mechanisms.

- Initiatives should be created to help lead and manage regional or interdistrict programs in urban/suburban areas. Efforts should also be made to foster the development of suburban coalitions to influence state-level policy-making around issues of school diversity and equity.
- With housing and school segregation highly correlated, 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. Municipal housing policies should also be tied to equitable education policies. The twenty-year battle in Yonkers, and the recent case in Westchester County serve as examples.
- Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn.
- 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 brought into their court rooms.
- All school choice policies should be subject to civil rights standards. These initiatives should promote the voluntary integration of students (i.e., diversity goals) while ensuring transparency, transportation, parental engagement, and school quality. School districts should also ensure that each choice initiative is uncomplicated, and all students and parents, particularly hard-to-reach families, are fully aware of their educational options and provided with resources and appropriate guidance.

For New York to have a favorable multiracial future both socially and economically, it is absolutely urgent that its leaders and citizens understand both the values of diversity and the harms of inequality. A number of policy options are available to provide hope for a more equitable and culturally enriching education for the state of New York.

STATE OF THE EMPIRE:
SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN NEW YORK

The fight for equal educational opportunity in New York has followed a pattern similar to other diverse or racially transforming states. From the 1950s to 1980s, the issue of school desegregation was an important issue. Local civil rights pressure, the courts, and legislation attempted to desegregate large urban school systems through both voluntary school choice programs and involuntary reassignment plans. Over the last 20 years, however, most desegregation policies have been abandoned, as minorities continue to grow and reside in isolated neighborhoods, and leaders shift focus onto neighborhood schools and the provision of equitable school funding or resources. School segregation has persisted or increased across the state – one of the main explorations of this report. Another important purpose of this study is to show, through a synthesis of the literature, that school integration is a goal still worth pursuing as well as to explore what legal and policy options can be implemented at various levels to achieve racially integrated education across the state, especially in New York City.

In this report, we first provide a brief overview of the history of desegregation in New York. Following, we review over sixty years of social science research to determine possible harms of segregation and the benefits of well-designed diverse schools. We then explore demographic and segregation patterns over the last twenty years for the state, preceded by a brief description of the data and methodology. Those same trends are also explored for the large New York metropolitan area and its various regions (including Long Island and Yonkers), followed by the state's four main upstate metropolitan areas (Albany, Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse). Within the metropolitan area analyses, the report briefly delves into the degree and type of racial transition within the largest school districts. We then discuss these findings, along with a number of legal and policy recommendations for the state and key metropolitan areas.

Demographic Context of New York

New York can be broadly separated into two different regions: the downstate, consisting mainly of New York City and surrounding counties, and upstate, generally consisting of everywhere else. In New York City, enslaved African Americans were brought to the area as early as 1626. By 1660, the area was 40% African, about half of whom were estimated to have died by the age of 12.[9] The discovery and subsequent analysis of the African Burial Ground in Lower Manhattan, where 10,000 to 20,000 of Africans are buried, not only supported the substantial number of Africans in the area, but also how enslaved Africans lived under brutal conditions.[10] After slavery was outlawed in 1827, the city was home to one of the largest free black communities in the north[11].

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[9] Williams, B. (2000, March 13). Grave site exposes brutality of slavery in early New York. *The Militant, 64*(10). Retrieved from http://www.themilitant.com/2000/6410/641060.html.

[10] Ibid*;* Kirkwood, S. (Summer, 2006). History unearthed: An African burial ground unearthed in New York City becomes the latest addition to the National Park System. *National Parks, 80*(3), 12–13.

[11] Harris, L. M. (2003). *In the shadow of slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

By the mid-ninetieth century, the black proportion decreased in the city due to the massive influx of Irish immigrants competing for similar jobs.[12] At the same time, the Republican Party and its antislavery laws were gaining traction, threatening proslavery or pro-segregation New Yorkers. This resulted in a number of racially violent demonstrations. One of the largest was the New York City Draft Riots of 1863, where hordes of white immigrants terrorized African American residents for days, massacred nearly all of the children in the Colored Orphan Asylum on 44th Street, and killed over one hundred African Americans. From 1810 to 1870, the proportion of black residents in New York City declined from 10.2% to 1.4%.

By the early twentieth century, blacks began migrating from the South to northern urban areas like New York City. These black migrants were often met with hostility and alarm. Many were forced by discriminatory housing practices, realtors, or organized white gangs to move into racially isolated ghettos. [13] Residential segregation in New York City began to steadily rise and continued to do so throughout the first sixty years of the twentieth century.[14] After World War II, New York City also experienced a large domestic migration of Puerto Ricans. By 1960, one out of seven, and one out of twelve city residents identified as black or Puerto Rican, respectively.[15] The conditions this group faced inspired a whole generation of movement building and black-Puerto Rican alliances that gained their strength in the civil rights/post civil movements in the north.

Following the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, the region began to experience a substantial growth in Asian and Latino residents. Today, New York City is the most heterogeneous and highly populated area in the country, with over 50% black and Latino residents, and over 12% Asian residents.[16] However, despite the popular characterization that the city is a "melting pot," many neighborhoods across the area have seen little diversity for years, and are dominated by one or another of the major race/ethnicity groups.[17] One can also view the segregation of New York City visually using the New York Times' Mapping America tool, which presents the distribution of racial and ethnic groups in 2009.[18]

The rest of the state -- the upstate region – has experienced a similar but less significant demographic transformation over the last 100 years, especially within the last two decades. The majority of this change has occurred in urban areas, as middle class white families move to the suburbs and black and Latino families remain or migrate

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[12] Roediger, D. (1991). *The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class*. New York: Verso.
[13] Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Kihiss, P. (1964, February 4). Many steps taken for integration. *The New York Times, pp.*
[16] U.S. Census Bureau (2010). State and County QuickFacts.
[17] Of the almost 29,500 neighborhoods (census blocks) in New York City with populations greater than zero in 2000 and 2010, 85% of them had the same predominant racial/ethnic population (i.e., plurality group) in 2010 as they did in 2000; Alba, R., & Romalewski, S. (2012). *The end of segregation? Hardly*. New York, NY: Center for Urban Research.
[18] Retrieved from http://projects.nytimes.com/census/2010/explorer?view=raceethnicity&lat=40.6311&lng=-73.994&l=12

within city limits.[19] More recently, many black and Latino families have moved to sectors of suburbia. In addition, although the region was home to less than 15% nonwhite residents in 2000 and 17% nonwhite residents in 2010, the Latino and Asian populations are rapidly increasing; both groups have doubled in proportion from 1990 to 2010.[20] As such, although the upstate region represents close to a third of the entire state population, over half (52%) of the state's white population resides in this region in comparison to downstate. With the growing diversity and geographic segregation occurring both in the downstate and upstate regions of New York, the battle for civil rights and school integration has had a long history across the state.

Desegregation in New York: Background and Context

The fight for civil rights has always been a national struggle. Although most U.S. history associates the civil rights movement with savage images and events from the South, the civil rights movement in the North also contributed to civil right reforms in the early twentieth century. At the heart of the northern movement was New York – a state that experienced a massive migration of Black southerners, historical events like the Harlem race riot, and key civil right court cases and reforms.

Similar to *Plessy vs. Ferguson* – the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding "separate but equal," New York state courts ruled in 1900 that separate schools for "colored children" were constitutional if they provided facilities equal to those for whites (*People, ex rel., Cisco v. School Board*).[21] In 1938, however, this separate but equal schooling statue was repealed, and in 1944, the state's officially last segregated all-black school closed in Rockland County, following a six-week school boycott. However, it was not until after *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) that two Commissioners of Education – James Allen and Ewald Nyquist – led the Board of Regents and the New York State Department of Education in a twenty-year long campaign to desegregate and integrate New York's school systems. Efforts to reach racial balance across public school systems became official policy in 1960.[22] In early 1963, Allen directed each district with a school enrolling more than 50% of black students to report how it will eliminate racial imbalance – also referred to as the "Allen directive".[23]

Many school boards protested and legally challenged Commissioner Allen's directive to integrate their schools. By 1964, the state legislature introduced five bills to

[19] Office of the New York State Comptroller (2004). Population trends in New York State's cities. *Local Government Issues in Focus, 1*(1), 1-15. Retrieved from http://www.osc.state.ny.us/localgov/pubs/research/pop_trends.pdf

[20] Denton, N., Friedman, S., & D'Anna, N. (n.d.). *Metropolitan and micropolitan New York State: Population change and race-ethnic diversity 2000-2010. Albany, NY*: Lewis Mumford Center. Retrieved from: http://mumford.albany.edu/mumford/UpstateProject/geography.html

[21] Folts, J. D. (1996). History of the University of the State of New York and the State Education Department 1784-1996. Albany, NY: New York State Education Department. Retrieved from http://www.nysl.nysed.gov/edocs/education/sedhist.htm

[22] University of the State of New York (1960). Regents statement on intercultural relations in education, Journal of Regents Meeting (NY: The University of the State of New York), January 27-28: 28-29.

[23] Dales, D. (1963, June 19). State calling on schools to end racial imbalance, *New York Times*, A1.

oppose busing and other desegregation programs.[24] Between 1965 and 1969, over 45 more bills were introduced. In 1969, one anti-busing bill passed, although a federal court later found the law unconstitutional.[25] This resistance resulted in the legislature reducing funding and other support for the Commissioner and the State Education Department. As a result, the following commissioner – Nyquist – was unable to battle desegregation on a statewide level but still maintained a somewhat limited authority when a district or individual filed an official complaint.

With this limited authority, however, Commissioner Nyquist was still able to order several more urban districts to desegregate their schools. In addition, the commissioner tried to assist (although with little success) Buffalo in desegregating its schools under a federal court order.[26] After several years, however, the legislature eliminated most desegregation supporters from the Board of Regents and replaced them with strong opponents. In 1976, a majority of the Board voted to fire Commissioner Nyquist.[27] The new Commissioner avoided the pursuit of the goal of integrated schools and the state became unwilling and unable to help or require school districts to achieve racial balance.

During this time period, communities throughout the state used local and other avenues to garner support for desegregation or racial balance in schools. The "Big Five" school districts of Buffalo, New York City, Rochester, Syracuse, and Yonkers remain most important, as these school systems currently contain more than forty percent of the public school enrollment in the state (New York City representing the overwhelming majority) and the vast majority of poor, minority and limited English proficient students.[28] The history of Suffolk and Nassau counties on Long Island is also important to explore, as the area is home to some of the most fragmented, segregated, and unequal school districts in the United States.

Buffalo

On the western side of the state is Buffalo – a city that experienced a historical desegregation lawsuit beginning in the late 1960s. The city of Buffalo has encountered a similar growth pattern to other large cities in the northeast during the twentieth century. Between 1940 and 1970, the city underwent an increase of black migration due to the economic growth occasioned by the war industry.[29] Due to discriminatory housing, lending, and real estate practices - typical in most northern cities at the time[30] - a majority of the black population was kept to specific neighborhoods within the older central city,

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[24] Hochschild, J. L., & Danielson, M. (2004). The demise of a dinosaur: Analyzing school and housing desegregation in Yonkers. In C. M. Henry (Ed.), *Race, poverty, and domestic policy* (pp. 221-241). New Haven CT: Yale University Press.
[25] *Lee v. Nyquist* (1970) 318 F.Supp. 710.
[26] *Arthur v. Nyquist* (1976) 415 F. Supp. 904.
[27] Hochschild & Danielson, 2004.
[28] New York State Education Department (2012). Education statistics for New York State.
[29] Taylor, H. L., Jr. (1996) Black in Buffalo: A late century report. Retrieved from http://wings.buffalo.edu/academic/department/apas/html/taylor- buffalo-2-25-96.html.
[30] Massey & Denton, 1993.

as whites began to move outward to surrounding suburbs, resulting in severely isolated schools and districts across the city.[31]

In 1964, several Buffalo parents appealed to New York State Commissioner Allen regarding the racial imbalance, as well as other discriminatory acts like the districting of new school buildings and teacher hiring and assignment practices, in the Buffalo Public School System and the failure of the Board of Education to alleviate such issues.[32] The commissioner supported the plaintiffs and mandated a plan for mitigating racial imbalance. In response, the Board of Education created a voluntary desegregated program, consisting mainly of one-way busing of black students into majority white schools. Both Commissioner Allen and Nyquist were never fully satisfied with the Board's program or progress. Over seven years, the Board ignored or rejected any other revised plans or programs. As such, the program only helped 2,600 inner-city youth attend peripheral schools, while allowing 2,000 to 4,000 white students to transfer from desegregated schools to predominately white schools.[33] In addition, schools in 1972 were even more segregated than they had been in 1968. In 1972, only six out of 30 Erie County school districts had 1% nonwhite students. Of these six, the only district with a significant nonwhite population was Buffalo (47%). Within the Buffalo Public School System, 67 out of 96 schools enrolled 80 to 100% majority or minority student populations, with 20 enrolling 90% black and 29 enrolling 90% white students.

As a result, in 1972, black and white parents, the NAACP, and the Citizen Council on Human Relations filed a lawsuit alleging both *de facto* and *de jure* segregation in the Buffalo Public School System. Besides the Buffalo Board of Education, defendants also included those entities or individuals with power and responsibility of the Board, including the Superintendent of Schools, the Buffalo Common Council, the New York State Commissioner of Education, and the New York State Board of Regents. In *Arthur v. Nyquist* (1976), the District Court ruled that the defendants had intentionally created and maintained a persistent segregated public school system, and thus, was required to desegregate.

The Buffalo desegregation plan occurred in three phases over five years.[34] Phase I lasted from 1976 to 1977, and the plan submitted and approved by the court closed ten schools, opened two magnet schools, changed feeder school programs, and bused over 3,000 students, resulting in greater racial balance in the city. Phase II covered 1977 to 1978 and consisted of transforming neighborhood black schools to specialized magnet schools but the transfer was voluntary for white students. Due to the limited scope of Phase I and voluntary nature of Phase II, few white students transferred to predominately black schools.

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[31] Yin, L. (2009). The dynamics of residential segregation in Buffalo: An agent-based simulation. *Urban Studies, 46*(13), 2749-2770.
[32] *Yerby Dixon Appeal* (1965) 4 Ed.Dept.Rep. 115, 117.
[33] *Arthur v. Nyquist,* 1976
[34] Rossell, C. (1987). The Buffalo Controlled Choice Plan, *Urban Education, 22*, 328-354; Taylor, S. J. L. (1998). *Desegregation in Boston and Buffalo: The influence of local leaders.* Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

The next phase began in 1980 and consisted of two parts. Phase III mandated busing of pre-K to grade 2 white students to Early Childhood Centers in black communities, and grade 3 to grade 8 black students to "Academies" in peripheral white communities. Phase III-X (or three-expedited) occurred in 1981 and was an accelerated version of the earlier plan, as well as a slight revision by adding a variety of programs to enhance the desirability of desegregation. By 1981, over 14,000 students in Buffalo were being bused – close to 30% of total students in the city.

The results: in 1985, *The New York Times* ran a front-page article with the headline: School Integration in Buffalo is Hailed as a Model for U.S.[35] In 1993, 37 of the 58 elementary schools were within court-ordered guidelines establishing that schools should comprise no more than 65% and no less than 30% minority students. Two years later, the District Court – responding to recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court – declared the Board of Education obtained unitary status, although more than one-third of the schools were out of compliance with court-ordered desegregation standards.[36]

Following unitary status in 1995, the district experienced dramatic fiscal problems and severe white flight. Some citywide magnet schools were retained but many special features of the schools were cut.[37] As a result, magnet schools were losing their attraction to families, as neighborhood schools and other interdistrict school choice policies were gaining traction.[38] In addition, since 1990, the metropolitan area has remained in the top 10 most segregated metropolitan areas in the nation in terms of white-black residential dissimilarity.[39] Whether school segregation patterns from 1990 to 2010 are reflecting these residential findings remains to be investigated.

Long Island

The area consisting of Long Island's Nassau and Suffolk Counties is often referred to as the "birthplace of post-war suburbia."[40] After World War II, suburban development on the island skyrocketed. One of the most famous projects was the town of Levittown, where more than 17,000 homes were built on 4,000 areas of farmland in the town of Hempstead.[41] The opportunity for suburban home ownership, however, was only available to white families, due to the structural and institutional racism at that time. At the same time, Long Island experienced a dramatic black migration to the area. Between 1940 and 1960, the black population increased by 50,000 residents. Many of these migrating blacks were thus excluded from white suburbs and forced to settle in urban or

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[35] Winerip, M. (1985, May 13). School integration in Buffalo hailed as a model for U.S. *New York Times*, A1.
[36] *Arthur v. Nyquist* (1995), 904 F. Supp. 112
[37] Heaney, J. (1997, June). Dollar delusion: Magnets get no extra funds. *Buffalo News*, A1, A6
[38] Heaney, J. (1997, June). Magnets: Losing their attraction. *Buffalo News*, A1, A12
[39] Retrieved from http://www.censusscope.org/; Frey, W. H (2011). Brookings Institution and University of Michigan Social Science Data Analysis Network's analysis of 1990, 2000, and 2010 Census Decennial Census tract data.
[40] Hartigan, S. (2002). *Racism and the opportunity divide on Long Island.* Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Race & Poverty, p. 5.
[41] Matarrese, L. (1997). *History of Levittown, New York*. Levittown, NY: Levittown Historical Society.

unincorporated areas with pre-existing black populations.[42] Even middle-class black families who moved into integrated communities found themselves soon isolated in all-black communities with declining resources, such as in Roosevelt where blacks constituted less than 20% of the community in 1960, but 98% in 2010.By some measures, Long Island has been ranked the most segregated suburb in the United States, as significant inequalities of opportunity exist across racial and economic lines.[43]

This history of residential segregation, and lack of school desegregation policy, has led to segregated public schools across the island. During the 1960s, the debate over racial integration began to arise in a number of Long Island school districts.[44] Following Commissioner Allen's directive for racial balance, Freeport voted to transfer all pupils from a nearly all black minority school to five other schools in the district. In Amityville, advocates demonstrated against racially segregated schools yet no integration plan was implemented. In Hempstead, an interdistrict merger with majority-white and neighboring districts of Garden City and Uniondale was proposed but failed. In Roosevelt (as well as Wyandanch), Commissioner Nyquist recommended the dissolution of the school district and the dispersion of its students to surrounding white districts in 1969. Despite the fact that neither community would ever have a sufficient local tax base to support quality education, the school board and white residents and officials in the surrounding communities opposed the consolidation proposal.[45] In 2002, the nearly all poor and minority district became the only one of more than 700 districts in New York to be placed under state control. After hundreds of millions of dollars in state aid, the district began to show modest signs of progress in 2010.[46]

One of the more infamous desegregation battles in Long Island involves the Malverne school district. Acting on a petition by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Commissioner Allen ordered that Malverne desegregate an elementary school enrolling 75% black students and integrate with the district's two predominately white elementary schools in 1963, the first time the New York State required a local district to desegregate a school.[47] Four years of resistance and controversy later, the state and district agreed on a plan that divided students between two primary schools and then assigned students to a district-wide middle school and high school. In more recent years, the district became over 75% black and Latino despite the

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[42] Wiese, A. (1995). Racial cleansing in the suburbs: Suburban government, urban renewal, and segregation on Long Island, New York, 1945-1960. In M.L. Silver & M. Melkonian (Eds.), *Contested terrain: Power, politics, and participation in suburbia* (pp. 61-70). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

[43] Lambert, B. (2002, June 5). Study calls L.I. most segregated suburb. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/05/nyregion/study-calls-li-most-segregated-suburb.html.

[44] Retrieved from Alan Singer's curriculum guide on the Civil Rights Movement on Long Island: http://people.hofstra.edu/alan_j_singer/civilrights/civil_iii_3a_23.pdf

[45] Hines, S. M. (2001, March 28). Radical solutions are needed in Roosevelt. *Long Island Newsday*. Retrieved from: http://www.newsday.com/radical-solutions-are-needed-in-roosevelt-1.339330

[46] Hu, W. (2010, August 15). Troubled school district is on road to recovery. *New York Times*. Retrieved from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/16/nyregion/16roosevelt.html?scp=1&sq=roosevelt%20school&st=cse&_r=1&&gwh=E53EFF4BDA4CD42E4EB0B18CA295EEDD

[47] Failer, J., Harvey A, & Hochschild JL. (1993). Only one oar in the water: The political failure of school desegregation in Yonkers, New York. *Educational Policy, 7*(3), 276-296.

desegregation plan, and a large white population living in Malverne, mostly enrolled their children in private schools or other public schools in the surrounding districts.[48]

Besides a history of residential segregation, the governance structure of Nassau-Suffolk is highly fragmented, contributing to the racial segregation on the island, as well as preventing many of its remedies. Long Island's governance structure consists of 901 different entities including 2 cities, 2 counties, 13 towns, 95 villages, and 125 school districts each with its own taxing authority. In Nassau and Suffolk counties, this district fragmentation (the probability that any two randomly selected students within the same county live in different school districts) was .99 combined, in comparison to the national average district fragmentation level of .72.[49] The extreme fragmentation is a tremendous barrier to racial integration and equitable resources between districts. For example, per-pupil spending varies widely among school districts, from $20,696 in majority-white Bridgehampton, to $5,377 in majority-minority Wyandanch.[50] Even when public resources are similar between racially or socioeconomically varying districts, further research documents the extreme private resource inequality between these districts, and the effect these differences can have on students' access to a high-quality education and other learning resources.[51]

Recent survey findings from the Long Island Index Report 2009 suggests that a majority of Long Island residents are in favor of programs and policies that can help to dismantle the separate and unequal schooling districts across the two counties.[52] For example, around two-thirds of Long Islanders surveyed favor the creation of interdistrict magnet schools, interdistrict transfer programs, school district consolidation, or some sort of pooling of property taxes across district boundaries. Yet, social psychological research has shown a clear disparity between what people say and what they actually do (e.g., majority of parents reporting they want their child to attend a racially diverse school, yet school segregation continues to persist across the country).[53] Even in 1963, 75% of Northern whites reported support for the *Brown* decision, but few supported desegregation programs in their own areas.[54]

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[48] Singer, A. (2012, March 19). Integrate Long Island schools. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-singer/long-island-segregation_b_1344354.html

[49] Bishoff, K. (2008). School district fragmentation and racial residential segregation: How do boundaries matter? *Urban Affairs Review, 44*(2), 182-217.

[50] Hartigan, 2002.

[51] Wells, A. S., Baldridge, B., Duran, J., Loftin, R., Roda, A., Warner, M., White, T., & Grzesikowski, C. (2009). Why boundaries matter: A study of five separate and unequal Long Island schools districts. Garden City, NY: Long Island Index.

[52] Rauch Foundation (2009) Long Island Index report. Garden City, New York: Author.

[53] Pearson, A. R., Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2009). The nature of contemporary prejudice: Insights from aversive racism. *Social & Personality Psychology Compass, 3*(3), 314-338; Farkas, S., Johnson, J., Immerwhar, S., & McHugh, J. (1998). *Time to move on: African-American and white parents set an agenda for public schools*. New York: Public Agenda; Orfield, G., Kucsera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). E pluribus … separation? Deepening double segregation for more students. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project.

[54] Sugrue, T. J. (2008). *Sweet land of liberty: The forgotten struggle for civil rights in the North.* New York: Random House, p. 465.

New York City Metropolitan Area[55]

In New York City, commissions and recommendations followed by inaction were all too familiar for the large school district. Three months after the *Brown* decision, Kenneth Clark, a psychologist whose research bolstered the NAACP arguments in the *Brown* case, issued a statement concluding that the city, specifically Harlem, had a segregated school system and that black children were receiving a far inferior education than whites.[56] Administrators within the New York City Board of Education initially attacked his analysis, ranging from outright rejection to insinuating he had communist affiliations. The school superintendent at the time even requested the report use the word "separation" over "segregation", as the latter is a southern issue. New York City Schools Superintendent William Jansen finally agreed to support Clark's study and the Board ultimately established the Commission on Integration to develop proposals for integrating the city's public schools.

In 1958, a group of black mothers, coined the Little Rock Nine of Harlem," began a boycott and kept their children out of three Harlem junior high schools due to the schools' poor learning conditions.[57] Defying the compulsory education law, their case ended up in the Domestic Relations Court, where one judge later concurred with the boycotting parents. Judge Polier's landmark decision, four years after *Brown*, charged the New York City Board of Education with offering an inferior education to black students.

A year later, the Commission on Integration implemented a program consisting of busing pupils from over-utilized schools in the black areas of Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn and East Harlem to under-utilized schools in adjacent white areas of Glendale in Queens and Yorkville.[58] Opposition soon arose from both black and white parents, with one critical issue being the freedom of black and Puerto Rican students to choose to attend much better schools. In response, the Board of Education decided to allow limited open enrollment in 1960, including 21 "sending" junior high schools with crowded classrooms and high concentrations of minorities to shift to 28 "receiving" and white schools that had space for 3,000 more students. One year later, the plan expanded to elementary students but less than 700 students applied.

Over the 1960s, community leaders, parents, and civil rights activists continued waging local neighborhood struggles and citywide campaigns for further school integration efforts. In 1964, one of the largest school boycotts took place in New York City in response to the city's Board of Education long-range plan to ease segregation via the Princeton Plan - pairing about one-fifth of the mostly black schools with nearby

[55] Excluding Long Island (i.e., Nassau and Suffolk Counties)
[56] Ravitch, D. (1974). *The great school wars: New York City, 1805-1972.* New York: Basic Books.
[57] Back, A. (2003). Exposing the "Whole Segregation Myth": the Harlem Nine and New York City's school desegregation battles. In K. Woodard (Ed.), *Freedom North" Black freedom struggles outside the South 1940-1980* (pp. 65-91). Gordonsville, VA: Palgrave Macmillan.
[58] Commission on Intergroup Relations (1961). A tale of two boroughs: A school integration success story. New York, NY: Author.

mostly white schools and integrating the student bodies.[59] Black leaders reported that the integration plan fell far short of their aspirations, one of which included the use of cross-busing in order to reach the majority of segregated schools rather than just a portion. The result, close to half a million students stayed home, making the boycott the largest civil rights demonstration in U.S. history. However, the limited integration plan was never implemented anyways.

In 1964, Commissioner Allen recommended a desegregation plan for New York City's public schools, including integrated middle schools and new comprehensive high schools.[60] However, the school board, as well as a legal speed bump reduced the integration of white students. In *Balaban v. Rubin* (1964), a group of white parents opposed the New York Board of Education's rezoning of a new junior high school in a "fringe" area in order to correct racial imbalance. The Supreme Court held that a New York Education Law was violated and granted in favor of the plaintiffs. The Appellate Division reversed the Supreme Court's decision and held that race may be a factor considered in determining the attendance areas for the new school (but only for students entering junior high school) to prevent segregated schools. These barriers, as well as three experimental Community School Districts (CSDs) in 1967, resulted in a growing demand for community control of local schools. Between 1969 and 1973, laws addressing decentralization were passed and amended, as New York's Board of Education was decentralized to 32 CSDs and 6 high school districts with boundaries coterminous with borough boundaries but otherwise not conforming to any other jurisdictional boundaries.

Other small desegregation challenges occurred during the 1960s and 1970s throughout the city. In 1974, the federal court ordered that the Mark Twain Junior High School 239 in Coney Island was unconstitutionally segregated.[61] The remedy included changing the school into a magnet program for the gifted and talented in order to voluntary attract more white students. The desegregation order ended in 2008. In Queens, the Board of Education adopted a choice plan for the students who were in segregated Jackson High School attendance zone, which was upheld by the Second Circuit even though some minority students were excluded from their school of choice to allow for greater integration.[62]

Two other areas in the New York City metro region that experienced noteworthy desegregation cases were New Rochelle and Yonkers. In 1960, following a number of marches, boycotts, and other demonstrations, parents of 11 schoolchildren brought suit against the New Rochelle Board of Education and superintendent for years of gerrymandering and allowing white children to transfer out of attendance zones, resulting

[59] *Time Magazine* (1964, February 14). Public schools: The spreading boycott. Retrieved from: http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,870747-2,00.html
[60] Folts, 1996.
[61] *Hart v. Community School Board of Brooklyn, New York School District 21* (1974), 383 F. 88. Supp 699, 706
[62] *Parent Assoc. of Andrew Jackson High School v. Ambach* (1983), 738 F.2d 574, 576 (2d Cir. 1983)

in a de facto black school at Lincoln Elementary.[63] In 1961, the court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs and approved a desegregation plan, consisting mainly of closing the Lincoln school and allowing students to transfer to any New Rochelle school. The court-ordered school desegregation order was the first case in a northern city.[64]

In Yonkers, the desegregation history was considerably lengthier. Beginning in the early half of the twentieth century, most neighborhoods on the southeast of the Saw Mill River Parkway in Westchester County were occupied exclusively by middle-class whites. In the southwest, over seven thousand poor blacks and Latinos were herded into huge public housing projects contained within a square mile ghetto, reflecting 97.7% of the subsidized units inhabited by 80.7% of the city's minority population, which was only 37.5% of the total city population in the 1980s.[65] Racially restrictive covenants, city council's refusal of Section 8 vouchers to use in other areas of Yonkers, and discriminatory real estate practices exacerbated the ghettoization of the area.

With school and housing segregation so inextricably linked, by 1980, Yonkers schools were largely segregated by race, with minority schools distinctly inferior to their all white counterparts. As a result, the local chapter of the NAACP joined with the U.S. Department of Justice to sue the Board of Education and the City of Yonkers for allowing discriminatory schools to persist.[66] After a lengthy trial, Federal District Judge Leonard Sand found intentional segregation by the city and school board of Yonkers. In 1986, the Yonkers Board of Education instituted a voluntary desegregation plan, relying on 10 designated magnet schools out of 30 to integrate white and black students. In 2001, the school district obtained unitary status and moved towards educational improvement plans designed to improve student performance of all students rather than desegregation efforts.

In terms of impact, the magnet schools achieved racial balance in less than a year of implementation. However, white students soon started to flee to surrounding suburbs. In the first two years of the integration plan, one out of ten white students left the district.[67] From 1985 (before the integration was implemented) to 2000 (pre-unitary status), white enrollment dropped by almost half from 10,070 white students to 5,392 students. In 2010, nine years of post-unitary status, white enrollment in the district dropped by only 20% or 1,000 white students from 2000.

Although the Yonkers's case tried to remedy housing and school segregation together, the housing desegregation portion (i.e., the building of more subsidized housing in predominantly white sections of the city) received far more resistance from the city - 27 years to be exact. However, at the end, both school and housing remedies were not

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[63] *Taylor v. Board of Education of City School District of City of New Rochelle* (1961), 191 F. Supp. 181, D.C.N.Y. 1961.
[64] Memorandum by New York Appleseed and Orrick, Herrington, & Sutcliffe. December 12, 2012.
[65] *Unites States v. Yonkers Board of Education* (1985) 624 F. Supp. 1276, S.D. New York.
[66] *United States v. Yonkers,* 1985.
[67] Hernandez, R. (1995, December 28). Neither separate nor equal; Yonkers integrates its schools, to little effect. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/28/nyregion/neither-separate-nor-equal-yonkers-integrates-its-schools-to-little-effect.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm

large enough in a metropolitan sense or desirable enough in a political/local sense for desegregation to be effective or sustainable.[68]

After two decades of fighting to desegregate New York City schools, large-scale integration efforts never materialized due to resistance or large-scale white flight. Former Chancellor Anker announced that even small integration efforts should end, much due to the rising proportion of minority students in the public school system.[69]

Although a city or metropolitan-wide desegregation plan never occurred, other voluntary initiatives to improve student integration in the city were implemented beginning in the 1970s. These include educational option programs, magnet schools, dual language programs, and school and district-wide voluntary integration plans. Educational option programs use student achievement levels as a way to achieve racial and economic diversity and retain white middle class families from leaving the district. The goal of these schools is to enroll a major portion of students who are reading at grade level, and then smaller but equitable portions of students who are at above and below reading grade levels. New York City also began to implement magnet schools, which have served as a voluntary option for school districts across the nation to integrate students without mandatorily assigning and transporting students to schools. Generally, these schools are based around a particular theme that attempts to attract students from outside school zones to reduce minority isolation. Dual language programs were implemented post-1970 to provide instruction in both English and a second language in order to promote biliteracy and positive cross-cultural attitudes. A district-wide voluntary integration program, consisting of the elimination of school zoning and employment of diversity-based lotteries for oversubscribed schools, was implemented in CSD 1 in 1989 and approved by the Board of Education shortly after.

Today, New York City public school system is, by far, the largest in the country, with racial enrollment varying greatly across schools and CSDs. Despite this diversity, prior voluntary integration initiatives have slowly declined, transformed, or been eliminated over the years, as more color-blind and market-based educational policies and programs have stepped into place. As a result, this city has failed to address student racial isolation, support the pursuit of diversity efforts and integration initiatives, and possibly increased school segregation across the city.

New York City school district is composed of 32 CSDs. All but three CSDs are subdivided into attendance zones or catchment areas for individual elementary schools. In these 29 CSDs, students have a choice of attending their zoned school or attending school elsewhere. Schools with mostly zoned students generally reflect neighborhood segregation patterns. Those with the means to attend less disadvantaged schools are also

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[68] *United States v. Yonkers,* 29 F.3d 40 (2nd Cir. 1994); Hochschild, J.L., & Danielson, M. (1998). Can We Desegregate Public Schools and Subsidized Housing? Lessons from the Sorry History of Yonkers, New York. In Clarence Stone (Ed.), *Changing urban education* (pp. 23-44). Lawrence KS: University Press of Kansas.

[69] Anker, I. (1974, February), as cited in Orfield, G. (1978). *Must we bus? Segregated schools and national policy.* Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution. p. 177

often the more advantaged students or families, which increases the segregation within CSDs and the city.[70]

For middle and high schools, recent school choice policies tend to perpetuate racial segregation across the city. For many CSDs that participate, the revised middle school choice program is a selective one, with schools screening applicants based on different criteria. This competitive selection process allows schools to disfavor students who are not high achieving or who have behavior problems, more often historically marginalized students.[71] For those CSDs that do not participate in the middle-school choice program, or those districts that do but students do not receive admission to their school of choice, students can attend their zoned school or an alternative (e.g., charter or private), and thus, reflect residential segregation patterns.

Bloomberg's 2004 universal school-choice policy for high schools consisted of allowing all students to engage in the process of choosing a school, with each school using an admission method to evaluate applicants. Similar to the middle-school choice policy, the city's high school choice policy process tends to work better for advantaged families who have greater means.[72] Two districts in the city, CSD 2 and 26, also use intra-district preferences for their high school admission, preventing many inter-district students from attending their schools and thus, maintaining the high white and Asian proportions in their district high schools.

Charter schools have also been another main reform effort of the recent Bloomberg administration. Most charter schools in New York City are located in high-poverty neighborhoods, however, and tend to draw from those neighborhoods. Additionally, many charter schools and their funders, however, have a mission to serve low-income children almost exclusively. Schools oriented exclusively to addressing poverty – sometimes with strict codes of conduct – typically have little appeal for middle-class parents. In addition, attempts to create charter schools in some CSDs that could yield a diverse sample of economic backgrounds have been largely resisted by targeted communities. In gentrifying neighborhoods, charter schools provide gentrifying parents with another option or choice since real estate often moves quicker than school reform.

Initiatives once designed to increase student integration have also decreased. The proportion of educational option schools declined under Mayor Bloomberg even as they remain the second most popular type of school among applicants.[73] Many magnet schools are struggling with achieving a diverse student body due to geography or lack of

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[70] Interview with Lisa Donlan, President, Community Education Council 1, October 24, 2013; Interview with Donna Nevel and Ujju Aggarwal, Parent Leadership Project and Participatory Action Research Center for Education Organizing, October 30, 2013; Tipson, D. (2013). *Within our reach: Segregation in NYC District elementary schools and what we can do about it.* New York: New York Appleseed.

[71] Memorandum by New York Appleseed and Orrick, Herrington, & Sutcliffe. December 12, 2012

[72] Ibid.

[73] Nathanson, L., Corcoran, S. & Baker-Smith, C. (2013). *High school choice in New York City: A report on the school choices and placements of low-achieving students*. New York: Research Alliance for New York City Schools.

ideological commitment from leaders and the city.[74] A proportion of dual language programs are increasingly serving as enclaves for affluent students. [75] After Bloomberg centralized the Department of Education in 2003, the department's central admission office began to replace the quota system being used in CSD 1 with a blind-lottery system. In 2007, the same year of the *Parents Involved* ruling, the diversity-based preference system completely ended and has yet to be reinstated or modified (e.g., using set asides for free and reduced lunch students or English language learners) despite continual community requests and increases in school racial isolation.[76] Around the same time, the DOE told individual schools that they could no longer give preference to low-income students.

Failure to address student diversity not only influences racial and socioeconomic segregation, but also can impact students' educational opportunities and outcomes. For example, a recent Schott Foundation report showed the drastic disparity by race for students across New York City CSDs on opportunity to learn conditions: the opportunity to attend a high-performing school in the district, the opportunity to be taught by an experienced and highly educated teacher, and the opportunity to be tested for Gifted and Talented eligibility in kindergarten.[77]

Rochester

In Monroe County, New York, 27% of residents identified themselves as minorities in 2010.[78] But those populations are concentrated in certain neighborhoods in the city of Rochester, where in some cases more than 95% of the residents are racial or ethnic minorities – or nonwhite. In comparison, only 13% of suburban residents identified as minorities.[79] To reduce minority student isolation, the Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program - initiated by the suburban West Irondequoit School District – was created in 1965 in accordance with Commissioner Allen's directive to improve racial balance. The program initially allowed 24 minority students from the

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[74] Robbins, L. (2012, June 15). Integrating a school, one child at a time. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/17/education/brooklyn-magnet-schools-see-hurdles-to-integration-even-in-kindergarten.html?pagewanted=1

[75] ; Interview with Donna Nevel and Ujju Aggarwal, Parent Leadership Project and Participatory Action Research Center for Education Organizing, October 30, 2013; Tipson, D. (n.d.). *One system for all*. New York: New York Appleseed. Retrieved from http://edfundersresearch.com/david-tipson-one-system-all

[76] Interview with Lisa Donlan, President, Community Education Council 1, October 24, 2013; Memorandum by New York Appleseed and Orrick, Herrington, & Sutcliffe. December 12, 2012; Shapiro, J. (2012, January). East Village schools split along racial lines under city policy. *DNAinfo New York.* Retrieved from http://www.dnainfo.com/new-york/20120130/lower-east-side-east-village/city-policy-segregates-east-village-schools-parents-say

[77] Holzman, M. (2012). *A rotting apple: Education redlining in New York City.* Cambridge, MA: Schott Foundation.

[78] U.S. Census Bureau (2010). *Census 2010* SF1 Table P9 Hispanic or Latino or Not Hispanic or Latino by Race.

[79] Carter, D. L. & Orr, S. (2013, February 23). Unite Rochester: Examining the housing divide. DemocratandChronicle.com. Retrieved from http://www.democratandchronicle.com/interactive/article/20130224/UNITE01/302240010/Housing-inequality-Unite-Rochester

inner-city school district of Rochester to transfer to West Irondequoit[80] Forty plus years later, the modest program allows about 500 minority children in the 32,000-student Rochester City School District to attend seven more affluent and whiter suburban schools across Monroe County.[81] The program originally involved a two-way transfer program between the city and suburbs. However, this was met with resistance in the city by both black families and white families in 1984, as well as local budgetary and federal funding cuts, and the two-way transfer component ended.[82]

In the late 1990s, the transfer program was also legally challenged for denying an inner-city white student's transfer to attend a better-performing suburban school (*Brewer v. West Irondequoit Central School District* (No. 99-7186)). In 1999, the federal district judge ruled in favor of the plaintiff, but the U.S. Court of Appeals later suspended this decision in 2000.

Today, Rochester's voluntary school desegregation program only affects 1% of the minorities in Rochester or 500 students, as only half of the county's suburban school districts participate in the program, and those participating have a limited number of seats. Other problematic aspects of the program (admissions, outreach, funding) also limit it. As a result, some have argued that Monroe County school districts are more segregated than ever with the political will to integrate no longer existing.[83]

The racial and socioeconomic disparity, and efforts to keep this disparity, between Rochester City school district and its neighboring suburban school districts are often clearly visible. Rochester City is the least affluent school district in upstate New York with 85% of students eligible for free or reduced lunch and 39% living under the federal poverty level.[84] A few miles away is the Pittsford Central School District, where 4% of students are eligible for free or reduced lunch and 5% percent live under the federal poverty line. Beyond the small number of Rochester City students attending schools in Pittsford under the interdistrict transfer program, any efforts to cross these artificial boundaries have been met with opposition. [85] When a former mayor attempted to begin conversations about a countywide school district in 2002, he was met with fierce opposition.[86] In 2012, Pittsford residents raised opposition to the building of a proposed luxury apartment complex with "murmurs about attracting the wrong type of people."

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[80] Heinrich, L. W. (1969). *Cooperative urban-suburban pupil transfer program.* Rochester, NY: University of Rochester, College of Education.
[81] Finnigan, K. S., & Stewart, T. J. (2009, October). Interdistrict choice as a policy solution: Examining Rochester's Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program (USITP). Prepared for School Choice and School Improvement: Research in State, District and Community Contexts. Nashville, TN.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid
[84] Thomas, G. S (2013, June 12). Pittsford tops all Rochester area district in affluence. *Buffalo Business First.*
[85] Ramos, N. (2012, October 28). Villagers need a reality check. *Democrat and Chronicle*. Retrieved from http://www.democratandchronicle.com/article/20121028/news0217/310280033/nestor%20ramos%20column%20pittsford%2075%20monroe
[86] Busby, C. (2003). Consolidating logic. *City Newspaper*. Retrieved from http://www.rochestercitynewspaper.com/rochester/consolidating-logic/Content?oid=2127705

However, there has been some recent support for desegregation programs across the county. In 2008, another suburban district in the Rochester metro – Fairport - joined the urban-suburban transfer program and began accepting minority students from Rochester city.[87] Research has also highlighted that there is an unmet demand for the interdistrict transfer program, as close to 500 students apply for between 70-100 spots in suburban schools each year. A recent public poll on racial opinions in Monroe County also shows that a majority of residents (68%) somewhat to strongly agree that city children do not have the same access to quality education as suburban children, and 59% (53% of whites) favor programs to help minorities overcome past discrimination.

Syracuse

About a hundred miles east of Rochester is Syracuse – an industrial city and university community that attracted many different ethnic groups in the early twentieth century. By 1970, industry began to struggle, as many left the city and expanded to the suburban communities. A city of 220,000 in 1950 shrunk to 145,000 by 2010, although the metropolitan area as a whole experienced much less flight.[88] Like many other cities, discriminatory practices confined most blacks to certain neighborhoods and schools in the city, while urban renewal plans built the invisible wall between the minority city and white suburbs, as well as provided public housing in urban areas of concentrated poor and minority residents.[89]

In the 1960s, however, Syracuse did try to integrate its schools by race. The school board's 1965-1966 desegregation plan involved the closing of two predominantly black schools and the busing of about 900 elementary and junior high school pupils to integrated schools. Other efforts towards educational equality included a special academic program to attract high ability black and white students to a formerly black elementary school and enriched elementary classes conducted on the Syracuse University campus.[90] However, because the plan was confined to the city, rather than the general metropolitan area, schools quickly hit what was seen as a tipping point at which middle-class students—and many teachers—fled. Before long, Syracuse, like many cities, was in the business of trying to fix its de facto segregated, high-poverty neighborhoods and schools.[91]

Summary

Over the last 20 years, most desegregation efforts in the state of New York and "Big 5" public school districts have been abandoned, as minority proportions continue to

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[87] Wells, A. S., Baldridge, B. J., Duran, J., Grzesikowski, C., Lofton, R., Roda, A., Warner, M., & White, T. (2009). *Boundary crossing for diversity, equity, and achievement: Inter-district school desegregation and educational opportunity.* Cambridge, MA: Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice.
[88] U.S. Census Bureau (2010). *State and County QuickFacts*.
[89] Grant, G. (2009). *Hope and despair in the American city: Why there are no bad schools in Raleigh.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
[90] United States Commission on Civil Rights. (1968). *Process of change: The story of school desegregation in Syracuse, New York (No. 12).* Washington, D.C: Author.
[91] Grant, 2009.

rise and leaders shift focus onto neighborhood schools and the provision of equitable school funding or resources. However, what does the social science research literature indicate? Are there persistent harms associated with racially isolated schools, along with any benefits related to desegregated ones? The following section provides an overview of research on school segregation and desegregation.

Social Science Research on School Integration[92]

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 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.[93] 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.[94] Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified[95] and experienced[96] teachers are spread very unevenly across schools, and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.[97] New York teachers, for example, have been found more likely to quit or transfer from schools with a higher percentage of minority students and end up in a school with a higher proportion of white students, even

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[92] 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: 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

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

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

[95] 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.

[96] 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.

[97] 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.

within the same district.[98] Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools of concentrated poverty.[99]

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. [100] This finding is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance, and college-going are normalized by peers.[101] 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 challenging curricula than schools in more affluent communities that largely serve populations of white and Asian students. [102] 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.[103] 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.[104]

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[98] Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. H. (2002). Teacher sorting and the plight of urban schools: A descriptive analysis. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 24*(1), 37-62; Boyd, D., J., & Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. H. (2005). Explaining the short careers of high-achieving teachers in schools with low-performing students. *American Economic Review, 95*(2), 166-171.

[99] 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 expenditures*. Washington, DC: Author.

[100] 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.

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

[102] 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.

[103] 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.

[104] 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.

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.[105] 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.[106] 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),[107] and if students do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.[108] Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students' success in school and later life.[109]

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.[110] Relatedly,

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[105] 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.

[106] 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/.

[107] 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.

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

[109] 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.

[110] 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.

integrated schools are linked to reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes.[111] Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.[112]

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students,[113] with no corresponding detrimental impact for white students.[114] These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations,[115] and high levels of civic and communal responsibility.[116] Black students who attended desegregated schools are substantially more likely to graduate from high school and college, in part because they are more connected to challenging curriculum and social networks that support such goals.[117] 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 from segregated settings. By middle age, the same group was also in far better health.[118] 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.[119]

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

[112] 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.

[113] 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, 1995.

[114] Hoschild, J., & Scrovronick, N. (2004). *The American dream and the public schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.

[115] 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.

[116] Braddock, 2009.

[117] 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.

[118] 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.

[119] 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*

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.[120] 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.[121] 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.[122]

Data and Analysis

With this social science consensus that integration can lead to both academic and social benefits, we next explore the demographic and segregation trends over the last two decades for the state of New York, and for each *main* metropolitan area of the state – those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 1989 – with a more detailed analysis for the New York metro. Below is an overview of our data, as well as the segregation and district racial stability analyses. Please see our data appendix for additional details.

Data for this study consist of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data from the National Center for Education Statistics. Using this data, we explore patterns at the national, regional, state, metropolitan, county, and district levels.

To determine segregation trends, we calculate a handful of different dimensions of school segregation over time: typical exposure or contact with racial group members and low-income students, evenness or even distribution of racial group members, the concentration of students in segregated and diverse schools, and the racial classification and stability/changes of school districts over time. We compute exposure or isolation rates 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 typical white student in a particular district attended a school with 35% Latino

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(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.

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

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

[122] 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.

students. That score is a rough measure of the potential contact between these groups of students.

We measure evenness of racial group members across schools in a larger area 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 black. 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.

We also explore 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). Such schools, especially hypersegregated and apartheid schools are nearly always associated with stark gaps in educational opportunity.[123] To provide estimates of diverse environments, we calculate the proportion of each racial group in multiracial schools (schools with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body).

Finally, to explore district stability patterns in large metropolitan areas, we categorize districts, as well as their metropolitan area, into predominately white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominately nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.[124] We then identify the degree to which district white enrollment has changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area, resulting in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable. Following, we explore the type and direction (i.e., white or nonwhite) of the change in school districts, which allows us to determine whether districts are resegregating, integrating, or remaining segregated or stably diverse.

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

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[123] Carroll, S., Krop, C., Arkes, J., Morrison, P., & Flanagan, A. (2005). Orfield, G., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Kucsera, J. (2011).

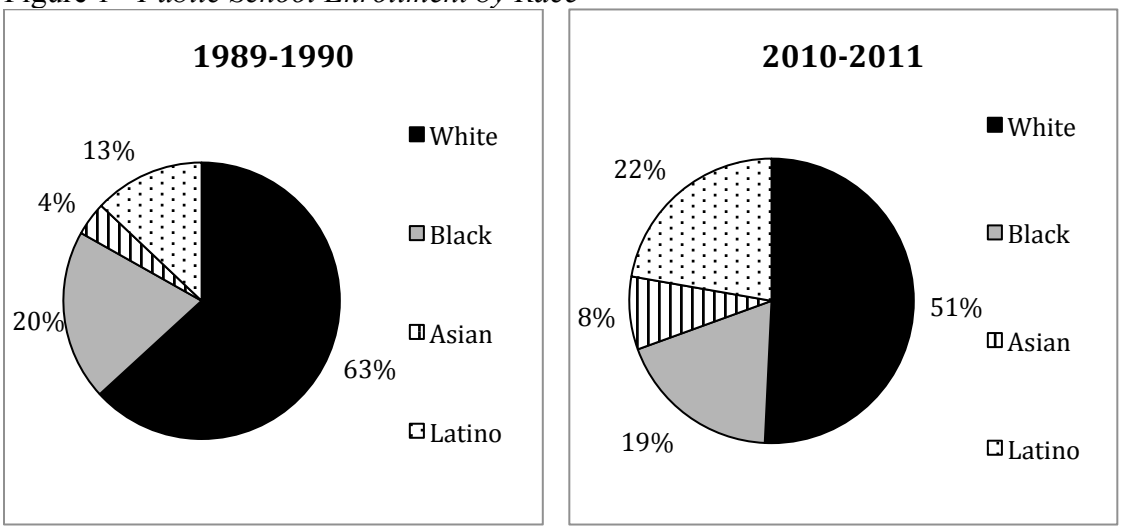
[124] Similar typography has been used with residential data; See Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.

Statewide Trends, 1989 through 2011

Dramatic Growth in Diversity

Driven by a significant increase in the share of Asian and Latino students and a corresponding decline in white enrollment, the racial composition of New York's public schools has shifted considerably since 1989-1990 (Figure 1). The white share of public school enrollment shrank from 63.0% in 1989-1990 to 51% in 2010-2011. During this same time, the black share of public school enrollment remained stable at about one-fifth of the total proportion. Showing the most dramatic change, the Asian share of enrollment more than doubled, jumping from 4% in 1989-1990 to 8% in 2010-2011. The Latino share of enrollment also increased from 13% in 1989-1990 to 22.0% in 2010-2011.

Figure 1 - *Public School Enrollment by Race*



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

These findings reflect dramatic changes in the composition of New York schools. Whites and blacks together accounted for 83% of the state total in 1990 and thus, it is not surprising that desegregation policy was framed mostly as a black-white issue in New York. But now, over 30% of students come from other racial or ethnic backgrounds. As we will soon discuss in a subsequent section, many school districts have three or more racial and ethnic groups, including hundreds of districts that were virtually all white during the civil rights era.

New York's enrollment and proportional changes over the last twenty years are similar to the numbers for the nation, but somewhat different from the average state in the northeast region (Table 1). Public schools in New York enroll a much higher percentage of black and Latino students, and lower proportion of white students than other states across the region.

Table 1 - *Public School Enrollment*

	Total Enrollment	Percentage				
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI
New York						
1989-1990	2,426,151	63.0%	19.9%	3.9%	12.9%	0.3%
1999-2000	2,817,032	56.3%	19.7%	5.8%	17.8%	0.4%
2010-2011	2,665,460	50.2%	18.5%	8.2%	22.0%	0.5%
Northeast						
1989-1990	6,940,135	73.9%	14.6%	3.0%	8.4%	0.2%
1999-2000	8,007,804	68.5%	15.2%	4.3%	11.8%	0.3%
2010-2011	7,780,729	61.1%	14.6%	6.2%	16.6%	0.3%
Nation						
1989-1990	39,937,135	68.4%	16.5%	3.3%	10.8%	1.0%
1999-2000	46,737,341	61.2%	16.8%	4.1%	16.6%	1.2%
2010-2011	48,782,384	52.1%	15.7%	5.0%	23.6%	1.2%

Note: AI=American Indian
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

Although much of this racial transformation is occurring with younger-aged students, New York's public high school students are also approaching the majority-minority milestone – where nonwhites account for more than half of all students. In 2008, whites accounted for 58% of all high school graduates. By 2019, it is predicted whites will account for 52% of all graduates in the state.[125]

The headline here is that the major growth of Asian and Latino populations in New York are contributing to a rapidly disappearing white majority. Given that Latinos have higher birth rates and larger families than whites, the decreasing white proportion pattern across the state is virtually certain to continue, even without further immigration.[126] This transformation is promising to reshape race relations and common notions of being a "minority."

Further, and of relevance to this report, the success of the state's economic future depends on how this public school racial transformation trend is managed. With educational attainment strongly correlated with economic mobility, and race strongly associated with class, the gap between white and nonwhite students needs to be addressed. In New York, the percentage of white adults age 25-34 with at least an associate's degree in 2010 (61%) is more than double the percentage of Latino adults (26%) and nearly double the percentage of black adults (34%).[127] As the demographic transformation continues to occur across the state, and opportunity and achievement gaps persist between races and classes, a smaller proportion of higher-educated adults in the

[125] Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE; 2012). *Knocking at the college door: Projections of high school graduates.* Boulder, CO: Author.
[126] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2011*, Table 79.
[127] U.S. Census Bureau, 2008-10 *American Community Survey* (ACS) Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) File. Average annual percent of population aged 25-34 and 45-54 with an Associate's degree or higher in 2008-10.

future is likely unless careful and serious steps are taken to equalize educational opportunity.

Segregation Patterns

Concentration in Segregated Minority Schools and Multiracial Schools

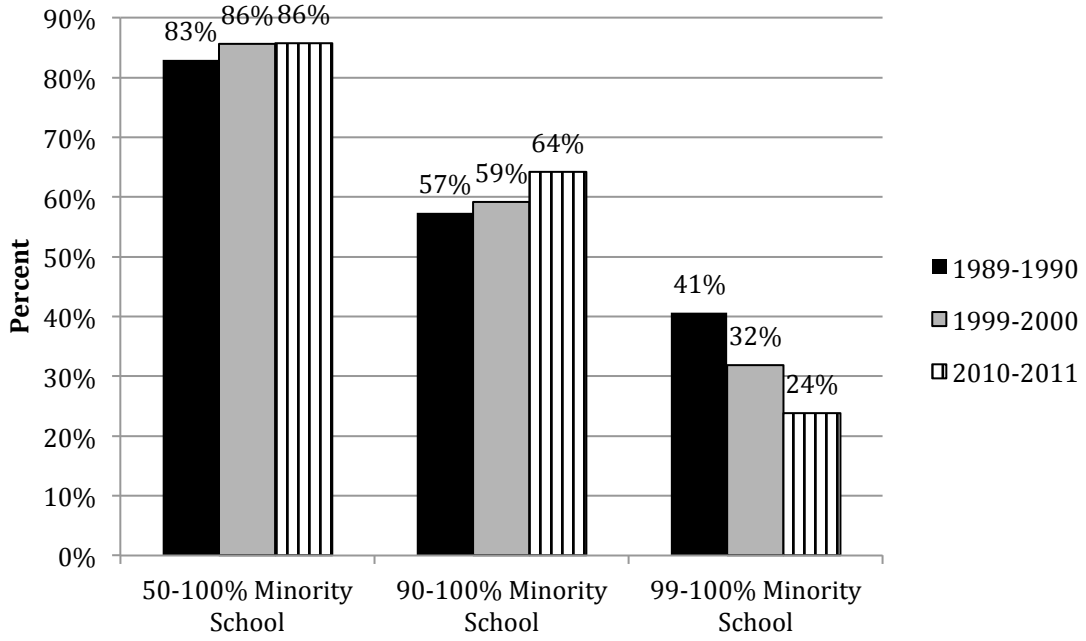
Back in 1968, 14 years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, more than two out of three black students and nearly three out of four Latino students in the Northeast attended schools where a majority of their classmates were non-white.[128] In intensely segregated schools with 0 to 10% white enrollment, severe concentration levels prevailed with slightly over two-fifths of black and Latino students attending such schools. By 1980, with Latino immigration rising and limited urban desegregation plans in place for black students, concentration levels for both groups in majority-minority and intensely segregated schools increased. Close to half of black and Latino students, for example, attended schools with less than 10% of white students. In the biggest cities, such desegregation plans were dramatically curtailed after *Milliken*, as well as President Nixon refusing to open the suburbs to fair housing regulation.

In New York, percentage of black students in majority-minority schools was 68% in 1968 and 77% in 1980.[129] The percentage of Latino students in majority-minority schools was 82% in both 1968 and 1980. By 1989 in New York, 83% black and 85% Latino students in the Northeast region attended school with a majority of minority students, during a time where white students made up 63% of the student population (Figure 2 and Figure 3). Over half attended intensely segregated schools – those with 0 to 10% white enrollment. Moreover, two out of five black students and nearly one out of three Latino students attended apartheid schools - schools where 99-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students.

Over time, the extreme share of black students enrolled in intensely segregated schools have steadily increased. Concentration levels in apartheid schools, however, have decreased for both black and Latino racial groups. Nevertheless, in 2010, over half of black and Latino students in New York attend schools with less than 10% of white enrollment.

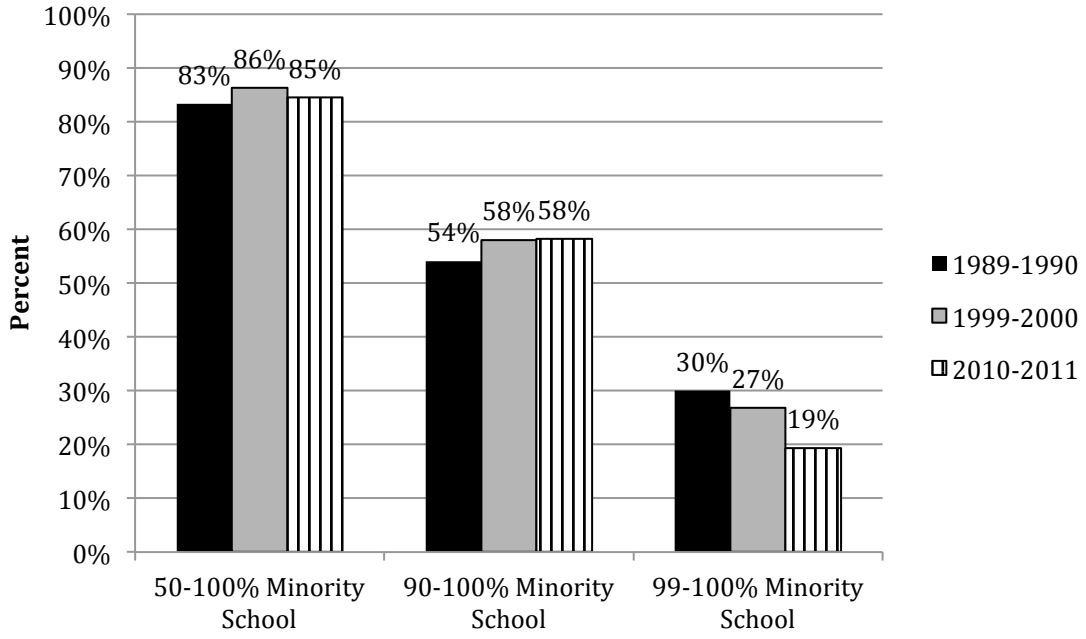
[128] Orfield, G. (1983). *Public school desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980*. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.
[129] Ibid.

Figure 2 - *Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, New York*



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

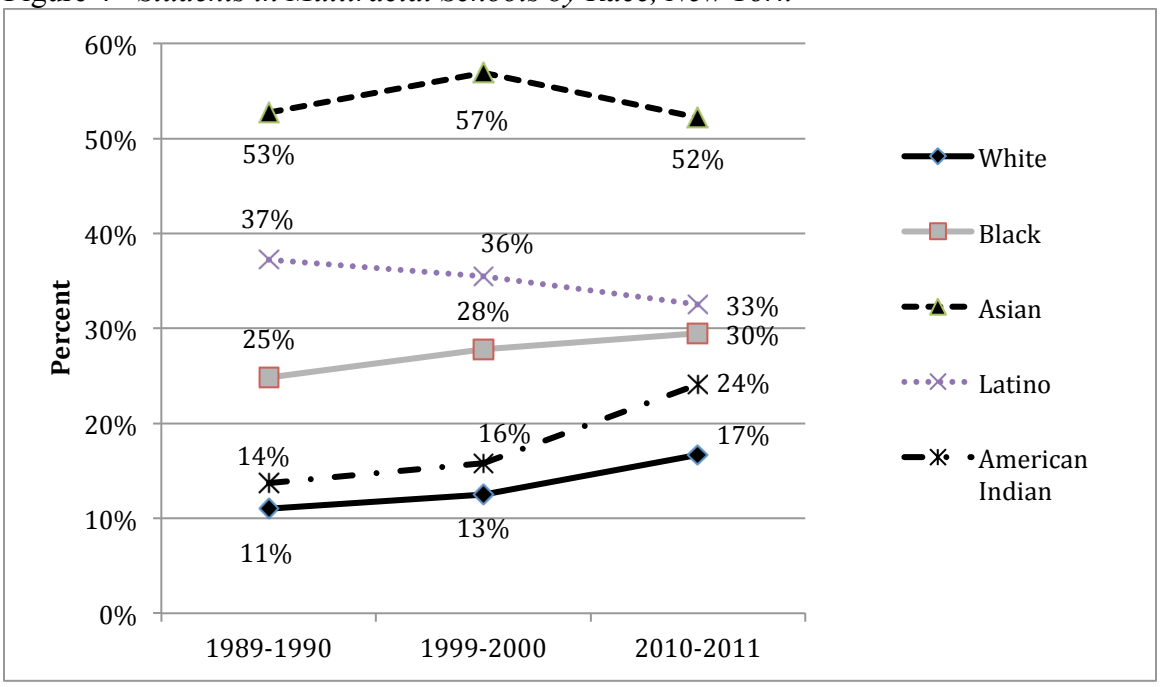
Figure 3 - *Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, New York*



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

With the demographic change occurring over the last two decades, we also explored the proportion of each racial group attending multiracial schools – schools where at least three races represent 10% or more of the total student body. Since 1989, multi-racial schools in New York have drawn much larger shares of black, Asian, and Latino students than white students (Figure 4). In 2010-2011, less than 20% of white students attended multi-racial schools whereas over half of Asian students and about a third of Black and Latino students attended such schools. Over time, the percentage of white, American Indian and black students attending multi-racial schools has increased; however, the proportion of Latino students has decreased from 37% in 1989 to 33% in 2010.

Figure 4 - *Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, New York*



Note: Multi-racial 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

The proportion of schools that are considered intensely segregated schools has doubled in New York since 1989 (

Table 2). Multi-racial schools and majority-minority schools have also dramatically increased over the last twenty years. A number of factors could be contributing to this growth, such as the demographic transformation that has occurred across the state.

Table 2 - *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, New York*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
New York					
1989-1990	3886	14.4%	26.8%	14.5%	9.0%
1999-2000	4151	17.3%	33.8%	19.4%	9.3%
2010-2011	4576	20.1%	44.5%	29.9%	11.3%

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

New York students in racially isolated schools are also far more likely to attend schools with higher percentages of low-income students, segregating students by race and class. Schools that are isolated by class are often places that limit students' educational opportunities and outcomes. Many factors, including less qualified and less experienced teachers, less stability in the teaching force, less successful peers, and inadequate facilities and resources, contribute to the inequalities found in segregated schools.[130] Although 42% and 48% of students across the state in 1999 and 2010 were considered low-income, a substantially higher representation of these students was enrolled in minority-segregated schools. In apartheid schools, 83%, or nearly twice the statewide proportion of low-income students, was considered poor in 1999 and 2010 (Table 3).

Table 3 - *Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, New York*

	% of Students Low-Income	% 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
New York					
1999-2000	42.3%	55.8%	70.8%	79.5%	82.9%
2010-2011	47.5%	56.2%	72.6%	80.7%	83.1%

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

[130] 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.

Interracial Contact and Exposure to Low-Income Students

In addition to the concentration of students in schools, another approach for assessing school segregation is to explore student exposure rates. These calculations indicate the level of interracial contact among students, or, to be more exact, *the potential* for intergroup exposure in schools. The meta-analytic work by Tropp, which explored over 500 studies, as well as a more recent meta-analysis of studies in school settings, provides clear support that contact can lead to a number of individual and societal benefits including reducing prejudice and stereotype development, increasing empathy, and increasing the willingness to live in racially-diverse settings as adults.[131]

In New York, black and Latino exposure to white students has been declining over the over the years. The typical black student attended school with 29% white students in 1970 and 23% in 1980.[132] Over the last two decades, the typical black student has attended schools with a low and slightly decreasing percentage of white students, from 21% white students in 1989-1990 to 17% in 2010-2011 (

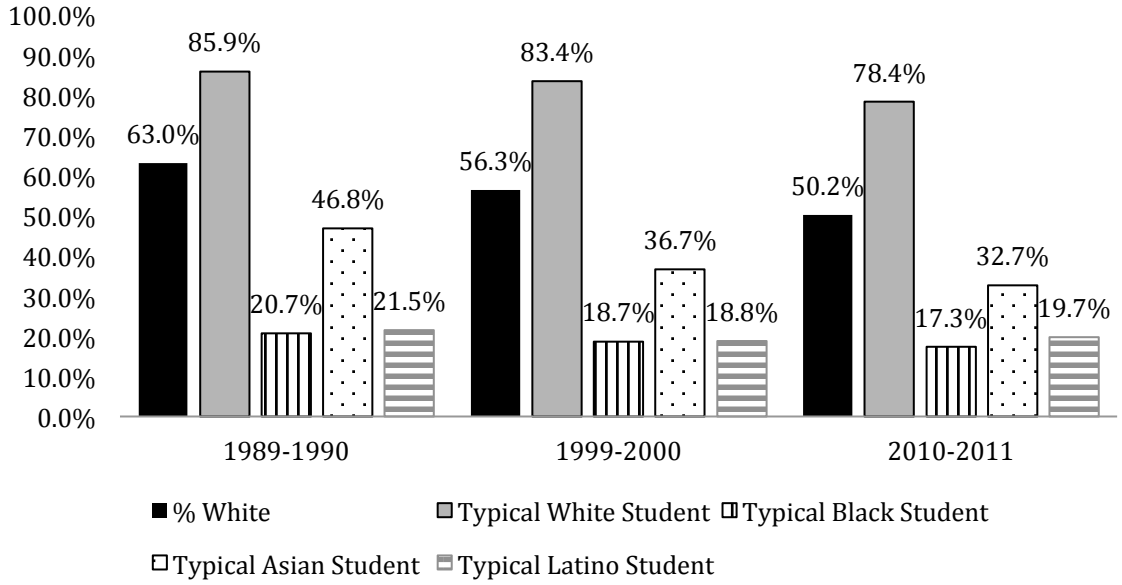
[131] Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783; Tropp, L. R. & Prenovost, M. A. (2008). The role of intergroup contact in predicting children's interethnic attitudes: Evidence from meta-analytic and field studies. In S. R. Levy and M. Killen (Eds), *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adulthood,* pp. 236-248. New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press

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

Figure 5). For the typical Latino student, exposure to white students was 22% in 1970 and 21% in 1980. Despite the growth of Latino students over the last 20 years (a near 70% increase), exposure to white students for the typical Latino has only slightly declined over the last twenty years from 22% in 1989 to 20% in 2010. The typical Asian student has the second highest exposure rate, and thus, the second greatest degree of contact with white students, regardless of the time period. Although the proportion of white students in New York public schools has steadily decreased from 63% in 1989 to 50% in 2010, the typical white student continues to attend schools in 2010 where around 80% of their classmates are white, indicating a somewhat unchanged high degree of isolation.

The decrease in exposure to white students for all racial groups is due in part to the decrease in the overall white share of public school enrollment. However, the typical black and the typical Latino student are still disproportionately underexposed to white students in New York, as the typical white student is disproportionately overexposed to other white students. The contact with white students for the typical black or Latino student in New York state is lower than in other states with higher proportions of nonwhite students.

Figure 5 - *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, New York*

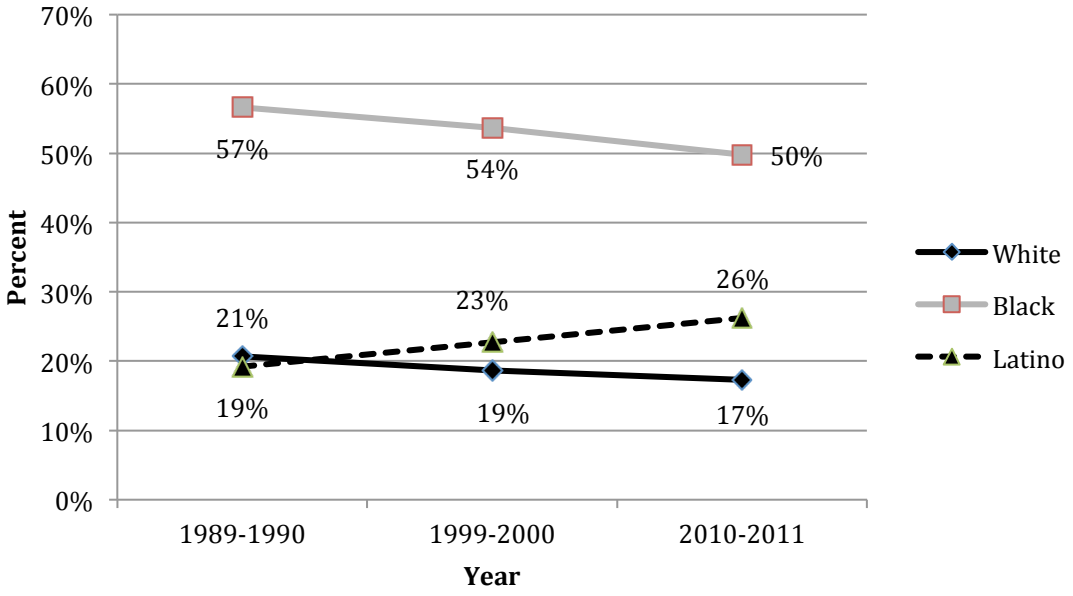


Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In 1989, the typical black student in New York walked into a school with 19% Latino, 21% white, and 57% black students (

Figure 6). Two decades later, and reflecting the demographic changes occurring across the state, the percentages of black and white students have decreased, while the exposure to Latino students has increased. Specifically, the typical black student walked into a school with 26% Latino, 17% white, and 50% black students. But nothing has dramatically changed. The typical black student attended a school with 76% black and Latino students in 1989 and again in 2010.

Figure 6 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, New York*

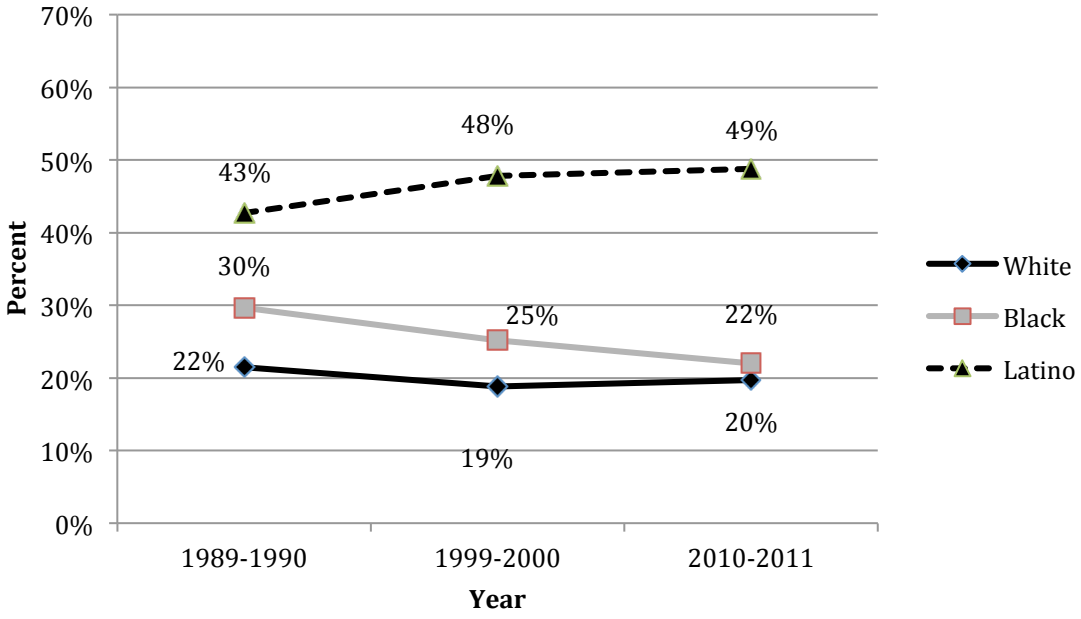


Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Over the last twenty years, the racial composition of a typical Latino student's school in New York was different than that of the typical black student, although it too has become increasingly more Latino and less black (

Figure 7). The typical Latino student attended school with a close to 50% Latino students, a 20% share of black of students, and a 20% share of white students in 2010. Similar to the typical black, about three-fourths of students in a typical Latino student's school were Latino and black both in 1989 and in 2010.

Figure 7 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, New York*

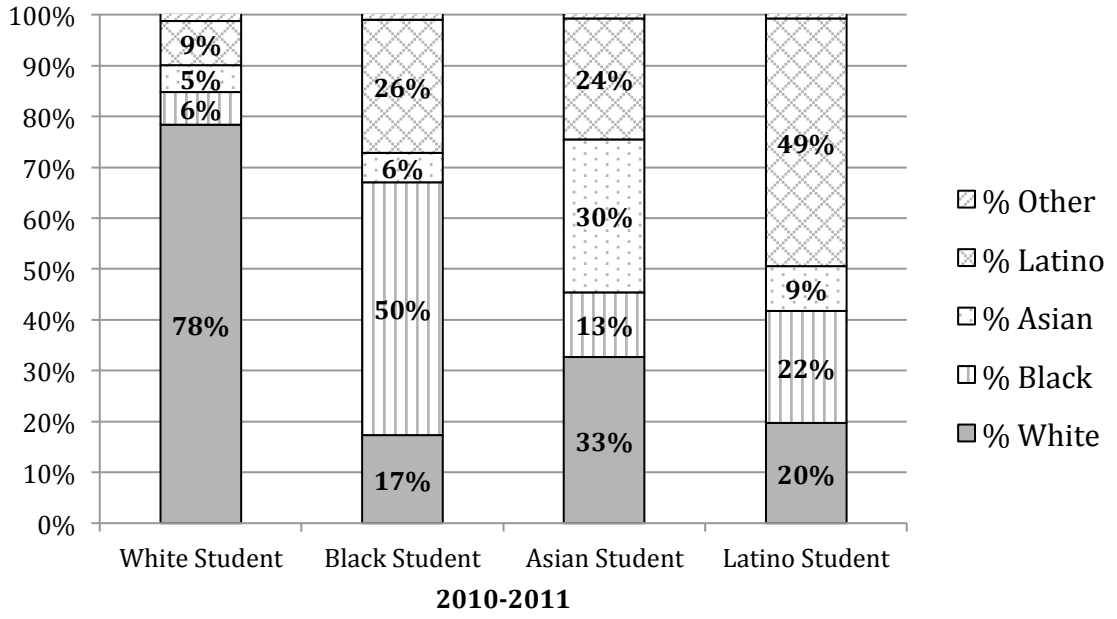


Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

A side-by-side comparison of the racial composition of schools that the typical student of each race in New York attended in 2010 provides another illustration of the potential exposure or contact among students (

Figure 8). In 2010, white students attended schools that are heavily white with a small proportion of Asian students, and an even smaller portion of black and Latino students. As already discussed, black students attended schools with the smallest share of white students, the largest share of black students, and the second largest share of Latinos. Latino students tended to go to schools that are largely Latino, with the second largest share of black students. Although the typical Asian student attends a school with the largest share of Asian students, the proportion of Asian students across each typical racial student reflects the overall proportion of Asian students in the state, indicating that this group is the most integrated group.

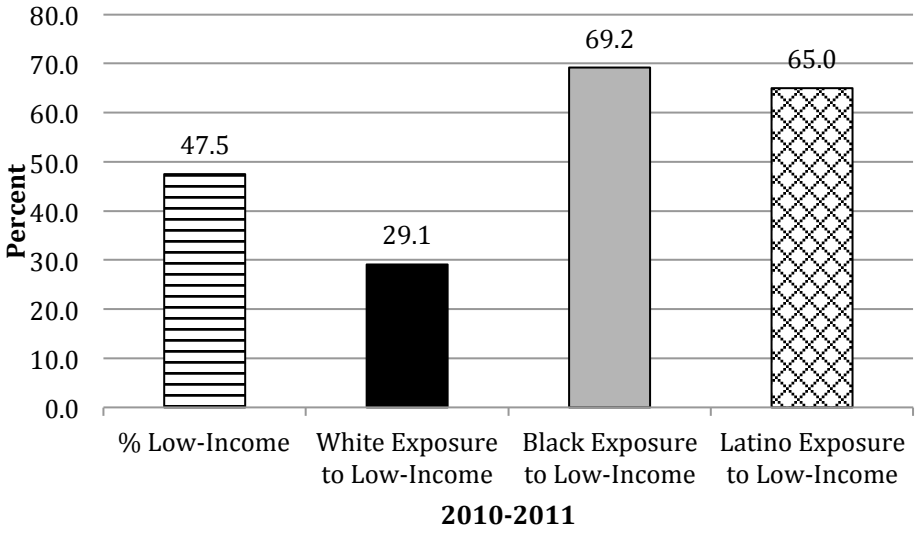
Figure 8 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, New York*



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

There is also an extremely disproportionate distribution of low-income students to schools where black and Latino students are enrolled, which, similar to the concentration of low-income students in segregated schools, emphasizes the double segregation that black and Latino students experience by attending schools segregated by race and class. Figure 9 shows the inequitable and extremely disparate distribution of low-income students between white students as compared to black and Latino students. Despite the fact that 48% of public school students in New York are low-income, the typical white student attended school where only 29% of classmates are low-income. Conversely, the typical black student attended a school where 69% of classmates are low-income. Similarly, the typical Latino student attended a school in which 65% of classmates are low-income.

Figure 9 - *Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, New York*



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

Evenness: A Measure of Spatial Distribution

Alone, exposure rates showing an increase in isolation for Latino and Asian students, as well as a decrease in exposure rates to White students, can be misleading as demographic changes in enrollment can confound these findings. Even a perfect redistribution of students in a nonracial way would produce less contact, particularly between Latinos and whites. As such, we explored the racial distribution or evenness of racial group members across schools in the state of New York.

There are a number of limitations with evenness indices, however. These measures are a very broad way of looking at segregation trends. They do not measure the racial composition of individual schools, only the degree to which students from racial groups are evenly distributed among schools within the larger geographical area under study. However, complementing evenness measures with other segregation measures like exposure and concentration can provide a clearer picture of segregation across the state.

As there has been no significant policy effort to desegregate black and Latino students over the last two decades in New York, segregation from white students for these two racial groups has remained severely high across the state, and even higher than the region or national estimates (

Table 4). Although the white-Latino school dissimilarity levels have somewhat declined over the years, the unevenness is till substantial, indicating that over 70% of Latino or

white students would need to attend schools with a greater proportion of the other racial group in order to achieve perfect integration.

Table 4 - *Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups across Public Schools*

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	**White Asian**	**White Latino**	**Black Asian**	**Black Latino**	**Asian Latino**
New York						
1989-1990	.78	.64	.78	.69	.51	.59
1999-2000	.78	.68	.78	.70	.51	.58
2010-2011	.77	.66	.74	.69	.50	.59
Northeast						
1989-1990	.76	.58	.77	.69	.56	.62
1999-2000	.76	.61	.76	.68	.55	.60
2010-2011	.73	.59	.71	.66	.51	.60
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

The evenness or distribution of multiple racial groups in New York has decreased since 1989. In 2010-2011, the average school was 42% less diverse than the entire state, indicating a lesser degree of segregation since 1989, but still an extreme degree (

Table 5). However, the proportion of this unevenness or difference in diversity between the average public school and the entire state due to segregation across district boundaries and within district boundaries has remained nearly the same. Close to a third of the segregation is due to unevenness within districts, while the remaining two-thirds is due to segregation between districts.

Table 5 - *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
New York			
1989-1990	.48	.16	.32
1999-2000	.46	.15	.31
2010-2011	.42	.14	.29
Northeast			
1989-1990	.45	.10	.36
1999-2000	.46	.09	.36
2010-2011	.40	.07	.33
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

Summary of Statewide Findings

State-level patterns indicate that the proportion of students Latino and Asian in New York has nearly doubled since 1989. Demographic change can encourage school diversity, if managed properly at a variety of levels, and can lead to both academic and human relations benefits for all students. However, without such direction, this demographic transformation can incite further segregation and its ill causes and conditions for all racial groups – not just minorities.

Exploring segregation trends over the last two decades in New York results in a number of findings. Very high percentages of black and Latino students remain in intensely segregated and apartheid schools, while white students remain extremely isolated. Data also indicate that as a school becomes more minority, the school will also become more low-income and, as such, is twice as likely to exhibit limited educational opportunities and outcomes. We found an extremely disproportionate distribution of low-income students in schools where a majority of black and Latino students are enrolled. This finding emphasizes the double segregation of race and class that black and Latino students experience. Concentration levels in intensely segregated schools have increased for black students, which is also evident by the increase of the black exposure rate to Latino students. Latino and Asian isolation have also increased, while exposure of these groups to white students has decreased. And finally, unevenness is still very high over the last two decades for nearly all racial groups.

Despite these findings, there are some glimmers of hope. Concentration levels in apartheid schools have decreased for both black and Latino students. In addition, the

state has witnessed an increase in white, black, and American Indian students attending more multi-racial schools. In terms of exposure, white isolation rates and black isolation rates have decreased since 1989. And although the state still has a very high degree of uneven racial distribution across schools, white-Latino and multi-group evenness has slightly decreased.

These findings indicate that there is much more work to be done across the state in terms of reaching racial integration and educational equity. A focus on metropolitan patterns may provide more insight on these findings and possible solutions.

Metropolitan Trends from 1989 to 2010

Racial change reaches far into many suburban rings - where the majority of black and Latino children in many metros live,[133] and, as a number of metropolitan areas on the whole are becoming predominantly nonwhite, we are long past the time when racial diversity and segregation should be thought of in the context of a single central city. The basic unit of analysis for urban trends in the United States is the metropolitan area. A metropolitan statistical area contains a core urban area of 50,000 or more residents and includes the counties containing the core urban area, as well as any adjacent counties that have a high degree of social and economic integration (as measured by commuting to work) with the urban core.

New York has eleven metropolitan areas, five of these areas enrolled greater than 100,000 students since 1989 and represent 87% of the total student enrollment across the state in 2010.[134] These areas stretch the broad state of New York from the Western region of New York (Buffalo metro), to the Finger Lakes region (Rochester metro), to the Central region (Syracuse metro), to the Capital District region (Albany metro), to the Downstate region (New York metro). The New York metropolitan area represents the most populated metropolitan area in the nation - nearly 20 million residents or 6% of the nation in 2010. All five of these metros share a large economic region and housing market, as well as have a number of separate school districts.

In this section, we explore the enrollment and segregation patterns (including district stability) of public school students in these five metropolitan areas of New York since 1989. We first present and discuss the data for the downstate New York metro. Due to this metro's large student enrollment, we investigate the metro overall, as well as its four discrete geographic areas: New York City region (Bronx, Kings [Brooklyn], New

[133] Orfield, G. & Frankenberg, E. (2008). *The last have become the first: Rural and small town America lead the way on desegregation.* Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project; Frankenberg, E. & Orfield, G. (Eds.) (2012). *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in American education.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

[134] The White House revises metropolitan area boundary definitions after each decennial census to take into effect changes in population and commuting patterns. Smaller changes are also made throughout the decade. As such, we use metropolitan area boundaries defined as of June 30, 1999 to compare findings over time. In addition, with New York City (NYC) located along the state boundary, its metro area crosses state lines. For this report, we restrict our analysis to only those schools and districts within the state of New York.

York [Manhattan], Queens, and Richmond [Staten Island] counties), inner-ring region (Rockland and Westchester [Yonkers] counties), and outer-ring region (Putnam, Dutchess, and Orange counties), and Long Island (Nassau and Suffolk counties). Following, we then explore the four (broadly defined) upstate metros, as enrollment and segregation patterns are somewhat similar across these areas. Some of the findings across and within metros reflect the general state and national patterns, but others are developing in distinctive ways. This data can provide detailed information for local policy makers and community members, helping them think about their broader urban communities.

New York Metropolitan Area

The New York metropolitan area represents the largest metropolitan area in the nation. As such, we investigate enrollment, segregation, and district stability patterns in the metro overall and its four discrete geographic areas: New York City (NYC) region (Bronx, Kings [Brooklyn], New York [Manhattan], Queens, and Richmond [Staten Island] counties), inner-ring region (Rockland and Westchester counties), and outer-ring region (Putnam, Dutchess, and Orange counties), and Long Island (Nassau and Suffolk counties).

Enrollment Patterns

The New York metro has experienced a similar transition to the state over the last twenty years. Most of the transition, however, has occurred outside the NYC region. On Long Island and the outer-ring region, the proportion of white students decreased almost 20% points, as the proportions of Asian and Latino increased nearly two-fold and three-fold, respectively, from 1989 to 2010 (Table 6,

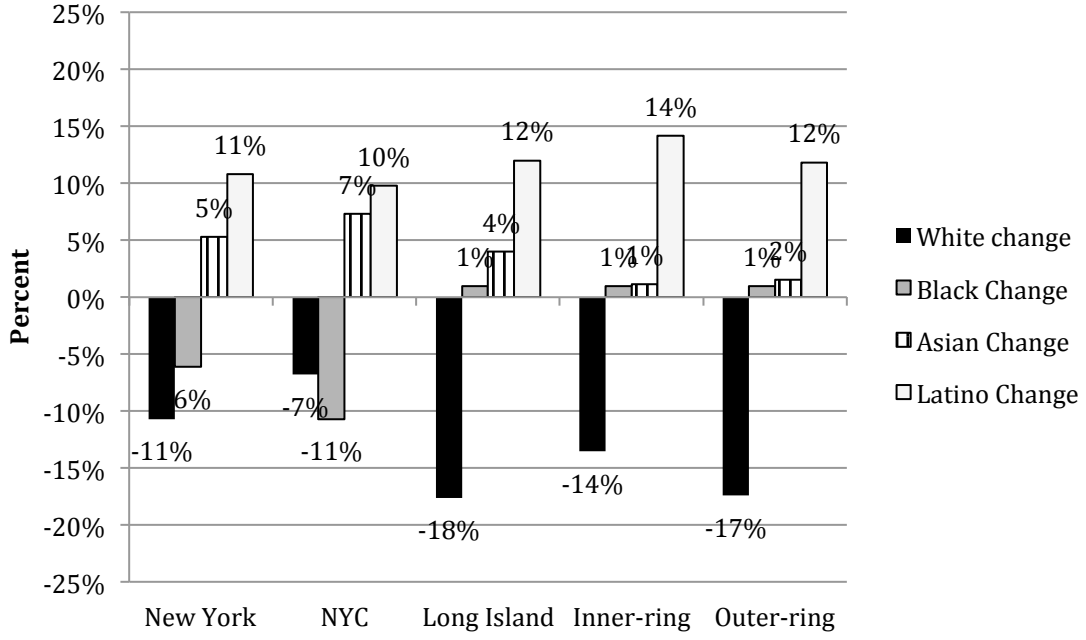
Figure 10). In the inner-ring region consisting of Rockland and Westchester counties, the Latino proportion doubled over the last 20 years. In Yonkers City Schools District, white proportion dropped by half from 37% in 1989 to 18% in 2010. The NYC region still has the lowest proportion of white students and the highest degree of non-white students than the other regions in 2010. The NYC region also experienced a two-fold increase in Asian students and the greatest decline in the relative black proportion in comparison to the other regions.

Table 6 - *Public School Enrollment by Race, New York Metro and Regions, 1989-2010*

	Total Enrollment	Percentage			
		White	Black	Asian	Latino
New York Metro					
1989-1990	1,455,998	45.8%	28.1%	5.8%	20.2%
1999-2000	1,776,454	39.2%	25.6%	8.4%	26.5%
2010-2011	1,747,670	35.1%	22.0%	11.1%	31.0%
New York City					
1989-1990	826,703	21.3%	40.5%	7.8%	30.3%
1999-2000	1,016,916	15.9%	34.6%	11.7%	37.5%
2010-2011	973,136	14.5%	29.8%	15.1%	40.1%
Long Island					
1989-1990	387,540	80.6%	10.1%	2.9%	6.2%
1999-2000	450,022	72.9%	12.1%	4.1%	10.7%
2010-2011	463,031	63.0%	11.1%	6.9%	18.2%
Inner-ring					
1989-1990	139,548	65.8%	18.2%	5.3%	10.6%
1999-2000	179,605	58.2%	19.6%	5.4%	16.7%
2010-2011	187,463	52.3%	15.2%	6.4%	24.8%
Outer-ring					
1989-1990	102,207	84.7%	8.6%	1.8%	4.9%
1999-2000	124,388	78.2%	10.8%	2.1%	8.9%
2010-2011	124,040	67.3%	11.8%	3.3%	16.7%

Note: New York City consist of Bronx, Kings (Brooklyn), New York (Manhattan), Queens, and Richmond (Staten Island) counties; Long Island consists of Nassau and Suffolk counties; inner-ring consists of Rockland and Westchester counties; and outer-ring consists of Putnam, Dutchess, and Orange counties.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Figure 10 - *Percentage Point Change in Racial Student Proportion from 1989 to 2010, New York Metro and Regions*



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

These findings also indicate the extremely large proportion of minority students attending schools in New York City in comparison to other areas. Close to 60% of total black students, and over two-thirds of Latino and Asian students across the state attended New York City schools in 2010 in comparison to only 10% of total white students across the state.

Much of the dramatic decrease in white proportional enrollment from 1989 to 2010 occurred in urban schools (Table 7). The average urban school in the metro in 2010 is 70% black or Latino. Suburban schools have remained predominately white across the New York metro overall, and in its regions. Urban schools in outer-inner counties experienced the greatest white proportion decline. Latino proportional growth occurred in both urban and suburban schools, but the increase was the highest in urban settings, particularly in inner-ring counties, followed by outer-ring counties. For blacks, their relative proportion stayed about the same except within NYC and inner-ring urban schools, which experienced a 7 and 13 percentage point decline from 1989 to 2010, respectively. Most regions experienced an increase in Asian proportionate enrollment across urban and suburban schools, except in urban outer-ring schools, and the growth is greatest on Long Island.

Table 7 - *Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, New York Metro and Regions, 1989-2010*

	Urban Schools				Suburban Schools			
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**
New York Metro								
1989-1990	25.8%	36.6%	8.7%	28.8%	77.0%	11.9%	3.5%	7.5%
1999-2000	18.1%	32.6%	12.6%	36.4%	69.5%	13.6%	4.5%	12.2%
2010-2011	14.7%	29.8%	14.8%	40.1%	60.2%	12.3%	6.7%	19.9%
New York City								
1989-1990	25.2%	36.7%	8.8%	29.1%				
1999-2000	17.7%	32.5%	12.8%	36.6%				
2010-2011	14.5%	29.8%	15.1%	40.1%				
Long Island								
1989-1990					80.3%	10.1%	3.0%	6.5%
1999-2000					73.0%	11.8%	4.3%	10.8%
2010-2011					63.0%	11.0%	7.1%	18.2%
Inner-ring								
1989-1990	49.7%	30.0%	2.7%	17.6%	65.1%	18.5%	5.5%	10.8%
1999-2000	39.4%	23.9%	2.8%	33.9%	57.8%	20.0%	5.6%	16.5%
2010-2011	29.8%	17.3%	3.4%	49.0%	51.3%	16.0%	6.7%	24.7%
Outer-ring								
1989-1990	52.3%	35.4%	2.1%	10.1%	84.6%	7.4%	2.2%	5.8%
1999-2000	37.4%	41.7%	2.0%	18.7%	76.7%	10.0%	2.5%	10.6%
2010-2011	22.3%	39.4%	2.2%	35.4%	64.9%	11.1%	3.8%	19.1%

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. 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

Segregation Patterns in the New York Metro

Concentration Levels in Segregated and Multiracial New York Metro Schools.

In 2010, over 90% of black students in the New York metro attended majority-minority schools – those with 50% or greater minority students (Table 8). The majority of these students (close to 75%) attended intensely segregated schools – those with 90% or greater minority students, where 30% of these students attended apartheid schools – those with less than one percent of white students. Although the concentration levels for Latino students are lower than black students, three out of five Latinos attended intensely-segregated schools and one of five Latino students attended apartheid schools in 2010. Since 1999, a higher proportion of black and Latino students are attending majority-minority and intensely segregated schools, while the percentage attending apartheid schools have declined.

Table 8 - *Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Schools, New York Metro*

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latino	% of Black	% of Latino	% of Black	% of Latino	% of Black
New York Metro						
1989-1990	85.9%	88.6%	57.1%	66.8%	31.8%	48.0%
1999-2000	88.9%	91.2%	60.9%	68.4%	28.5%	38.7%
2010-2011	87.8%	92.1%	61.6%	73.6%	20.9%	30.3%

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

Close to all black and Latino students in the New York City region attended majority-minority schools in 2010 (Table 9). A substantial majority, close to 90%, of black students and 80% of Latino students, attended such schools in the inner-ring region. Across time, the outer-ring region experienced the largest increase in the percentage of black and Latino students attending majority-minority schools from 1989 to 2010.

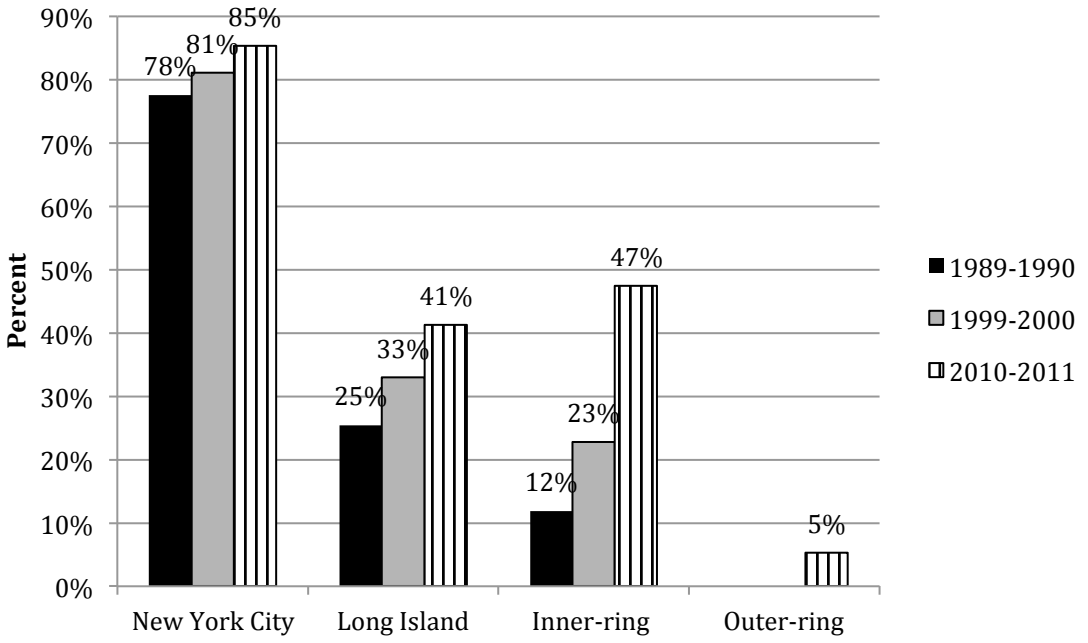
Table 9 - *Percentage of Racial Group in Majority-Minority Schools, New York Metro Regions*

	50-100% Minority School	
	% of Black	% of Latino
New York City		
1989-1990	92.3%	94.8%
1999-2000	96.5%	97.6%
2010-2011	96.7%	98.1%
Long Island		
1989-1990	60.3%	43.9%
1999-2000	62.5%	47.8%
2010-2011	70.7%	60.9%
Inner-ring		
1989-1990	68.6%	66.8%
1999-2000	85.6%	77.4%
2010-2011	87.3%	79.2%
Outer-ring		
1989-1990	40.3%	23.7%
1999-2000	57.1%	41.9%
2010-2011	57.8%	48.5%

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

For intensely-segregated schools – where less than 10% of students are white, close to 50% of black students in inner-ring schools and 85% of black students in NYC schools attended such segregated environments in 2010 in comparison to only 5% of black students in outer-ring schools (Figure 11). Besides the outer-ring region, the relative growth of the proportion black students attending intensely-segregated schools was the greatest in the inner-ring region. For example, in Yonkers City Schools, 1% of all black students attended intensely segregated schools in 1989. Ten years later, it was the case for 5% of black students. By 2010, post-unitary status of the desegregation plan, close to half (45%) attended such schools.

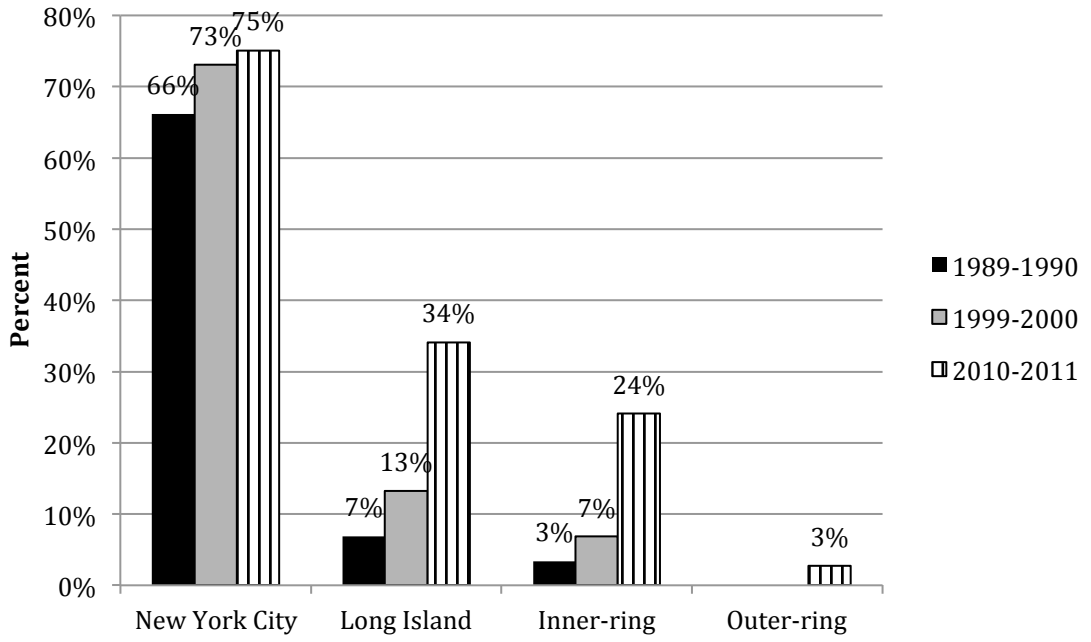
Figure 11 - *Black Students in Intensely Segregated (90-100% Minority) Schools, New York Metro Regions*



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

Latino students experienced less concentration in intensely-segregated settings in comparison to black students (Figure 12). Over one-third of Latino students in Long Island schools and three-quarters of Latinos in NYC schools attended intensely-segregated settings in 2010. The growth of Latino concentration levels in intensely-segregated schools was greater than the growth of black concentration levels in such schools across the last twenty years. The inner-ring region experienced the greatest relative increase since 1989. In Yonkers City Schools, 8% of all Latino students attended intensely segregated schools in 1989. Ten years later, this proportion dropped by half (4% of Latino students). By 2010, post-unitary status of their desegregation plan, close to half (46%) attended such schools.

Figure 12 - *Latino Students in Intensely Segregated (90-100% Minority) Schools, New York Metro Regions*



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

With multi-racial schools, the New York metro had the highest percentage of white students attending multiracial schools across time periods in comparison to the other upstate metros in the state (Table 10). In 2010, the metro even experienced a higher white proportion in multiracial schools than a black proportion – a pattern not found across the other metros. Metro regional analysis reveals that these findings are mostly stemming from the NYC region, where 60% of white and Asian students attend multi-racial schools – although the Asian proportion has been decreasing -- in comparison to around 25% of black and Latino students. The inner-ring and outer-ring regions experienced lower white and Asian proportion in multi-racial schools than black and Latino students. In terms of changes over time, all student proportions attending multi-racial schools in outer-ring schools increased over the last twenty years. The proportions of white and Asian students attending multiracial schools have been increasing on Long Island, as well as in the inner-ring region. One exception is the Yonkers City Schools, were nearly all white and Asian students attended multi-racial schools in 1989. Twenty years and post-unitary status later, only 80% attended such schools. The proportion black and Latinos attending multiracial schools in Yonkers decreased nearly by half (over 90% to 50%).

Table 10 - *Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools, New York Metro and Regions*

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
New York Metro					
1989-1990	23.4%	26.3%	58.3%	37.4%	35.2%
1999-2000	25.7%	29.3%	61.5%	35.6%	27.3%
2010-2011	30.0%	28.6%	54.8%	32.3%	39.2%
New York City					
1989-1990	60.2%	23.4%	72.2%	34.0%	45.5%
1999-2000	66.9%	23.1%	70.4%	30.8%	29.6%
2010-2011	60.9%	22.0%	60.7%	27.9%	39.4%
Long Island					
1989-1990	7.4%	36.0%	12.6%	48.2%	29.9%
1999-2000	12.4%	44.2%	24.5%	50.4%	15.6%
2010-2011	21.0%	49.0%	39.2%	37.8%	40.8%
Inner-ring					
1989-1990	18.8%	45.7%	16.7%	69.4%	20.6%
1999-2000	18.8%	60.9%	34.7%	67.5%	35.9%
2010-2011	21.8%	40.3%	33.3%	48.4%	35.0%
Outer-ring					
1989-1990	11.1%	39.8%	14.6%	57.8%	15.3%
1999-2000	10.6%	48.9%	16.7%	50.5%	11.7%
2010-2011	18.9%	65.3%	30.4%	56.7%	32.9%

Note: AI = American Indian. Multi-racial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student population respectively.
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 statewide findings, metropolitan patterns indicate that as a school's student body becomes more minority, students are also more likely to be poor (Table 11). For the entire metro and its regions, particularly Long Island and outer-ring, in comparison to the average percentage of students who were poor, a substantially higher representation of poor students were enrolled in majority-minority schools, and an even higher proportion were enrolled in intensely-segregated and apartheid schools.

Table 11 - *Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, New York*

	% of Students Low-Income	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
New York Metro				
1999-2000	48.6%	70.2%	79.4%	83.0%
2010-2011	52.0%	72.0%	80.4%	83.2%
New York City				
1999-2000	70.3%	73.5%	80.8%	83.4%
2010-2011	73.7%	77.2%	82.7%	84.6%
Long Island				
1999-2000	16.7%	50.3%	54.0%	73.8%
2010-2011	21.8%	45.6%	58.7%	64.4%
Inner-ring				
1999-2000	25.9%	53.1%	56.5%	68.5%
2010-2011	29.1%	56.7%	70.7%	71.6%
Outer-ring				
1999-2000	20.8%	54.8%	97.1%	
2010-2011	28.7%	66.6%	85.4%	

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

Exposure to Racial Group Members and Low-Income Students in the New York Metro

Across the New York metro and its four regions, the typical white student is generally overexposed to other white students (Table 12). In the NYC region, for example, the typical white student attended school with a student body that is nearly twice as white compared to the total proportion of white students in the region. Black students have substantially lower exposure to whites. The typical black student in the inner-ring region attended school with around 20% of white students, even though the region's white proportion was around 50% in 2010. Behind the typical white student, the typical Asian student experienced the second highest exposure to white students followed by the typical Latino student for the overall metro and majority of its regions.

In terms of changes over time, all racial groups (except the typical Asian student in Long Island and outer-ring schools) have experienced a decline in exposure to white students across the metro and its regions. However, the typical black and Latino students experienced a greater decline than their white and Asian counterparts. The largest relative decline in exposure rates to white students occurred for the typical black and Latino student in NYC schools. The greatest decline in percentage points, or absolute difference, from 1989 to 2010, occurred for the typical Latino student on Long Island.

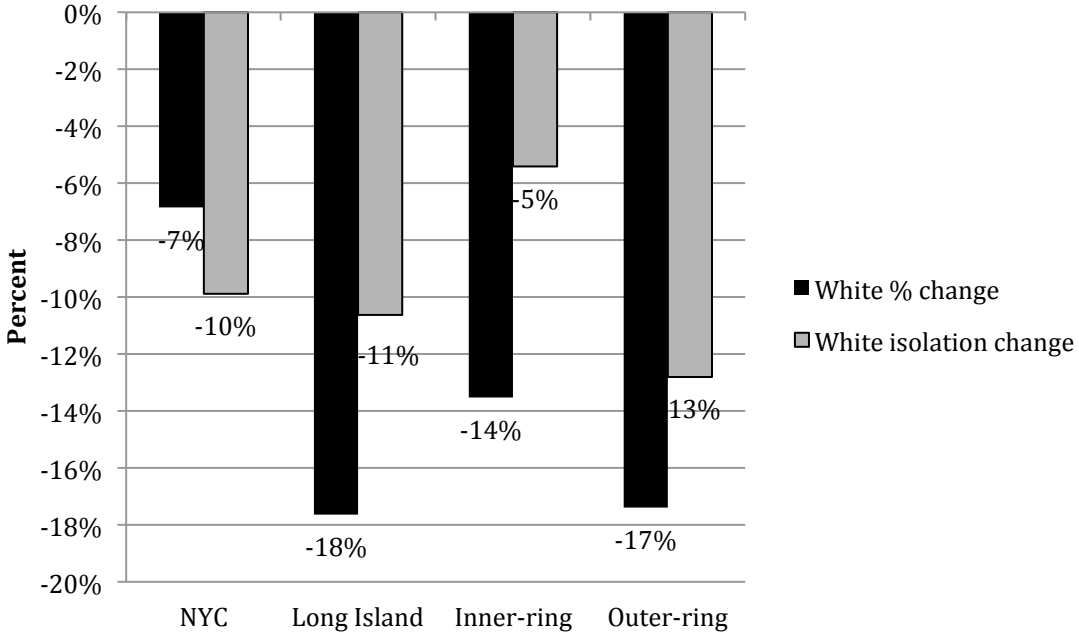
Table 12 - *Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools, New York Metro and Regions*

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
New York Metro					
1989-1990	45.8%	76.9%	15.0%	42.1%	19.3%
1999-2000	39.2%	73.1%	13.2%	32.3%	16.6%
2010-2011	35.1%	67.9%	11.5%	28.6%	17.0%
New York City					
1989-1990	21.3%	53.4%	9.0%	31.0%	12.8%
1999-2000	15.9%	45.6%	6.8%	22.9%	9.6%
2010-2011	14.5%	43.5%	5.7%	18.2%	9.2%
Long Island					
1989-1990	80.6%	87.4%	40.5%		58.9%
1999-2000	72.9%	83.0%	34.7%		48.1%
2010-2011	63.0%	76.8%	29.2%	59.7%	37.3%
Inner-ring					
1989-1990	65.8%	75.6%	39.7%	71.2%	47.2%
1999-2000	58.2%	74.5%	27.6%	60.8%	36.4%
2010-2011	52.3%	70.2%	21.7%	58.6%	31.2%
Outer-ring					
1989-1990	84.7%	88.2%	59.0%		
1999-2000	78.2%	83.3%	53.2%		63.4%
2010-2011	67.3%	75.4%	44.7%		50.3%

Note: Blank cells represent 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

However, an argument can be made that the change in exposure rates to white students is due to the demographic change of white students across the metro. Figure 13 presents the changes in white isolation rates juxtaposed with the white proportion change. The analysis indicates that the typical white student is experiencing a decline in exposure to white students at a much lower rate than the white proportion decrease for Long Island, inner-ring, and outer-ring regions from 1989 to 2010. For NYC, the opposite is occurring: white isolation rates are decreasing greater than white proportion change.

Figure 13 - *Percentage Change in White Proportion and White Isolation Rates, New York Metro Regions, 1989-2010*



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

In terms of black students, the typical white student attended school with fewer than 10% of black classmates across the metro and regions, except NYC, where the typical white student attended schools with 12% of black students even when there are 30% of black students in the region (

Table 13). The typical black student, however, continues to experience a substantial overexposure to other black students across the metro and its regions despite the decreasing metro black student proportion. In inner-ring and NYC regions, for example, a typical black student's school consists of close to 30% more black students than the average proportion of blacks in the regions. Exposure rates to black students were substantially higher for the typical Latino student than the typical white or Asian student.

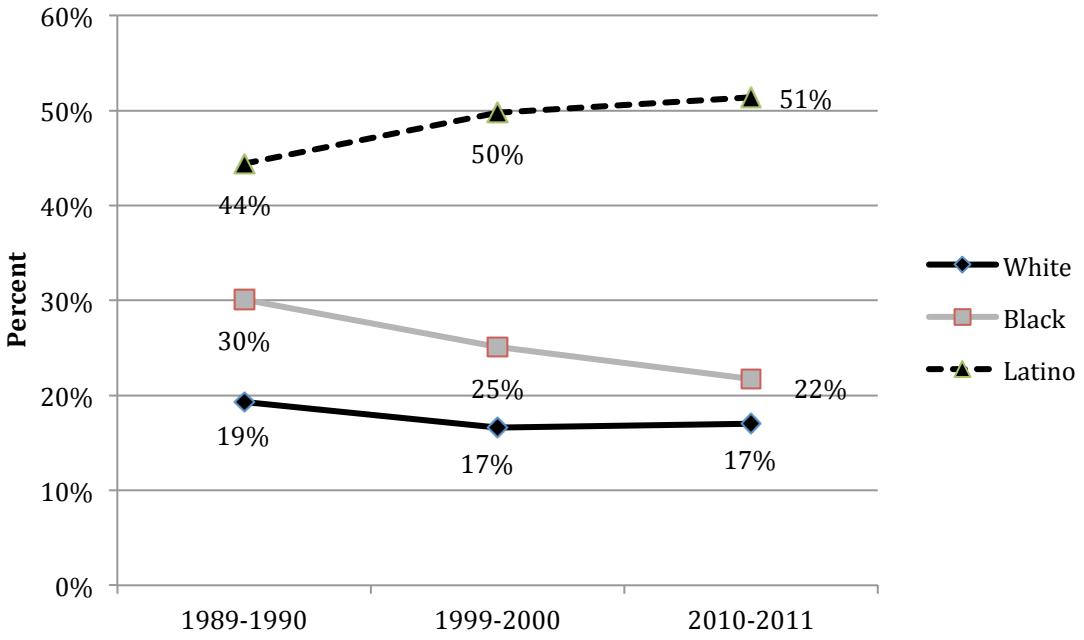
Table 13 - *Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools, New York Metro and Regions*

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
New York Metro					
1989-1990	28.1%	9.2%	59.6%	17.6%	30.1%
1999-2000	25.6%	8.6%	55.4%	15.2%	25.1%
2010-2011	22.0%	7.2%	51.1%	12.2%	21.7%
New York City					
1989-1990	40.5%	17.0%	63.4%	20.3%	31.7%
1999-2000	34.6%	14.8%	59.5%	16.2%	25.6%
2010-2011	29.8%	11.7%	56.3%	13.2%	22.8%
Long Island					
1989-1990	10.1%	5.1%	44.6%		20.8%
1999-2000	12.1%	5.8%	41.2%		23.4%
2010-2011	11.1%	5.1%	33.6%	8.4%	19.0%
Inner-ring					
1989-1990	18.2%	11.0%	43.4%	12.0%	22.9%
1999-2000	19.6%	9.3%	47.0%	16.8%	24.2%
2010-2011	15.2%	6.3%	42.3%	10.9%	18.7%
Outer-ring					
1989-1990	8.6%	6.0%	30.1%		
1999-2000	10.8%	7.3%	29.7%		18.2%
2010-2011	11.8%	7.9%	25.6%		18.4%

Note: Blank cells represent 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

The racial composition of the school that a typical Latino student in the New York metro attended has changed considerably over the last two decades. Over time, the typical Latino has attended a school with fewer black classmates but more Latino classmates than in the past (Figure 14). Even though the overall share of the Latino enrollment is only 31.0% in the New York metro in 2010, the typical Latino student is exposed to more Latino students (51%) than any other race of students. Typical Latino student exposure to whites is fairly stable and low.

Figure 14 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, New York Metro Area*



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

Within the metro, exposure rates to Latino students have increased for each typical racial group member since 1989, likely related to the proportional increase of Latinos across the three regions (

Table 14). However, the typical Latino student, followed by the typical black student has the highest exposure to Latino students, in comparison to the typical white and Asian student, again indicating an increase in the segregation of two historically disadvantaged groups. In addition, exposure to Latino students has substantially increased for the typical black student in comparison to the typical white student on Long Island and in the inner-ring region of the metro. In Yonkers City Schools, Latino isolation has increased from 36% in 1989 to 57% in 2010.

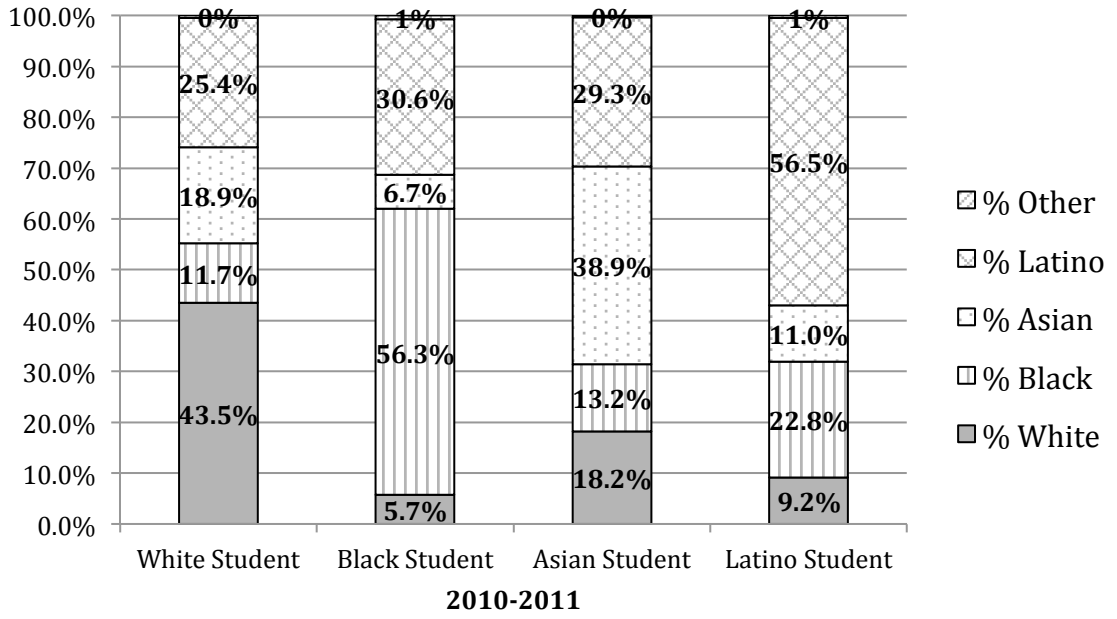
Table 14 - *Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools across New York Metro Regions*

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
New York City					
1989-1990	30.3%	18.3%	23.7%	26.4%	48.7%
1999-2000	37.5%	22.6%	27.7%	30.0%	55.1%
2010-2011	40.1%	25.4%	30.6%	29.3%	56.5%
Long Island					
1989-1990	6.2%	4.6%	12.8%		17.6%
1999-2000	10.7%	7.1%	20.8%		25.0%
2010-2011	18.2%	10.8%	31.2%	13.5%	37.9%
Inner-ring					
1989-1990	10.6%	7.6%	13.4%	6.5%	26.7%
1999-2000	16.7%	10.5%	20.6%	13.7%	34.9%
2010-2011	24.8%	14.8%	30.6%	19.3%	44.0%
Outer-ring					
1989-1990	4.9%				
1999-2000	8.9%	7.2%	15.0%		16.3%
2010-2011	16.7%	12.5%	26.0%		27.3%

Note: Blank cells represent 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

For the NYC region, the typical student attended a school with a majority of their same racial group members (Figure 15). For example, the typical black and Latino student is enrolled in a school with over half of their racial group members, as well as less than 10% of white students. The differences in exposure to white students across typical racial group members is quite extreme with the typical white having an exposure of 43% in comparison to the typical black (6%) or Latino (9%) student. In addition, these rates are quite extreme when considering the relative proportion of each racial group in the region. For example, black students make up 30% of NYC's student population, but are exposed to close double (56%) of black students in a typical school.

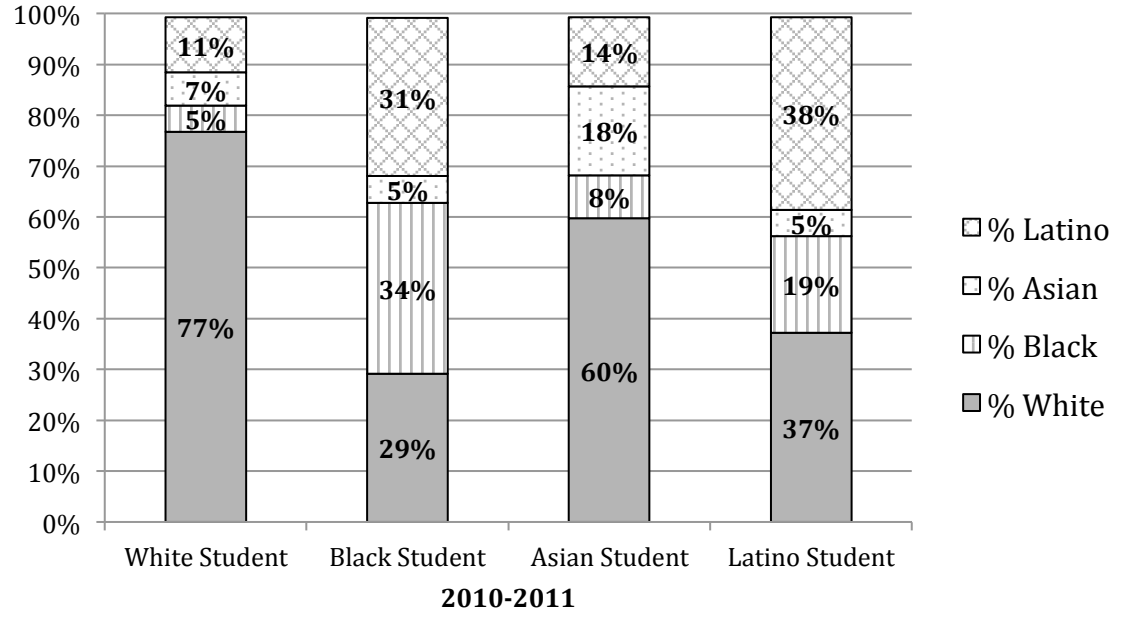
Figure 15 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, New York City Region*



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

On Long Island (Figure 16), the typical white attended school with nearly 80% white students, and less than 15% black and Latino students in 2010. The typical Asian student attended school with three-fold the island's proportion of Asian students, and only 22% black and Latino students. The typical black and Latino students were enrolled in a school that was majority black and Latino.

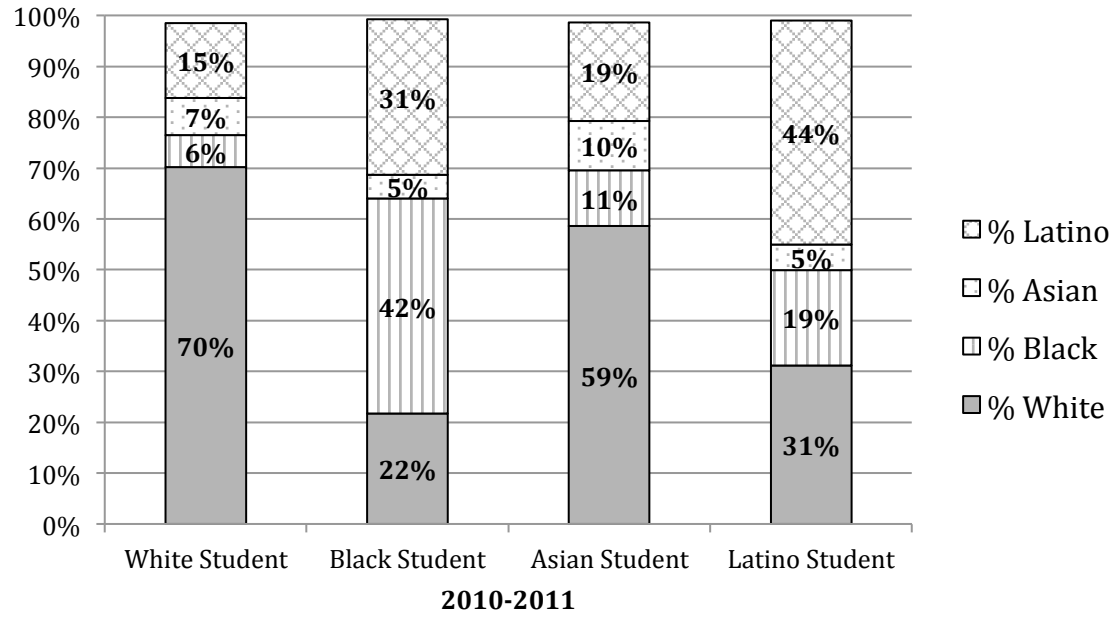
Figure 16 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Long Island Region*



Note: Other includes American Indian 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 the inner-ring regions (Figure 17), the typical white and Asian students attend a school that is predominantly white with smaller proportions of nonwhite students. The typical black student is enrolled in a school that is mainly black (42%), followed by Latino (31%) and white (22%) students. The typical Latino student attended school with two fifths other Latino students (44%), followed by white (31%) and then black (19%) students.

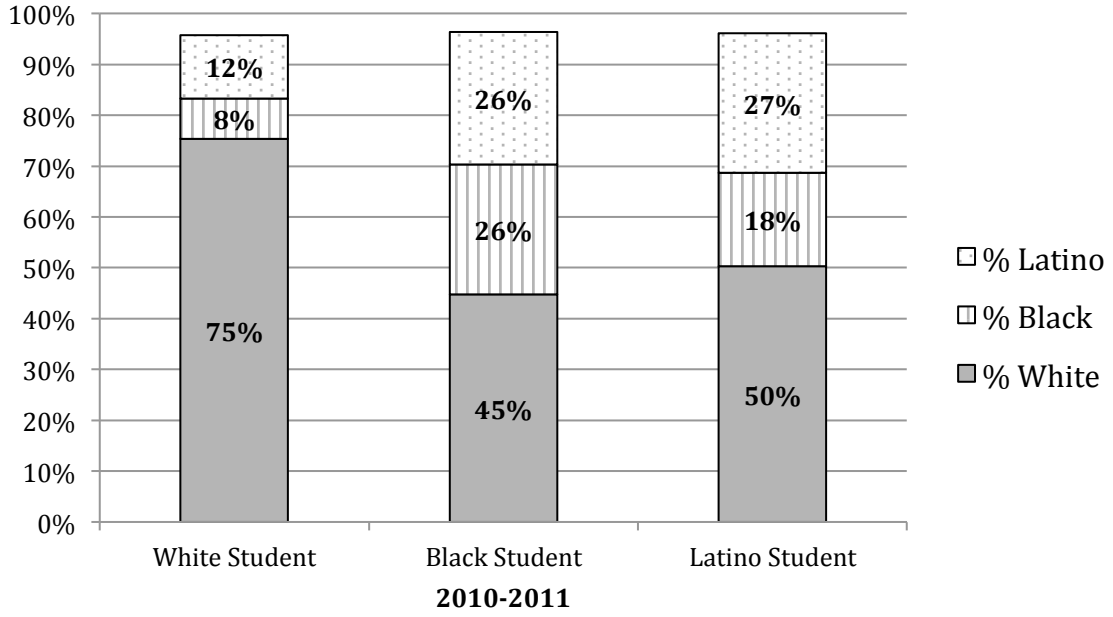
Figure 17 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Inner-Ring New York Region*



Note: Other includes American Indian 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 inner-ring region, the typical white student in the outer-ring region attended school with predominantly white students and smaller proportions of nonwhite students (Figure 18). Differing from the inner-ring region, the typical black and Latino student attended school with close to 50% of white students.

Figure 18 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Outer-Ring New York Region*



Note: Other includes Asian and American Indian 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 terms of exposure to poor students, across each region and time period, the typical white student attended a school with a much smaller proportion of poor students than the typical black and Latino student (

Table 15). These patterns show the extremely disproportionate distribution of low-income students to schools where black and Latino students are enrolled. In the inner-ring region, for example, the typical white student attended school with half the proportion of poor students in the region, as the typical black student attended school with close to twice the regional proportion of poor students. Long Island, inner-ring, and outer-ring regions also have a substantially lower percentage of poor students in comparison to the NYC region.

Table 15 - *Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools, New York Metro and Regions*

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low-Income Students	Black Exposure to Low-Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students
New York Metro				
1999-2000	48.6%	20.9%	66.9%	70.3%
2010-2011	52.0%	24.0%	70.2%	69.7%
New York City region				
1999-2000	70.3%	48.9%	74.5%	77.8%
2010-2011	73.7%	53.7%	77.9%	79.9%
Long Island region				
1999-2000	16.7%	11.0%	37.5%	34.6%
2010-2011	21.8%	13.8%	41.1%	40.5%
Inner-ring region				
1999-2000	25.9%	13.0%	47.1%	47.7%
2010-2011	29.1%	13.6%	54.4%	48.8%
Outer-ring region				
1999-2000	20.8%	16.7%	41.3%	33.3%
2010-2011	28.7%	21.8%	48.9%	43.1%

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

Distribution of Racial Groups across Schools in the New York Metro

Over the last two decades, the distribution of multiple racial groups across schools in the New York metro has been somewhat stable and highly uneven. In 2010, the average school in the metro was 38% less diverse than the entire metropolitan area, indicating an extreme degree of segregation (Table 16). The difference in diversity between the average public school and the entire metro area was both due to segregation across and within district boundaries, which was balanced due to differences in NYC regions. The majority of the overall unevenness in non-NYC regions was due to segregation between school districts rather than within, unlike the NYC region due to the large New York Public School district. For example, on Long Island, 90% of the total segregation has been occurring between school districts rather than between schools within school districts; a finding consistent with prior research.[135] The outer-ring region of New York experienced the least uneven distribution of racial groups across schools in comparison to all other regions.

[135] Ready, D. (2012). *Inter-district and intra-district segregation on Long Island*. Garden City, NY: Long Island Index. Retrieved from: http://www.longislandindex.org./explore/bd7975ba3fb128139cbda7400391b0e6

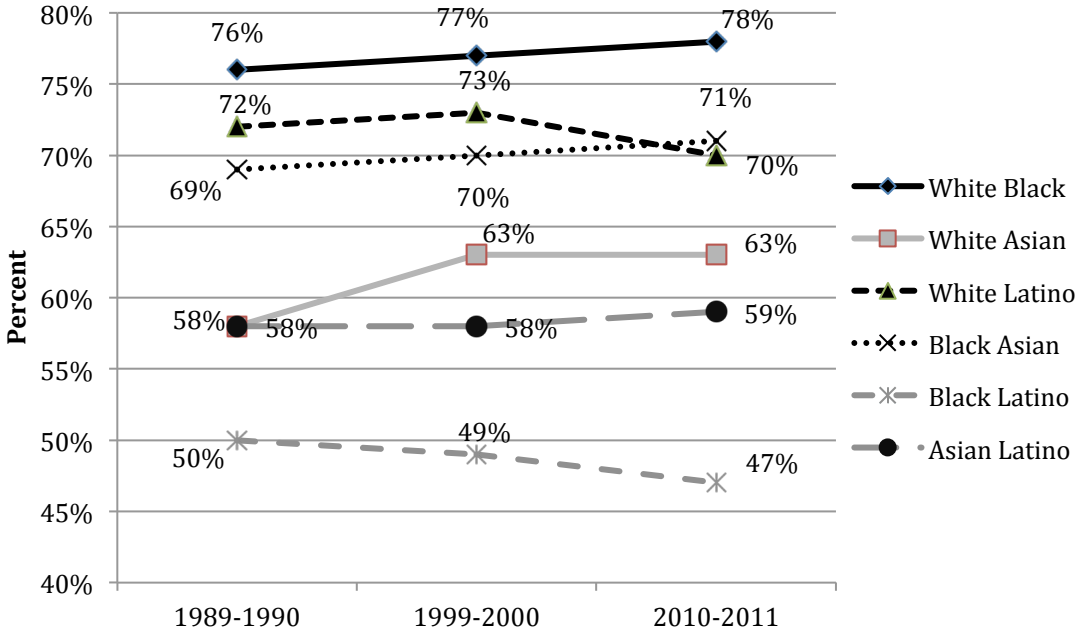
Table 16 - *Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students Across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness Within and Between School Districts*

	H	HW	HB
New York Metro			
1989-1990	.42	.21	.21
1999-2000	.40	.20	.21
2010-2011	.38	.19	.19
New York City Region			
1989-1990	.34	.34	.00
1999-2000	.33	.33	.00
2010-2011	.34	.32	.02
Long Island Region			
1989-1990	.31	.02	.29
1999-2000	.29	.02	.27
2010-2011	.29	.03	.26
Inner-City Region			
1989-1990	.26	.04	.23
1999-2000	.29	.03	.26
2010-2011	.28	.04	.24
Outer-Ring Region			
1989-1990	.22	.02	.20
1999-2000	.18	.01	.17
2010-2011	.17	.02	.15

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

Similar to multi-group evenness patterns, dual-group dissimilarity for racial groups in the New York metro has remained relatively stable and high over the last two decades as well, particularly for white-black, white-Latino, and black-Asian distribution (Figure 19). Black-Latino evenness is relatively low in comparison and slightly decreasing, which was also indicated in the previous section by the high and increasing exposure rates between these two racial groups.

Figure 19 - *Differential Distribution (Dissimilarity) of Two Racial Groups across Public Schools in the New York Metro*



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 New York metro findings, Long Island, inner-ring, and outer-ring regions have also experienced a decrease in black-Latino segregation rates over the last twenty years (

Table 17). Within the inner-ring region, white-black and white-Latino unevenness rates have increased, as the outer-ring region experienced a decrease in white-black segregation. White-black segregation in Long Island has remained constant, as white-Latino has increased since 1999. The NYC evenness rates mirror the overall metro distribution, except with black-Latino segregation remaining stable. The increase in the uneven distribution of white-black students across the inner-ring and NYC regions is a pattern not found across the nation.[136]

[136] Orfield, G., Kucsera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus…separation? Deepening double segregation for more students.* Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project.

Table 17 - *Differential Distribution (Dissimilarity) of Two Racial Groups across Public Schools*

	Dissimilarity Index		
	White Black	**White Latino**	**Black Latino**
New York City Region			
1989-1990	.76	.68	.50
1999-2000	.76	.68	.52
2010-2011	.78	.67	.52
Long Island Region			
1989-1990	.69	.52	.45
1999-2000	.69	.52	.38
2010-2011	.69	.57	.37
Inner-Ring Region			
1989-1990	.63	.57	.46
1999-2000	.70	.62	.44
2010-2011	.71	.62	.41
Outer-Ring Region			
1989-1990	.60		
1999-2000	.58	.42	.28
2010-2011	.53	.43	.24

In sum, the segregation analyses of schools produced a number of main findings for the New York metro and its regions. Concentration levels in majority-minority and intensely segregated schools for black and Latino students have increased over the last twenty years.

The New York metro had the highest percentage of white students attending multiracial schools across time periods in comparison to the other upstate metros. In 2010, the metro even experienced a higher white proportion than a black proportion – a pattern not found across the other metros. Metro regional analysis revealed that these findings are mostly due to the low proportion of white students in NYC schools.

In terms of exposure, the typical white and Asian students are generally overexposed, as black and Latino students are underexposed, to white students across the New York metro and its four regions, although all racial groups have experienced a decline in exposure to white students. The decline of white isolation rates was also significantly lower than the decline in the proportion white in Long Island, inner-ring, and outer-ring regions, indicating that demographic change cannot fully explain the isolation decline. The metro and regions have also experienced a decline in black isolation rates, but an increase in black exposure to Latinos and Latino isolation. The typical Latino student in the outer-ring region continues to attend school with 50% of white students – a pattern not found in the other New York regions. The data also indicate an extremely disproportionate exposure to low-income students for the typical

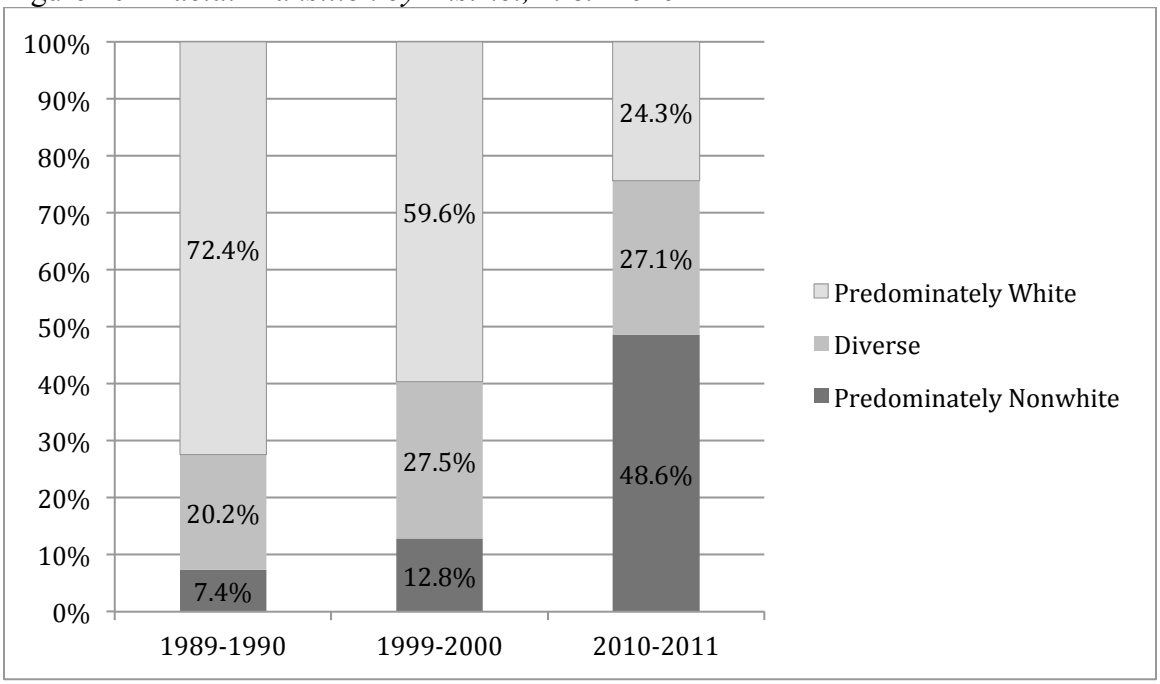
black and Latino student across the metro, especially in the Long Island and inner-ring regions.

For evenness, over the last two decades, the distribution of racial groups across public schools has been rather stable and highly uneven. Majority of the overall unevenness across multiple racial groups in the Long Island, inner-ring, and outer-ring regions was due to segregation between school districts rather than within. The inner-ring and NYC regions experienced an increase in unevenness between white and black students. Long Island and the inner-ring region also experienced an increase in unevenness between white and Latino students. Further, Long Island, inner-ring, and outer-ring regions all experienced a decline in unevenness between black and Latino students over the last twenty years.

District Stability

In 1989, the majority (72%) of school districts were predominately white in the metropolitan area (Figure 20). Twenty years later, schools districts certainly changed. By 2010, the rise in the number of charter and small school districts in the New York metro have resulted in a substantial rise of predominately nonwhite school systems – close to a 300% increase since 1999. The proportion of predominately white districts has also decreased rapidly since 1999, as the proportion of districts that are diverse has stayed somewhat constant.

Figure 20 - *Racial Transition by District, 1989-2010*



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*=203 (1989 year), 218 (1999 year), and 325 (2010 year) districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period. A total of 199 of these districts were open during all three time periods; in 2010, these districts were 18.2% predominately

nonwhite, 43.4% diverse, and 38.4% predominately white, indicating a number have changed from majority white to diverse or majority nonwhite school systems over the last two decades.

Exploring the top 10 highest enrolling districts across the metro show two different findings: the distinct differences in the proportion white between urban and suburban school districts, and the differences between districts as close as 10 miles away (Table 18). In 2010, the proportion white in Brentwood was less than 8%. About eight miles away, lay both Smithtown and Half Hollow Hills districts, which enrolled 92% and 68% white, respectively, in 2010. A similar disparity of white student proportions is found between neighboring districts Wappingers and Newburgh City. Both New York City and Yonkers have remained predominately nonwhite since 1989.

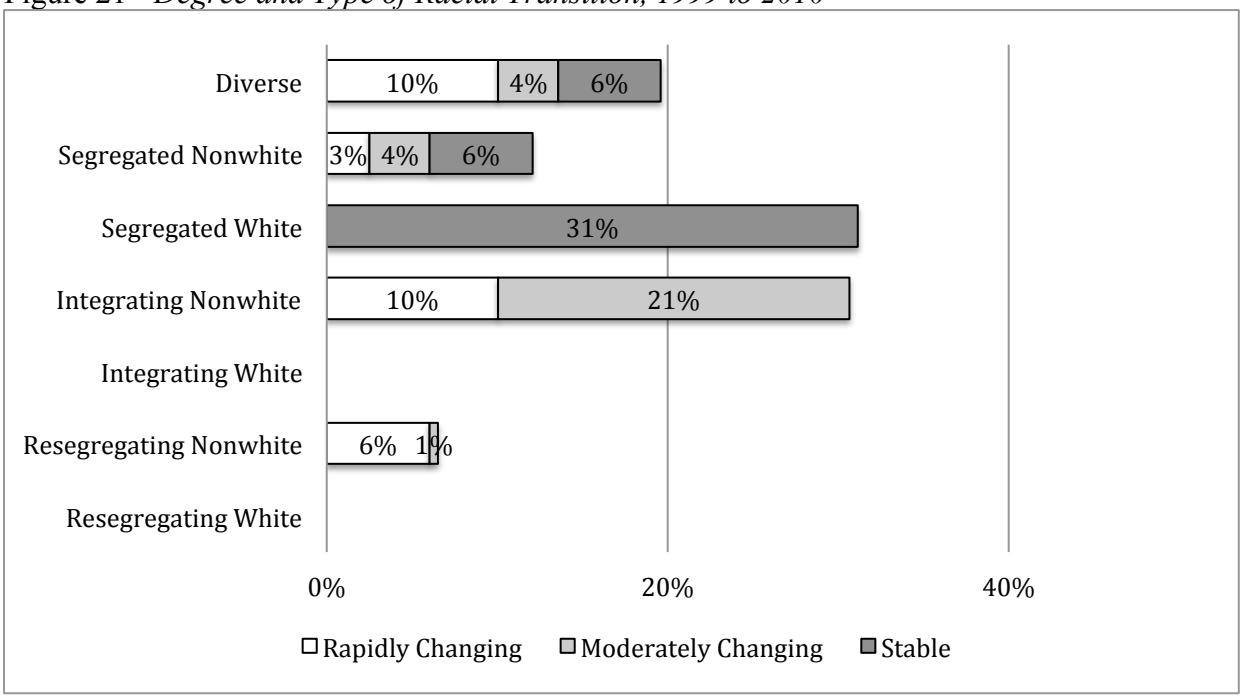
Table 18 - *White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Top Ten Highest Enrolling Districts in 2010,*

	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
New York Metro, NY	45.8%	39.2%	35.1%			
New York City District	21.3%	15.9%	15.0%	PNW	PNW	PNW
YONKERS CITY	37.3%	20.7%	18.1%	PNW	PNW	PNW
BRENTWOOD	44.4%	21.5%	8.0%	D	PNW	PNW
SACHEM CENTRAL	93.7%	92.2%	85.3%	PW	PW	PW
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	89.5%	84.6%	77.0%	PW	PW	D
NEWBURGH CITY	53.7%	41.8%	26.3%	D	D	PNW
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	53.4%	41.4%	30.5%	D	D	PNW
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL	97.0%	95.1%	91.5%	PW	PW	PW
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	93.6%	88.6%	77.3%	PW	PW	D
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	82.6%	76.0%	68.2%	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 open, and with enrollments with at least 100 students, for each time period.

Less than half of the school districts (47%) in the New York metro were racially stable from 1999 to 2010, but only 6% of school districts were stably diverse (Figure 21) - quite a low percentage for such a diverse metro. In addition, close to a third of districts were predominately white in both 1999 and 2010. Another near third of districts were integrating nonwhite students, with two-thirds of these districts integrating nonwhite students at a moderate pace and one-third integrating nonwhite students at a rapid pace. Fourteen districts or 7% of total districts across the metro resegregated by changing from predominately white to predominately nonwhite over the last decade, with the majority resegregating at a rapid pace.

Figure 21 - *Degree and Type of Racial Transition, 1999 to 2010*



Note: *N*=199 districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 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 predominately 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 predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

Of the 16% or 31 districts across the metropolitan area that rapidly resegregated or integrated over the last decade, three school districts in Valley Stream (24, 30, and Central High School) experienced the greatest white proportion decrease and resegregation from 1989 to 2010 (

Table 19). Baldwin, Sewanhaka, and Tuckahoe districts closely followed with the decrease in proportion of white students from 1999 to 2010. Of those 6% or 12 districts that rapidly resegregated, all had a higher white proportion than the metro in both 1989 and 1999, but the majority had a lower white proportion than the metro by 2010.

Table 19 - *Districts Rapidly Changing in the New York Metro from 1999 to 2010*

	White Proportion			1999-2010 Changes
	1989	1999	2010	
New York, NY Metro	45.8%	39.2%	35.1%	Segregating
TUCKAHOE COMN SD	90.6%	68.7%	39.9%	Resegregating
VALLEY STREAM 24 UFSD	87.7%	72.0%	34.1%	Resegregating
VALLEY STREAM 30 UFSD	84.1%	40.2%	5.8%	Resegregating
GLEN COVE CITY SD	66.1%	51.7%	38.0%	Resegregating
OSSINING UFSD	59.0%	49.9%	32.3%	Resegregating
VALLEY STREAM CENTRAL HS DISTR	90.1%	67.8%	29.5%	Resegregating
LAWRENCE UFSD	78.7%	59.5%	31.4%	Resegregating
BALDWIN UFSD	80.4%	60.7%	28.1%	Resegregating
MIDDLETOWN CITY SD	70.1%	47.8%	23.3%	Resegregating
SEWANHAKA CENTRAL HS DISTRICT	75.4%	55.8%	26.1%	Resegregating
HAVERSTRAW-STONY POINT CSD (NO	65.7%	55.6%	39.7%	Resegregating
NEWBURGH CITY SD	53.7%	41.8%	26.3%	Resegregating
AMAGANSETT UFSD	94.4%	86.3%	73.8%	Integrating
GREENWOOD LAKE UFSD	96.2%	92.2%	77.5%	Integrating
HALDANE CSD	96.7%	96.2%	77.7%	Integrating
CHESTER UFSD	92.7%	81.0%	59.1%	Integrating
EAST ROCKAWAY UFSD	93.9%	89.6%	77.1%	Integrating
HAMPTON BAYS UFSD	93.5%	82.5%	55.0%	Integrating
DOVER UFSD	95.6%	93.9%	79.0%	Integrating
FRANKLIN SQUARE UFSD	92.1%	90.5%	77.4%	Integrating
JERICHO UFSD	90.0%	84.9%	61.3%	Integrating
ISLAND TREES UFSD	93.9%	90.4%	74.4%	Integrating
HENDRICK HUDSON CSD	92.2%	88.4%	74.8%	Integrating
CORNWALL CSD	95.8%	90.6%	76.8%	Integrating
ISLIP UFSD	91.6%	85.3%	72.9%	Integrating
HEWLETT-WOODMERE UFSD	92.6%	88.5%	72.1%	Integrating
VALLEY CSD (MONTGOMERY)	93.9%	87.2%	70.6%	Integrating
PINE BUSH CSD	90.2%	86.2%	71.4%	Integrating
MONROE-WOODBURY CSD	92.0%	85.6%	70.3%	Integrating
EAST MEADOW UFSD	89.5%	80.9%	64.5%	Integrating

PATCHOGUE-MEDFORD UFSD	88.2%	80.9%	63.8%	Integrating

Note: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregating districts Segregating districts are those that experienced a rapid change but still classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both time periods. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period. Districts are those open, and with enrollments with at least 100 students, for each time period.

New York City District

Although the above analysis disaggregates the New York City metro into a number of regions, a whole report can be devotedly focused on the ethnoracial demographic and segregation, and stability patterns within just the New York City Department of Education. We provide a brief exploration of such patterns here.

Enrollment Patterns

In New York City, charter schools had the smallest white and Asian proportions in 2010, as well as the highest black proportion in comparison to traditional or magnets (Table 20). The majority of charters were located in Brooklyn followed by the Bronx. Magnet schools had the largest white and Asian proportions, with CSD 30 in Queens and districts 21 and 22 in Brooklyn having the highest number of magnet schools.

Table 20 - *Public School Enrollment in New York City by School Type*

	Percentage			
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**
Charter 2010-2011	3.0%	62.1%	1.8%	30.8%
Magnet 2008-2009	15.8%	28.5%	18.5%	36.9%
Traditional 2010-2011	14.5%	29.8%	15.1%	40.1%

Note: Magnet school data for more recent years in New York City were missing in NCES files.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

The racial composition of city public schools and charter schools in the boroughs of New York tell important stories. Across all boroughs in 2010, public schools greatly outnumber charters. The city in 2009-10 had 1451 public schools and 123 charter schools, which is less than 10%. Charters also only represented 4% of the city's total public school students in 2010. One borough, Queens, had an insignificant presence of charters (less than 5% of total schools). In Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Staten Island the vast majority of the charter schools were intensely segregated, with 0-10% white students (Table 21). This was true for all of the Bronx charters, nearly all charters in Brooklyn and Manhattan, and two out of three charters in Staten Island. In each case this was significantly worse than the record for public schools, with the widest gap in Staten Island followed by Manhattan. Among public schools, 93% in the Bronx, 71% in Brooklyn, 69% in Manhattan, 59% in Queens, and only 8% in Staten Island were

intensely segregated. These numbers clearly show that where charter schools are a significant proportion (5% or greater of total schools), these schools take the city's segregation to an extreme.

Table 21 - *Frequency Distribution of Public and Charter Schools in New York City Boroughs by Percentage White Deciles*

% White	Bronx Public (n=339)	Bronx Charter (n=32)	Brooklyn Public (n=453)	Brooklyn Charter (n=48)	Manhattan Public (n=289)	Manhattan Charter (n=31)	Queens Public (n=308)	Queens Charter (n=9)	Staten Island Public (n=62)	Staten Island Charter (n=3)
Less than 10%	93.2%	100%	71.1%	89.6%	68.5%	96.8%	58.8%	55.6%	8.1%	66.7%
10-20%	2.9%		8.2%	2.1%	7.3%	3.2%	15.6%	11.1%	11.3%	
20-30%	1.2%		4.6%	2.1%	5.5%		8.8%	33.3%	9.7%	33.3%
30-40%	1.2%		5.1%	2.1%	2.8%		5.8%		6.5%	
40-50%	.9%		4.9%	2.1%	3.5%		6.2%		4.8%	
50-60%			2.4%	2.1%	3.1%		1.9%		17.7%	
60-70%	.6%		1.8%		5.2%		1.6%		9.7%	
70-80%			1.3%		3.5%		.6%		4.8%	
80-90%			.2%		.7%		.6%		27.4%	
90-100%			.2%							
50-100%	0.6%		5.9%	2.1%	12.5%		4.7%		59.6%	

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

For traditional schools over time, the overall proportion of white and black students has decreased as the proportion of Asian and Latino students has increased over time regardless of grade level. The proportion of whites in elementary school increased over the period between 1999 and 2010, however, and has likely continued to increase since then due to gentrification in large areas of the city – the so-called "reversal of white flight" (Table 22). The average elementary school had larger white and smaller black proportions that middle or high schools.

Table 22 - *Public School Enrollment in New York City School District by Traditional Grade Level*

	Percentage			
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**
Traditional Elementary				
1989-1990	20.7%	38.7%	7.5%	33.1%
1999-2000	15.2%	34.0%	11.2%	39.2%
2010-2011	16.3%	26.8%	15.5%	40.8%
Traditional Middle				
1989-1990	19.5%	39.8%	7.2%	33.4%
1999-2000	16.5%	34.4%	11.4%	37.5%
2010-2011	14.0%	27.6%	16.9%	41.1%
Traditional High				
1989-1990	26.5%	44.6%	9.5%	19.3%
1999-2000	17.8%	35.3%	14.0%	32.7%
2010-2011	13.8%	29.6%	16.9%	39.3%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

Within the city's 32 CSDs, Staten Island's CSD 31 had the highest white student proportion at 53% for the city in 2010, but the district also had substantial within variation, with a third of schools serving greater than 80% of white students and another third serving less than 40% of white students. CSDs with over 20% white enrollment in 2010 following district 31 include Manhattan districts 2 and 3, and south Brooklyn districts 15, 20, 21, and 22. Six other CSDs had between 10% and 20% white enrollment in 2010. All other districts had less than 10% white students. CSDs 18 in Brooklyn, 26 in Queens, and 6 in Manhattan had the highest black, Asian, and Latino student proportion in the city, respectively.

Segregation Patterns

Concentration

In terms of concentration, 73% or 90% percent of charters were considered apartheid or intensely segregated schools in 2010 – the highest concentration rates by school types (Table 23). Charters also had the lowest proportion of schools that were considered multiracial. Around 8% of charter schools were multiracial and with over a 14.5% white enrollment (the New York City average); these included the Brooklyn

Prospect Charter, Community Roots Charter, and Our World Neighborhood Charter, among others.[137]

Concentration rates for magnet schools, on the other hand, were at the opposite side of the extreme, with the highest proportion of multiracial and lowest proportion of segregated schools than other school types. However, there was substantial variation within magnets. For example, less than a third of magnet schools were multiracial and with white enrollment greater than 14.5%. Over half of all magnets had less than 10% white enrollment and, therefore, classified as an intensely segregated minority school, and 17% of magnets had 1% or less white enrollment and classified as an apartheid school. Seven percent of magnet schools also had greater than 50% white enrollment, with PS 100 Coney Island having a white proportion of 81%.

Table 23 - *Proportion of Schools Multiracial and Minority in New York City by School Type*

	% Multiracial	% 90-100% Minority	% 99-100% Minority
Charter 2010-2011	15.4%	91.1%	73.2%
Magnet 2008-2009	47.1%	55.9%	16.9%
Traditional 2010-2011	27.3%	72.1%	30.4%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

As noted previously, over 19 of the traditional CSDs had less than 10% white students in 2010, indicating that many schools in these districts would be intensely segregated. This included all schools in CSDs 7, 9, 12, 16, 18, 19, 23, and 29. CSDs 9 and 23 had the highest proportion of schools that were 99-100% minority, and CSDs 20 and 21 had the highest proportion of schools that were considered multi-racial.

In New York City, the proportion of students poor in 2010 was 74%, with a slightly greater proportion of poor students in charter schools (76%) than public schools (74%). Exploring poverty concentration rates between public schools and charter schools by boroughs with a significant presence of charters provides a little more detail (Table 24). In Manhattan and Staten Island, a greater proportion of charter schools than public schools was majority poor –those with 50% or greater poor students. In Bronx and Brooklyn, nearly all schools were majority poor, making any distinctions between public and charter school difficult to discern. There were, however, more intensely-poor schools – those with 90% or greater poor students – for public school systems than charters across each borough. Among public schools, 43% in the Bronx, 29% in Brooklyn, 22% in Manhattan, 15% in Queens, and 10% in Staten Island were intensely poor. These numbers provide mixed findings. Although a greater number of charter school students were poor than public school students citywide, a greater proportion of intensive poverty concentration was found in public schools rather than charters across each borough where charter schools are a significant proportion.

[137] Upper West Success Academy Charter School opened in Fall 2011. Other charters meeting such criteria include New York French American, Hellenic Classical, Voice, John W Lavelle Preparatory, and Growing Up Green charters.

Table 24 - *Frequency Distribution of Public and Charter Schools in New York City Boroughs by Percentage Poor Deciles*

% Poor	Bronx Public (n=339)	Bronx Charter (n=32)	Brooklyn Public (n=453)	Brooklyn Charter (n=48)	Manhattan Public (n=289)	Manhattan Charter (n=31)	Queens Public (n=308)	Queens Charter (n=9)	Staten Island Public (n=62)	Staten Island Charter (n=3)
Less than 10%	.6%		.4%		3.5%		.3%			
10-20%			.9%		5.2%		1.0%		1.6%	
20-30%	.6%		1.3%	6.3%	3.8%		1.9%		8.1%	
30-40%	.3%		.9%		4.5%	6.5%	2.9%	11.1%	19.4%	
40-50%	1.5%		2.6%		2.1%		8.1%		12.9%	
50-60%	.9%		3.3%	8.3%	5.4%	3.2%	10.4%	22.2%	11.3%	
60-70%	4.7%	9.4%	10.2%	10.4%	10.0%	6.5%	11.4%	44.4%	14.5%	33.3%
70-80%	16.2%	28.1%	23.0%	37.5%	18.3%	41.9%	19.5%	11.1%	4.8%	66.7%
80-90%	31.6%	46.9%	27.8%	25.0%	23.9%	32.3%	26.9%	11.1%	11.3%	
90-100%	42.8%	12.5%	28.5%	8.3%	22.1%	9.7%	14.9%		9.7%	
50-100%	96.2%	96.9%	92.8%	89.5%	79.7%	93.6%	83.1%	88.8%	51.6%	100.0%

Note: Some schools were missing FRL enrollment numbers and thus, percentages do not always equal 100%.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Exposure

Typical students in magnet schools had greater exposure to white students, as w as less minority isolation in comparison to traditional schools (Table 25). Charter schoo had the highest degree of black isolation rates, and traditional schools had the highest Asian and Latino isolation rates. Magnet schools also had a lower percentage of poor students, less exposure to poor students for typical minorities, and a smaller disparity in the exposure of poor students between typical white and nonwhite students (Table 26). traditional schools, a typical white was underexposed to poor students while typical bla or Latino students were overexposed.

Table 25 - *Exposure to White Students and Minority Isolation in New York City by Scho Type*

	Exposure to White Students				Minority Isolation		
	White-White	Black-White	Asian-White	Latino-White	Black-Black	Asian-Asian	Latino-Latino
Charter 2010-2011	NA	NA	NA	NA	73.6%	NA	49.1%
Magnet 2008-2009	33.9%	8.7%	19.1%	11.8%	54.9%	33.1%	51.8%
Traditional 2010-2011	43.5%	5.7%	18.2%	9.2%	56.3%	38.9%	56.5%

Table 26 - *Exposure to Poor Students in New York City by School Type*

		Exposure to Poor Students			
	% Poor	White	Black	Asian	Latino
Charter 2010-2011	75.8%	NA	75.4%	NA	79.1%
Magnet 2008-2009	69.3%	63.0%	68.2%	62.1%	76.6%
Traditional 2010-2011	73.7%	53.7%	77.9%	68.9%	79.9%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

Elementary schools had the highest degree of isolation rates by grade level type (Table 27). Changes over time, especially for middle and high schools, reflect greater exposure to white students for typical minority members, less white and black isolation, and greater Latino and Asian isolation rates. These findings are gradual across time periods and, thus, seem to be more due to the racial demographic changes that have occurred over the years rather than the substantive policy changes that have occurred post-2000.

Table 27 - *Exposure to White Students and Minority Isolation in New York City School District by Grade Level*

	Exposure to White Students				Minority Isolation		
	White-White	Black-White	Asian-White	Latino-White	Black-Black	Asian-Asian	Latino-Latino
Traditional Elementary							
1989-1990	57.3%	6.8%	30.3%	11.8%	65.1%	25.5%	52.1%
1999-2000	49.2%	5.1%	22.0%	9.0%	62.8%	34.2%	58.0%
2010-2011	47.9%	5.6%	18.2%	10.0%	57.7%	42.4%	58.5%
Traditional Middle							
1989-1990	50.7%	9.4%	29.6%	11.1%	60.5%	19.5%	51.3%
1999-2000	44.6%	7.9%	23.8%	9.8%	57.9%	29.0%	55.0%
2010-2011	41.5%	6.0%	17.7%	8.6%	54.6%	38.8%	57.6%
Traditional High							
1989-1990	48.7%	13.6%	34.4%	21.9%	62.5%	17.9%	28.6%
1999-2000	40.2%	9.5%	24.1%	11.8%	55.2%	26.0%	47.3%
2010-2011	35.4%	7.3%	18.5%	9.1%	47.6%	34.4%	52.3%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

These findings taken together indicate that the majority of charter schools across the city were highly racially isolated in 2010, although there were a few exceptions. Magnet schools have provided greater racial diversity than charters and traditional schools, on average, but there was great variation within some magnets.

Upstate Metropolitan Areas

Enrollment Patterns

Although most people associate New York with New York City, most of the state is characterized by agricultural and forested rural communities, and by small and medium-sized cities and their surrounding suburbs. The state's main metropolitan areas outside of New York City are Albany, Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse, with each reporting populations that exceed half a million residents and a hundred thousand public school students.

With public school enrollment, the racial composition of these four upstate metros experienced a major transition over the last two decades with a decreasing share of white enrollment and increasing shares of Latino and Asian enrollment (

Table 28, Figure 22). Albany experienced the largest decrease of white enrollment (15%), and greater than the statewide decrease of 13%, and Syracuse experienced the second largest decline at 11%. All metros, except Rochester, experienced a twofold proportionate increase in Asian and Latino students. All upstate metro areas, experienced an increase in black student proportions since 1989. Albany metro experienced the largest increase in black students, which doubled since 1989.

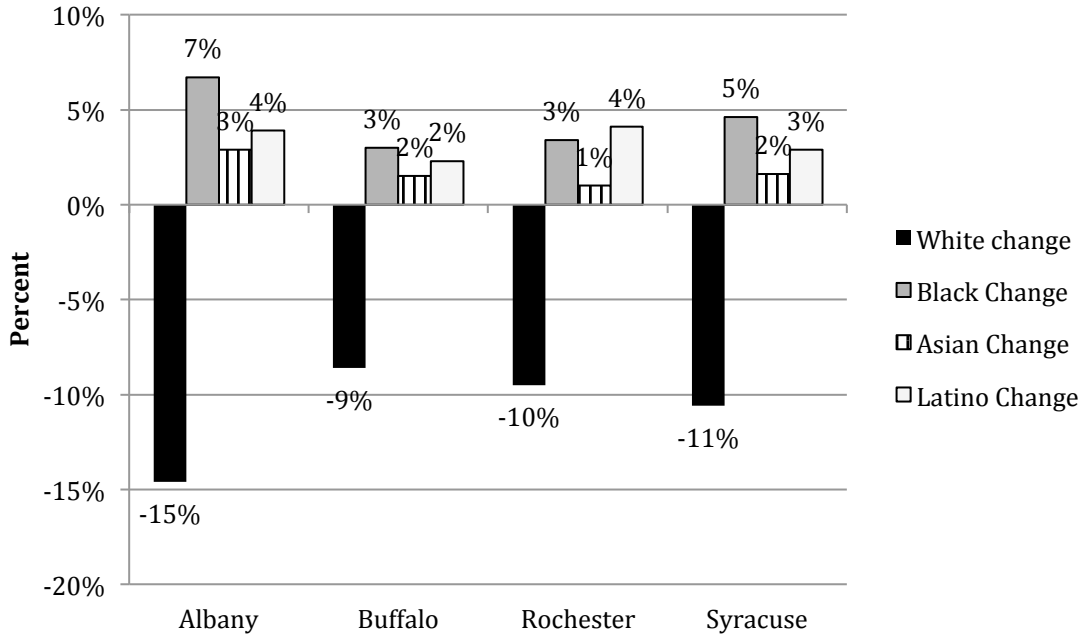
Table 28 - *Public School Enrollment across Main Upstate New York Metros*

	Total Enrollment	Percentage				
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY						
1989-1990	120,457	91.0%	6.1%	1.4%	1.5%	0.1%
1999-2000	138,161	86.0%	9.1%	2.0%	2.7%	0.2%
2010-2011	126,341	76.4%	12.8%	4.3%	5.4%	0.2%
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY						
1989-1990	163,482	80.4%	15.3%	1.0%	2.5%	0.8%
1999-2000	176,905	77.2%	17.2%	1.2%	3.4%	1.0%
2010-2011	158,599	71.8%	18.3%	2.5%	4.8%	1.3%
Rochester, NY						
1989-1990	153,407	80.0%	14.0%	1.9%	3.9%	0.2%
1999-2000	192,169	77.1%	15.4%	2.0%	5.0%	0.6%
2010-2011	169,345	70.5%	17.4%	2.9%	8.0%	0.3%
Syracuse, NY						
1989-1990	110,389	89.1%	8.3%	1.0%	0.9%	0.7%
1999-2000	131,348	86.5%	9.8%	1.2%	1.7%	0.9%
2010-2011	116,127	78.5%	12.9%	2.6%	3.8%	1.1%

Note: AI=American Indian

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

Figure 22 - *Percentage Change in Racial Student Proportion from 1989 to 2010 across Main Upstate New York Metros*



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

Since the late 1980s, most metropolitan areas have experienced some sort of a metropolitan migration phenomenon along urban-suburban boundaries and race and class lines. Most areas have experienced a growing number of black and Latino families, mostly middle-class, leaving urban areas (or bypassing urban ethnic enclaves altogether upon immigration) and seeking better homes, schools, and communities in the suburbs. In other cases, upper-middle class and affluent whites are moving back into gentrifying urban centers, which raises housing prices and pushes lower-income residents, mostly black and Latino, into outlying urban communities and inner-ring suburbs. Meanwhile, those white or affluent residents who do remain in the suburbs, are often seeking more exclusive and exurban communities free from the inner-ring suburbs with a rising black and Latino population. With school enrollment often mirroring residential patterns, we explore the demographic patterns in urban and suburban schools of the four upstate New York metros, with the limitation that this dichotomy of urban and suburban schools is not as clear or straightforward as it was prior to the 1980s.

From 1989 to 2010, urban schools have experienced an extremely dramatic decrease in white enrollment, as suburban schools remain overwhelmingly white across the four upstate metros (

Table 29). In both urban and suburban schools, the share of white enrollment has decreased since 1989-1990 across the four upstate metros. Rochester, followed by Albany and Syracuse, experienced the greatest decline in urban white enrollment from 1989 to 2010, relatively speaking. All other racial groups experienced an increase in proportional enrollment across the upstate metros, with the share of black and Latino enrollment increasing higher in suburban versus urban schools. For Asian students, there was a greater proportional increase in urban versus suburban schools in each upstate metro, except Rochester.

Table 29 - *Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Upstate New York Metros, 1989-2010*

	Urban Schools				Suburban Schools			
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY								
1989-1990	72.8%	22.5%	1.9%	2.7%	96.1%	1.8%	1.6%	0.5%
1999-2000	53.9%	36.0%	2.9%	7.1%	93.8%	2.8%	2.1%	1.0%
2010-2011	32.5%	45.7%	7.7%	12.6%	87.3%	4.4%	4.5%	2.5%
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY								
1989-1990	60.7%	31.9%	1.0%	5.2%	96.4%	1.5%	1.4%	0.5%
1999-2000	54.6%	35.4%	1.3%	7.3%	94.8%	2.3%	1.7%	0.9%
2010-2011	41.1%	42.8%	3.1%	9.6%	89.6%	4.0%	2.8%	1.9%
Rochester, NY								
1989-1990	34.4%	49.1%	2.4%	13.7%	92.5%	3.6%	2.6%	1.1%
1999-2000	24.3%	55.8%	2.2%	17.3%	90.7%	4.1%	3.0%	2.0%
2010-2011	15.0%	59.7%	3.0%	21.4%	82.8%	7.0%	4.2%	4.7%
Syracuse, NY								
1989-1990	58.1%	36.8%	1.2%	2.8%	95.6%	2.1%	1.5%	0.3%
1999-2000	46.8%	45.0%	1.6%	5.5%	93.8%	2.7%	1.9%	0.8%
2010-2011	26.8%	53.8%	5.9%	11.8%	87.8%	4.4%	2.8%	2.3%

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. 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

Some of these enrollment findings are similar to statewide enrollment patterns: a decreasing white proportion and an increasing Asian and Latino proportion in enrollment. However, some enrollment patterns in the upstate metros also differ from statewide findings. Across metros, relative black enrollment has increased across each time period. In addition, upstate metros educate a larger proportion of white students and a smaller proportion of Latino students in compared to the state overall. The urbanicity analysis indicates that the decrease in relative white enrollment is occurring more in urban versus suburban schools. Black and Latino proportionate enrollment growth across upstate metros are occurring more in suburban schools. Finally, the relative Asian enrollment growth is occurring more in urban schools for three out of the four upstate metros.

Segregation Patterns in Upstate New York Metros

Concentration levels in Segregated and Multiracial Schools.

Across the four upstate metros in 2010, 70% of black students attended majority-minority schools - roughly 19% lower than the statewide average (Table 30). The concentration levels for Latino students attending majority-minority schools ranged from 49% in Albany to 61% in Buffalo – a sharp contrast to the 85% statewide average. Over time, Syracuse, followed by Albany, experienced the largest increase in such

concentration levels majority-minority schools over time, as the overall percentage of black and Latino students in these areas also increased.

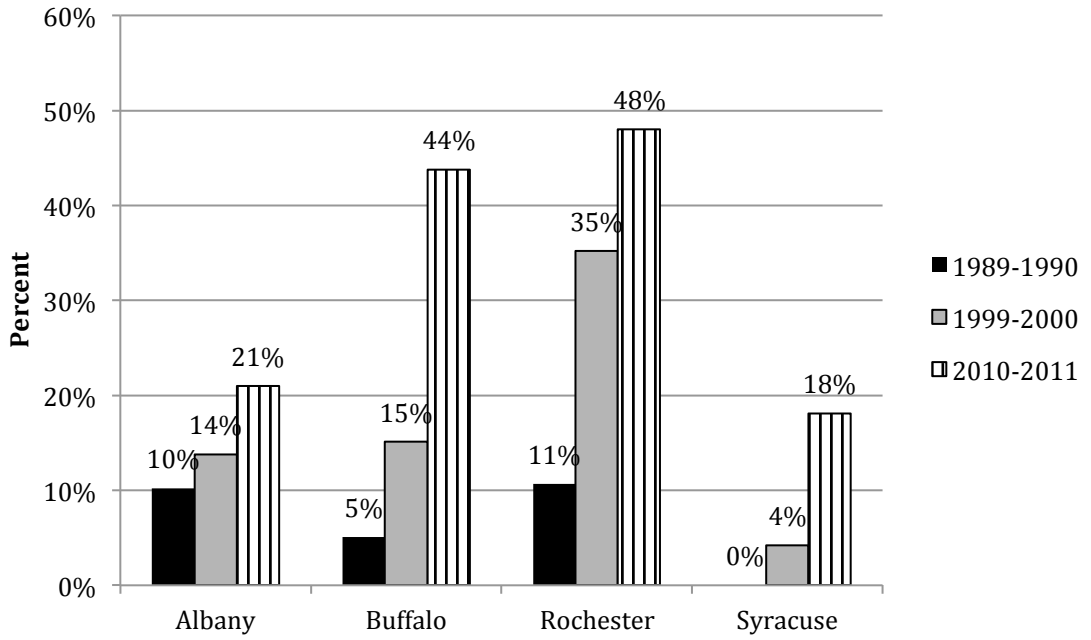
Table 30 - *Percentage of Racial Group in Majority-Minority Schools, Upstate New York Metros*

	50-100% Minority School	
	% of Black	% of Latino
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY		
1989-1990	33.4%	10.0%
1999-2000	52.2%	25.9%
2010-2011	71.5%	48.7%
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY		
1989-1990	70.7%	74.0%
1999-2000	76.6%	73.2%
2010-2011	71.0%	61.1%
Rochester, NY		
1989-1990	74.5%	70.4%
1999-2000	76.2%	66.9%
2010-2011	71.5%	56.0%
Syracuse, NY		
1989-1990	19.0%	23.7%
1999-2000	57.5%	44.6%
2010-2011	74.7%	54.9%

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

For intensely-segregated schools – where less than 10% of students are white, the statewide average concentration level for black students was 64% in 2010. In Buffalo and Rochester metros, however, nearly half of black students attended such intensely segregated schools in 2010; in Albany and Syracuse, around 20% of black students attended such segregated environments (Figure 23). Over time, black students in Buffalo and Rochester metros experienced the greatest concentration growth in intensely-segregated schools from 5% to 44% in Buffalo and 11% to 48% in Rochester. The substantial increase in Buffalo could be due to the elimination of the desegregation program that occurred in 1995.

Figure 23 - *Black Students in Intensely Segregated (90-100% Minority) Schools, Upstate New York Metros, 2010-2011*

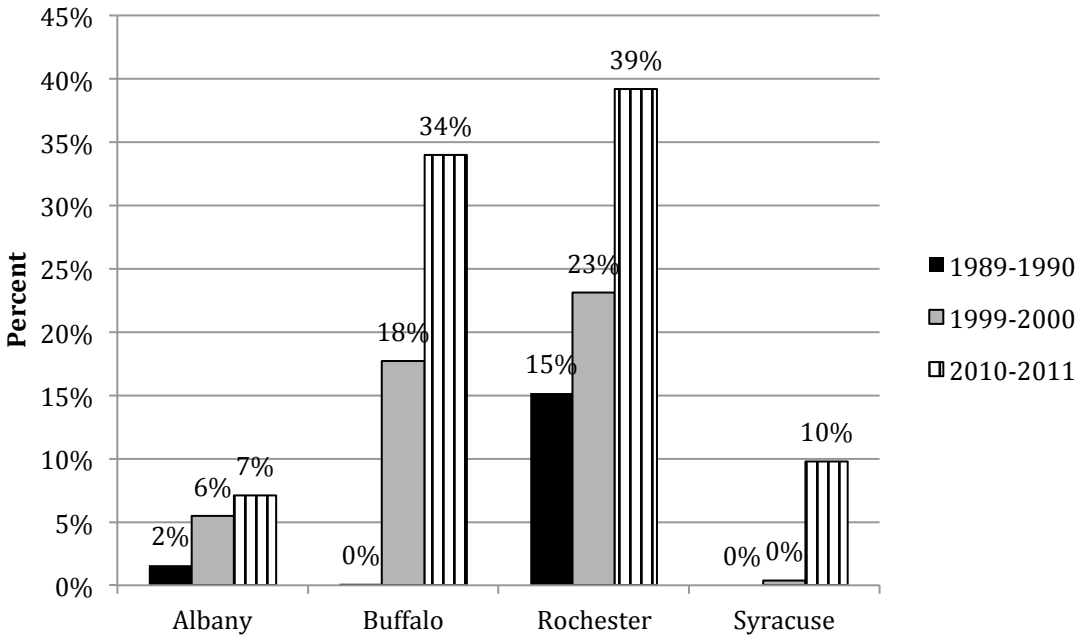


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In 2010, a little over a third of Latino students in Buffalo and two-fifths of Latinos in Rochester metros attended intensely-segregated settings in 2010, and less than a tenth of Latinos attended such settings in Albany and Syracuse (

Figure 24). These percentages are quite different from the statewide concentration level of 58%. In terms of changes over time, the greatest increase in Latino student concentration levels in intensely segregated schools occurred in Buffalo (from 0% [pre-unitary status] to 34% [post-unitary status]) and in Rochester (15% to 39%).

Figure 24 - *Latino Students in Intensely Segregated (90-100% Minority) Schools, Upstate New York Metros, 2010-2011*



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

Since 1989, the share of white and Asian students attending multiracial schools has increased across the four upstate metros in New York, with Albany experiencing the largest increase (

Table 31). Albany and Syracuse are the only two metros that experienced a relative increase of all other racial groups attending multiracial schools since 1989. Rochester experienced a decrease in the share of black and Latino students attending multiracial schools over the last two decades. Buffalo experienced an increase in the proportion of black students but a decrease in proportion of Latino students attending multiracial schools. It is interesting that those metros (Buffalo and Rochester) that had a high proportion of Latinos attending multiracial schools in 1989, declined over time and vice versa for the other metros with a low proportion of Latinos enrolling in such schools.

Table 31 - *Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools, Upstate New York Metros*

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY					
1989-1990	0.4%	3.5%	0.4%	5.9%	0.0%
1999-2000	1.3%	11.3%	4.7%	12.7%	1.5%
2010-2011	8.1%	55.1%	40.9%	43.9%	27.3%
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY					
1989-1990	2.1%	8.3%	13.3%	55.3%	21.6%
1999-2000	2.0%	12.1%	13.3%	36.2%	19.3%
2010-2011	4.4%	19.8%	29.0%	35.4%	13.6%
Rochester, NY					
1989-1990	3.1%	37.5%	16.8%	47.6%	10.9%
1999-2000	3.4%	37.4%	15.2%	44.5%	7.5%
2010-2011	8.6%	32.1%	21.7%	30.2%	15.5%
Syracuse, NY					
1989-1990	0.7%	5.5%	11.9%	27.2%	4.6%
1999-2000	1.4%	11.8%	10.7%	39.6%	5.7%
2010-2011	4.0%	40.1%	37.1%	40.2%	15.2%

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

Exposure Rates across the Four Upstate Metros

As aforementioned in the statewide section, another way to explore segregation patterns is to investigate the typical exposure or contact of different racial group members. Across the four upscale metros in New York, the typical white student is generally overexposed to other white students (Table 32). In Buffalo and Rochester metros, for example, the typical white student went to a school that is nearly 14% higher than the metro's white proportion in 2010. Relative to the typical white student, black students have substantially lower exposure and thus, are underexposed to white students in the typical school of each metro. In Albany, for example, the typical black student went to a school with 37% white students, although the metro's white proportion was 76% in 2010.

In terms of changes from 1989 to 2010, due in part to the racial demographic change over the last two decades, the typical black student across each metro is experiencing a decline in exposure to white students. The largest decline in black exposure to white students occurred in Albany and Syracuse, which also experienced the largest increase in proportion of black students over the last two decades.

Table 32 - *Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools for Upstate New York Metros*

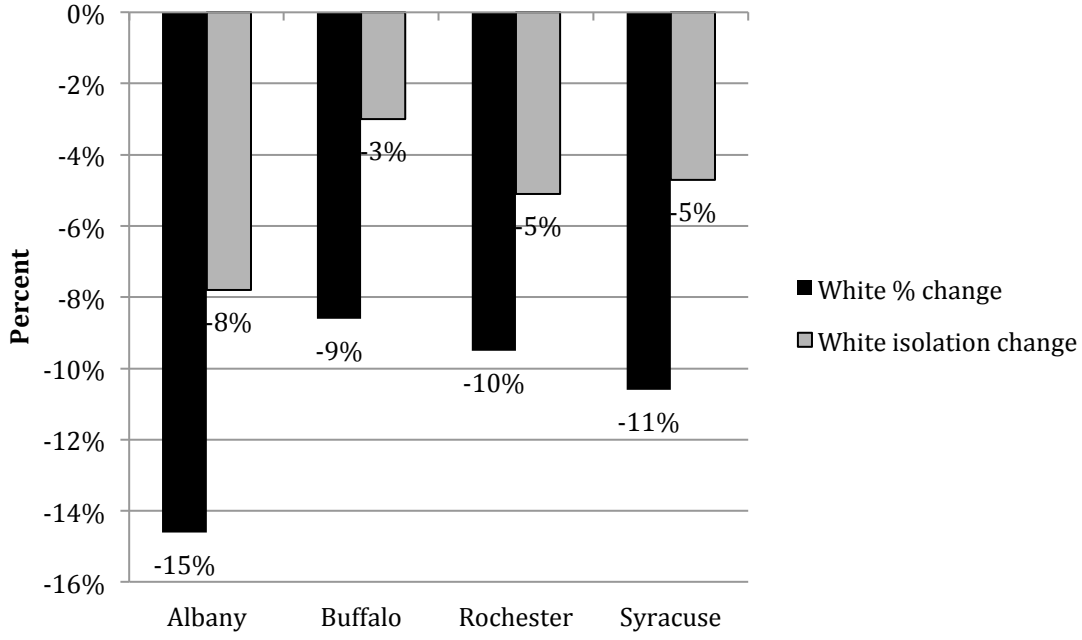
	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY				
1989-1990	91.0%	93.5%	58.1%	
1999-2000	86.0%	90.7%	49.2%	
2010-2011	76.4%	85.7%	37.0%	51.8%
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY				
1989-1990	80.4%	88.4%	45.4%	
1999-2000	77.2%	88.5%	35.3%	
2010-2011	71.8%	85.4%	29.6%	
Rochester, NY				
1989-1990	80.0%	89.4%	38.1%	
1999-2000	77.1%	89.1%	30.9%	
2010-2011	70.5%	84.3%	28.8%	39.5%
Syracuse, NY				
1989-1990	89.1%	92.3%	59.6%	
1999-2000	86.5%	91.5%	49.1%	
2010-2011	78.5%	87.6%	35.8%	

Note: Blank cells represent 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

The typical white student is also experiencing a decline in exposure to white students, however, at a much lower rate than the white proportion decrease for the majority of metros from 1989 to 2010 (

Figure 25). For example, in Albany, although the proportion of white students decreased 15% from 1989 to 2010, the typical white student's exposure to white students only decreased at half this rate (7.8%).

Figure 25 - *Percentage Change in White Proportion and White Isolation Rates across Upstate New York Metros From 1989 to 2010*



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

In terms of black students, the typical white student attended school with fewer than 10% of black classmates across each metro, even when there was nearly a two-fifths of black students in the metro, like in Buffalo and Rochester (

Table 33). The typical black student, however, continues to experience a substantial overexposure to other black students across metros despite the lower metro black student proportion. In Buffalo, for example, a typical black student's school consists of over three times the average proportion of blacks in the metro.

For Albany and Rochester, where there was a high enough Latino proportion to accurately measure exposure rates in 2010, exposure rates to black students were substantially higher for the typical Latino student than the typical White student, indicating an increase in the segregation of two historically disadvantaged groups of students together.

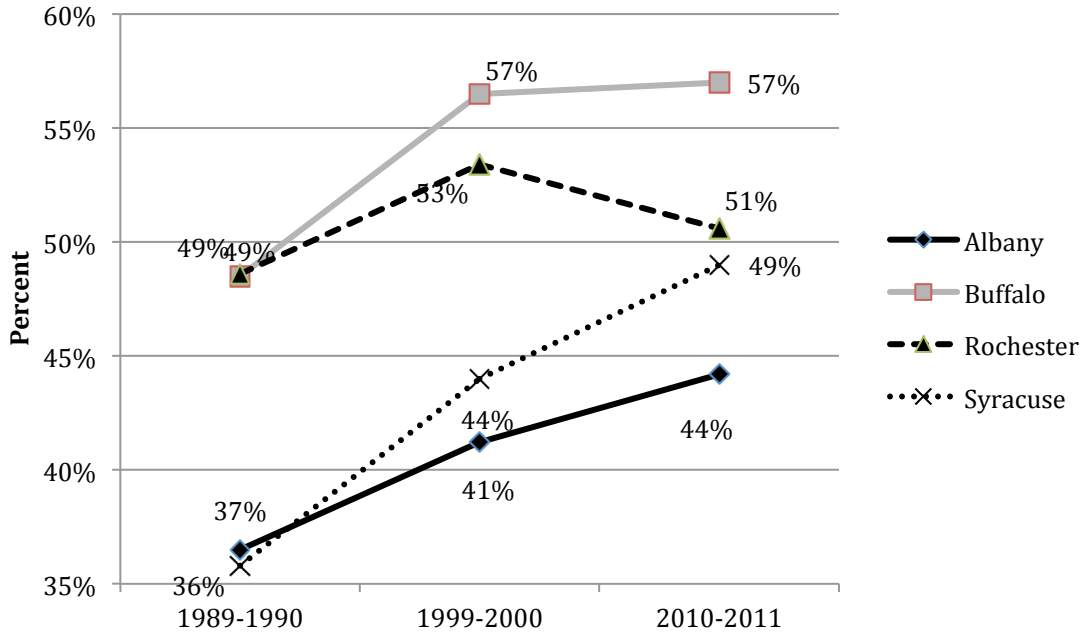
Table 33 - *Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools across Upstate New York Metros*

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Isolation to Black	Latino Exposure to Black	*Black Exposure to Latino*
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY					
1989-1990	6.1%	3.9%	36.5%		
1999-2000	9.1%	5.2%	41.2%		
2010-2011	12.8%	6.2%	44.2%	26.0%	10.9%
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY					
1989-1990	15.3%	8.7%	48.5%		
1999-2000	17.2%	7.8%	56.5%		
2010-2011	18.3%	7.5%	57.0%		
Rochester, NY					
1989-1990	14.0%	6.7%	48.6%		
1999-2000	15.4%	6.1%	53.4%		
2010-2011	17.4%	7.1%	50.6%	36.1%	16.6%
Syracuse, NY					
1989-1990	8.3%	5.6%	35.8%		
1999-2000	9.8%	5.5%	44.0%		
2010-2011	12.9%	5.9%	49.0%		

Note: Blank cells represent 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

In addition, black isolation rates have increased over the last two decades for most upstate metros (Figure 26). The highest increase in black isolation rates occurred in Syracuse where a typical black student attended school in 1989 with a third of students from their own race; twenty years later, the typical black student attended schools with nearly 50% of black students.

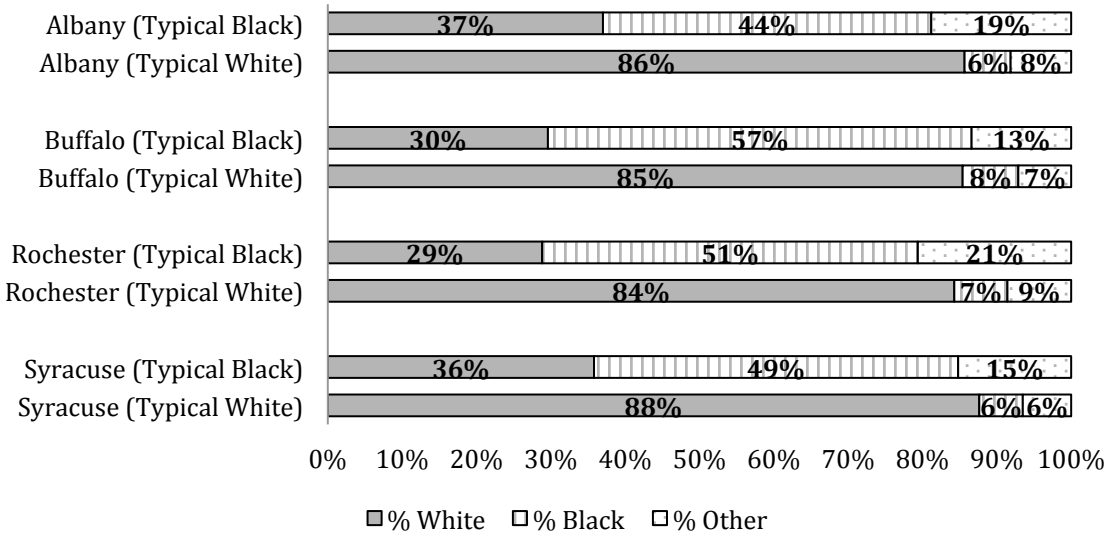
Figure 26 - *Black Isolation Rates Across Upstate New York Metros from 1989 to 2010*



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

Across the four upstate metros in New York in 2010, the typical white student attended a school that is predominantly white with small proportions of black, and other (Asian, Latino, and American Indian) students (Figure 27). The typical black student, however, is enrolled in a school that is majority black, followed by white and Latino students.

Figure 27 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical White and Black Student by Upstate Metro in 2010*



Note: Other includes Asian, Latino, and American Indian students.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Differing from the statewide findings where over half of students in New York schools are poor, around one out of three public school students across the four upstate metros were poor in 2010 (Table 34). However, similar to statewide patterns, students from differing racial backgrounds experience significantly varying exposure to poor students across each metro. Across each upstate metro, the typical white student attended a school with a much smaller proportion of poor students than the typical black student. For example, in Buffalo, the typical white attended a school with 30% of poor students in comparison to 73% of poor students for the typical black student. This shows the extremely disproportionate distribution of low-income students to schools where black students (and Latino students in Albany and Rochester metros) are enrolled.

Table 34 - *Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools for the Upstate New York Metros*

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	**White Exposure to Low-Income Students**	**Black Exposure to Low-Income Students**	**Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students**
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY				
1999-2000	23.9%	20.4%	52.3%	
2010-2011	30.6%	24.3%	58.6%	48.4%
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY				
1999-2000	34.9%	25.0%	71.2%	
2010-2011	40.4%	29.8%	73.0%	
Rochester, NY				
1999-2000	28.9%	19.5%	66.3%	
2010-2011	38.5%	28.1%	70.0%	63.3%
Syracuse, NY				
1999-2000	29.3%	25.3%	59.2%	
2010-2011	38.8%	32.4%	68.7%	

Note: Blank cells represent 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

Distribution of Racial Groups across Schools in the Four Upstate Metros

Over the last two decades, the distribution of racial groups across schools within each upstate metro has been relatively stable and highly uneven. In 2010-2011, the average school in Buffalo was 40% less diverse than the entire intrastate metropolitan area, indicating an extreme degree of segregation (Table 35). Further, 83% of this unevenness (or difference in diversity between the average public school and the entire metro area) was due to segregation across district boundaries rather than within districts.

In the Albany metro, 97% of the metro's unevenness occurred between rather than within districts, due to 59 out of 65 districts open in 2010 being predominately white (80% or more white students) or predominately nonwhite (more than 60% or more nonwhite students).

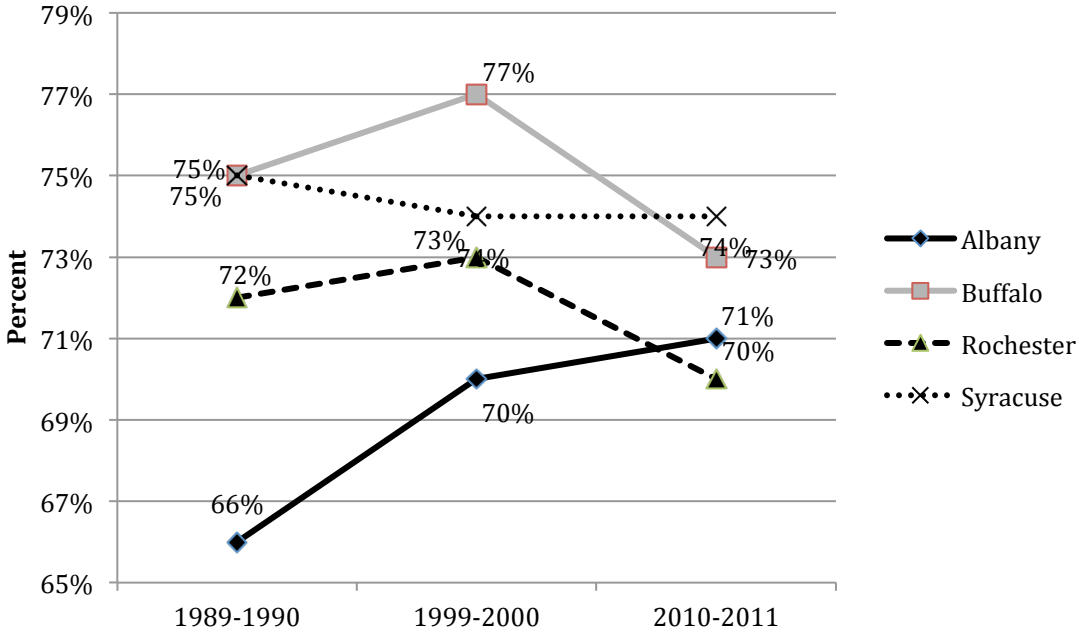
Table 35 - *Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students Across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness Within and Between School Districts*

	H	HW	HB
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY			
1989-1990	0.30	0.05	0.25
1999-2000	0.31	0.02	0.28
2010-2011	0.30	0.01	0.29
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY			
1989-1990	0.41	0.06	0.35
1999-2000	0.44	0.07	0.37
2010-2011	0.40	0.07	0.33
Rochester, NY			
1989-1990	0.36	0.04	0.32
1999-2000	0.38	0.03	0.35
2010-2011	0.34	0.02	0.32
Syracuse, NY			
1989-1990	0.34	0.04	0.30
1999-2000	0.36	0.05	0.31
2010-2011	0.34	0.03	0.31

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

Similar to statewide patterns, black-white segregation is severely high across the four upstate metros in 2010 (Figure 28). In addition, although there has been some variation over the years (small segregation increases in Albany, small segregation decreases in Rochester and Buffalo), the changes are yet to be significant and thus, the black-white segregation has remained stable across each metro.

Figure 28 - *Differential Distribution (Dissimilarity) of Black-White Students across Public Schools in Upstate New York Metros*



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

The segregation analyses of schools in the four upstate metros produced a number of main findings. For all metros, concentration levels in segregated schools are higher for blacks than Latinos, and rates in intensely segregated schools are rising for both racial groups. For multiracial schools, concentration levels are rising for white students across each metro; for the majority of metros, rates are rising for Asian and black students, but decreasing for Latino students. The findings also show an extremely disproportionate distribution of low-income students to schools where black students attend across each metro, and where Latino students attend in the Albany and Rochester metro, indicating a double-dose of segregation for these students.

With exposure rates, the potential for interracial contact is decreasing within each metro. The typical black student's exposure to white students is decreasing, while exposure to other black students (or black isolation) is on the rise for each metro, except for possibly Rochester, where instead of an increase in black isolation rates, black exposure to Latino students is increasing. White isolation rates are also very high and worsening after considering the white proportionate decline occurring within each metro. For evenness, over the last two decades, the distribution of racial groups across public schools within each metro has been rather stable and highly uneven. Some of these metros are even experiencing extreme segregation.

District Stability

As enrollments across the state grow more diverse, the racial makeup of school systems in metropolitan areas can shift rapidly. A district that appears integrated or

diverse at one point in time can transition to a resegregating one in a matter of years. A recent study of neighborhoods, based on census data from the 50 largest US metropolitan areas, found that diverse areas with nonwhite population shares over 23 percent in 1980 were more likely to become predominately nonwhite over the ensuing 25 years than to remain integrated.[138] School districts reflect similar signs of instability. Nearly one-fifth of suburban school districts in the 25 largest metro areas are experiencing rapid racial change.[139]

The process of transition is fueled by a number of factors, including pervasive housing discrimination (to include steering families of color into specific neighborhoods), the preferences of families and individuals, and school zoning practices that intensify racial isolation. Importantly, schools that are transitioning to minority segregated learning environments are much more likely than other types of school settings to be associated with negative factors like high levels of teacher turnover.[140]

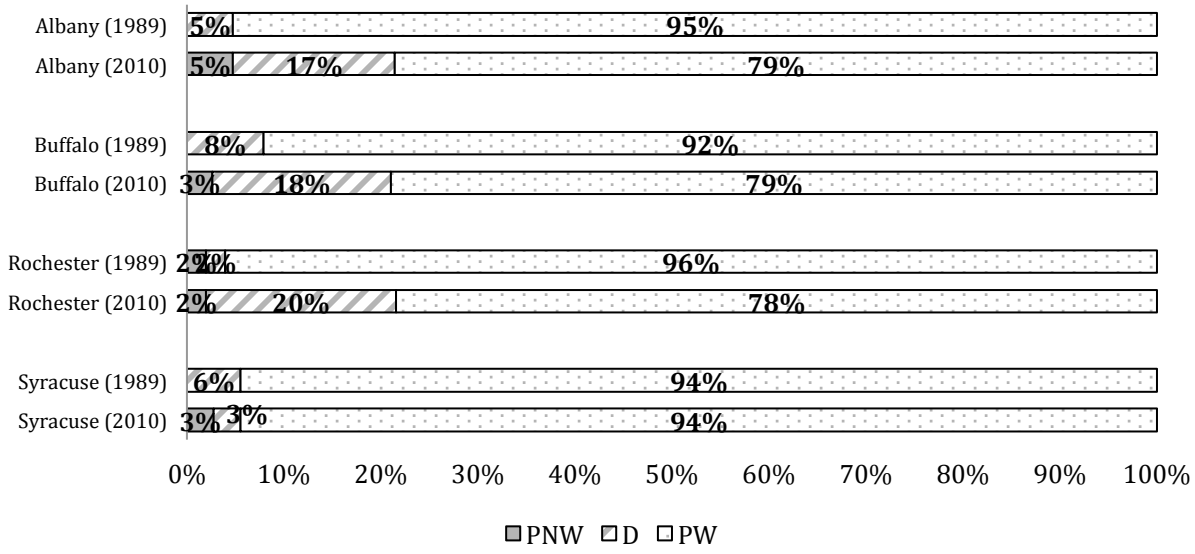
Stably diverse schools and districts, on the other hand, are linked to a number of positive indicators. Compared to students and staff at schools in racial transition, teachers, administrators and students experience issues of diversity differently in stable environments. In a 2005 survey of over 1,000 educators, teachers working in stable, diverse schools were more likely to think that their faculty peers could work effectively with students from all races and ethnicities.[141] They were also significantly more likely to report that students did not self-segregate. And though 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.[142]

In this section, we explore district stability patterns in each of the four upstate metros. (In the data appendix, we also provide district stability patterns for the ten highest enrolling districts in each metro). Across each metro, except Syracuse, districts have become more predominately nonwhite (60% or more nonwhite) and diverse (more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite), and less predominately white (80% or more white) over the last twenty years (Figure 29). Since 1989, over nine out of ten districts in each metro were predominately white. In 2010, less than 4 out of 5 districts were predominantly white in Albany, Buffalo, and Rochester metros. These racial transition changes were likely due to the shrinking share of white enrollment coupled with the growth in Latino and Asian enrollment across the metro area over the last 20 years. Districts in Syracuse, however, have been relatively stable over the last twenty years. As

[138] Orfield and Luce, 2012.
[139] Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation: A typology of suburban districts. In Frankenberg, E. & Orfield, G. (Eds.) *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
[140] Jackson, 2009.
[141] Siegel-Hawley, G. & Frankenberg, E. (2012). *Spaces of inclusion: Teachers' perceptions of school communities with differing student racial & socioeconomic contexts*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project.
[142] Ibid.

such, this metro is excluded from further district stability analysis. Exploring the type of district stability, as well as the degree and direction of district change over the past decade, provides further insight into the three racial transitioning upstate metros of Albany, Buffalo, and Rochester.

Figure 29 - *Racial Transition of Districts in each Metro, 1989-2010*

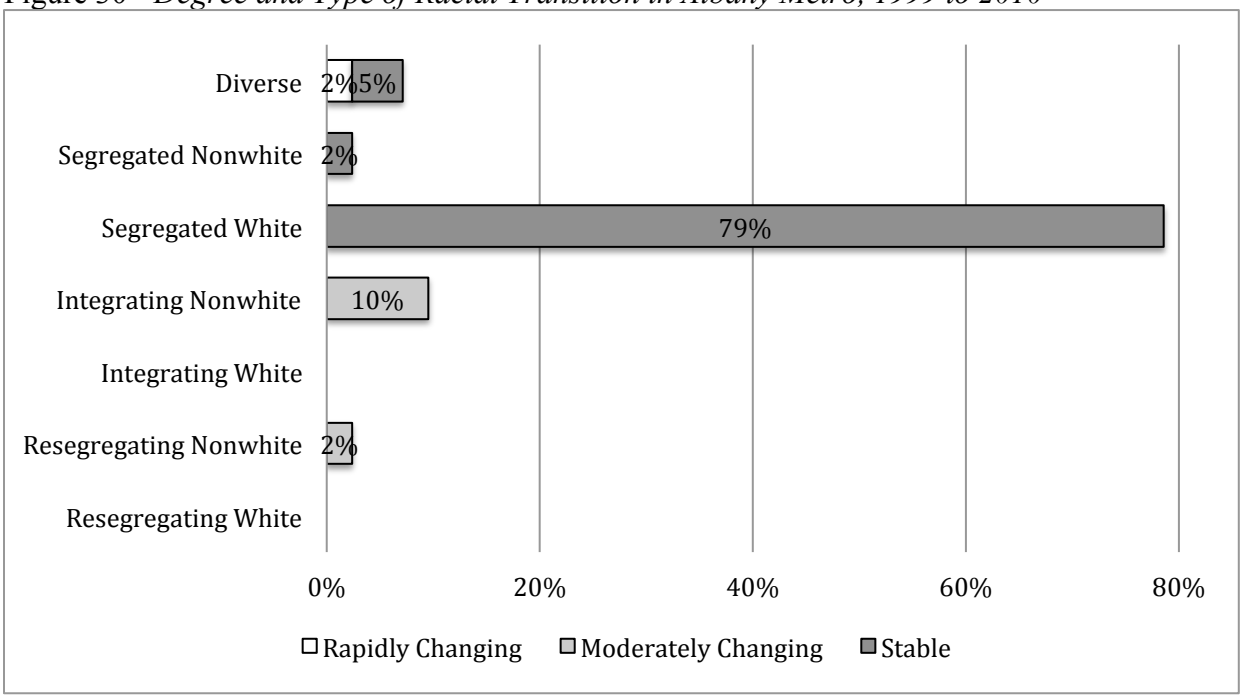


Note: Other includes Asian, Latino, and American Indian students. PNW = Predominately Non-White, D = Diverse, and PW = Predominately White.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In the Albany metro, the majority of districts (88%) did not experience a racial transition from 1999 to 2010, but only 5% of these districts were considered stably diverse (

Figure 30); the majority of these districts were stably segregated white. Five districts, or 12% of total districts in the metro, experienced a moderate change with the majority experiencing an integration of nonwhite students. Only one district experienced a rapid change, but remained diverse from 1999 to 2010.

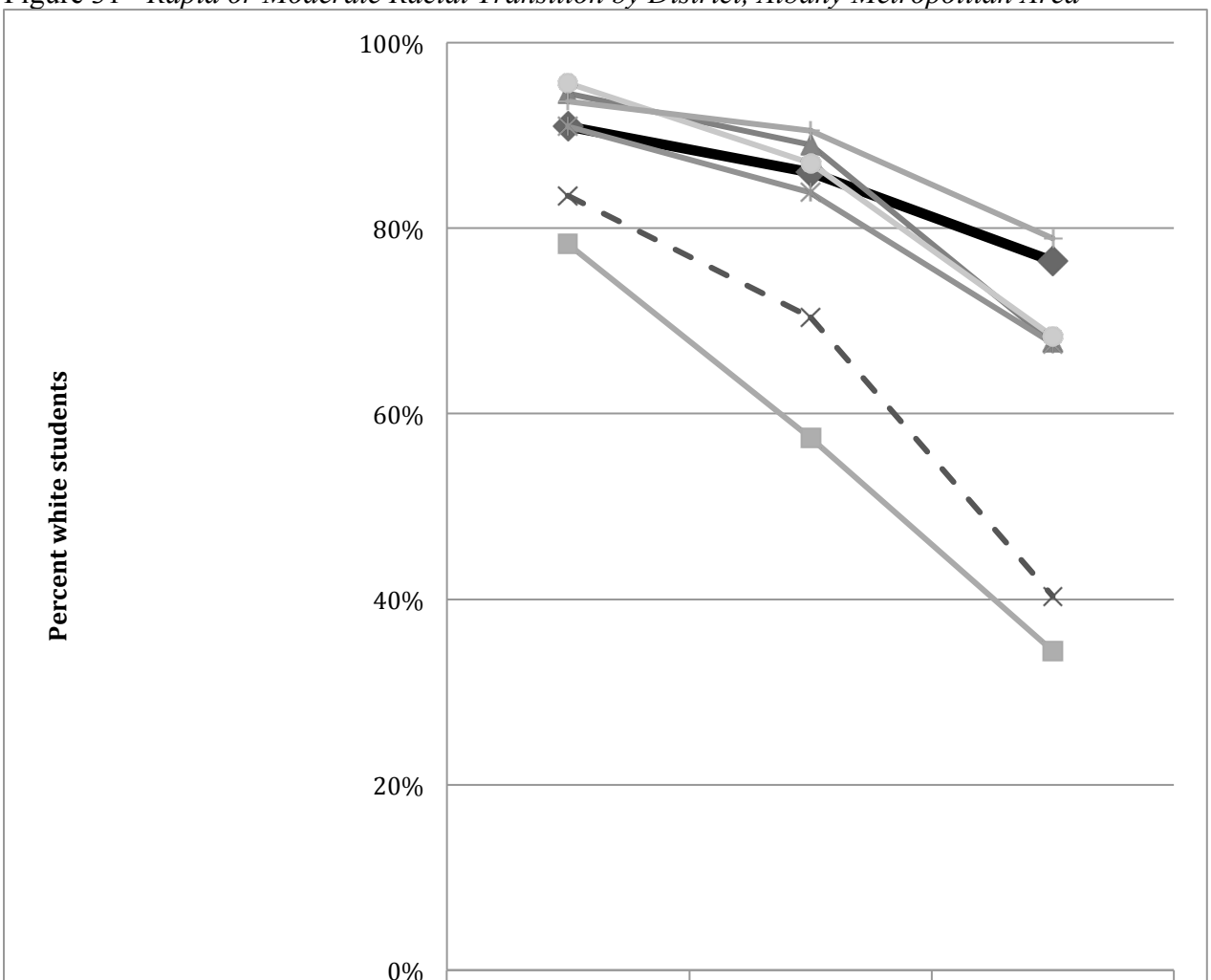
Figure 30 - *Degree and Type of Racial Transition in Albany Metro, 1999 to 2010*



Note: *N*=42 districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 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 predominately 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 predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

Figure 31 identifies the rapidly and moderately changing districts in the Albany metro from 1999 to 2010, as well as depicts their white student proportion in comparison to the overall metro. Both Menands and Schenectady City districts experienced the greatest change in white enrollment (over 40% decrease) in comparison to the overall metro, indicating a major racial transition.

Figure 31 - *Rapid or Moderate Racial Transition by District, Albany Metropolitan Area*



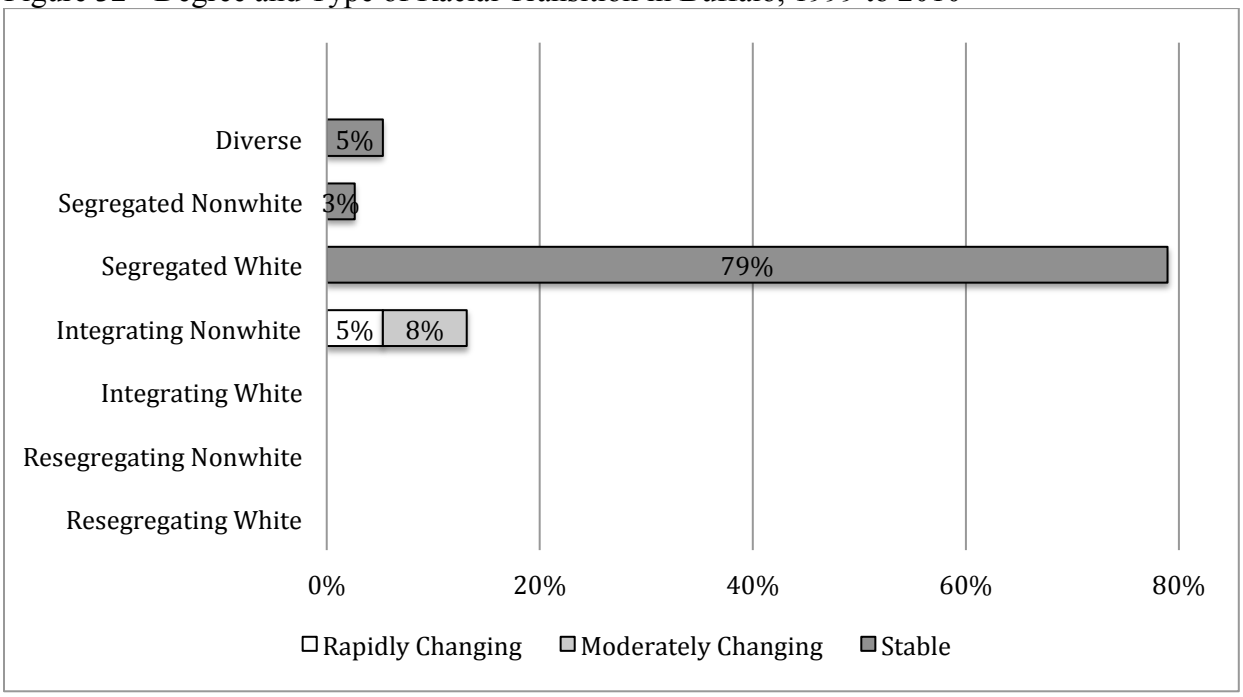
	1989	1999	2010
Metro	91.0%	86.0%	76.4%
SCHENECTADY CITY (Resegregating)	78.3%	57.4%	34.4%
LANSINGBURGH (Integrating)	94.5%	89.0%	67.7%
MENANDS (Changing)	83.5%	70.4%	40.3%
RENSSELAER CITY (Integrating)	91.0%	83.8%	67.6%
WATERVLIET CITY (Integrating)	95.7%	87.0%	68.4%
SOUTH COLONIE (Integrating)	93.7%	90.5%	78.9%

Note: For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing (dashed line) districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts (solid line) 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 predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating

districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. 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

In the Buffalo metro, similar to Albany, the majority of districts (87%) did not experience a racial transition from 1999 to 2010, and only 5% of these districts were considered stably diverse (Figure 32). The majority of stable districts were considered segregated white in both time periods. Five districts or 13% of total districts are integrating nonwhite students, of which two of these districts are rapidly integrating and three are moderately integrating.

Figure 32 - Degree and Type of Racial Transition in Buffalo, 1999 to 2010

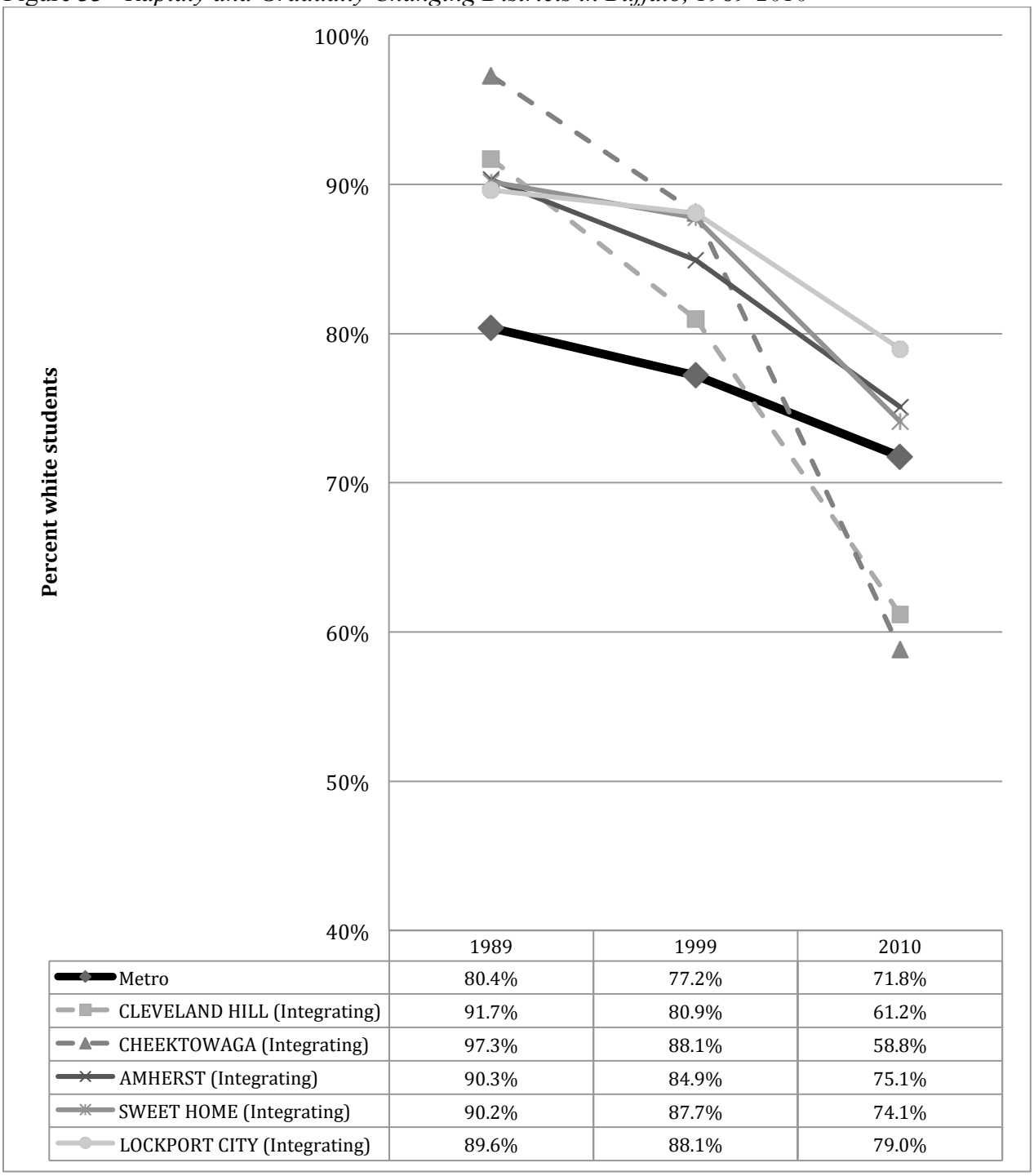


Note: *N*=38 districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % 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 predominately 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 predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

Of the rapidly and moderately changing districts in the Buffalo metro from 1999 to 2010, both Cleveland Hill and Cheektowaga districts experienced a rapid change in white enrollment (over 40% decrease) in comparison to the overall metro (Figure 33).

Cheektowaga experienced a white enrollment change five times greater than the metro white enrollment change from 1999 to 2010.

Figure 33 - *Rapidly and Gradually Changing Districts in Buffalo, 1989-2010*



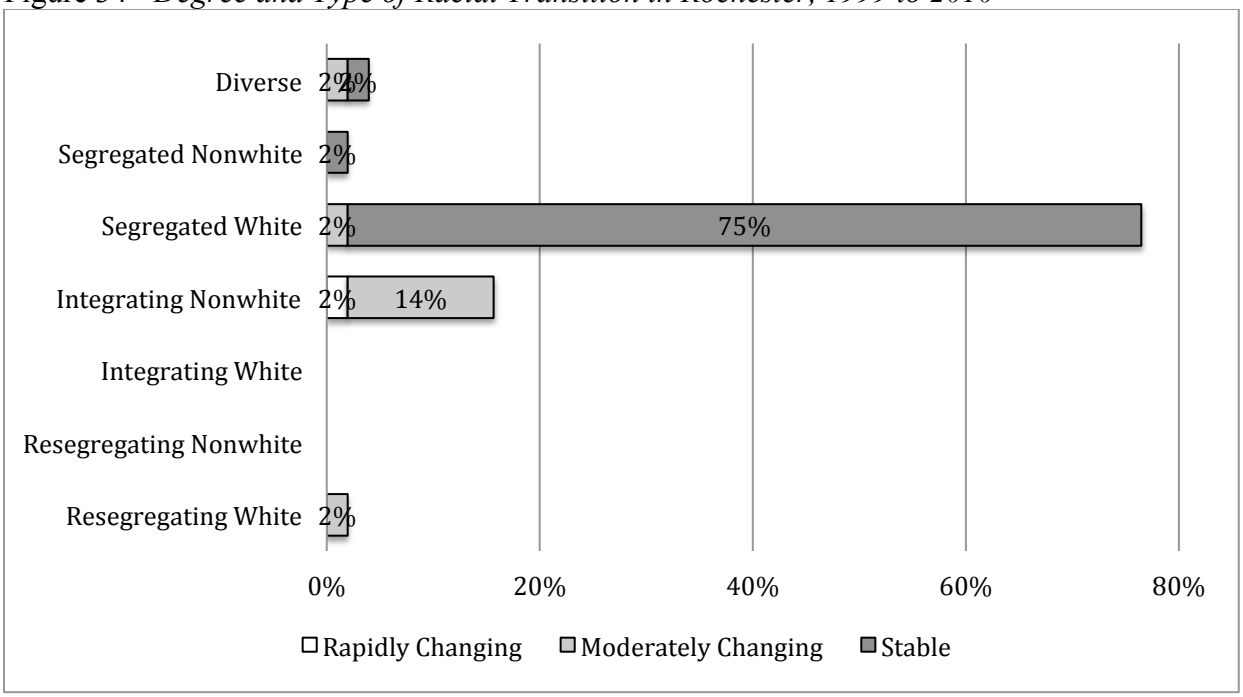
	1989	1999	2010
Metro	80.4%	77.2%	71.8%
CLEVELAND HILL (Integrating)	91.7%	80.9%	61.2%
CHEEKTOWAGA (Integrating)	97.3%	88.1%	58.8%
AMHERST (Integrating)	90.3%	84.9%	75.1%
SWEET HOME (Integrating)	90.2%	87.7%	74.1%
LOCKPORT CITY (Integrating)	89.6%	88.1%	79.0%

Note: For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing (dashed line) districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts (solid line) 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 predominately

white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period.

In the Rochester metro, Buffalo's western neighbor, a lower percentage of districts were stable from 1999 to 2010 (only 79%), while only 4% of these districts were considered stably diverse (Figure 34). Eleven districts or 21% of total districts are rapidly or moderately changing, with the majority of these districts integrating nonwhite students.

Figure 34 - *Degree and Type of Racial Transition in Rochester, 1999 to 2010*

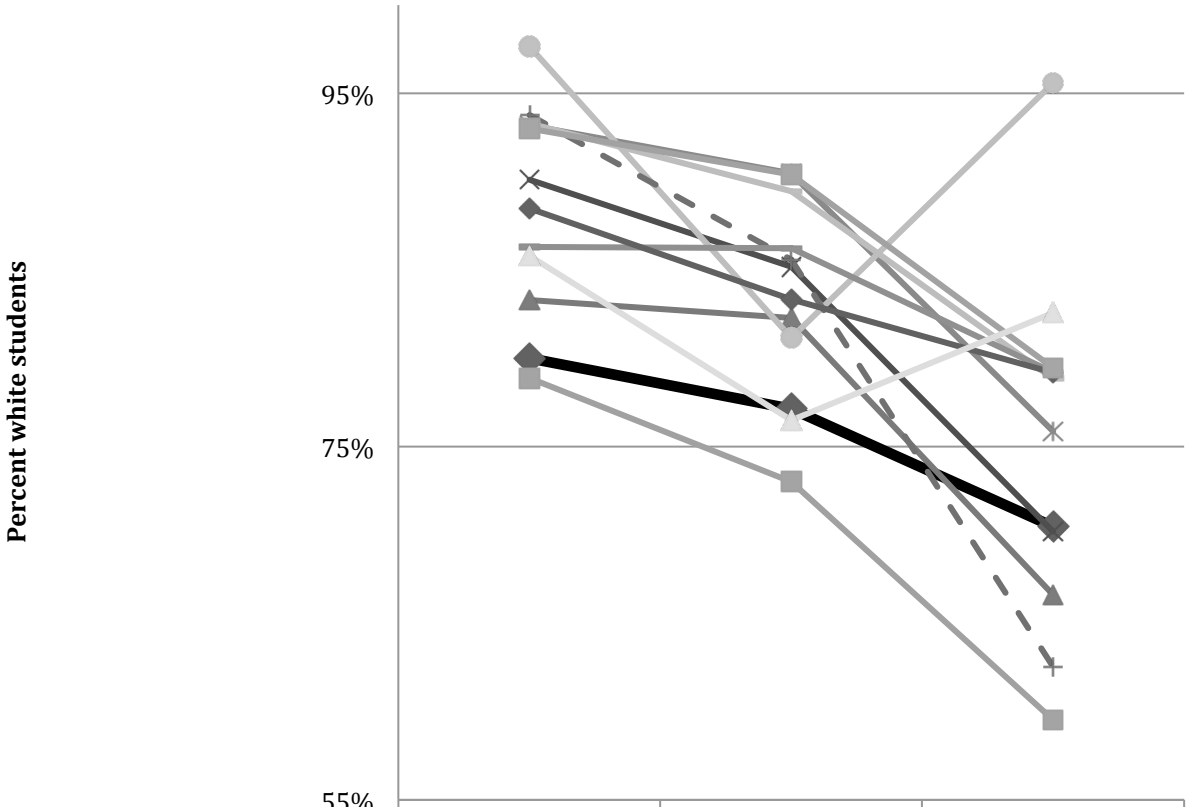


Note: *N*=51 districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % 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 predominately 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 predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

Figure 35 identifies the rapidly and moderately changing districts in the Rochester metro from 1999 to 2010, as well as depicts their white student proportion in comparison to the overall metro. Both Wayne and Lyons school districts experienced a resegregation of white students from 1999 to 2010. East Irondequoit was the only district that

experienced a rapid change in white enrollment (over 20% decrease) in comparison to the overall metro.

Figure 35 - *Rapidly and Gradually Changing Districts in Rochester, 1989-2010*



	1989	1999	2010
Metro	80.0%	77.1%	70.5%
GENEVA CITY (Integrating)	78.9%	73.0%	59.5%
SODUS (Integrating)	83.3%	82.3%	66.6%
GATES-CHILI (Integrating)	90.1%	85.2%	70.2%
GREECE (Integrating)	93.2%	90.5%	75.9%
WAYNE (Resegregating)	97.6%	81.2%	95.6%
EAST IRONDEQUOIT (Integrating)	93.8%	85.6%	62.5%
MT MORRIS (Integrating)	93.3%	89.5%	78.8%
ALBION (Integrating)	86.3%	86.2%	79.2%
BRIGHTON (Integrating)	88.5%	83.3%	79.2%
WEST IRONDEQUOIT (Integrating)	93.0%	90.4%	79.4%
LYONS CSD (Resegregating)	85.8%	76.5%	82.6%

Note: For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing (dashed line) districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts (solid line) 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 predominately

white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period.

In sum, across Albany, Buffalo, and Rochester metros, a majority of districts are remaining predominately white over the last twenty years, and a small number of districts are becoming more diverse at this point in time, but could resegregate in the near future. In Syracuse, districts have been relatively stable and predominately white over the last twenty years. Despite the positive benefits associated with stably diverse schools, roughly only 5% of school districts within Albany and Buffalo metros, and 2% in Rochester, have been stably diverse from 1999 to 2010.

Discussion

Several major findings emerged from this study. The first finding is that years of social science research indicate the clear benefits of racial integration for minority students, such as greater academic achievement and future earnings, and for majority students, including the ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.

The second finding is that the state of New York has experienced a rapid diversification of schools in the last twenty years particularly within urban settings. Asian and Latino student proportions are rising as relative white students decline. Black students proportions are also rising except in the inner-ring counties and boroughs of New York City.

This changing demography but lack of interdistrict and other diversity-focused policies over the last 20 years have inevitably led to the third major finding: segregation across the state has persisted and, in some contexts, increased. In Buffalo and Rochester metros, and the Yonkers City School District, black and Latino students experienced substantial increases in the percentage concentrated in intensely-segregated schools. In Syracuse, black students attended school in 1989 with a third of students from their own race; twenty years later, the typical black student attended schools with nearly half black students.

In the New York metro, inner-ring counties and New York City boroughs, particularly in middle and high schools, experienced an increase in the uneven distribution between white and black students over the last 20 years. And Long Island, the inner-ring region, and New York City high schools also experienced an increase in unevenness between white and Latino students. This growth in diversity but persisting segregation was also evident at the district level. In the New York metro, only 20% and 6% of school districts in the metro were considered diverse and stably diverse from 1999 to 2010, respectively, which are quite low percentages for such a diverse metro. Across upstate metros, majority of districts remained predominately white over the last twenty years.

The fourth main finding is that the majority of charter schools in New York City were highly racially isolated in 2010. Charters had less than a 5% enrollment of white and Asian students in 2010, making over 90% of charter schools intensely segregated schools. Magnet schools across the city have provided greater racial diversity than charters, or even traditional schools, on average, but there was great variation within. For example, less than a third of magnet schools were multiracial and with white enrollment greater than 14.5% - the New York City average. Over half of all magnets had less than 10% white enrollment and therefore, classified as an intensely segregated minority school, and 17% of magnets had 1% or less white enrollment and classified as an apartheid school.

The fifth main finding from this report is the double segregation for blacks and Latinos. On Long Island, for example, the typical white student attended school with close to half the proportion of poor students in the region, as the typical black or Latino student attended school with around twice the regional proportion of poor students. Only in New York City magnet schools was the disparity in exposure to poor students reduced for the typical black or Latino student versus the typical white student. This main finding is critical as research continues to highlight the effects of poverty on educational opportunity and outcomes. One study, for example, recently explored over a dozen large national studies conducted between 1960 and 2010 and found that the rich-poor achievement gap is about 40% larger now than it was 30 years ago.[143]

The sixth finding relates to the lack of interdistrict desegregation and other diversity-focused policies across the state, as a majority of minority students is locked into or chooses racially isolated schools. Most of the segregation in urban/suburban areas is due to segregation across district boundaries rather than within districts. In the Albany metro, 97% of the metro's unevenness occurred between rather than within districts, due to 59 out of 65 districts open in 2010 being predominately white (80% or more white students) or predominately nonwhite (more than 60% or more nonwhite students). One limitation of the current study is the failure to explore within school segregation that can occur from tracking or gifted and talented programs, or the inequitable access to such programs, which can be quite substantial.[144]

From these main findings, a number of policy recommendations can be implemented at the local, state, and federal level to create and maintain integrated schools across New York. The downstate region of New York City requires an additional discussion of recommendations due to its high proportion of minority students.

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[143] Reardon, S. (2011). The widening achievement gap between the rich and the poor: New evidence and possible explanations. In G. J. Duncan & R. J. Murnane (Eds.), *Whither opportunity? Rising inequality, schools and children's life chances* (pp. 91–116). New York: Russell Sage.

[144] Baker, A. (2013, January 12). A system divided: Gifted, talented and separated in one school, students are divided by gifted label — and race. *New York Times.* Retrieved from: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/13/education/in-one-school-students-are-divided-by-gifted-label-and-race.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&

Recommendations

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.

Federal choice policies should include civil rights standards or add incentives to such standards. Without such requirements, choice policies, particularly those guiding charter schools, often foster increased racial segregation. The federal government should encourage strategic location of choice programs like charters to increase racial or socioeconomic diversity. Federal policy should also 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.[145]

School attendance boundaries and district lines create a reciprocal and tangled relationship between school and housing segregation.[146] Therefore, federal housing

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[145] Orfield, G. (1999), "Conservative Activists and the Rush Toward Resegregation," in Jay Heubert, ed., Law and School Reform, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, pp. 39-87.,

[146] Schwartz, H. (2010). *Housing policy is school policy: Economically integrative housing promotes academic success in Montgomery County, Maryland.* New York: Century Foundation*;* Liebowitz, D., & Page, L. (2012). *Is school policy housing policy? Evidence from the end of desegregation in Charlotte-Mecklenburg*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Graduate School of Education; Mickelson, R. (2011). *The*

agencies and officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets, particularly in and around areas with diverse school districts or those with a history of housing segregation. 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.

Westchester County serves as a prime example. In 2006, a nonprofit organization, the Anti-Discrimination Center, sought court action for the county receiving close to $200 million in block grants from HUD for the development of affordable housing in mostly black and Latino neighborhoods. In 2009, a federal judge ruled that the county violated the Fair Housing Act and each of the county's payments from HUD was a separate act of fraud.[147] As such, the county was fined and ordered to create a plan to build 750 affordable housing units in the 32 whitest jurisdictions. Today, the county and HUD have yet to agree on a workable proposal, and federal funding for affordable housing in this county is in question. The non-profit organization that started the suit has questioned HUD's degree of and approaches to enforcement on the federal order.

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.

State-Level

State-level policies to promote and sustain diversity in schools across New York are clearly needed. These include policies and supports to develop and maintain interdistrict transfer programs, regional magnets, student assignment or choice policies that include civil right standards, and diverse teaching staff, just to name a handful.

The state of Ohio recently developed an updated version of such policies that could provide direction for other states. Ohio's state policy, which applies to both traditional 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 interdistrict 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 fund magnet schools and interdistrict transfers, is another example of state policy that provides guidance for the state of New York.

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reciprocal relationship between housing and school integration. The National Coalition on School Diversity. Retrieved from: http://www.school-diversity.org/pdf/DiversityResearchBriefNo7.pdf

[147] *United States of America ex rel. Anti-Discrimination Center of Metro New York v. Westchester County, New York,* No. 06 Civ. 2860 (2009).

Given that most segregation exists between different school districts in upstate New York, it is important for state-level policies to help develop and support voluntary interdistrict programs, like Rochester's USITP, but larger and better. Currently in New York, consolidating districts receive an increase in their basic operating aid of up to 40% for five years, with declining increases for an additional nine years. On top of this aid, consolidating districts also may receive a 30% increase in building aid for projects initiated within 10 years of consolidation. Besides consolidation, the state can create more balanced and regional interdistrict policies. The already created 37 Boards of Cooperative Educational Service (BOCES) distributed across the state could oversee these created programs resulting from such legislation.

At the very least, the state and BOCES must be required to support meaningful school choices for the most at-risk students, foster buy-in from suburban areas, encourage collaboration between urban and suburban districts, and provide state-supported transportation. For example, regional magnet (non-gifted and talented) programs can attract students with shared interests from across district boundaries, similar to the regional magnet schools in New Jersey operated by the county departments of education. Even a state policy setting credentialing standards for training a more diverse teaching force would be helpful, as well as resources for faculty recruitment, development, and how to address tracking and resegregation issues within diverse schools.

In addition to the New York State legislature focusing on the state's racial transformation and the academic and social benefits of diversity, attention should be paid to how racial integration can support the state's commitment to provide every student a sound basic education. According to the state's constitution, New York is to provide all of its students with a "sound basic education," which has been defined as preparing youth to "function productively as civic participants" and "obtain competitive employment."[148] This constitutional mandate has been used to legally obtain equitable funding for under-resourced schools in New York City (although funding has been frozen and cut in recent years). With New York City, as well as other areas across the state that are moving towards a multiracial society, the racial isolation of students in schools and districts could raise the legal issue of whether this is preventing students from acquiring "the skills, knowledge, understanding and attitudes necessary to participate in a democratic" diverse society.[149]

Moreover, state 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. In addition, state laws that can restrict charter school diversity should be reviewed.

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[148] *CFE v. State, 2003*, 801 N.E. 2d at 332.
[149] *CFE v. State, 1995*, 86 N.Y.2d 307.

Metropolitan and Regional Level for Urban/Suburban Areas

District boundaries, particularly urban and suburban, must be crossed for any substantial integration to occur in upstate metros, inner and outer ring regions of New York metro, and Long Island. In Nassau and Suffolk counties on Long Island, for example, the district fragmentation (the probability that any two randomly selected students within the same county live in different school districts) was .99 combined, in comparison to the national average district fragmentation level of .72, ranking this area as one of the most fragmented in the nation.[150]

A number of approaches have been proposed and tested to maintain the benefits of district fragmentation (local control, allocative efficiency of taxes) while reducing the costs (racial/class segregation and funding disparities between districts). A rather novel approach, referred to as federated regionalism, balances regional approaches to address social stratification with local approaches to address the need for local control. The one metropolitan area where federated regionalism has been employed is Omaha, NE. This "Learning Community" model is designed to achieve equity and socioeconomic diversity between 11 segregated districts. The program establishes a common tax levy across districts and creates opportunities for students to attend more diverse public schools.

The promotion and support of voluntary interdistrict plans, such as the Learning Community or others that consider racial integration, minority voice and power, and population and demographics of the area, serve as an option for reducing school segregation, as well as housing segregation, in urban/suburban New York metros. Rochester's interdistrict plan is one such program, but also one that has yet to reach its full potential due to a number of issues. For one, only 1% of the current city school population participates in the program. A recent review of the program offers a number of recommendations for its improvement.[151]

Regional magnet programs could also provide unique educational opportunities that would support voluntary integration in the state of New York. Such programs support racial, ethnic and economic diversity, as well as offer a special and high quality curriculum. Connecticut has a system of more than 60 interdistrict, regional magnet schools. Prior research indicates both higher levels of racial diversity and better academic and socio-emotional outcomes for its students in regional magnet schools compared to non-magnet schools.[152] Former Rochester and Fairport Superintendent William Cala has been trying for years to launch a Regional Academy to help improve socioeconomic diversity in the area due to the issues with the current Rochester interdistrict plan

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[150] Bishop (2008)

[151] Finnigan, K., & Stewart, T. J. (2009). *Interdistrict choice as a policy solution: Examining Rochester's Urban-Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program (USITP)*. Retrieved from: http://www.vanderbilt.edu/schoolchoice/conference/papers/Finnigan-Stewart_COMPLETE.pdf

[152] Bifulco, R., Cobb, C., & Bell, C. (2009). Can interdistrict choice boost student achievement? The case of Connecticut's interdistrict magnet school program. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 31*, 323-345.

Wells and colleagues investigated public school segregation and inequality for five school districts on Long Island differing by racial, socioeconomic, and linguistic student enrollment.[153] Their findings documented numerous education inequalities between the school districts and how the boundaries maintained the inequality. The researchers then proposed a number of recommendations for Long Island, which can also generalize to other upstate metros and the inner and outer regions of New York. These include: interdistrict transfers, blurring district boundaries, district collaboration/cooperation through regional BOCES, encouraging the state legislature to support diverse districts, and amending state laws to provide less public funding to private schools.

In another study highlighting the perils of school choice and promises and designs of interdistrict school desegregation programs – the Rochester interdistrict transfer program being one of these programs, Wells and colleagues (2009), recommended a number of characteristics future inter-district school programs should have in place in order to improve educational equity and diversity for historical disadvantaged students.[154] These broadly included: target and support meaningful school choices for the most disadvantaged students; foster and support significant participation of suburban districts, and further the goal of equity in urban and suburban public education (see pp. 21-24).

[153] Wells, A. S., Baldridge, B., Duran, J., Loftin, R., Roda, A., Warner, M., White, T., & Grzesikowski, C. (2009). *Why boundaries matter: A study of five separate and unequal Long Island schools districts.* Garden City, NY: Long Island Index

[154] Wells, A. S., Baldridge, B. J., Duran, J., Grzesikowski, C., Lofton, R., Roda, A., Warner, M., & White, T. (2009). *Boundary crossing for diversity, equity, and achievement: Inter-district school desegregation and educational opportunity.* Cambridge, MA: Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice.

New York City Level

In the New York City district, preexisting and new educational programs and policies under the full-control of Mayor Bloomberg since 2002 failed to address the problem of racial school segregation, and in many cases have exacerbated the problem. We discuss a handful of these policies, their associated limitations, and recommendations for improvement.

Perhaps the main limitation with most of the educational reforms under the Bloomberg administration was that policies did not consider diversity, whether racial or socioeconomic, as a program goal. In fact, in the city's general admission for zoned elementary schools, it explicitly supports the opposite: "Race may be considered as a factor in school enrollment only when required by court order."[155] As David Tipson from Appleseed reported, "This statement is unclear and appears to be an attempt to summarize U.S. constitutional law. Taken literally, however, the statement is more restrictive than the standard required by the U.S. Supreme Court and represents an unnecessary limitation on the Department of Education."[156]

The Department needs to immediately revise this admission policy statement and support student assignment plans with diversity goals for all schools. The ending of the diversity-based admission system in CSD 1 of the Lower East Side is a prime example of the effects of a free or so-called color-blind school choice policy, as the area has experienced rising school resegregation ever since.[157] A recent study found that schools in CSD 1 have resegregated since the diversity controls were removed.[158] For example, PS 363 - The Neighborhood School, as well as other schools in the East Village, has experienced a greater proportion of white and wealthier students since the poor choice model. The school, along with community support, asked the Department of Education for a set-aside admission program for low-income students and English Language Learners, which are generally underrepresented in the school. The DOE has yet to respond to their request due to pending litigation (several OCR complaints about the admissions policy potentially discriminating against black and Latino students) at three other schools.[159]

For any school choice program, whether from elementary charters to the city's universal high school program, the basic requirement to reduce segregation and inequitable opportunity are that first of all, it has a diversity goal; secondly, that there is a commitment and leadership behind that goal; thirdly, that it recruits actively to create a diverse student body; fourthly, that it provides transportation so that the students can get there; and finally, that it has no screening mechanism. These are crucial elements and

[155] New York City Chancellor's Regulation A-101, at Section I(A)(1), footnote 1.
[156] Tipson, D. (2013)., p. 8.
[157] Shapiro, J. (2012, January 30). East Village schools split along racial lines under city policy. *DNAinfo New York.* Retrieved from http://www.dnainfo.com/new-york/20120130/lower-east-side-east-village/city-policy-segregates-east-village-schools-parents-say
[158] George M. Janes and Associates. (2013). *CSD 1: A study of assignment policy effects*. New York: Author.
[159] Personal communication from Lisa Donlan, June 17, 2013.

they are sadly lacking in New York City's choice programs, even in many of its magnets. Without oversight and diversity goals, some magnet schools in districts are becoming more like gifted and talented schools due to dual language programs, admission zones, and backdoor or "gaming the system" policies (e.g., parents using office rather than home address for residency). The magnets that have been successful at reducing Latino isolation have been successful because they have attracted white affluent families from gentrification.[160] The magnets that have not been successful at attracting white affluent families are largely due to their locations in areas that suffer from housing segregation or under-resourced/segregated programs. Although the DOE provides transportation to magnets, this is often not advertised or accurately represented. Regrettably, the DOE has largely ignored the desegregation goals of the federal magnet grant programs. Some of the principals quoted in a recent New York Times article appear to be very open about the difficulty or their lack of interest in achieving diversity.[161]

Although charter schools are severely segregated in New York City, a growing number are choosing to locate in more affluent districts and seeking a balance of varied racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic students. Many charter schools have adopted "set-aside" admission plans in response to state law requiring charter schools to reflect the demographics of their community school districts with respect to students eligible for free and reduced lunch, English Language Learners, and students with disabilities. Brooklyn Prospect, for example, holds an initial lottery to fill 40% of its seats for low-income students in a district with more than 65% low-income students.[162] Regrettably, the US Department of Education is making it more difficult for many charter schools to employ such set-asides plans, as the federal Public Charter Schools Program does not allocate federal startup funds to charter schools using weighted lotteries. Besides weighted admissions, other strategies to attain racial diversity in charter schools include targeted student recruitment and intentional location in an area accessible to families from different backgrounds.[163]

Existing programs to increase racial diversity in the district, such as magnet schools or educational option schools, need to be supported by the DOE. In our analysis, we found a high number of magnets that were intensely racially segregated across the city (which some have argued can be due to a lack of commitment towards diversity or failing to include the surrounding community when creating the federal magnet application).[164] In addition, under the city's high school choice and small high school creation system,

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[160] Personal communication from Brook Dunn-Parker, Williamsburg and Greenpoint Parents for our Public Schools, October 21, 2013.
[161] Robbins, L. (2012, June 15).
[162] Toppo, G. (2012, November 6). Urban middle class boosts school diversity. *USA Today*. Retrieved from http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2012/10/28/schools-seeking-diversity-get-boost-from-urban-middle-class/1661557/
[163] Kahlenberg, R. D., & Potter, H. (2012, May). *Diverse charter schools: Can racial and socioeconomic integration promote better outcomes for students?* Washington, DC: Poverty & Race Research Action Council and The Century Foundation. Retrieved from http://tcf.org/assets/downloads/Diverse_Charter_Schools.pdf
[164] Robbins, L. (2012, June 15); New York Appleseed (2013). *Within our reach: Segregation in NYC District elementary schools and what we can about it: School-to-school diversity.* New York: Author; Interview with Lisa Donlan, President, Community Education Council 1, October 24, 2013.

another group of researchers found that the number of education option schools – an early controlled choice program that mixes high achieving with low-achieving students – has significantly declined.[165] The department can assist these programs by not only improving their number but by including the affected local community to encourage diversity support.[166] Magnet schools must have diversity goals and plans to realize them. Those magnet schools that are not magnetic should be reviewed and improved.

Local communities can also begin to advocate for controlled-choice programs in their CSDs in order for schools to reflect the racial and economic demographics of the district's families, particularly as demographics continue to transform. CSDs 1 and 3 are currently advocating for such a program that is a universal school choice system with a number of control features, such as diversity, transparency, and equal access to information goals, while also maintaining an achievement focus.[167] CSD 13 is also developing a comprehensive school plan to ensure that schools become and remain more integrated as gentrification advances

Although CSD-wide policies are optimal, individual schools can adopt admissions plans to ensure long-term diversity and inclusivity – particularly in areas undergoing gentrification. In 2013, the DOE approved a set-aside admissions plan for PS 133 in Brooklyn based on those used by charter schools to benefit English Language Learners and students eligible for free and reduced price lunch. The Chancellor of Schools has indicated that this plan could be a model for other schools across the city, and several schools are already considering the plan.

Local Level

At the local level, the enforcement of laws guiding school segregation is essential. 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, or school site selection that intensifies segregation and choice plans. School districts across the state may be 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 Department of Education.

Raising awareness is also an essential step in preventing further resegregation and encouraging integrated schooling. Civil rights organizations and community organizations in nonwhite communities should continue to study the existing trends and

[165] Corcoran, S. P., & Levin, H. M. (2011). School choice and competition in the New York City schools. In J. A. O'Day, C. S. Bitter & L. M. Gomez (Eds.), *Education reform in New York City: Ambitious change in the nation's most complex school system* (pp. 199-224). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
[166] New York Appleseed, 2013
[167] Alves, M. J. (2011, November). What is controlled choice? Briefing presented at the Creating Equity-Based Student Assignment Mechanisms, New York. Retrieved from http://parceo.org/collaborative-work/community-controlled-choice/98-2/

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. 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.

Local fair housing organizations should continue to 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 or neighborhoods. In New York City, the affordable housing program includes a lottery preference for half of the available units for people who already live in the community where the housing is being built or rehabilitated. With the high degree of residential segregation already in city communities, this preference will likely only support its perpetuation.

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 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. In New York City, the Community Education Councils are education policy advisory bodies directly responsible for reviewing and evaluating schools' instructional programs, approving zoning lines, and advising the Chancellor. These policy makers and advisory boards should be made aware of harms of segregation and the policies that can consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools.

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. 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. They need to create a serious strategy to enforce the rights of Latino students in districts where they have never been recognized and serious 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 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.

Final Thoughts

School segregation in New York is persisting, and in some cases, increasing. If nothing is done, racial segregation and poverty concentration will become even more pronounced for Latino and black students. Integration can provide strong advantages for all students, as well as prepare them to live and work in a multiracial society. A number of policy options at the national, state, metropolitan, and local levels can serve in remedying the issue of a segregated education for New York students.

Appendix A: Additional Data Tables

Metropolitan-Level Data

Table A1 - *Racial Transition by District in the Albany Metropolitan Area, 1989-1999*

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	1(50%)	1(50%)	0(0%)	2(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	3(8%)	37(93%)	40(100%)
Total	1(2%)	4(10%)	37(88%)	42(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A2 - *Racial Transition by District in the Albany Metropolitan Area, 1999-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	1(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(100%)
Diverse	1(25%)	3(75%)	0(0%)	4(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	4(11%)	33(89%)	37(100%)
Total	2(5%)	7(17%)	33(79%)	42(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A3 - *Racial Transition by District in the Albany Metropolitan Area, 1989-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	2(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	2(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	7(18%)	33(83%)	40(100%)
Total	2(5%)	7(17%)	33(79%)	42(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A4 - *Racial Transition by District in the Buffalo Metropolitan Area, 1989-1999*

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	1(33%)	2(67%)	0(0%)	3(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	0(0%)	35(100%)	35(100%)
Total	1(3%)	2(5%)	35(92%)	38(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A5 - *Racial Transition by District in the Buffalo Metropolitan Area, 1999-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	1(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(100%)
Diverse	0(0%)	2(100%)	0(0%)	2(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	5(14%)	30(86%)	35(100%)
Total	1(3%)	7(18%)	30(79%)	38(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A6 - *Racial Transition by District in the Buffalo Metropolitan Area, 1989-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	1(33%)	2(67%)	0(0%)	3(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	5(14%)	30(86%)	35(100%)
Total	1(3%)	7(18%)	30(79%)	38(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A7 - *Racial Transition by District in the New York City Metropolitan Area, 1989-1999*

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	15(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	15(100%)
Diverse	9(22%)	28(68%)	4(10%)	41(100%)
Predominately white	(0%)	24(17%)	119(83%)	143(100%)
Total	24(12%)	52(26%)	123(62%)	199(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A8 - *Racial Transition by District in the New York City Metropolitan Area, 1999-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	24(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	24(100%)
Diverse	13(25%)	39(75%)	(0%)	52(100%)
Predominately white	(0%)	47(38%)	76(62%)	123(100%)
Total	37(19%)	86(43%)	76(38%)	199(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A9 - *Racial Transition by District in the New York City Metropolitan Area, 1989-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	15(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	15(100%)
Diverse	17(41%)	23(56%)	1(2%)	41(100%)
Predominately white	5(3%)	63(44%)	75(52%)	143(100%)
Total	37(19%)	86(43%)	76(38%)	199(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A10 - *Racial Transition by District in the Rochester Metropolitan Area, 1989-1999*

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	1(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(100%)
Diverse	0(0%)	1(100%)	0(0%)	1(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	2(4%)	47(96%)	49(100%)
Total	1(2%)	3(6%)	47(92%)	51(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A11 - *Racial Transition by District in the Rochester Metropolitan Area, 1999-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	1(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(100%)
Diverse	0(0%)	2(67%)	1(33%)	3(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	8(17%)	39(83%)	47(100%)
Total	1(2%)	10(20%)	40(78%)	51(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A12 - *Racial Transition by District in the Rochester Metropolitan Area, 1989-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	1(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(100%)
Diverse	0(0%)	1(100%)	0(0%)	1(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	9(18%)	40(82%)	49(100%)
Total	1(2%)	10(20%)	40(78%)	51(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A13 - *Racial Transition by District in the Syracuse Metropolitan Area, 1989-1999*

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	2(100%)	0(0%)	2(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	0(0%)	34(100%)	34(100%)
Total	0(0%)	2(6%)	34(94%)	36(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A14 - *Racial Transition by District in the Syracuse Metropolitan Area, 1999-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	1(50%)	1(50%)	0(0%)	2(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	0(0%)	34(100%)	34(100%)
Total	1(3%)	1(3%)	34(94%)	36(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Table A15 - *Racial Transition by District in the Syracuse Metropolitan Area, 1989-2010*

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	1(50%)	1(50%)	0(0%)	2(100%)
Predominately white	0(0%)	0(0%)	34(100%)	34(100%)
Total	1(3%)	1(3%)	34(94%)	36(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

District-Level (Top 10 Highest Enrolling in Buffalo, New York City, and Rochester Metros)

Table A16 - *Public School Enrollment in 2010-2011*

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	Percentage					
			White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY								
BUFFALO CITY	urban	29,551	22.8%	54.3%	4.5%	15.1%	1.2%	2.1%
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL	suburban	10,401	82.4%	3.5%	9.6%	1.3%	0.3%	2.8%
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	urban	8,042	87.4%	6.5%	1.5%	3.8%	0.8%	0.0%
NIAGARA FALLS CITY	urban	7,235	53.6%	35.0%	1.6%	3.2%	4.0%	2.5%
WEST SENECA CENTRAL	suburban	7,048	93.0%	2.3%	1.0%	2.1%	0.5%	1.2%
LANCASTER CENTRAL	suburban	6,108	95.3%	1.2%	0.9%	1.7%	0.3%	0.5%
FRONTIER CENTRAL	suburban	5,164	94.2%	1.3%	0.9%	2.1%	0.4%	1.2%
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL	suburban	5,137	95.0%	1.5%	1.7%	1.1%	0.3%	0.4%
LOCKPORT CITY		5,047	79.0%	14.0%	1.0%	3.9%	0.9%	1.3%
CLARENCE CENTRAL		5,024	93.8%	1.5%	2.8%	1.0%	0.3%	0.5%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA								
New York City District	urban	936,429	15.0%	28.5%	15.6%	40.4%	0.5%	0.0%
YONKERS CITY	suburban	23,390	18.1%	22.4%	5.7%	52.7%	0.3%	0.8%
BRENTWOOD	suburban	16,833	8.0%	14.9%	2.1%	74.9%	0.2%	0.0%
SACHEM CENTRAL	suburban	14,668	85.3%	2.0%	5.0%	7.4%	0.1%	0.2%
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	suburban	12,268	77.0%	5.9%	6.1%	10.5%	0.1%	0.3%
NEWBURGH CITY	urban	11,623	26.3%	27.9%	2.4%	42.8%	0.2%	0.4%
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	suburban	10,889	30.5%	23.6%	4.3%	41.5%	0.1%	0.1%
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL	suburban	10,810	91.5%	1.0%	3.4%	3.0%	0.3%	0.8%
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	suburban	10,806	77.3%	4.5%	5.7%	10.9%	1.7%	0.0%
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	suburban	9,882	68.2%	13.1%	12.3%	5.2%	0.1%	1.1%
Rochester, NY								
ROCHESTER CITY	urban	31,606	10.5%	62.9%	2.9%	22.9%	0.3%	0.5%
GREECE CENTRAL	suburban	12,220	75.9%	12.2%	2.7%	8.1%	0.3%	0.9%
WEBSTER CENTRAL	suburban	8,795	90.2%	2.9%	2.9%	2.8%	0.2%	0.9%

FAIRPORT CENTRAL	suburban	6,526	89.1%	4.3%	4.2%	2.2%	0.1%	0.1%
PITTSFORD CENTRAL	suburban	5,968	84.6%	2.7%	9.7%	2.4%	0.0%	0.6%
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	suburban	5,439	68.0%	15.5%	10.3%	4.8%	0.5%	0.8%
PENFIELD CENTRAL	suburban	4,569	86.9%	3.7%	3.5%	4.2%	0.1%	1.6%
HILTON CENTRAL	suburban	4,460	92.3%	1.5%	1.1%	3.1%	0.3%	1.6%
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	urban	4,435	70.2%	16.0%	4.8%	6.2%	0.2%	2.6%
VICTOR CENTRAL	suburban	4,352	91.6%	1.9%	3.2%	2.7%	0.6%	0.0%

Note: AI=American Indian. Blank urbanicity represents rural, missing, or other.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

Table A17 - *Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Schools in 2010-2011*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY					
BUFFALO CITY	52	40.4%	82.7%	48.1%	
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL	13				
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	13	7.7%			
NIAGARA FALLS CITY	11		45.5%		
WEST SENECA CENTRAL	11				
LANCASTER CENTRAL	7				
FRONTIER CENTRAL	6				
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL	6				
LOCKPORT CITY	9				
CLARENCE CENTRAL	6				
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA					
New York City District	1453	28.4%	91.9%	70.4%	26.8%
YONKERS CITY	37	59.5%	94.6%	35.1%	
BRENTWOOD	17	17.6%	100.0%	82.4%	
SACHEM CENTRAL	18				
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	14	7.1%			
NEWBURGH CITY	15	86.7%	93.3%	6.7%	
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	10	90.0%	100.0%		
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL	14				
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	14	7.1%			
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	11	72.7%			
Rochester, NY					
ROCHESTER CITY	64	32.8%	96.9%	64.1%	1.6%
GREECE CENTRAL	20	35.0%			
WEBSTER CENTRAL	11				
FAIRPORT CENTRAL	8				
PITTSFORD CENTRAL	9				
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	9	44.4%			
PENFIELD CENTRAL	6				
HILTON CENTRAL	5				
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	6	16.7%			
VICTOR CENTRAL	5				

Note: Blank cells represent no schools or other. Minority school represents black, Latino, American India and Asian students. Multi-racial 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

Table A18 - *Percentage of Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Schools in 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
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY				
BUFFALO CITY	80.2%	84.0%	86.6%	
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL				
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	61.8%			
NIAGARA FALLS CITY		81.2%		
WEST SENECA CENTRAL				
LANCASTER CENTRAL				
FRONTIER CENTRAL				
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL				
LOCKPORT CITY				
CLARENCE CENTRAL				
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA				
New York City District	65.1%	77.2%	83.0%	85.4%
YONKERS CITY	61.3%	67.7%	77.8%	
BRENTWOOD	58.7%	65.9%	67.6%	
SACHEM CENTRAL				
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	16.0%			
NEWBURGH CITY	64.7%	65.2%	85.5%	
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	50.7%	53.4%		
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL				
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	19.6%			
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	10.9%			
Rochester, NY				
ROCHESTER CITY	81.9%	84.0%	86.5%	82.3%
GREECE CENTRAL	52.3%			
WEBSTER CENTRAL				
FAIRPORT CENTRAL				
PITTSFORD CENTRAL				
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	40.6%			
PENFIELD CENTRAL				
HILTON CENTRAL				
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	51.0%			
VICTOR CENTRAL				

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

Table A19 - *Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Schools in 2010-2011*

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY						
BUFFALO CITY	86.7%	91.6%	52.7%	59.3%		
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL						
KENMORE-TONAWANDA						
NIAGARA FALLS CITY	46.2%	49.9%				
WEST SENECA CENTRAL						
LANCASTER CENTRAL						
FRONTIER CENTRAL						
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL						
LOCKPORT CITY						
CLARENCE CENTRAL						
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA						
New York City District	96.6%	98.0%	74.5%	84.2%	25.8%	32.5%
YONKERS CITY	98.6%	99.2%	45.8%	44.8%		
BRENTWOOD	100.0%	100.0%	83.2%	79.2%		
SACHEM CENTRAL						
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL						
NEWBURGH CITY	100.0%	100.0%	3.1%	1.7%		
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	100.0%	100.0%				
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL						
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL						
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL						
Rochester, NY						
ROCHESTER CITY	100.0%	100.0%	68.7%	65.3%	1.1%	1.6%
GREECE CENTRAL						
WEBSTER CENTRAL						
FAIRPORT CENTRAL						
PITTSFORD CENTRAL						
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL						
PENFIELD CENTRAL						
HILTON CENTRAL						
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL						
VICTOR CENTRAL						

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 A20 - *Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools in 2010-2011*

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY					
BUFFALO CITY	48.8%	29.2%	80.4%	50.4%	63.0%
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL					
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	3.7%	8.6%	2.5%	14.8%	10.8%
NIAGARA FALLS CITY					
WEST SENECA CENTRAL					
LANCASTER CENTRAL					
FRONTIER CENTRAL					
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL					
LOCKPORT CITY					
CLARENCE CENTRAL					
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA					
New York City District	60.9%	23.5%	60.8%	28.4%	39.9%
YONKERS CITY	79.8%	54.4%	75.8%	52.8%	67.1%
BRENTWOOD	30.8%	20.8%	24.7%	16.8%	22.9%
SACHEM CENTRAL					
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	3.7%	3.0%	10.8%	4.0%	7.7%
NEWBURGH CITY	99.3%	98.3%	100.0%	96.9%	100.0%
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	97.3%	97.3%	97.0%	85.6%	100.0%
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL					
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	12.9%	19.4%	15.5%	17.2%	98.4%
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	80.3%	86.7%	85.4%	82.4%	81.8%
Rochester, NY					
ROCHESTER CITY	63.1%	36.4%	61.7%	34.9%	42.6%
GREECE CENTRAL	20.1%	31.9%	27.9%	35.5%	25.0%
WEBSTER CENTRAL					
FAIRPORT CENTRAL					
PITTSFORD CENTRAL					
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	31.7%	39.6%	46.4%	43.1%	27.6%
PENFIELD CENTRAL					
HILTON CENTRAL					
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	10.4%	11.1%	8.5%	20.6%	0.0%
VICTOR CENTRAL					

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

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

Table A21 - *Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011*

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY					
BUFFALO CITY	22.8%	45.2%	14.5%		19.9%
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL	82.4%	82.5%		81.5%	
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	87.4%	87.7%	85.3%		
NIAGARA FALLS CITY	53.6%	56.6%	49.7%		
WEST SENECA CENTRAL	93.0%	93.1%			
LANCASTER CENTRAL	95.3%	95.3%			
FRONTIER CENTRAL	94.2%	94.2%			
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL	95.0%	95.0%			
LOCKPORT CITY	79.0%	79.2%	77.9%		
CLARENCE CENTRAL	93.8%	93.8%			
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA					
New York City District	15.0%	43.6%	6.1%	18.3%	9.4%
YONKERS CITY	18.1%	28.6%	15.2%	20.8%	15.4%
BRENTWOOD	8.0%	9.2%	8.3%		7.7%
SACHEM CENTRAL	85.3%	85.4%			84.7%
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	77.0%	77.5%	75.5%	76.1%	74.5%
NEWBURGH CITY	26.3%	27.8%	26.3%		25.4%
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	30.5%	35.3%	31.9%		25.9%
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL	91.5%	91.6%			
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	77.3%	77.8%		76.6%	76.0%
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	68.2%	68.5%	67.7%	67.7%	68.1%
Rochester, NY					
ROCHESTER CITY	10.5%	16.6%	10.0%		9.2%
GREECE CENTRAL	75.9%	76.8%	72.7%		73.2%
WEBSTER CENTRAL	90.2%	90.3%			
FAIRPORT CENTRAL	89.1%	89.1%			
PITTSFORD CENTRAL	84.6%	84.8%		83.4%	
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	68.0%	68.7%	67.2%	66.1%	
PENFIELD CENTRAL	86.9%	87.0%			
HILTON CENTRAL	92.3%	92.3%			
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	70.2%	70.3%	70.1%		69.3%
VICTOR CENTRAL	91.6%	91.6%			

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 A22 - *Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011*

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY					
BUFFALO CITY	54.3%	34.6%	69.2%		35.1%
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL	3.5%				
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	6.5%	6.3%	8.1%		
NIAGARA FALLS CITY	35.0%	32.5%	38.7%		
WEST SENECA CENTRAL	2.3%				
LANCASTER CENTRAL	1.2%				
FRONTIER CENTRAL	1.3%				
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL	1.5%				
LOCKPORT CITY	14.0%	13.8%	15.0%		
CLARENCE CENTRAL	1.5%				
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA					
New York City District	28.5%	11.6%	54.7%	13.1%	22.1%
YONKERS CITY	22.4%	18.7%	27.2%	21.1%	21.8%
BRENTWOOD	14.9%	15.5%	15.7%		14.6%
SACHEM CENTRAL	2.0%				
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	5.9%	5.8%	6.5%	5.8%	6.5%
NEWBURGH CITY	27.9%	28.0%	28.8%		27.3%
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	23.6%	24.7%	25.4%		21.7%
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL	1.0%				
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	4.5%				
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	13.1%	13.0%	13.5%	13.3%	13.1%
Rochester, NY					
ROCHESTER CITY	62.9%	59.7%	65.7%		57.0%
GREECE CENTRAL	12.2%	11.7%	14.4%		13.4%
WEBSTER CENTRAL	2.9%				
FAIRPORT CENTRAL	4.3%				
PITTSFORD CENTRAL	2.7%				
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	15.5%	15.4%	16.2%	15.7%	
PENFIELD CENTRAL	3.7%				
HILTON CENTRAL	1.5%				
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	16.0%	16.0%	16.5%		15.9%
VICTOR CENTRAL	1.9%				

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 A23 - *Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011*

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY					
BUFFALO CITY	4.5%				
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL	9.6%	9.5%	9.0%	11.0%	
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	1.5%				
NIAGARA FALLS CITY	1.6%				
WEST SENECA CENTRAL	1.0%				
LANCASTER CENTRAL	0.9%				
FRONTIER CENTRAL	0.9%				
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL	1.7%				
LOCKPORT CITY	1.0%				
CLARENCE CENTRAL	2.8%				
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA					
New York City District	15.6%	19.1%	7.2%	39.0%	11.3%
YONKERS CITY	5.7%	6.5%	5.3%	9.2%	5.1%
BRENTWOOD	2.1%				
SACHEM CENTRAL	5.0%				
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	6.1%	6.1%	6.0%	7.1%	6.1%
NEWBURGH CITY	2.4%				
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	4.3%				
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL	3.4%				
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	5.7%	5.6%	5.6%	6.1%	5.8%
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	12.3%	12.2%	12.5%	12.7%	12.1%
Rochester, NY					
ROCHESTER CITY	2.9%				
GREECE CENTRAL	2.7%				
WEBSTER CENTRAL	2.9%				
FAIRPORT CENTRAL	4.2%				
PITTSFORD CENTRAL	9.7%	9.5%	9.1%	10.9%	
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	10.3%	10.0%	10.4%	11.4%	
PENFIELD CENTRAL	3.5%				
HILTON CENTRAL	1.1%				
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	4.8%				
VICTOR CENTRAL	3.2%				

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 A24 - *Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011*

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY					
BUFFALO CITY	15.1%	13.1%	9.7%		35.7%
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL	1.3%				
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	3.8%				
NIAGARA FALLS CITY	3.2%				
WEST SENECA CENTRAL	2.1%				
LANCASTER CENTRAL	1.7%				
FRONTIER CENTRAL	2.1%				
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL	1.1%				
LOCKPORT CITY	3.9%				
CLARENCE CENTRAL	1.0%				
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA					
New York City District	40.4%	25.3%	31.4%	29.3%	56.7%
YONKERS CITY	52.7%	44.8%	51.3%	47.5%	56.7%
BRENTWOOD	74.9%	72.7%	73.6%		75.4%
SACHEM CENTRAL	7.4%	7.3%			7.8%
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	10.5%	10.2%	11.6%	10.5%	12.4%
NEWBURGH CITY	42.8%	41.3%	41.8%		44.3%
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	41.5%	35.3%	38.1%		48.2%
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL	3.0%				
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	10.9%	10.7%		11.1%	11.7%
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	5.2%	5.2%	5.1%	5.1%	5.4%
Rochester, NY					
ROCHESTER CITY	22.9%	19.9%	20.7%		30.8%
GREECE CENTRAL	8.1%	7.8%	8.9%		9.2%
WEBSTER CENTRAL	3.8%				
FAIRPORT CENTRAL	2.2%				
PITTSFORD CENTRAL	2.4%				
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	4.8%				
PENFIELD CENTRAL	4.2%				
HILTON CENTRAL	3.1%				
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	6.2%	6.2%	6.2%		7.0%
VICTOR CENTRAL	2.7%				

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 A25 - *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
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY			
BUFFALO CITY	27.3%	19.8%	-7.5%
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL			
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	88.9%	86.8%	-2.1%
NIAGARA FALLS CITY	55.2%	51.3%	-3.9%
WEST SENECA CENTRAL			
LANCASTER CENTRAL			
FRONTIER CENTRAL			
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL			
LOCKPORT CITY	79.9%	79.0%	-0.9%
CLARENCE CENTRAL			
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA			
New York City District	30.6%	17.6%	-13.0%
YONKERS CITY	23.8%	20.5%	-3.3%
BRENTWOOD	10.0%	9.9%	-0.2%
SACHEM CENTRAL	90.3%	89.8%	-0.5%
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	83.1%	81.0%	-2.2%
NEWBURGH CITY	28.7%	28.1%	-0.6%
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	34.7%	32.2%	-2.5%
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL			
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	82.9%	81.8%	-1.1%
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	80.5%	80.2%	-0.3%
Rochester, NY			
ROCHESTER CITY	13.4%	12.4%	-1.0%
GREECE CENTRAL	78.5%	75.6%	-2.9%
WEBSTER CENTRAL	93.1%	92.6%	-0.5%
FAIRPORT CENTRAL	93.3%	93.0%	-0.4%
PITTSFORD CENTRAL	94.3%	94.1%	-0.2%
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	78.3%	77.6%	-0.8%
PENFIELD CENTRAL	90.4%	90.0%	-0.4%
HILTON CENTRAL			
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	75.0%	74.4%	-0.6%
VICTOR CENTRAL			

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 A26 - *Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools in 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
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY					
BUFFALO CITY	80.1%	71.0%	82.6%		83.1%
WILLIAMSVILLE CENTRAL	10.8%	10.9%		10.4%	
KENMORE-TONAWANDA	34.5%	34.0%	37.9%		
NIAGARA FALLS CITY	65.4%	62.6%	68.8%		
WEST SENECA CENTRAL	27.2%	27.1%			
LANCASTER CENTRAL	15.4%	15.4%			
FRONTIER CENTRAL	22.6%	22.6%			
ORCHARD PARK CENTRAL	6.6%	6.6%			
LOCKPORT CITY	45.7%	45.1%	48.0%		
CLARENCE CENTRAL	7.9%	7.9%			
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA					
New York City District	73.6%	53.6%	78.1%	68.8%	79.9%
YONKERS CITY	66.7%	56.5%	69.8%	61.4%	69.6%
BRENTWOOD	65.9%	63.7%	64.0%		66.6%
SACHEM CENTRAL	12.0%	12.0%			12.3%
WAPPINGERS CENTRAL	15.0%	14.5%	16.0%	15.0%	17.8%
NEWBURGH CITY	65.2%	62.8%	65.1%		66.6%
NEW ROCHELLE CITY	53.4%	47.0%	50.1%		60.2%
SMITHTOWN CENTRAL	4.5%	4.5%			
MIDDLE COUNTRY CENTRAL	21.7%	21.6%		21.7%	22.5%
HALF HOLLOW HILLS CENTRAL	10.7%	10.6%	10.8%	10.8%	10.7%
Rochester, NY					
ROCHESTER CITY	83.2%	80.6%	84.0%		85.5%
GREECE CENTRAL	38.6%	37.3%	43.2%		42.8%
WEBSTER CENTRAL	11.9%	11.8%			
FAIRPORT CENTRAL	11.6%	11.6%			
PITTSFORD CENTRAL	3.4%	3.5%		3.1%	
RUSH-HENRIETTA CENTRAL	33.8%	33.3%	34.9%	35.2%	
PENFIELD CENTRAL	10.2%	10.2%			
HILTON CENTRAL	19.9%	19.9%			
GATES-CHILI CENTRAL	38.3%	38.0%	38.4%		40.1%
VICTOR CENTRAL	10.0%	10.0%			

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: Additional Data Tables

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 - those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 1989.

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 analysis 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 with 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.[168]

The multi-group entropy index 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).[169] 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 or greater students in 1989, 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 predominately white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominately nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.[170] 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

[168] Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
[169] Reardon, S. F., & Firebaugh, G. (2002). Measures of multigroup segregation. Socio- logical Methodology, 32, 33-67.
[170] 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.[171] 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 predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. We identified stable 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 predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominately 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 used the historical metropolitan statistical area (MSA) definitions (1999) defined by the Office of Management and Budget as the metropolitan area base. We then matched and aggregated enrollment counts for these historical metropolitan area definitions with the current definitions of Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSA) (2010) using the 1999 MSA to 2003 CBSA crosswalk to make these areas geographically comparable over time. 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.

[171] Similar typography has been used in Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation: A typology of suburban districts. In Frankenberg, E. & Orfield, G. (Eds.) The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

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 required to collect and report multiracial student enrollment counts for the 2010-2011 data collection. However, this does not necessary mean all school districts followed this requirement. For example, the New York City District reported 0% multiracial students for the 2010-2011 data collection. And even if all agencies reported this data, 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 will begin 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.