

Is Opportunity Knocking or Slipping Away?

Racial Diversity and Segregation in Pennsylvania

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Foreword by
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Foreword

Pennsylvania was one of the great destinations of the black exodus from the South, beginning early in the 20th century, and an important secondary destination for the immigration of Latinos whose families originated in Puerto Rico or other parts of the Caribbean. Philadelphia, long one of the nation's largest school systems, was the focal point of these migrations but they also affected a number of other parts of the state. In recent decades, Pennsylvania has been somewhat isolated from the vast demographic transformations of the country by the slow growth of its economy, and it retains a far higher share of whites in its schools than the nation as a whole. Like most of the older industrial centers, it has serious housing segregation and its urban centers are divided into many separate school districts.

Pennsylvania was ahead the curve in some important respects of school segregation, particularly in state leadership on the issues. The Pennsylvania Human Rights Commission was one of only a handful in the U.S. that aggressively used state law to address segregation in many communities, including the state's second city, Pittsburgh. Unfortunately, the great center of minority enrollment and population in the state is the Philadelphia area, and its programs were never addressed with any kind of city-wide or regional program. The issue went into the state courts and, in the end, no significant desegregation was forthcoming. The judge who heard the case turned toward educational remedies, but significant remedies were never delivered, and the separate and unequal schools festered. Tragically, the city of Philadelphia, so important to Pennsylvania's black and Latino students and a center of double segregation by race and class. The city has remained highly segregated while also teetering on the edge of bankruptcy and drastic cutbacks for years, with no significant remedy from the state. This has involved an enormous loss of potential talent for the state as well as for the development of positive race relations and multicultural vitality for the state.

As a slow-growth increasingly diverse state with an aging population, Pennsylvania needs to think hard about its continued passive acceptance of segregated and inferior schooling, and about the spread of destructive racial patterns from urban areas into growing sectors of suburbia and small cities. It needs to look at better examples in its own history, and bring its housing, urban development and schooling officials together to facilitate lasting and successful diversity, which would help stabilize communities and develop their economic potential. The state should challenge its fine universities to help uplift its struggling and poorly financed public school systems. It should use school choice, not in ways that worsen inequalities, but instead to open up better choices with real civil rights protections for all students. It needs to think beyond district lines and support the development of regional magnet schools that are so academically outstanding and excellent at preparing students to live and work in the society of the future, that families from across its metropolitan areas will compete to enroll their children. It needs to reactivate its civil rights agencies and seriously put them to work on the problems of housing and school segregation that strongly perpetuate inequality. After decades of inaction and retreat, it is self-evident that the programs of segregation will not solve themselves, and doing nothing only compounds the costs.

We see great potential for better outcomes, in a state with a better history and much better possibilities. This is not about coercion and mandates. It is about recognizing what has not

worked and, step by step, turning toward policies that encourage and support voluntary efforts to create equal opportunity for all Pennsylvanians, in a culture where fear, prejudice, and intergenerational inequality are replaced by a shared and rich multicultural society.

--Gary Orfield

Executive Summary

Historically, Pennsylvania has struggled to integrate its public schools, especially with much of the racial diversity concentrated in urban regions. Starting in the 1960s, the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC) was the state's enforcing body to combat school desegregation, but since the early 1980s, when it comes to education, the PHRC has shifted its focus away from segregation towards other forms of discrimination such as unequal discipline, lack of services for disabled students, and sexual harassment.¹

In the past, the Commission took on several school segregation cases in the largest urban areas of Pennsylvania, including Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and enforced the state rules in smaller communities in order to integrate public schools. The desegregation cases in Pennsylvania ran the gamut from state court mandates to locally devised voluntary plans and demonstrated that challenges remained to integrating Pennsylvania's public schools. Evidence from this report shows that although segregation in Pennsylvania persists and is increasing according to some measures, there is little action aimed at creating more racially diverse schools.

Pennsylvania, like much of the United States, has experienced increasing racial diversity in its public schools over the last two decades. This report investigates trends in school segregation in Pennsylvania over the last two decades by examining concentration, exposure, and evenness measures by both race and class. After exploring the overall enrollment patterns and segregation trends at the state level, this report focuses on Pennsylvania's major metro areas, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, to analyze similar measures of segregation for each metropolitan area. These two metropolitan areas differ greatly in their demographic composition, with Pittsburgh being one of the whitest major metropolitan areas in the country, having virtually no Latino or Asian students, while Philadelphia reports a much more diverse population. However, we find that both metropolitan areas face similar challenges in terms of segregation between different school districts.

Major findings in this report include:

Pennsylvania (statewide)

- The white share of the total public school enrollment decreased from 82.8% in 1989-1990 to 71.8% in 2010-2011, a decline of 11 percentage points. During the same time, the non-white share of public school enrollment increased, most notably due to the sizable increase in Latino share of public school enrollment. The state is far whiter than the U.S. as a whole.
- The typical black student attends a school with 65.8% low-income students, and the typical Latino student attends a school with 62.6% low-income students, as compared to the typical white student, who attends a school that was 30.3% low-income, indicative of extreme racial disparities in exposure to poverty.
- Of students who attended intensely segregated schools (90-100% minority) in 2010-2011, 85.1% were low-income, and among those who attended apartheid schools (i.e., 99-100%

¹ Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission
http://www.phrc.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/phrc_home/18970

minority), 86.1% were low-income, both of which represent increases from 1999-2000. These figures suggest high and overlapping segregation by race and poverty.

- Since 1989-1990, the share of majority minority and intensely segregated schools has more than doubled to 21% and 11% respectively, and the share of apartheid schools increased from 3.5% to 4.8%.
- By 2010-2011, the percent of black students in majority minority (50-100% minority) schools had increased from 68.7% in 1989-90 to 71.7%, and a large share of Latinos (60.9%) attended such schools as well.
- In 2010-2011, the typical black student in Pennsylvania attended a school that was 29.5% white, and the average Latino students attended a school that is 39.0% white, though whites make up 71.8% of total public school enrollment. On the other hand, the typical white student attended a school that was 85.1% white.

Metro Philadelphia

- The white share of Philadelphia's public school enrollment decreased from 59.8% in 1989-1990 to 52.8% in 2010-2011, and the Latino share of enrollment increased from 4.8% to 9.3%.
- The typical black student in the Philadelphia metro attended a school with 70.9% low-income students and the typical Latino student attended a school with 66% low-income students, more than three times the share of low-income students in schools attended by the typical white student (21.2%), a higher disparity than that found in nearby states.
- In 2010-2011, majority minority schools enrolled 76.2% low-income students, intensely segregated schools enrolled 84.6% low-income students, and apartheid schools enrolled 86.0% low-income students.
- Majority minority schools represented 44.5% of metro Philadelphia schools, intensely segregated schools represented 30.9%, and in 2010-2011, apartheid schools represented 17.1% of all Philadelphia metro schools.
- In 2010-2011, 38.2% of Philadelphia's black students and 13.5% of Latino students were enrolled in intensely segregated schools.
- In 2010-2011, even though the overall white student enrollment in metropolitan Philadelphia was 52.8%, the typical black student in the metro attended a school with 17.6% white students and the typical Latino attended a school with 29.8% white students while the typical white student attended a school that was 76.8% white.
- In 2010-2011, the average school was 42% less diverse than the entire intrastate metropolitan area of Philadelphia, and over 75% of this difference in diversity between the average public school and the entire metro area was due to segregation across district boundaries rather than within districts.
- All ten of the highest enrolling districts in the metro area that were open in all time periods examined had a smaller proportion of white students enrolled in 2010-2011 than in 1989-1990, but the white share of the enrollment only dropped more than 10 percentage points in four of the districts (North Penn, Pennsbury, Upper Darby, and Spring-Ford Area).
- Over the last two decades, only two of the ten highest enrolling districts in the Philadelphia area – North Penn and Upper Darby – transitioned from being

predominantly white to diverse or predominantly non-white, while the other seven predominantly white districts in metro Philadelphia remained predominantly white.

Metro Pittsburgh

- The white share of Pittsburgh's public school enrollment decreased from 85.3% in 1989-1990 to 81.7% in 2010-2011 and during the same time period the share of students from other racial/ethnic groups remained relatively stable. Thus, compared to Philadelphia, Pittsburgh has a much smaller proportion of minority students.
- The typical white student in Pittsburgh attended a school that is 28.6% low-income while the typical black student attended a school that is 62.7% low-income, concentrating disadvantage through segregation by race and class.
- Very high and increasing percentages of low-income students are enrolled in majority minority and intensely segregated schools, indicating that Pittsburgh's students are segregated by race and class. The share of low-income students in intensely segregated schools increased from 76.9% in 1999-2000 to 88.2% in 2010-2011.
- Over the last two decades, the share of majority minority schools has increased from 10.8% to 15.2% in Pittsburgh, and intensely segregated schools accounted for 3.8% of schools in 2010-2011.
- In 2010-2011, 59.2% of blacks were enrolled in majority minority schools and 17.2% attended intensely segregated schools.
- In 2010-2011, the typical black student attended a school with 43.4% white students even though white students made up 81.7% of the overall enrollment in the Pittsburgh metro area. The typical white student attended a school that was 88.5% white. Despite the potential for integration due to a high proportion of white students in the Pittsburgh metro, black students are still dramatically underexposed to their white peers.
- In 2010-2011, the average school was 34% less diverse than the entire intrastate metropolitan area of Pittsburgh, and 94% of this difference in diversity between the average public school and the entire metro area was due to segregation across district boundaries rather than within districts.
- All ten of the highest enrolling districts in the metro that were open in all time periods had a smaller share of white students enrolled in 2010-2011 than in 1989-1990.
- In 1989-1990, all of the highest enrolling districts were predominantly white except for Pittsburgh which was diverse. In 2010-2011, nine of the ten highest enrolling districts remained predominantly white, but Pittsburgh had transitioned from diverse to predominantly non-white.

By and large, these findings highlight the deepening segregation by race and class of Pennsylvania's public school students. These trends toward increasing segregation for the last two decades will undoubtedly have lasting negative impacts both for minority communities and for the community at large. Decades of social science research indicate that segregated schools are strongly related to many forms of unequal educational opportunity and outcomes. Minority segregated schools have fewer experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, inadequate facilities and learning materials, high dropout rates, and less stable enrollments. Conversely, desegregated schools are linked to profound benefits for all students. Desegregated learning environments are related to improved academic achievement for minority students with no corresponding detrimental impact for white students, improved critical thinking

skills, loftier educational and career expectations, reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes, heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines, and high levels of civic and communal responsibility.

This report provides multiple recommendations for those who are seeking to address resegregation in Pennsylvania's schools:

- The Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission should revive their role to promote school desegregation given their mission to fight education discrimination.
- Given high levels of between-district segregation, Pennsylvania should develop policies that promote and facilitate interdistrict school choice and transfer.
- Pennsylvania needs to develop state-level policies that focus on reducing racial isolation and promoting diverse schools. Such policies should address how districts can create student assignment policies that foster diverse schools, discuss how to recruit a diverse teaching staff, provide a framework for developing and supporting inter-district programs, and require that districts report to the state on diversity-related matters for both public and charter schools.
- State and local officials should work to promote diversity in charter school enrollments and 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.
- Fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets and ensure that potential homebuyers are not being steered away from areas with diverse schools.
- 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.
- Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies and counseling of Section 8 and voucher tenants about choices so that they support integrated schools.
- Schools—both public and charter—should not be built or opened in racially isolated areas of the district.
- Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn.
- Efforts should be made to foster the development of suburban coalitions to influence state-level policy-making around issues of school diversity and equity.
- Districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools.
- Magnet schools and transfer programs across district borders should also be used to promote more racially integrated schools.
- Local organizations and parents should ask the school board to address and correct noncompliance and violations of long-standing desegregation plans.
- 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.

It is necessary that Pennsylvania now take steps to reverse these trends by being proactive in addressing the segregated nature of its public schools. The state's students of color are experiencing high and rising levels of segregation. Given the trends presented in this report, it is likely that segregation will only continue to intensify if nothing is done to address it.

Background and Context

Pennsylvanians have been concerned about school segregation almost since the inception of the common school in the early 1800s, yet it took nearly a century for real progress in desegregation to be made. Even now, of course, serious segregation persists in many regions of the Commonwealth. After a lawsuit challenged school segregation, a Pennsylvania bill signed in 1881 legally ended segregation by official action in the state's public schools. In practice, however, the bill was largely ignored and segregation persisted.² In 1961, the Fair Employment Practices Act was amended to prohibit discrimination in schools and became known as the Pennsylvania Human Relations Act, and the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC) was created to oversee compliance with the act.³ With these laws in place, much of the progress toward integration in Pennsylvania, especially in the larger urban districts, has come through state level court orders and other litigation. While the Human Relations Act applies throughout Pennsylvania, it does not provide a prescriptive plan for integration, and any violations must be taken up on a case-by-case basis. There are relatively few examples of voluntary or locally devised integration plans in the state's most populous regions.

Establishing Governance

The first important desegregation court case under the PHRC was in 1967, *Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission v. Chester School District*.⁴ The verdict of this case empowered the PHRC with the authority to force districts to remedy de facto segregation.⁵ Although the verdict required immediate action, it required the commission to first work with district officials through "conference, conciliation, and persuasion" prior to a hearing.⁶ Unsurprisingly, not all school districts welcomed the Commission's call for immediate desegregation. This came to a head when a group of Harrisburg residents disputed the local school board's plan to desegregate schools through busing and student reassignment.⁷ The PA Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Commission and thus clearly established a precedent to use busing to cure de facto segregation in Pennsylvania. Still, the following decades were characterized by intense litigation around desegregation. Moreover, the ruling in *Chester* allowing latitude for local policy makers seems to be partly responsible for the lack of successful implementations in places such as Philadelphia.

Philadelphia

One of the most prominent and long-lasting desegregation cases in Pennsylvania was *Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission v School District of Philadelphia*.⁸ This case was

² Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. *Desegregation of Pennsylvania Schools*.

http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/change/18093/school_desegregation/690039

³ Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. *Civil Rights Movement*.

http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/events/4279/civil_rights_movement/532945

⁴ 33 A.2d 290 (Pa. 1967).

⁵ De facto segregation refers to segregation that occurs in practice but is not necessarily endorsed explicitly by policy. In contrast, de jure segregation refers to segregation that is officially established by law.

⁶ Morrison, M. (2004). An examination of Philadelphia's school desegregation litigation. *Perspectives on Urban Education*, 3(1). Accessed March 10, 2014 at <http://www.urbanedjournal.org/archive/volume-3-issue-1-fall-2004>.

⁷ 290 A.2d 85 (Pa. 1972).

⁸ 294 A.2d 410 (Pa. Commw. Ct. 1972), *aff'd*, 313 A.2d 156 (Pa. 1973). This was the first of nine cases over the course of 24 years in response to the Commission's mandate.

the result of PHRC's complaint against the School District of Philadelphia and four other school districts alleging that the districts' schools were unlawfully segregated.⁹ The school districts were required to submit a desegregation plan, whose enactment the PHRC would oversee.

In the case of Philadelphia, a highly segregated school district, litigation around the PHRC mandate continued for decades, with each side issuing appeals on judgments in the other party's favor. In the 1980s, the school district was required to integrate, but by the 1990s, when it was clear that successful integration had still not occurred, a new judge, Dorris Smith stepped in. Judge Smith argued that although the demographic reality of Philadelphia made within district integration mathematically difficult, racially isolated schools were suffering from gross inequities¹⁰. She made several recommendations including a call for increased state funding to improve the quality of education. Although many community activists initially supported her rationale and critique of funding inequities, several of these advocates were not satisfied with the improvements.¹¹

This 1994 decision altered the trajectory of the case, which came to be focused on the provision of quality education rather than desegregation. Rather than further attempts at integration, the district was charged with developing and implementing its "Comprehensive School Safety and Security Plan" and "Curriculum Renewal Plan," which focused on things like increased parental involvement, increased daily attendance, adoption of school safety plans for each school, and a reevaluation of textbooks and additional professional development for K-3 teachers, respectively.¹² In 2004, the judge (now Dorris Smith-Ribner) worked out an agreement with the Commission, the District, and ASPIRA, a community organization, to suspend the case from court oversight for three years based on some minor, but questionable, improvements in the quality of education in Philadelphia.¹³

Under former Governor Rendell, there was some reason to be optimistic that Philadelphia schools could at least achieve equity in funding. First, in 2008, the Legislature passed Act 61 that created a funding formula designed to provide each district with enough state aid to meet academic standards.¹⁴ However, during the recession, Governor Rendell used stimulus money to cover these costs rather than make it part of the budget. By the time Governor Corbett assumed office in 2011, the stimulus had run out and funds were not included in the state budget¹⁵. The result has been devastating on Philadelphia which faces yearly budget deficits in the hundreds of

⁹ Milby, E. C. (1996). Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission v. School District of Philadelphia: The Commonwealth Court revisits school desegregation, and decades of failure precipitates in a change of strategy. *Widener Journal of Public Law*, 5, 703-715.

¹⁰ Gerhart, A. Equality education beyond scope of ruling, segregation survives. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 16, 1994. Accessed April, 14 at http://articles.philly.com/1994-05-16/news/25830909_1_minority-schools-three-black-children-school-desegregation.

¹¹ Davis, B. (2004) Racial equity lawsuit enters a new phase: Monitoring will continue. *The Notebook*, 11(4). Accessed April 14, 2014 at <https://thenotebook.org/summer-2004/04772/racial-equity-lawsuit-enters-new-phase>

¹² Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission v. School District of Philadelphia. (2001). <http://caselaw.findlaw.com/pa-commonwealth-court/1254984.html>

¹³ Davis, B. (2004) Racial equity lawsuit enters a new phase: Monitoring will continue. *The Notebook*, 11(4). Accessed April 14, 2014 at <https://thenotebook.org/summer-2004/04772/racial-equity-lawsuit-enters-new-phase>

¹⁴ Philadelphia Inquirer Editorial Board (2014) For schools, money matters. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 20, 2014. Accessed April 20 at

http://www.philly.com/philly/opinion/inquirer/20140420_Inquirer_Editorial__For_schools__money_matters.html

¹⁵ Ibid.

millions. Last year, the school district closed 24 traditional public schools under what was called a cost saving strategy. Yet, the closures required students to be reassigned to different schools including a growing network of charter schools.¹⁶ These developments not only make racial and socio-economic integration an even steeper goal as many able families steer to suburban schools, it also makes Judge's Smith goal of narrowing the achievement gap for minorities seem nearly impossible.

Ultimately, the School District of Philadelphia shifted its goals, for a variety of reasons, from desegregation to providing a quality education for all students with little regard for school composition. Issues such as the length of time the case remained active, the lack of fiscal and human resources available to implement integration strategies such as busing, and the demographic realities of the Philadelphia school district all contributed to the ultimate resolution of pursuing quality education within a segregated structure. The results of the case suggest an institutional complacency or impotence with regard to persistent segregation, and the reality for Philadelphia's public school children is that district-wide integration is no longer an objective the district is actively pursuing. Now that more than a decade has passed since the final decision in the case, it is clear that the promise of quality education has not been realized either, as Philadelphia public schools continue to be plagued by problems related to school safety, resource deficits, and poor academic performance.¹⁷ Sadly, it appears that the School District of Philadelphia has followed the path of *Plessy* rather than that of *Brown*.

Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's second-largest metropolitan area, was also ordered by PHRC to desegregate its schools. Like Philadelphia, the Pittsburgh metropolitan area was involved in a lengthy battle to desegregate its schools, and desegregation plans were fiercely contested both in the central city of Pittsburgh and in suburban Pittsburgh.

Beginning in the 1960s, Pittsburgh's city schools had open enrollment policies that gave special consideration to achieving "racial balance" in the schools. Then, in 1968, as a result of an audit of the racial composition of the Commonwealth's schools, the PHRC formally required the City of Pittsburgh to develop a desegregation plan, which sparked decades of arguments between the district, parents, and the PHRC. Initially, the district responded simply by submitting what was essentially its existing policy at the time, which included open enrollment and the eventual establishment of large consolidated (and integrated) high schools. This was the first of many district plans that the PHRC would reject. The district appealed this initial rejection, but its appeal was ultimately denied; consequently, the district was required to submit a revised plan.¹⁸

Throughout the 1970s, Pittsburgh's school board initiated various plans aimed at integration. Some focused on construction and renovation and reorganizing grade levels to

¹⁶ Hurdle, J. (2014). Philadelphia school chief budget cuts and crises. *New York Times*, February 10, 2014. Accessed April 20th at <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/11/education/philadelphia-school-chief-faces-down-budget-cuts-and-crises.html>

¹⁷ Pew Charitable Trust (2011). *Closing public schools in Philadelphia: Lessons from six urban districts*.

¹⁸ Chandler, L., Haulk, J., & Gulibon, G. (1997). Forced busing: A Pittsburgh and national failure. Allegheny Institute Report #97-05. Accessed Oct. 8 at http://www.alleghenyinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/components/com_reports/uploads/97-05.pdf

achieve integration,¹⁹ but by the late 1970's the magnet school concept, wherein schools have specialized curriculum designed to attract students who would not normally attend the school, had become popular. However, each of these plans was met by serious protests from parents and/or the PHRC, so much so that it prompted newspapers and community members to refer to school integration as the "Pittsburgh crisis," warning that without resolution, the city would "slide toward urban blight."²⁰ Virtually all of the plans required some level of busing to disconnect patterns of residential segregation from school segregation. Transportation was particularly challenging and costly given the geography of Pittsburgh's city center, with many rivers dividing the area. Throughout the decade, the district postponed submission of a plan to the PHRC until finally the district was threatened with a state takeover if it could not produce an acceptable plan. In 1979, it submitted a plan that relied heavily on the development of magnet schools whose admission would be guided by efforts to ensure racial balance and achieved largely through extensive transportation. The PHRC rejected the plan, but the district implemented it in 1980 regardless, as the court rejected PHRC's attempt to stop its implementation.²¹ Significantly, the racial targets were designed around Black and non-Black numbers, illustrating that the racial makeup in Pittsburgh was (and remains) markedly different from the more diverse demographics in Philadelphia.²²

The plan that was implemented in 1980 stayed in effect throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s. Simultaneously, Pittsburgh was experiencing a decline in population, which was also reflected in reduced school enrollment and a reduced tax base. Complaints about the cost of the magnet/busing plan continued throughout this time, and by the mid-1990's, opposition had grown sufficiently to result in the school board considering plans that may have taken the district back to neighborhood schools. Predictably, this reignited the debates. Finally, in 1996 a House Bill was introduced that would prevent the PHRC from requiring districts to bus students in order to achieve racial integration and limit when courts could prescribe busing.²³ The bill ultimately passed, and though it applied throughout the Commonwealth, one of the sponsors of the bill said, "he hoped its passage would send a message to the Pittsburgh Board of Public

¹⁹ Associated Press (1973) Desegregation plan outlined in Pittsburgh. *Observer-Reporter*, Jan. 26, 1973. Accessed Oct 13 at <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2519&dat=19730126&id=EshdAAAIBAJ&sjid=eF4NAAAIBAJ&pg=988,3567996>

²⁰ Coyne, Jim. (1980) School integration: Pittsburgh crisis. *The Pittsburgh Press*, Jan. 23, 1980. Accessed Oct. 13 at <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19800123&id=7c0cAAAIBAJ&sjid=UFwEAAAIBAJ&pg=2933,2801938>

²¹ Chandler, L., Haulk, J., & Gulibon, G. (1997). Forced busing: A Pittsburgh and national failure. Allegheny Institute Report #97-05. Accessed Oct. 8 at http://www.alleghenyinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/components/com_reports/uploads/97-05.pdf

²² New York Times (1986) Competition desparate [sic] for Pittsburgh schools. *New York Times*, Nov. 16, 1986. Accessed Oct 13 at <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/11/16/us/competition-desparate-for-pittsburgh-schools.html>

²³ Chandler, L., Haulk, J., & Gulibon, G. (1997). Forced busing: A Pittsburgh and national failure. Allegheny Institute Report #97-05. Accessed Oct. 8 at http://www.alleghenyinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/components/com_reports/uploads/97-05.pdf

Education to reconsider its plans to continue busing students as part of a desegregation effort.”²⁴ Clearly, busing as a solution to racial segregation had fallen out of favor.

In suburban Pittsburgh, the district known as Woodland Hills was the center of the integration debate.²⁵ Problems for the area also arose in the 1960s, when the state issued an act intended to considerably reduce the number of districts in the state through consolidation.²⁶ In Allegheny County, southeast of Pittsburgh, the act resulted in the consolidation of three of the poorest districts that also had the highest concentration of black students into what was called the General Braddock Area School District. However, shortly before the consolidation became final in 1971, parents filed suit, arguing that the consolidation into the General Braddock School District had created racially segregated schools (*Hoots v. Pennsylvania*, 1971). A decade of legal battles followed, and in 1981 five districts were ordered to merge into what became the Woodland Hills district in order to alleviate the racial/economic isolation produced by the consolidation of the General Braddock district. Court oversight remained active, and in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the issue of second-generation segregation came to the fore. Problems related to vast racial inequities in discipline practices, extracurricular activities, and school staffing were highlighted, but the most concerning finding was the extreme segregation found *within* schools via curricular tracking. Black students were overrepresented in special education and underrepresented in the more challenging gifted classes²⁷. Eventually, the court ordered that instructional grouping in Woodland Hills be eliminated entirely.²⁸

After yet another decade, the Woodland Hills district applied for unitary status in 2001, but was denied at that time because of continued tracking in its math curriculum. By 2003, however, the district met the court’s standards and was declared unitary, meaning they were free from further court supervision regarding their desegregation plans. Recent research following up on Woodland Hills has investigated the state of segregation a decade after it was declared unitary.²⁹ Since reaching unitary status, there has been a precipitous drop in enrollment in the district overall and evidence of white flight. As of 2013, black students comprised approximately two-thirds of district enrollment, yet they remain overrepresented in terms of suspensions and expulsions and underrepresented in terms of being identified as gifted and talented. Nevertheless, there does appear to be at least some success in terms of ensuring that all students are exposed to a rigorous math curriculum, as many students take algebra during their middle school years. The General Braddock/Woodland Hills case demonstrates the significance of the role of courts in

²⁴ Reeves, F. (1996). House votes no on forced busing. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Jun. 29, 1996. Accessed Oct. 13 at <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1129&dat=19960629&id=ktNRAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=zW8DAAAIAIBAJ&pg=6598,8244552>

²⁵ Michaud, A. (2001). Future in the Balance. *Pittsburgh Magazine*.
http://annemichaud.com/pdf/woodland_hills_schools.pdf

²⁶ Hodge, E (2014). District consolidation, tracking, and educational equity: Lessons from the Woodland Hills School District. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Philadelphia.

²⁷ Michaud, A. (2001). Future in the Balance. *Pittsburgh Magazine*.
http://annemichaud.com/pdf/woodland_hills_schools.pdf

²⁸ Hodge, E (2014). District consolidation, tracking, and educational equity: Lessons from the Woodland Hills School District. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Philadelphia.

²⁹Ibid

creating more equitable school systems; a 2014 research paper stated that all the progress made in the Woodland Hills district in terms of desegregation was a direct result of court action.³⁰

Lower Merion

A more recent case related to school segregation was filed in Lower Merion, PA in 2009. Lower Merion, a suburb located northwest of Philadelphia, is the wealthiest school district in Pennsylvania, and one of the wealthiest in the country as well. It differs greatly from the most segregated school districts in Pennsylvania given its wealth, its small geographic size, and its small African-American population (approximately 10%). Issues that arose here were the result of the district's new school assignment plan, which was a voluntary plan designed to balance the African American population across schools. The district has two high schools, and nine African American students who filed suit claimed that the district plan discriminated on the basis of race since they were directed to attend one high school though the other was located closer to their homes. Upon reviewing the case, the court found that the district school assignment plan did not violate students' rights because it did not consider individuals' race in determining which school they should attend.³¹ Instead, the plan considered aggregate neighborhood demographics, including race, among other priorities such as evening out school size between the two high schools and minimizing the need for buses.³² The Lower Merion case is noteworthy in a national context because it upheld a race-conscious school assignment plan, adding nuance to how districts may consider race.

Taken together, the cases involving the School Districts of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Woodland Hills, and Lower Merion provide an informative and cautionary tale of the challenges and opportunities for racial desegregation efforts in Pennsylvania. Each case represents a different context and legal framework with Philadelphia and Pittsburgh both being state-ordered urban plans; Woodland Hills being a federally mandated suburban plan, and Lower Merion being a voluntary racial integration plan in a mostly white suburb. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh demonstrate the challenges of dealing with school segregation without addressing housing segregation in the wake of *Milliken*, in which the court held that schools were not responsible for interdistrict desegregation. The Woodland Hills case is a rare example of suburban consolidation in a highly fragmented state, yet the within district racial inequities and out migration of white residents indicates mixed success. Finally, although Lower Merion did not address the high metropolitan segregation of the Philadelphia area, their modest, but successful policy for racial balancing may present a template for smaller districts to combat within-district segregation.

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Walsh, M. (2011). *Appeals Court Upholds Race-Conscious Student Assignment Plan*. Education Week. http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/school_law/2011/12/court_upholds_race-conscious_s.html

³² Student Doe v. Lower Merion School District. <http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/app/briefs/lowermerionbrief.pdf>

Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says³³

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.³⁴ 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.³⁵ Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified³⁶ and experienced³⁷ teachers are spread very unevenly across schools, and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.³⁸ Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools of concentrated poverty.³⁹

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

³³ This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project. Available at: <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students>

³⁴ Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement. *Econometrica*, 73(2), 417-58.

³⁵ Chetty, R., Friedman, J. N., & Rockoff, J. E. (2011). The long-term impacts of teachers: Teacher value-added and student outcomes in adulthood (NBER Working Paper # 17699). Retrieved from: http://obs.rc.fas.harvard.edu/chetty/value_added.pdf

³⁶ 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).

³⁷ 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. Pitz (Eds.), *Racial profiling and punishment in U.S. public schools* (pp. 39-44). Oakland, CA: Applied Research Center.

³⁸ 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.

³⁹ Miller, R. (2010). *Comparable, schomparable. 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.

of an individual student.⁴⁰ This finding is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance, and college going are normalized by peers.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴

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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ Dropout rates are significantly higher in segregated and impoverished

⁴⁰ 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.

⁴¹ Kahlenberg, R. (2001). *All together now: Creating middle class schools through public school choice*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

⁴² 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.

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ 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

schools (nearly all of the 2,000 “dropout factories” are doubly segregated by race and poverty),⁴⁷ and if students do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.⁴⁸ Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students’ success in school and later life.⁴⁹

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.⁵⁰ Relatedly, integrated schools are linked to reduction in students’ willingness to accept stereotypes.⁵¹ Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.⁵²

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students,⁵³ with no corresponding detrimental impact for white

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/>.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ Camburn, E. (1990). College completion among students from high schools located in large metropolitan areas. *American Journal of Education*, 98(4), 551-569.

⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ Mickelson, R.A., & Nkomo, M. (2012) Integrated schooling, life-course outcomes, and social cohesion in multiethnic democratic societies. *Review of Research in Education*, 36, 197-238.; Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751-783; Ready, D., & Silander, M. (2011). School racial and ethnic composition and young children’s cognitive development: Isolating family, neighborhood and school influences. In E. Frankenberg & E. DeBray (Eds.), *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multiracial generation* (pp. 91-113). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

⁵² 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.

⁵³ Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press; Crain, R., & Mahard, R. (1983). The effect of research methodology on desegregation-achievement studies: A meta-analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 88(5), 839-854; Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation’s impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing.

students.⁵⁴ These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations,⁵⁵ and high levels of civic and communal responsibility.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ Earnings and physical well-being are also positively impacted: a recent study by a Berkeley economist found that black students who attended desegregated schools for at least five years earned 25% more than their counterparts in segregated settings. By middle age, the same group was also in far better health.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹

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.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ 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, heterogeneous groupings in classrooms and highly visible, positive modeling from teachers and school leaders around issues of diversity.⁶²

⁵⁴ Hoschild, J., & Scrovronick, N. (2004). *The American dream and the public schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ 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.

⁵⁷ 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.

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ Mickelson, R. (2011). Exploring the school-housing nexus: A synthesis of social science evidence. In P. Tegeler (Ed.), *Finding common ground: Coordinating housing and education policy to promote integration* (pp. 5-8). Washington, DC: Poverty and Race Research Action Council; Wells, A.S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research*, 6, 531-555.

⁶⁰ Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.

⁶¹ Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751-783.

⁶² 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.

In this report, we explore the demographic and segregation trends over the last two decades for the state of Pennsylvania and for Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. For each main metropolitan area, we also investigate district racial stability over time. Below is an overview of our data, as well as the segregation and district racial stability analyses. See Appendix B for more details.

This study explores demographic, segregation, and district racial stability patterns by analyzing education data from the National Center for Education Statistics. Data consisted of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files.⁶³

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

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

School segregation patterns by the proportion or concentration of each racial group in majority minority schools (50-100% of the student body are students of color), intensely segregated schools (90-100% of the student body are students of color), and apartheid schools (99-100% of the schools are students of color) were also explored. Such schools, especially hypersegregated and apartheid schools are nearly always associated with stark gaps in educational opportunity.⁶⁴ To provide estimates of diverse environments, the proportion of each racial group in multiracial schools (schools with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body) was calculated.

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

⁶³ Hereby referred to as 1989, 1999, and 2010.

⁶⁴ Carroll, S., Krop, C., Arkes, J., Morrison, P., & Flanagan, A. (2005). *California's K-12 public schools: How are they doing?* Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation; Orfield, G., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Kucsera, J. (2011). *Divided we fail: Segregated and unequal schools in the Southland*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

Education Week entitled “Study Finds No Upswing in Racially Isolated Schools” highlighted an on-going debate on the merits of these measures.⁶⁵ For example, exposure and isolation provide a very clear measure of the student body encountered by a student from a typical race. This exposure rate can then be easily compared to the racial composition of a district, metropolitan area, state, and the nation. Measures of “Evenness” examine the distribution of students from different racial groups within a given geographic area. The limitation of this measure is that it may indicate even distribution among racial groups in an area that is almost all white or all minority, thus providing a misleading conclusion that there is no racial segregation.

To explore district stability patterns in *main* metropolitan areas—those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 1989—districts, as well as their metropolitan area, were categorized into predominantly white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominantly nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.⁶⁶ The degree to which district white enrollment has changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area was explored, resulting in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable. Following, the type and direction (i.e., white or nonwhite) of the change in school districts was assessed, which allowed us to determine whether districts are resegregating, integrating, or remaining segregated or stably diverse.

The use of multiple measures allowed for an important, in-depth understanding of the different aspects of spatial separation. Together, exposure, evenness, and concentration provided an understanding of macro- and school-level trends. The exposure index, for example, offered a glimpse of the typical school setting for students of different races. Meanwhile, the entropy index painted a picture of how students from various racial groups were spread out across schools at different levels of geography.

State Trends

The public school enrollment of Pennsylvania increased from about 1.6 million students in 1989-1990 to nearly 1.8 million 1999, but it decreased slightly by 2010 (Table 1). Enrollment fell 2.5% from 1999 to 2010. This small decrease is similar to those experienced after 1999 in the Northeast overall; however, this runs counter to the national trend of steady growth throughout the period from 1989 to 2010. The growth of the Sun Belt has been greatly outpacing the growth of the old industrial centers for a generation as the low wage economies grow far more rapidly than older cities.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Yettick, H. (2014). Study finds no upswing in racially isolated schools. *Education Week* (33), 6.

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ Frey, W. H. (2005). *Snow belt to sun belt: The migration of America's voters*. Washington, DC. Brookings Institution.

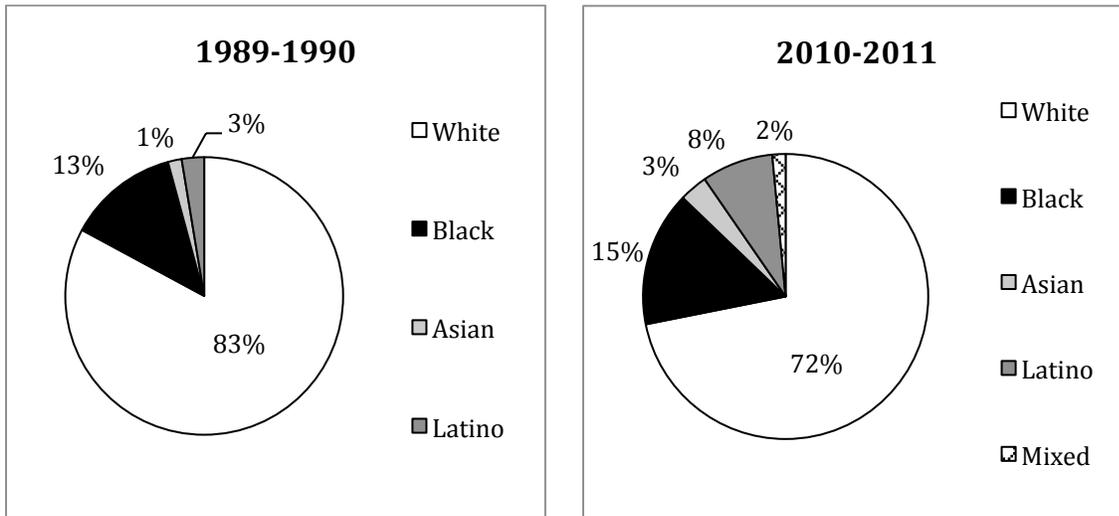
Table 1- *Public School Enrollment, Pennsylvania, Northeast, and the Nation*

	Total Enrollment
Pennsylvania	
1989-1990	1,612,742
1999-2000	1,787,176
2010-2011	1,743,318
Northeast	
1989-1990	6,940,135
1999-2000	8,007,804
2010-2011	7,780,729
Nation	
1989-1990	39,937,135
1999-2000	46,737,341
2010-2011	48,782,384

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

Although the total public school enrollment decreased slightly since 1999, the racial composition has become increasingly diverse (Figure 1). The white share of the total public school enrollment decreased from 82.8% in 1989-1990 to 71.8% in 2010, a decline of 11 percentage points. During the same time, the non-white share of public school enrollment increased. The black share of public school enrollment increased by 18.6% from 1989 to 2010. Notably, the Asian share of enrollment increased by 100% (from a very small base population) over the same time period. The most dramatic increase, however, was among the Latino population. The Latino share of public school enrollment increased by 212%, jumping from just 2.6% in 1989 to 8.1% in 2010. The rapid increase in the Latino share of the population (and the decrease in the white share) corresponds with national and regional trends. In 1989, there were more than four times as many blacks as Latinos in the state. By 2010, the share of blacks was a little less than double that of Latino. Though the Latino share of enrollment was only about one-third of the national average, the growth rate was very high. Although whites remain the substantial majority, more than one-quarter of Pennsylvania’s public school students were non-white in 2010.

Figure 1- *Public School Enrollment by Race, Pennsylvania*



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)

Although the school population fluctuated slightly from 1989 to 2010, the total number of schools in Pennsylvania remained basically stable over the same period. There were 3,121 public schools in 1989 and 3,125 in 2010-2011 (Table 2). Schools are divided into four groups based on the level of concentration of minority students. To examine diversity, multiracial schools are those in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups. The percentage of multiracial schools in Pennsylvania increased from 3.0% in 1989 to 11.0% in 2010, alongside the growing multiracial diversity of the state's enrollment.

Schools may also be classified as majority white, majority-minority schools, intensely segregated schools, or apartheid schools. Majority-minority schools are schools where 50-100% of the enrollment is made up of minority students. The percentage of majority-minority schools increased steadily from 10.1% in 1989 to 20.5% in 2010. The number of intensely segregated schools (those where 90-100% of enrollment is comprised of minority students) doubled over the period from 1989 to 2010, going from 4.9% to 10.5%. Apartheid schools are those in which 99-100% of school enrollment is comprised of minority students. In Pennsylvania in 2010, about 5% of schools were apartheid schools, an increase from 3.5% in 1989. While the school enrollment has become more racially diverse, minority students have also become increasingly isolated from white students.

Table 2- *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Pennsylvania*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools		% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Pennsylvania						
1989-1990	3121	3.0%		10.1%	4.9%	3.5%
1999-2000	3126	5.1%		14.7%	7.6%	4.3%
2010-2011	3125	11.0%		20.5%	10.5%	4.8%
Philadelphia City SD	255	25.1%		89.4%	67.5%	35.7%
Pittsburgh SD	62	14.5%		77.4%	19.4%	4.8%

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

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

Last Revision: October 29, 2012

In addition to the concentration of students by race, it is important to consider the concentration of low-income students in each type of school. Schools that are isolated by race and class are often places that limit students' educational opportunities and outcomes. Many factors, including fewer 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.

Across the categories of multiracial or segregated schools, their percentage of low-income students increased from 1999 to 2010 (Table 3). The overall increase in low-income students is perhaps not surprising when we consider that the time span examined includes the years of the economic crisis that began in the latter half of the decade. Nevertheless, in each school category, more than half of all students were low-income. In multiracial schools, the percentage of low-income students increased from 55.0% to 60.3% but remained much lower than the other school contexts.

In majority-minority schools, the proportion of low-income students rose from about two-thirds (67.1%) in 1999 to three-quarters (75.7%) in 2010. In both intensely segregated and apartheid schools, there was a very high proportion of low-income students. Of students who attended intensely segregated schools in 2010, 85.1% were low-income, and among those who attended apartheid schools (i.e., 99-100% minority), 86.1% were low-income. These data suggest that there is significant overlap between racial and socioeconomic isolation; both race and class segregate Pennsylvania's public school students.

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

	% Low-Income Statewide	% 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
Pennsylvania						
1999-2000	28.8%	55.0%		67.1%	74.6%	77.6%
2010-2011	38.7%	60.3%		75.7%	85.1%	86.1%

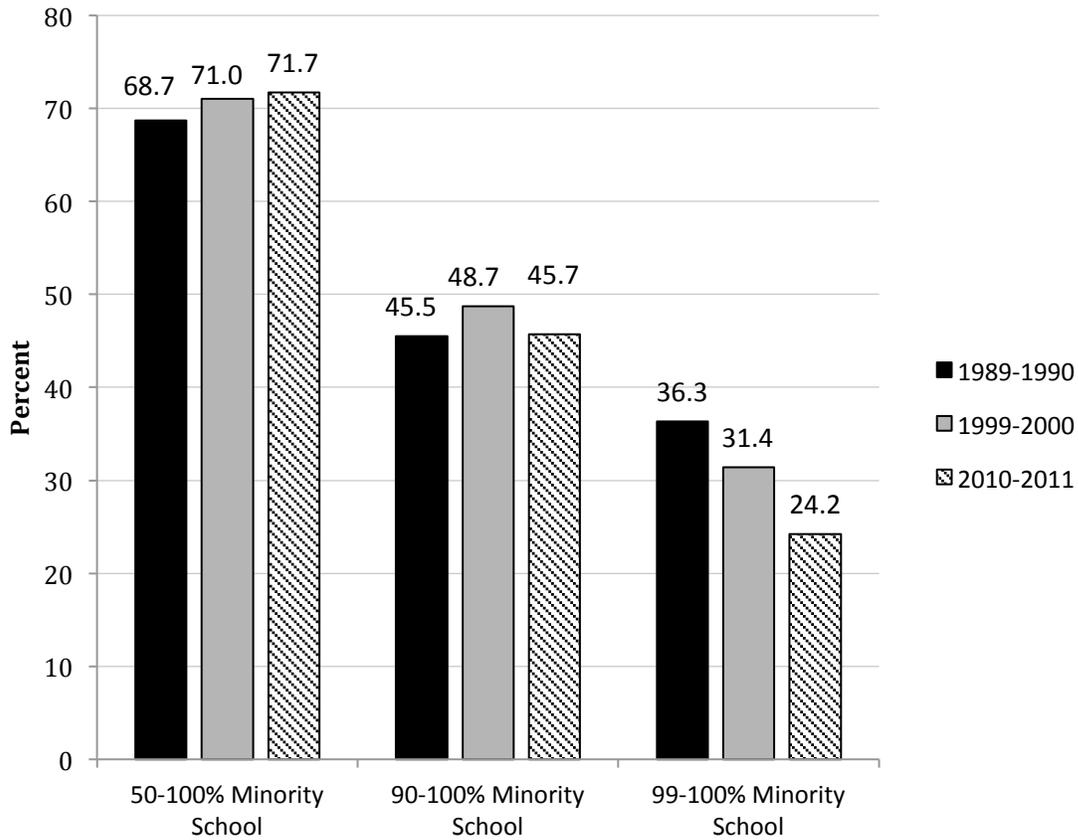
Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment respectively.

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

Last Revision: October 29, 2012

Since 1989 the shares of black and Latino students attending minority schools has fluctuated (Figure 2 and Figure 3). The percent of black students in majority minority schools increased slightly from 68.7% in 1989 to 71.7% in 2010. The percent of black students in intensely segregated schools remained relatively stable and high around 46%, though it rose slightly in 1999 and decreased by 2010. Fewer black students have attended apartheid schools since 1989. In that year 36.3% of black students were enrolled in apartheid schools; in 1999 31.4% of black students were, and by 2010, the percentage decreased to 24.2%. While the decline is a good sign that perhaps reflects the suburbanization of black students, the fact remains that nearly one-quarter of Pennsylvania's black public school students attend apartheid schools.

Figure 2 - Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Pennsylvania

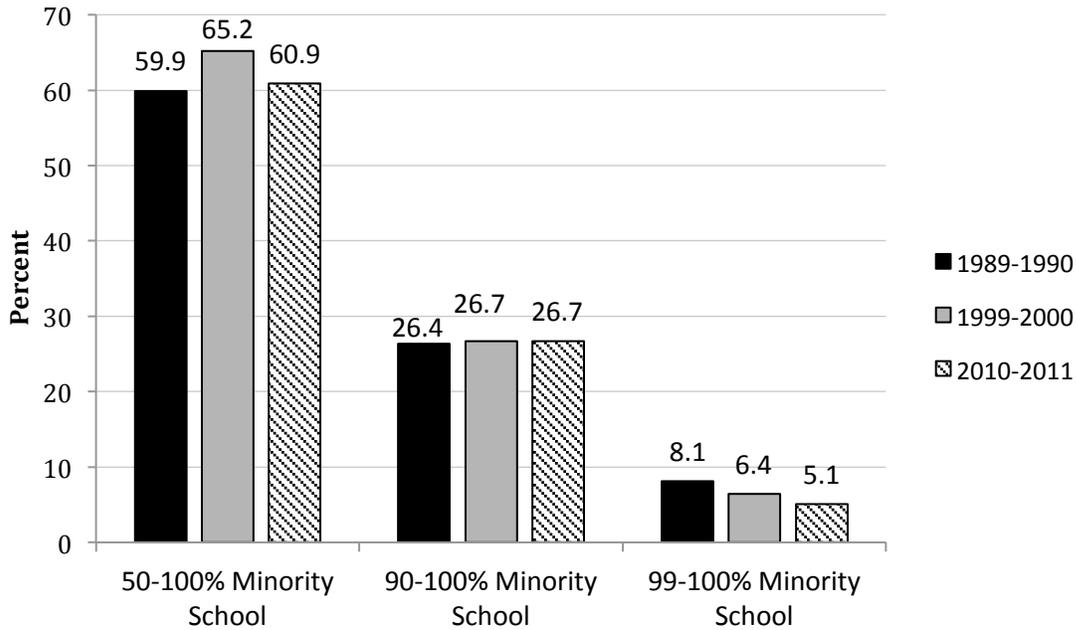


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

Similar patterns hold for Latino students, though lower shares attended segregated minority schools compared to black students. Among Latino students, 60.9% attended a majority minority school in 2010, approximately the same percentage as in 1989 (though the percentage rose slightly to 65.2% in 1999). The percentage of Latino students in intensely segregated schools remained stable between 26 and 27% throughout the two decades. The percentage of Latinos in apartheid schools decreased from 8.1% in 1989 to 5.1% in 2010.

Figure 3 - *Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Pennsylvania*

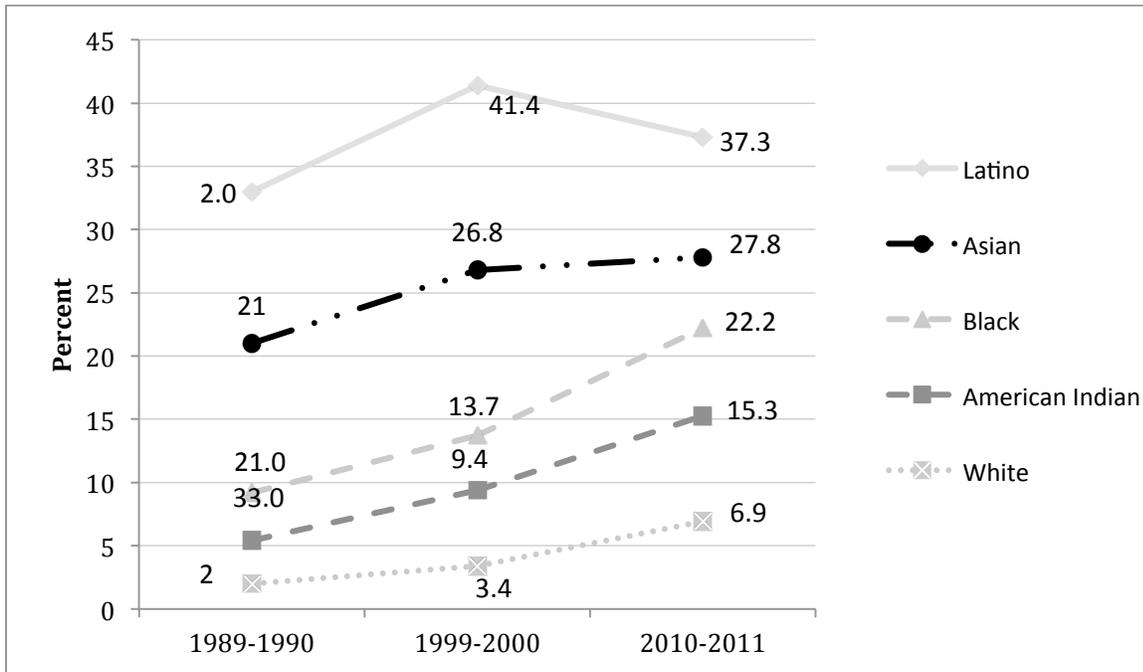


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

Again, multiracial schools are those in which any three races represent at least one-tenth of the total student enrollment, yet in reality, these multiracial schools are largely non-white in Pennsylvania (Figure 4). In 1989, just 2% of white students attended multiracial schools, whereas larger proportions of non-white students did, especially Latino, Asian, and black students. By 2010, the percentage of white students who attended multiracial schools rose to 6.9%. Larger shares of Latino, Asian, black, and American Indian students attend multiracial schools, and their proportions have risen steadily since 1989. Latino students' share was highest in 1999 (41.4%) but decreased to 37.3% by 2010, though compared to other races Latino students attend multiracial schools in the highest proportion.

Figure 4 - Students in Multiracial School by Race, Pennsylvania



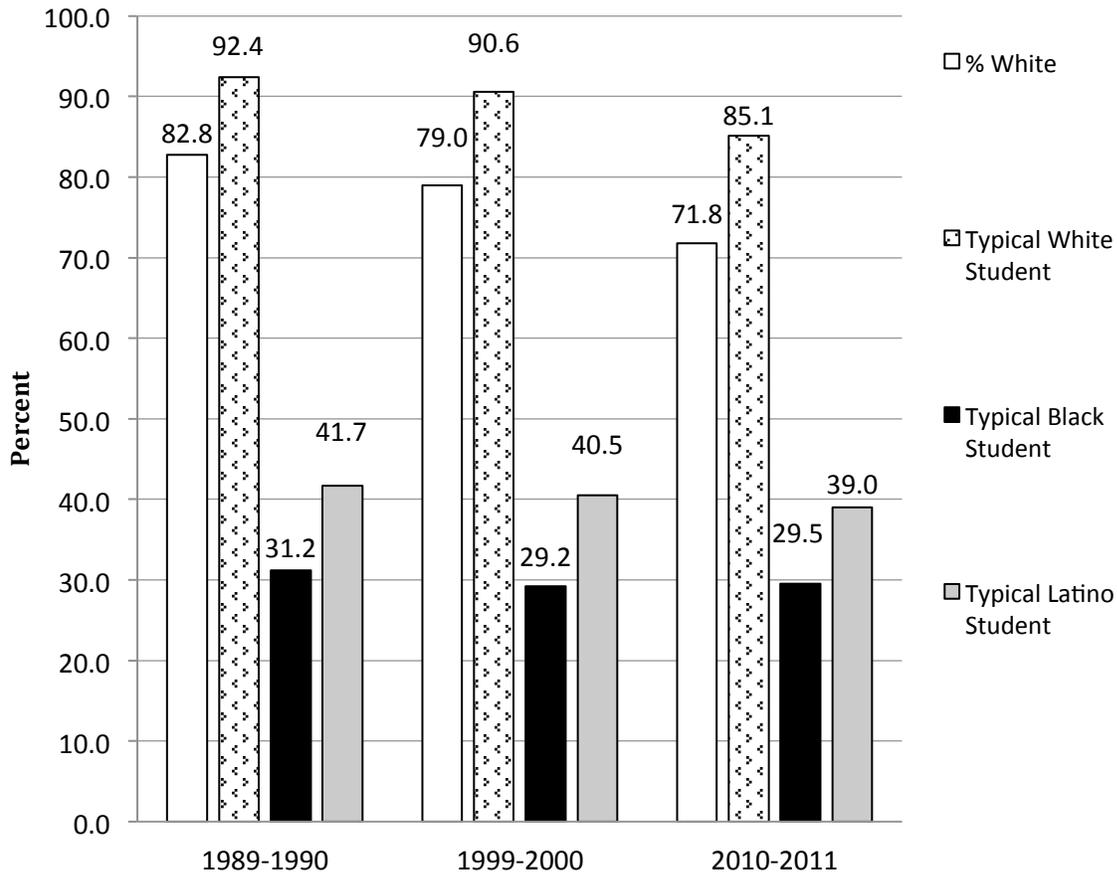
Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student population respectively.

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

Another way of estimating the level of segregation in Pennsylvania’s public schools is to examine exposure rates, which measure the level of interracial contact among students. For each time period in Figure 5, the white bar represents the percentage of public school students who were white, and the next three bars represent the exposure of a typical white, black, or Latino student to white students. By comparing the level of exposure to the percentage of white students (the white column), underexposure or overexposure can be estimated. If the exposure rate is greater than the percentage of white students, then students are overexposed to white students; whereas, if the exposure rate is less than the percentage of white students, then students are underexposed to white students. Overexposure indicates that students go to schools with more white students than you would expect if white students were evenly distributed throughout public schools, while underexposure indicates that students go to school with fewer white students than you would expect if there were representative distribution.

The percentage of white students in Pennsylvania public schools has declined since 1989, and both white and Latino students have become less exposed to white students over time. Black students’ exposure to white students has remained consistently low over time. Despite the decline in the share of white students, the typical white student is disproportionately exposed to white students, meaning that they attend schools where the overwhelming majority of their peers are white, and in fact, white students became *increasingly* overexposed to white peers between 1989 to 2010. By contrast, both black and Latino students were underexposed to white students and remain so. In 2010, the typical black student attended a school that was 29.5% white, and the average Latino students attended a school that was 39.0% white, though whites make up 71.8% of total public school enrollment.

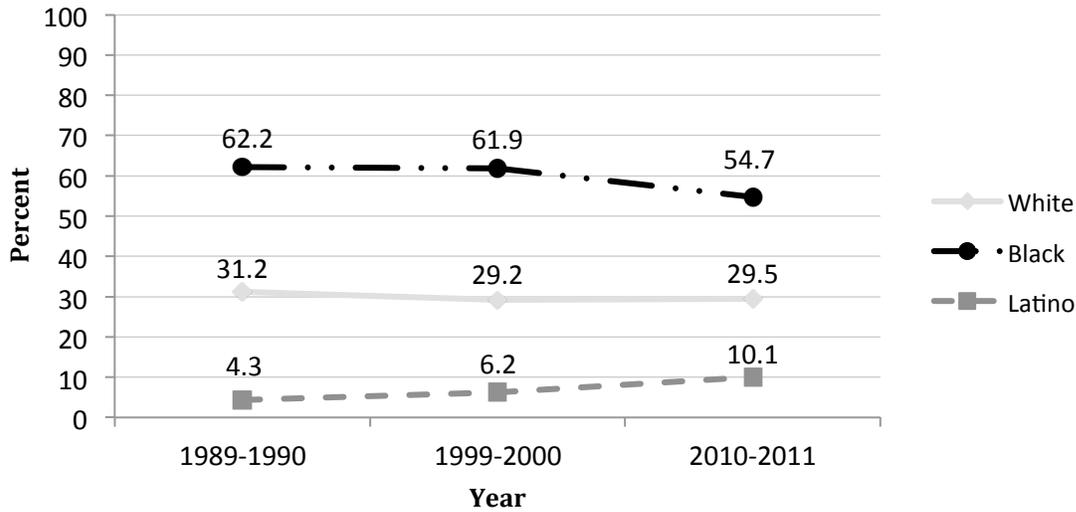
Figure 5 - *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Pennsylvania*



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

For each time point, the typical black student in Pennsylvania attended a school that was majority black, but the proportion of Latino students has increased over time while the proportion of white students has remained stable (Figure 6). In 1989 the typical black student attended a school that was 62.2% black; in 1999 the proportion had declined slightly to 61.9% black, and by 2010 it had declined to 54.7% black. The percentage of white students in the typical black student’s school did not change dramatically over time, hovering at about 30%. But by 2010, the percentage of Latino students in the typical black student’s school had risen from 4.3% in 1989 to 10.1%. Though the typical black student’s school has become more diverse in some ways, this diversity has not come with increased exposure to white students. Instead, black students seem to be isolated with other minority students who have historically been underserved. Further, black students are still quite isolated among other black students.

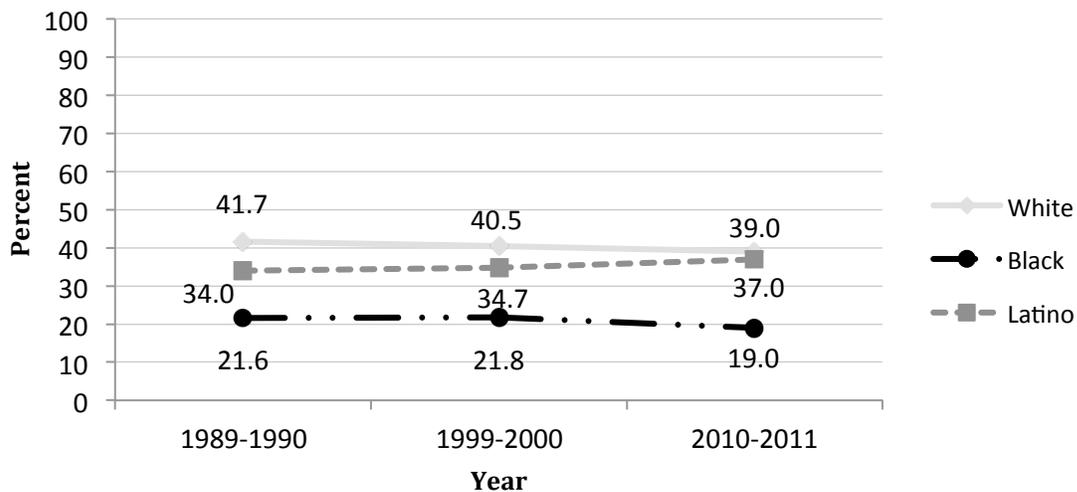
Figure 6 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Pennsylvania*



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 Pennsylvania attended was different from that of a typical black student in that there was a slightly more even distribution of white, black, and Latino students (Figure 7). However, like black students, the typical Latino student was overexposed to students of their own ethnicity (across the state, Latinos comprise 8.1% of students in public schools in 2010 but the average student went to a school that was 37% Latino) and to black students, and they was underexposed to white students. The share of Latino students at the school of typical Latino student increased while the black and white shares have gone down slightly. In 2010, the typical Latino student in Pennsylvania public schools went to a school that was 39.0% white, 37.0% Latino, and 19.0% black.

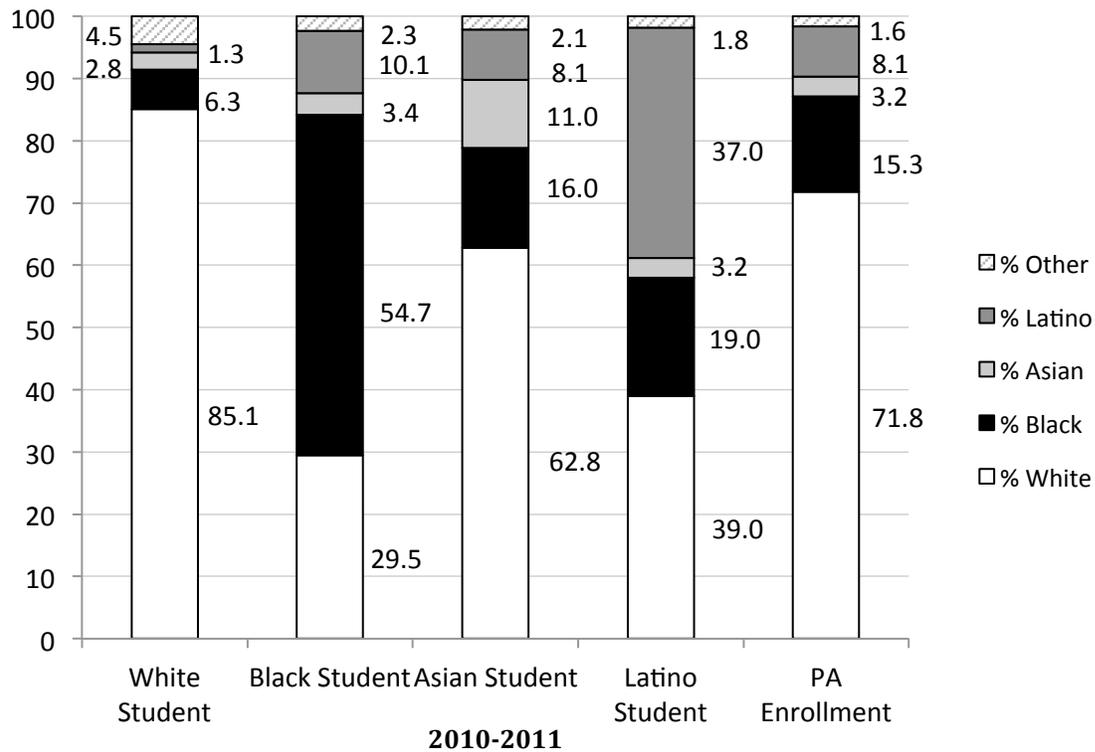
Figure 7 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, Pennsylvania*



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

Comparing the racial composition of schools attended by a typical student of each race shows that each racial group is overexposed to their own group and is generally underexposed to students from other racial groups (Figure 8). The PA Enrollment column shows the racial composition of public schools statewide and can be used for comparison. On average, white students attend schools that are overwhelmingly white with small proportions of students from other racial groups. Black students in Pennsylvania public schools tended to go to schools where more than half their peers were black, less than one-third (29.5%) were white, and the rest were Latino, Asian, or students from other backgrounds. Latino students tended to go to schools that were more evenly split among white, black, and Latino students. The racial composition of the typical Asian student’s school was most like the racial composition of the state public school enrollment as a whole (PA Enrollment column), though Asian students were still overexposed to other Asian students and underexposed to white students. Overall, Asian students appeared to be the most integrated group in Pennsylvania’s public schools.

Figure 8 - Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Pennsylvania

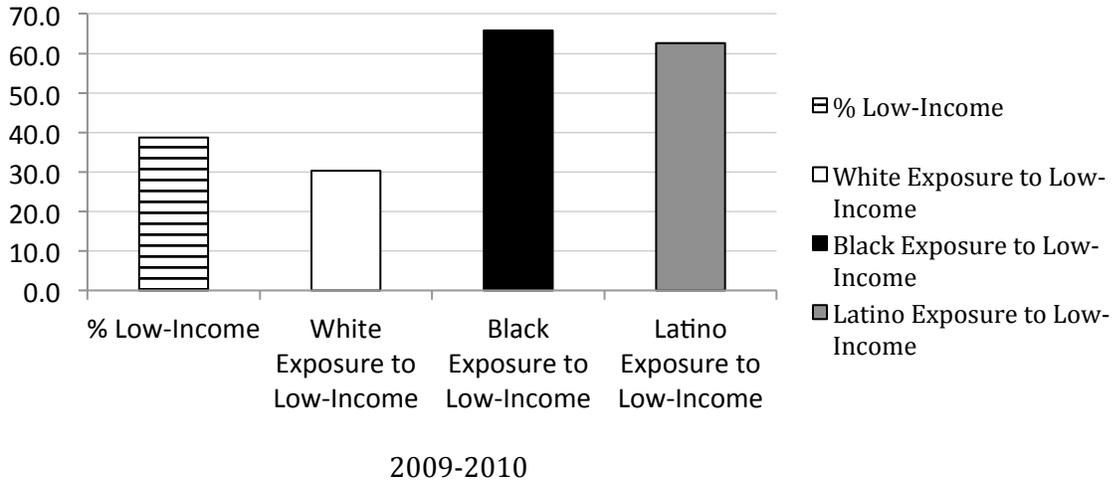


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.
 Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

While about one-third of Pennsylvania’s students were low-income in 2010, black and Latino students went to schools where about two-thirds of their classmates are poor (Figure 9). On average, 38.7% of Pennsylvania’s public school students were low-income, but the typical white student attended a school where 30.3% of his/her peers were low-income. In stark contrast, the typical black student attends a school where 65.8% of his/her classmates are low-income, and

the typical Latino student attends a school where 62.6% of his/her classmates are low-income. Black and Latino students experience double segregation by attending schools where they are segregated by both race and class.

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



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

In Pennsylvania, state-level trends show that segregation of black and Latino students remains a significant problem, and in some cases, that segregation has intensified. Latinos' exposure to white students has decreased, leaving them increasingly segregated, while black students' exposure to white students has remained very low since 1989. In cases where there are multiracial public schools, most are composed of nonwhite students. There has, however, been a slight decline in the proportion of apartheid schools. Overall, white students went to schools that were overwhelmingly white, black students attend schools that are majority black, and Latino students attended schools where the distribution of whites, blacks, and Latinos was more evenly distributed. Asian students in Pennsylvania were the most integrated as the racial distribution of their schools most closely resembles the state averages. Further, black and Latino students attended schools with far higher concentrations of low-income peers, which can lead to compounded disadvantage due to double segregation.

Metropolitan Trends⁶⁸

Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area⁶⁹

Philadelphia is the largest city and metropolitan area in Pennsylvania and is the second largest city in the Northeast. Philadelphia has historically been a cultural, political, and economic center of great importance attracting various ethnic groups including large numbers of European immigrants and blacks -- both before and during the Great Migration. Today, the metropolitan area of Philadelphia stretches across nearby state borders into New Jersey and Delaware allowing residents to sort themselves in a wide array of school districts. In recent years, the Philadelphia area has also experienced an increase in immigrants coming from Southeast Asia, East Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Of the immigrant population in Philadelphia, 39% were from Asia, 28% were from Latin America, 23% were from Europe, and 8% were from Africa.⁷⁰ Although the local economy remains strong, Philadelphia is characterized by vast inequalities in income, job opportunities, and quality housing.⁷¹

Over the last two decades, the racial composition of metro Philadelphia's public schools has changed slightly with decreasing shares of both white and black students and increasing shares of both Latino and Asian students (Figure 10). The share of white students in metro Philadelphia's public schools has declined from 59.8% in 1989 to 52.8% in 2010. The overall share of black students also declined from 31.8% to 29.9%. The Asian share of enrollment increased from 3.4% to 6.3%. The Latino share of enrollment increased from 4.8% to 9.3%. The percentage change for these latter two groups was very dramatic with Latino student enrollment almost doubling over the period of years examined.

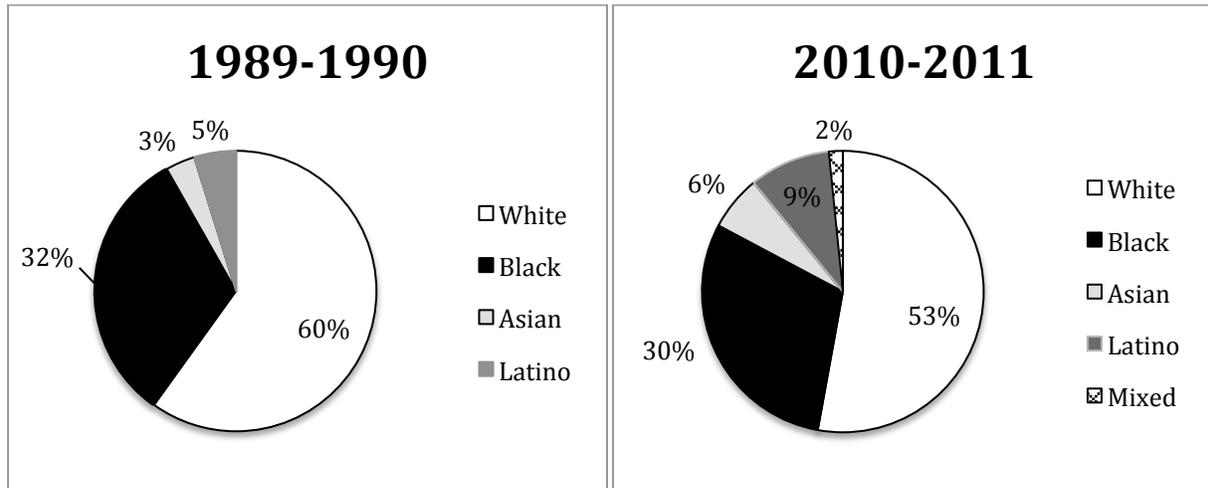
⁶⁸ We used the Census Reference Bureau's 1999 Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as the unit of metropolitan analysis for all years. A MSA must contain at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more inhabitants. See Appendix B for further details.

⁶⁹ From this point forward, we use "Philadelphia" to refer to the Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area.. In this report our data includes only the districts in this metropolitan area that are located in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The 1999 MSA boundaries included Bucks County, Chester County, Delaware County, Montgomery County, and Philadelphia County, Plymouth County.

⁷⁰ Katz, M., Park, D., Singer, A., & Vitiello, D. (2008). *Recent immigration to Philadelphia: Regional change in a reemerging gateway*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute.

⁷¹ Rothwell, J. (2012). *Housing costs, zoning, and access to high quality schools*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2012/04/19-school-inequality-rothwell>,

Figure 10 – *Public School Enrollment by Race, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City Metro Area*



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 443,408. In 2010, total enrollment was 541,706.

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

The majority of students in urban areas are minority and white in suburban areas within metro Philadelphia, but the suburbs have become much more diverse in recent years. The share of white enrollment in Philadelphia's urban and suburban areas decreased between 1989 and 2010 (Table 4). Although the black share of enrollment in urban schools decreased slightly over the last two decades, urban schools were still majority black in 2010. Over this period, the black share of suburban enrollment increased from 8.7% to 14.9%. However, the black share of students in urban schools is still roughly four times that of the black share of students in suburban schools. Both Asians and Latinos experienced an increase in their share of enrollment in urban and suburban schools over this time period. Notably, the Latino share of students in suburban schools more than tripled and the Asian share of students more than doubled in suburban schools between 1989 and 2010.

Table 4 - *Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area*

	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools				
	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD										
1989-1990	25.3%	61.5%	4.6%	8.4%	0.1%	86.7%	8.7%	3.1%	1.4%	0.1%
1999-2000	19.5%	63.6%	5.1%	11.6%	0.2%	83.5%	10.3%	3.9%	2.1%	0.1%
2010-2011	14.2%	59.8%	6.3%	16.9%	0.2%	72.4%	14.9%	6.6%	4.9%	0.2%

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

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

As the number of schools in metro Philadelphia increased over the last two decades, so has the share of these schools classified as multiracial (Table 5). In fact, the percentage of multiracial schools in metro Philadelphia—schools in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups—has more than doubled over this time period. In 2010, there were 131 multiracial schools in Philadelphia metro area. Yet, the increase in multiracial schools seems to be partially about the growth in Latino and Asian student populations more than integration between whites and minorities.

Between 1989 and 2010, minorities became more concentrated in Philadelphia schools. For example, majority minority schools—those in which 50-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students—have increased from 31.0% to 44.5% over the last two decades. The share of intensely segregated schools—those that are 90-100% minority—increased substantially from 19.8% in 1989 to 30.9% in 2010. The percentage of apartheid schools—those in which 99-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students—remained relatively stable with approximately 1% increases in each decade. Metro Philadelphia already had high levels of segregated schools in 1989, but the schools have become even more segregated over that the last two decades. Of course, some of this concentration can be linked to the decrease of 7% in white enrollment, but the growth of segregation exceeds the demographic change in composition.

Table 5 - *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area*

	Total Schools	% of MultiRacial Schools		% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD						
1989-1990	681	6.8%		31.0%	19.8%	15.0%
1999-2000	748	10.2%		37.4%	25.3%	16.2%
2010-2011	831	15.8%		44.5%	30.9%	17.1%

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

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

Similar to state trends, the overall percentage of students in metro Philadelphia who are considered low-income, increased from 33.6% to 41.6% between 1999 and 2010 (Table 6). There was a corresponding increase in the share of low-income students at multiracial, majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools. Although over half of the students at multiracial schools received were considered low-income in 2010, over three-fourths of students attending majority minority schools in that year were considered low-income.

The greatest of the increases over the last ten years occurred in intensely segregated schools where the share of low-income students increased over ten percent from 74.3% to 84.6%. Among students attending apartheid schools, 86% were low-income in 2010 up from 77.5% in 1999. These increases are probably related to the recent economic recession and they parallel growing numbers of low-income students nationally. However, even considering the economic downturn, the fact that three-fourths of students attending majority minority schools in Philadelphia were considered low-income in 2010 should garner attention amongst policy makers.

Table 6 - *Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area*

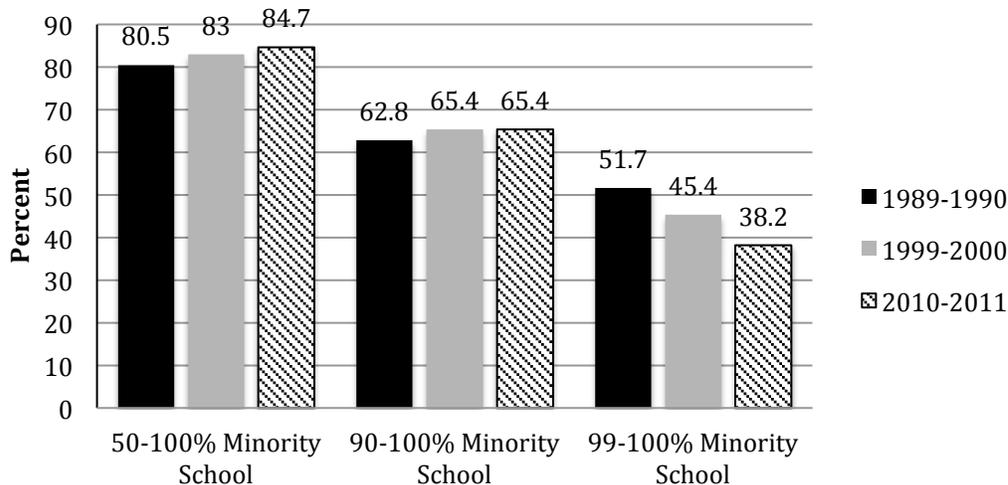
	Overall % Low-Income in Metro	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD					
1999-2000	33.6%	51.1%	68.1%	74.3%	77.5%
2010-2011	41.6%	57.5%	76.2%	84.6%	86.0%

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

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

The share of black students attending minority schools has steadily increased over the last two decades (Figure 11). In 2010, around 85% of black students attended majority minority schools, 65% of blacks went to intensely segregated schools, and roughly 40% of blacks attended apartheid schools. Notably, there was a 13.5 percentage point drop in the share of black students attending apartheid schools. However, the share of black students attending such schools is still quite high, with nearly two out of every five black students attending an apartheid setting. Together, these data suggest that racial segregation remains high in the Philadelphia metro area, especially for black students.

Figure 11- *Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area*

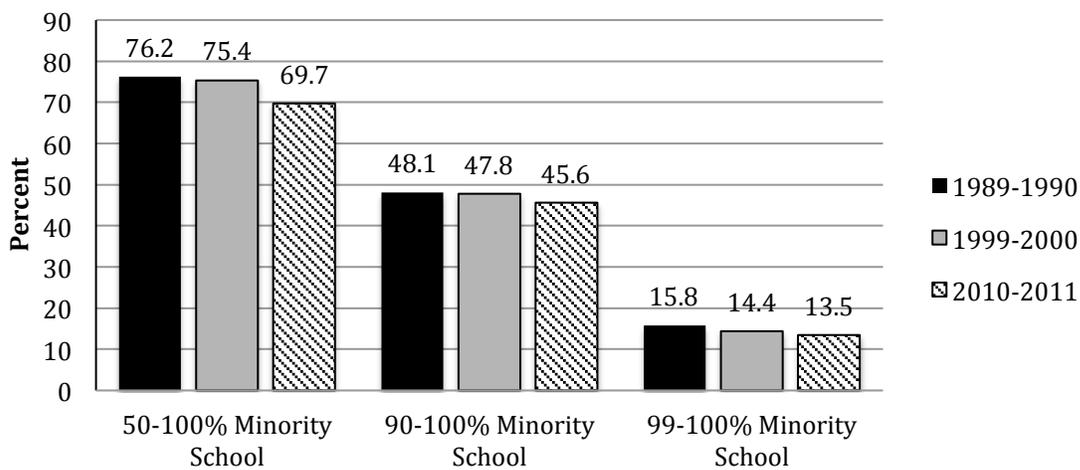


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

Although the share of black students attending minority schools has steadily increased, the overall share of Latino students attending such schools decreased over the last two decades (Figure 12). In 2010, the share of Latino students attending majority minority schools was around 70%, a decrease of 6.5% since 1989-1990. At 45.6%, the share of Latinos attending intensely segregated schools in 2010 was almost 20% less than the share of blacks attending such schools, in part due to the small numbers of Latino students. Similarly, only 13.5% of Latinos attended apartheid schools in 2010— almost 25% less the share of blacks attending schools with over 99% minority students. Together, these data suggest that racial segregation remains high in the Philadelphia metro area, especially for black students.

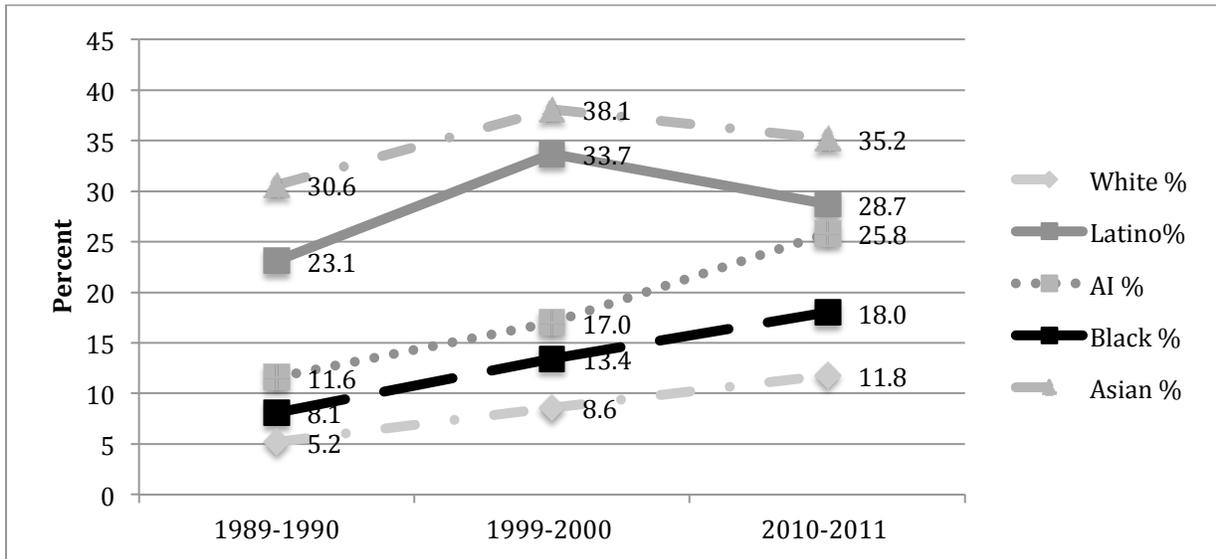
Figure 12 - *Latino Students in Minority Schools, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area*



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

Over the last twenty years, all racial groups in metro Philadelphia have experienced increases in the share of students attending multiracial schools, those that have any three races representing at least one-tenth of the total student enrollment (Figure 13). However, the share of Asian and Latino students attending such schools has decreased over the last decade offsetting some previous increases. In 2010-2011, blacks and white students continued to have the lowest share of students at multiracial schools with 18% and 11.8% respectively.

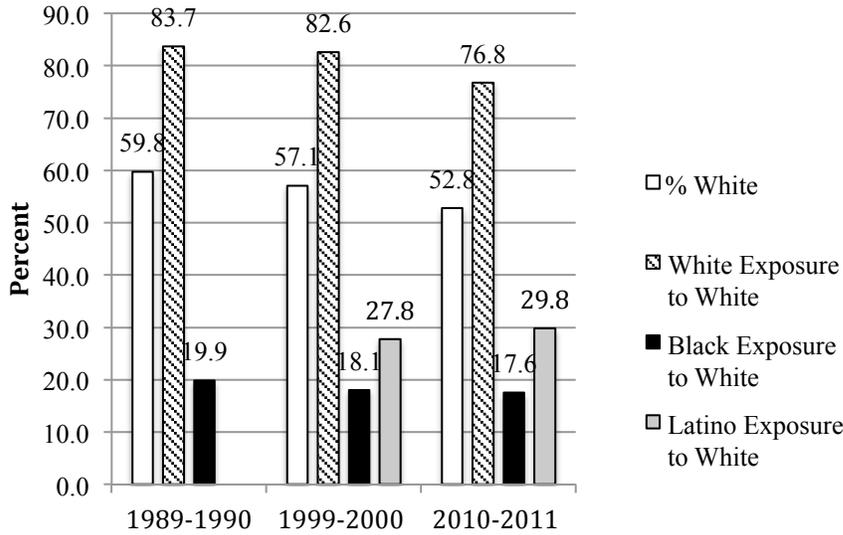
Figure 13 - *Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area*



Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Although the percentage of white students attending schools in metro Philadelphia has declined 7 percentage points over the last two decades, most whites still attend schools that are predominantly white (Figure 14). Whereas the typical white student attended a school with 83.7% white students in 1989, the average white student was exposed to 76.8% white students in 2010. Although the Latino student population was too small in 1989 to even calculate exposure rates, the data from the last decade indicate that Latinos have experienced a 2% increase in their exposure to white students. While the difference between the black exposure and the overall percentage of white students has decreased around five percent over the last two decades, the typical black student is still greatly underexposed to white students, comparatively.

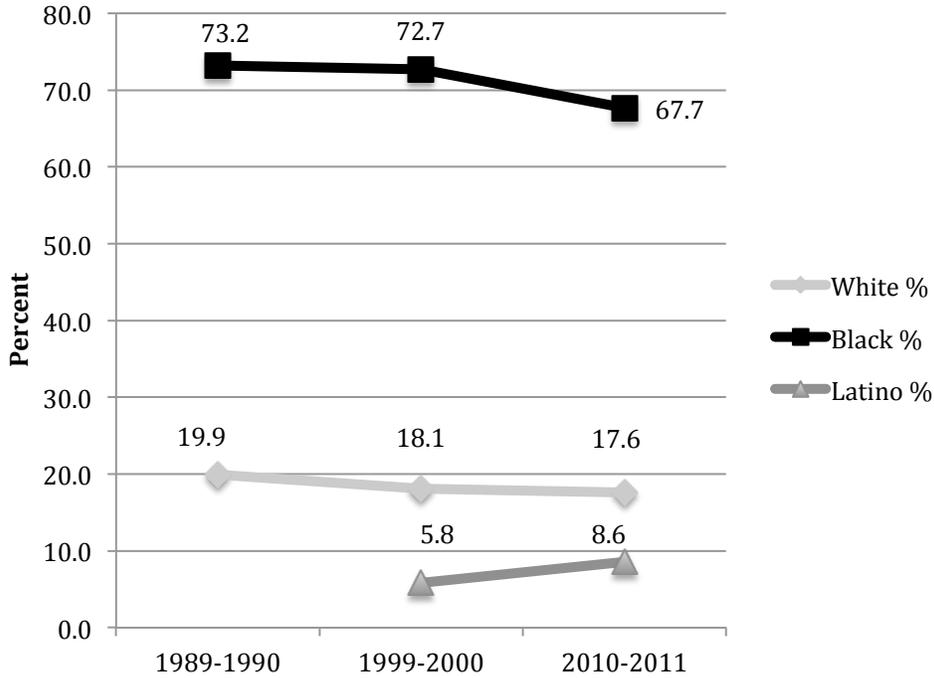
Figure 14 - *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area*



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

Despite a small decrease over the last two decades, the typical black student still attends a school with over two-thirds other black students (Figure 15). Over the same period, their exposure to white students has decreased from roughly 20% to less than 18%. Concurrently, there has been an increase in the share of Latino students attending the school of a typical black student, increasing from 5.8% to 8.6%. Ultimately, the typical black student attended highly segregated schools in 2010-2011 with over three-fourths of students being black or Latino.

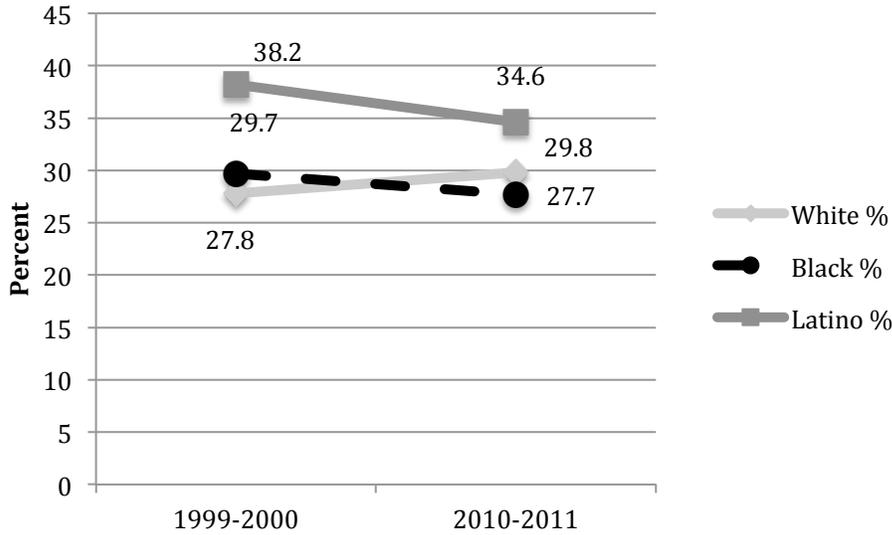
Figure 15 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area*



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

Over the last decade, the typical Latino student in metro Philadelphia attended school with slightly fewer Latinos and blacks, accompanied by a very modest increase in white students (Figure 16). In 2010-2011, the typical Latino student in metro Philadelphia appears to be attending schools with close to one-third of all three racial groups. This may be a result of increasing amounts of Latino students attending schools in suburban Philadelphia.

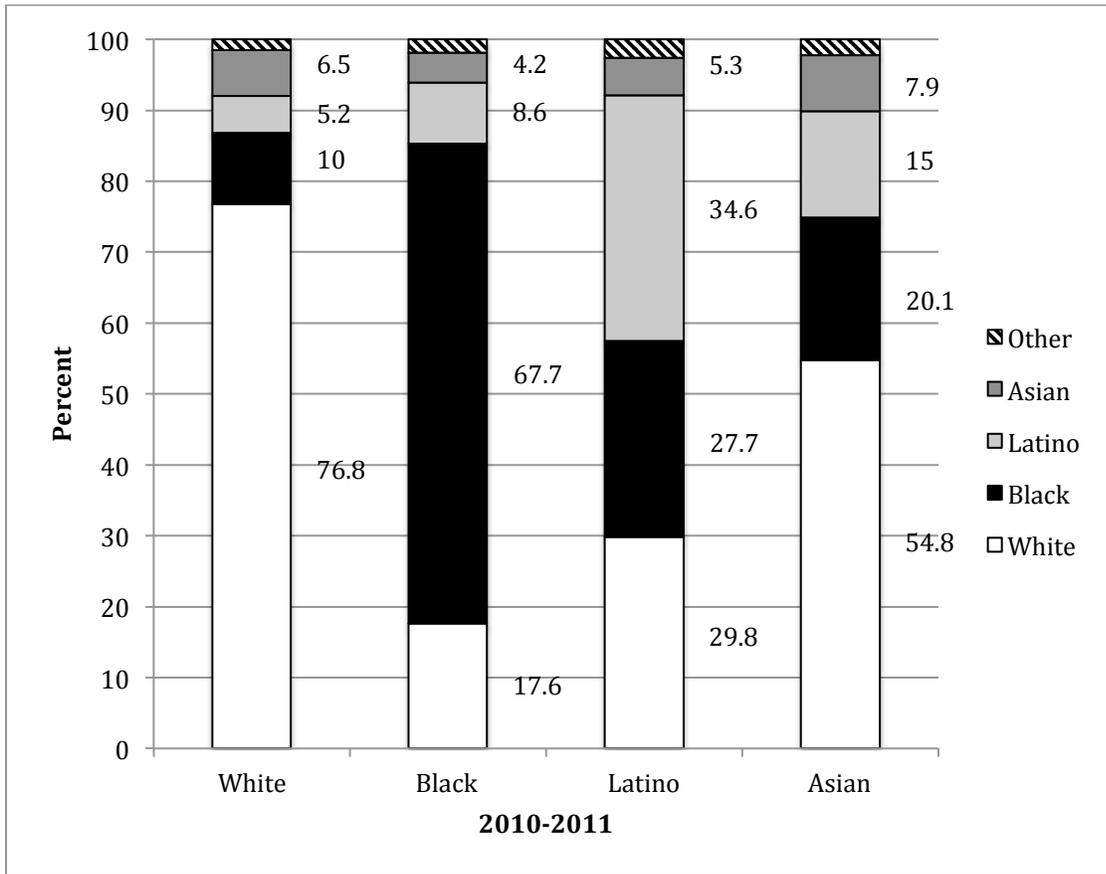
Figure 16 - Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area



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 of students in Philadelphia varied greatly by race with blacks and Latinos being greatly underexposed to majority students (Figure 17). On average, only Asian students attended schools with racial compositions that closely reflected the overall composition of the metro area of Philadelphia. As mentioned previously in Figure 14, whites attended schools in which whites were overrepresented and minorities were greatly underrepresented in terms of the metro composition. Although blacks constituted a little less than one third of all students in the Philadelphia metro area, the typical black student attended a school with over two-thirds black students. These data reinforce the finding that racial groups are unevenly distributed across the metropolitan area.

Figure 17 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD*

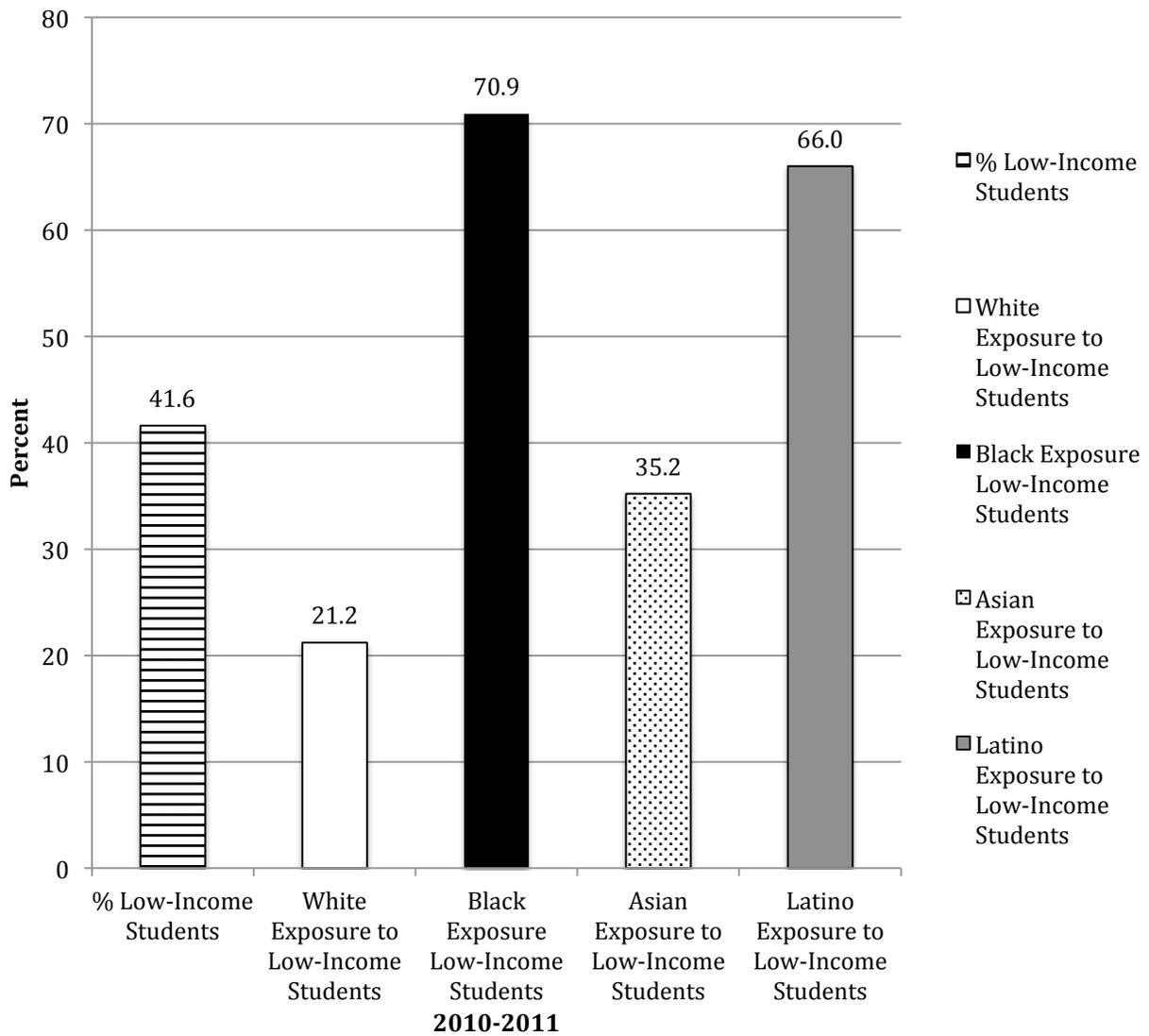


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

The typical black student attends a school with 3.5 times more low-income students than the typical white student while the typical Latino student attends a school with more than three times more low-income students than the typical white (Figure 18). The typical white student attended a school with only 21.2% low-income students – over 20% less than the metro average. Although the typical Asian student went to schools with fewer low-income students than the metro average, they were still exposed to 14% more low-income students than the typical white student. These racial disparities are indicative of the disproportionate concentration of poverty by race in metro Philadelphia.

Figure 18 - *Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area*



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

Although the overall distribution of students became more integrated over the last two decades, the degree that districts differed actually increased. In 2010, the average school was 42% less diverse than the metropolitan area compared to 51% in 1989 based on the entropy index (Table 7). The entropy index measures the distribution of racial groups; it is useful to examine multi-group exposure and can be easily decomposed. The distribution of racial groups across metro Philadelphia has improved, but is still extremely uneven. However, the majority of this narrowing occurred within districts. For example, the within district segregation decreased by half, but the between district distribution became 2% higher over the last two decades.

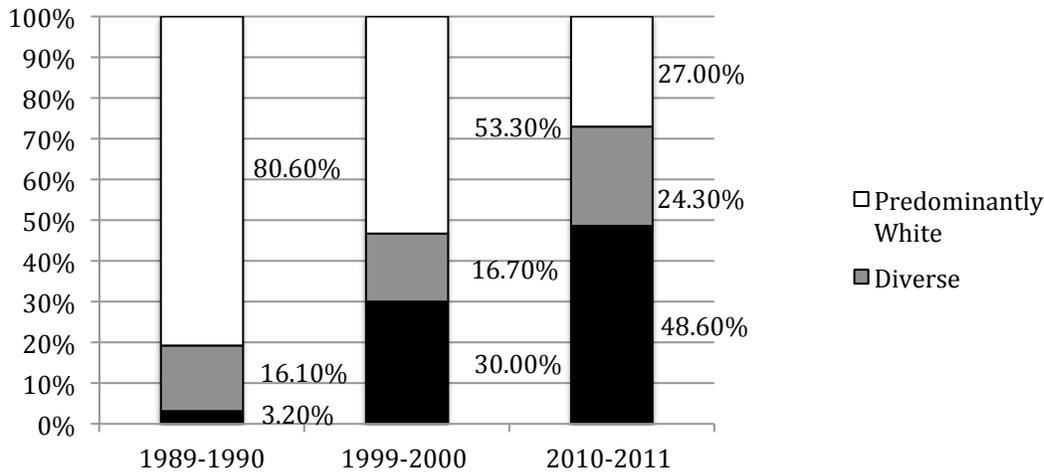
Table 7 - Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area

	H	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD			
1989-1990	0.51	0.2	0.3
1999-2000	0.49	0.16	0.32
2010-2011	0.42	0.1	0.32

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

Over the last two decades, there has been a high amount of racial transition amongst districts in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. Figure 19 displays these changes between decades. Between 1989 and 1999, the percentage of predominantly white districts shrank from 80.6% to 53.3%. Despite this reduction, the number of diverse districts was stable over this time and predominantly non-white districts increased 837.5% over this time. Moreover, the proportion of predominantly non-white districts experienced a 62% increase between the next decade, 1999 through 2010. During the same time period, predominantly white districts continued to decrease with approximately half as many in 2010 than 11 years prior. Finally, there was an increase in diverse districts of almost 8 percentage points over the last decade. The Philadelphia metro areas experienced dual trends as some formerly white districts became diverse and others quickly turned into predominantly minority districts.

Figure 19 - Racial Transition by District, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Area



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=62 districts for 1989, 1999 and 2010 with greater than 100 students enrolled across the three time periods.

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

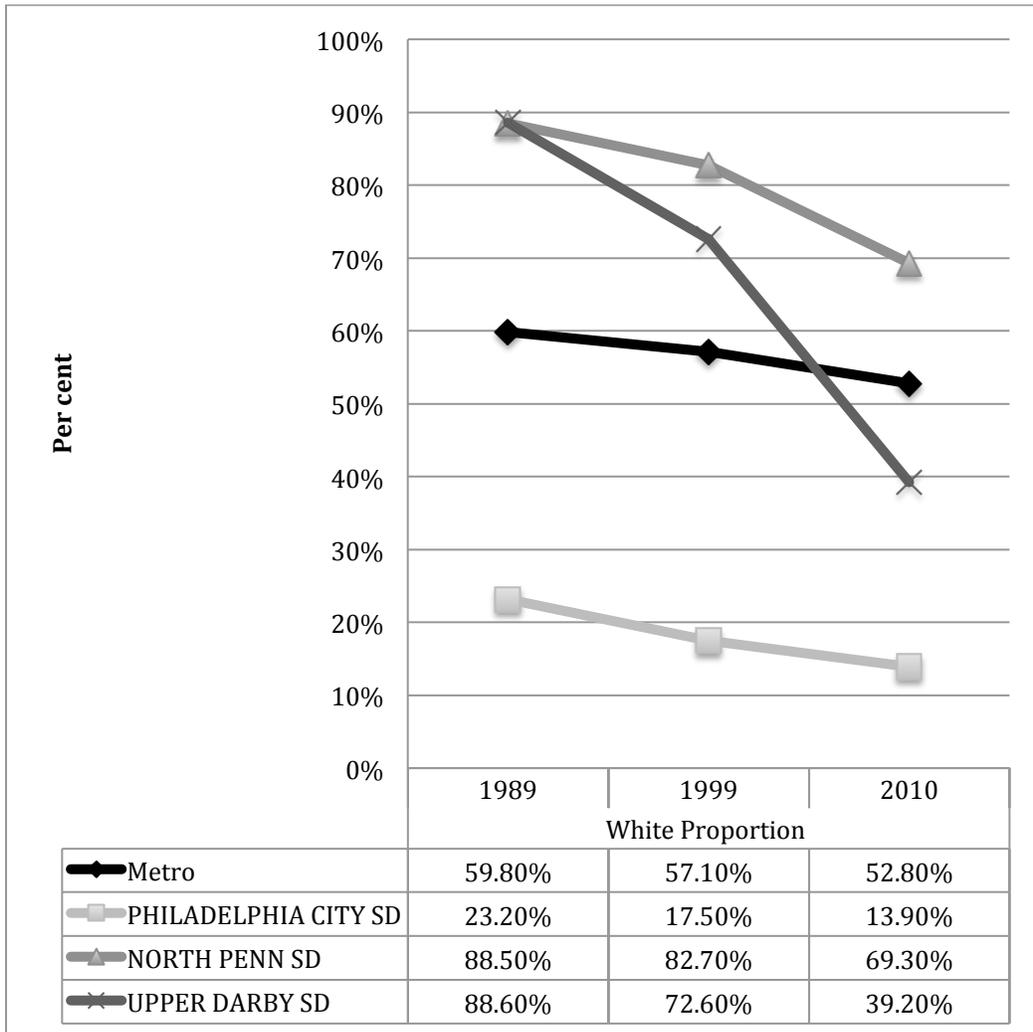
Between 1989 and 2010, the proportion of white students decreased in all 10 of the districts with the highest enrollment in the Philadelphia metro area (Table 8). However, the classification changed for only two districts, North Penn and Upper Darby. In the case of Upper Darby, the school district shifted from a predominantly white district to a diverse district in 1999 and to a predominantly minority district by 2010 (Figure 12). This change in classification reflected an almost 50% point reduction in the white share of the population over the last two decades. Between this same time period, North Penn experienced a smaller, but significant decrease in percentage of white students from 88.5% to 69.3% and is now classified as a diverse district.

Table 8 - *White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Top Ten Highest Enrolling and Enduring Districts in 2010, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD*

	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Metro	59.8%	57.1%	52.8%	D	D	D
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	23.2%	17.5%	13.9%	PNW	PNW	PNW
CENTRAL BUCKS SD	96.2%	95.9%	89.8%	PW	PW	PW
NORTH PENN SD	88.5%	82.7%	69.3%	PW	PW	D
UPPER DARBY SD	88.6%	72.6%	39.2%	PW	D	PNW
COUNCIL ROCK SD	97.0%	96.6%	90.5%	PW	PW	PW
WEST CHESTER AREA SD	85.3%	84.6%	81.6%	PW	PW	PW
DOWNTOWN AREA SD	94.7%	93.2%	85.0%	PW	PW	PW
PENNSBURY SD	92.5%	90.0%	82.4%	PW	PW	PW
NESHAMINY SD	96.1%	94.6%	87.6%	PW	PW	PW
SPRING-FORD AREA SD	95.8%	93.8%	85.3%	PW	PW	PW

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 any time period.

Figure 20 - *Rapid or Moderate Racial Transition by District Type for Top 10 Highest Enrolling Districts, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD*



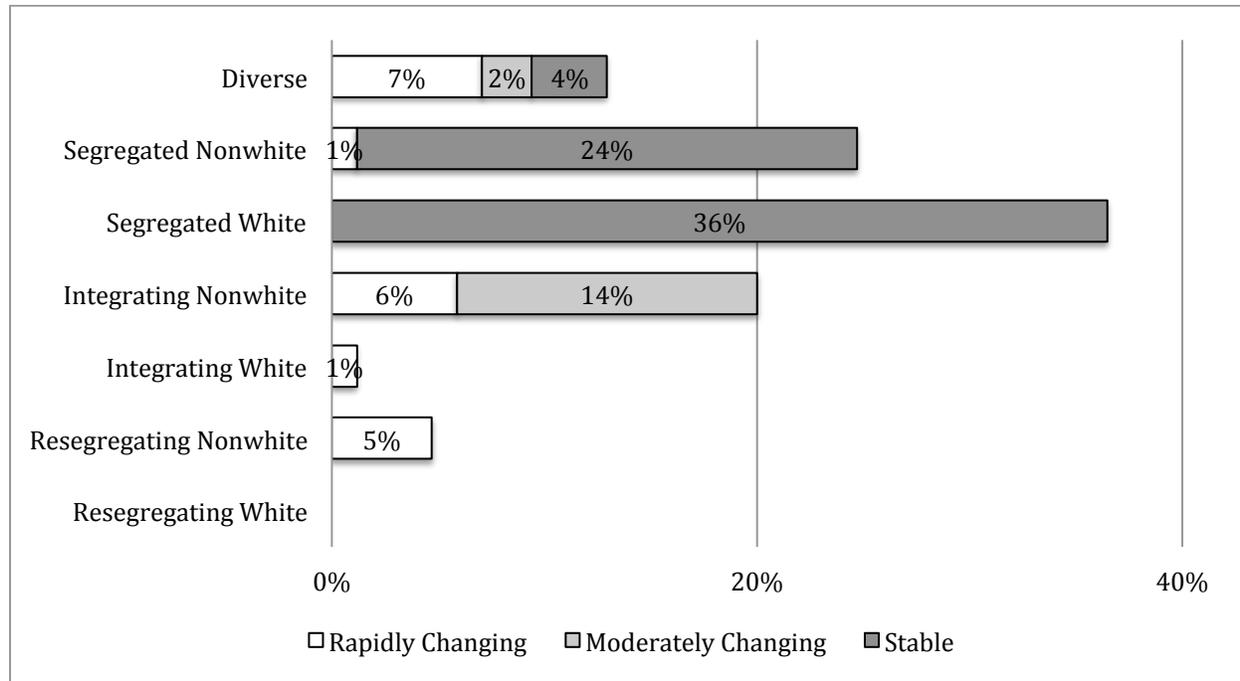
Note: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the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

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

Over the last decade, approximately two-thirds of school districts (64%) remained stable (Figure 21). Notably, virtually no segregated white or segregated non-white transitioned. There was a modest increase in the growth of diverse districts with 7% of districts experiencing rapid changes and 2% experiencing a moderate change. Twenty percent of districts transitioned to

integrating non-white with about a third of these integrating non-white districts experiencing a rapid change. Notably, all of the transitions reflected increases in non-white populations.

Figure 21 - Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD, 1999 to 2010



Note: N=85 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.

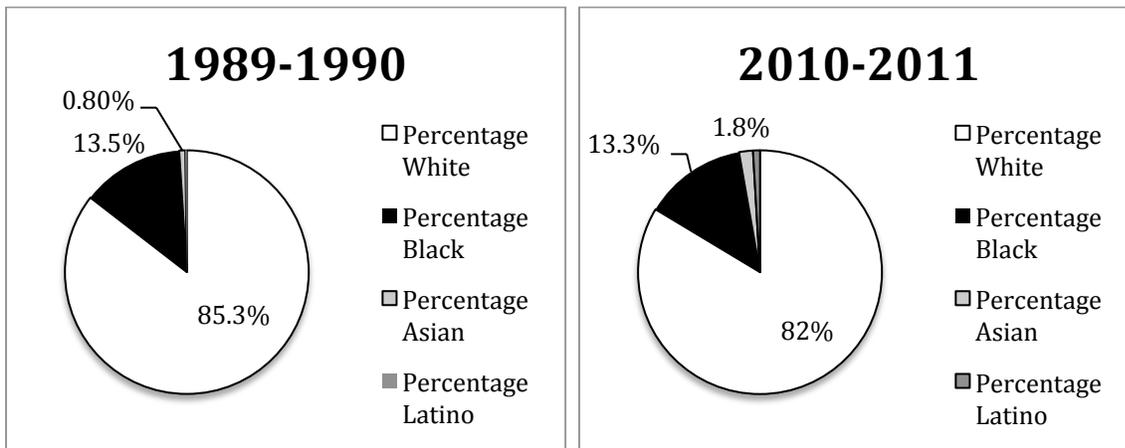
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area

Located 300 miles west of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh is the second largest metropolitan area in Pennsylvania. Historically, Pittsburgh was a key player in the rust belt economy of the early 20th century – almost synonymous with Carnegie Steel at one point. During this period, Pittsburgh drew immigrants from various European countries as well as African-Americans from all over the United States. In recent years, Pittsburgh has been touted by some as an example of a rust belt city transforming their economy by attracting technology and finance companies. Unlike Philadelphia, Pittsburgh has attracted few recent immigrant groups resulting in a population that is mostly white and black.

The racial composition of the Pittsburgh metropolitan area has remained stable and predominately white over the last two decades (Figure 22). Over this time, there has been a slight decrease in the share of white students from 85.3% to 81.7%. The share of the Asian population more than doubled, but still only makes up less than 2% of all students in metro Pittsburgh. Although the share of African-American (13.3% in 2010) and Latino (0.9% in 2010) experienced little change over the last two decades, the overall minority population has increased, and around 2% of students self-identified as two or more races in 2010 (this category was unavailable in 1989). Compared to Philadelphia, the student population of Pittsburgh is far less diverse having few blacks and Latinos and smaller percentage of black students. Compared to the basic trends in the nation and the region, the Latino numbers in metro Pittsburgh are extremely low, perhaps a reflection of the slow growth of the area which makes it far less attractive to immigrants in search of work. The Latino population in Pittsburgh (0.20% in 1989; 0.90% in 2010) is so low that the values are difficult to see in the pie graph. It is an unusual area in which the Asian enrollment exceeds the Latino enrollment.

Figure 22 - *Public School Enrollment by Race, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*



Note: American Indian and Latino is less than 1% of total enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 271,684. In 2010, total enrollment was 316,253.

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

While suburban schools in metro Pittsburgh experienced some demographic change, urban schools underwent a much more drastic shift going from majority white to only about one-third white (Table 9). The share of white students in both urban and suburban schools decreased over the last two decades, but the decrease in percentage points was much greater in urban areas at approximately 20% compared to less than 9% in suburban areas. Moreover, the majority of this shift occurred in the last decade. The trend between 1989 and 2010 was the opposite for blacks who experienced a 12.3% increase in their share of the urban school population while their share of the suburban population increased 4.4 percentage points. Again, the share of Asians and Latinos increased in both areas, but they still make up an extremely small share of the overall population.

Table 9 - *Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*

	Urban Schools				Suburban Schools			
	White	Black	Asian	Latino	White	Black	Asian	Latino
Pittsburgh Metro								
1989-1990	53.32%	44.29%	1.90%	0.42%	91.29%	7.38%	0.98%	0.24%
1999-2000	49.28%	48.26%	1.88%	0.53%	89.89%	8.51%	1.12%	0.38%
2010-2011	33.80%	56.57%	2.24%	1.52%	82.74%	11.78%	2.36%	0.94%

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

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

Although there were virtually no multiracial schools in 1989, there were 32 (5.3%) multiracial schools in metro Pittsburgh in 2010 (Table 10). Whereas, we infer that many of the multiracial schools in Philadelphia are actually composed of three different minority populations, this scenario is far less likely in Pittsburgh with its minimal Latino and Asian populations.

Over the same period, the share of majority minority schools increased 4.4 percentage points from 10.8% to 15.2%. Although there was a slight increase in intensely segregated schools over the last two decades, there was a minor decrease in the share of apartheid schools over the same time period. Although these numbers seem modest compared to Philadelphia, it is noteworthy given that over 80% of the metro student population was white in 2010.

Table 10 - *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Pittsburgh					
1989-1990	536	0.2%	10.8%	2.4%	1.3%
1999-2000	645		12.4%	4.0%	2.0%
2010-2011	600	5.3%	15.2%	3.8%	1.2%

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

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

Over the last two decades, there was an increase in the overall percentage of low-income students in the Pittsburgh metro area (Table 11). These increases have occurred in all four types of schools displayed in Table 11. The increases in low-income students for majority minority, racially isolated, and apartheid schools ranged from 9.7 to 11.3 percentage points. Notably, the share of low-income students enrolled at racially isolated schools, those with over 90% minority students, in 2010 exceeded the metro average by almost 57 percentage points. In 2010, almost

90% of students enrolled in these racially isolated schools experienced this dual segregation of race and poverty.

Table 11 - *Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*

	Overall % Low-Income in Metro	% 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
Pittsburgh, PA					
1999-2000	27.5%	NS	64.6%	76.9%	79.4%
2010-2011	33.5%	69.3%	74.3%	88.2%	90.1%

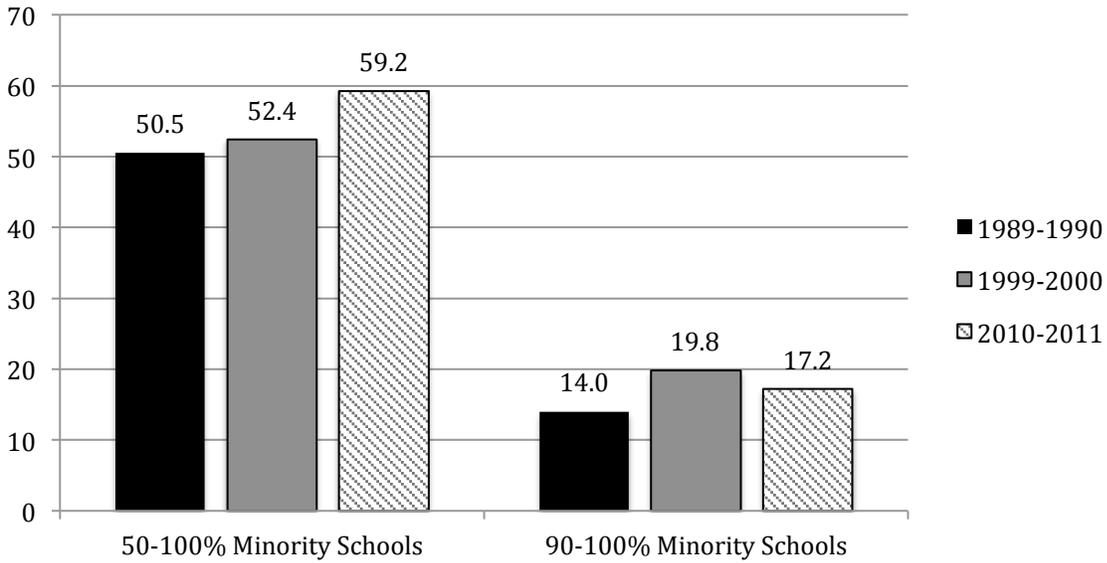
Note: NS = No Schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

Between 1989 and 2010, the percentage of black students attending majority minority and racially isolated schools increased (Figure 23). In 2010, approximately six out of ten black students attended a majority minority school compared to about five out of ten in 1989. Concurrently, there was a 3.2% increase in the share of black students enrolled in racially isolated schools.

Latinos in metro Pittsburgh did not experience a similar rise in segregation over this time (Figure 24). There were slight declines for Latino students enrolled in such schools, but these figures have limited implications given the small overall share of Latino students in Pittsburgh. However, as the Latino population most likely grows in coming decades, it will be interesting to see if Pittsburgh Latino students experience high levels of segregation as seen in the Philadelphia metro area or if they are able to spatially assimilate throughout the region.

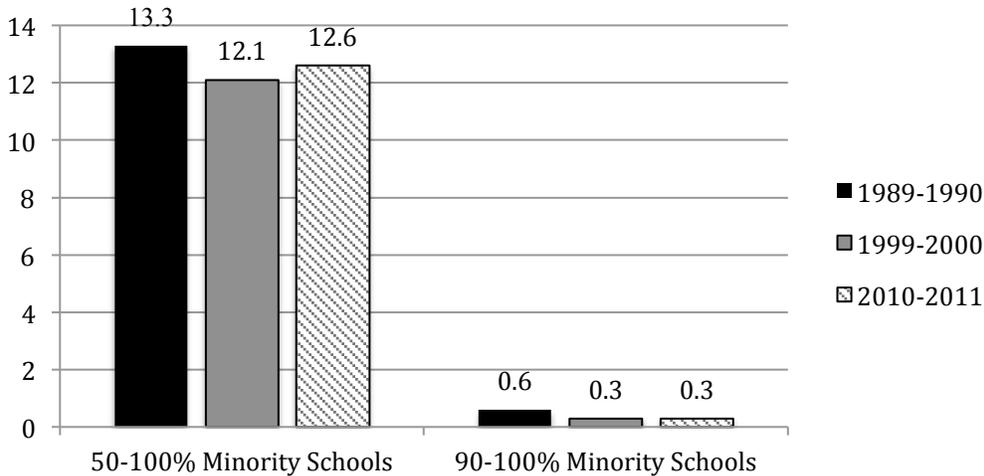
Figure 23 - *Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*



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 24 - *Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*

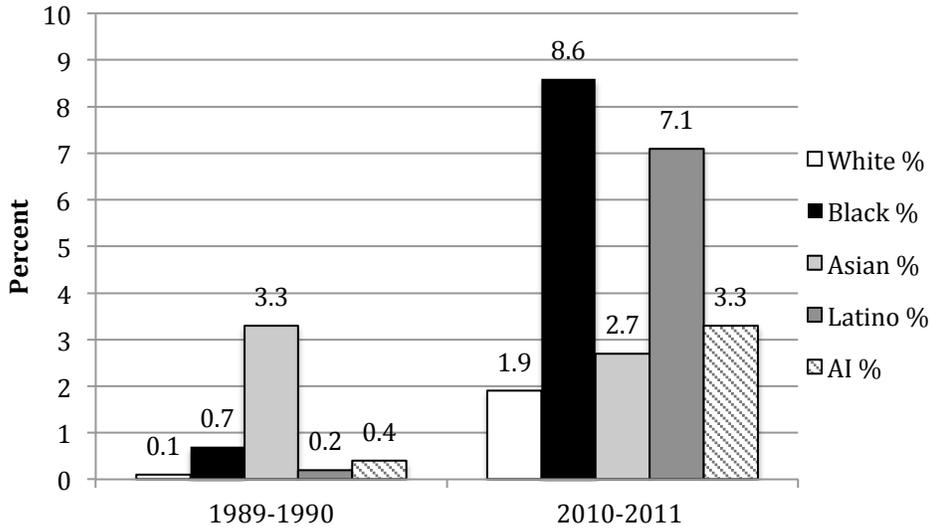


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

Between 1989 and 2010, the share of students attending multiracial schools in the Pittsburgh metropolitan area increased for all racial groups except Asians (Figure 25). Still, just 2% of white students attended multiracial schools in 2010. The share of black students enrolled in multiracial schools increased more than ten fold from 0.7 to 8.6.

Figure 25 - Students in Multiracial Schools, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area



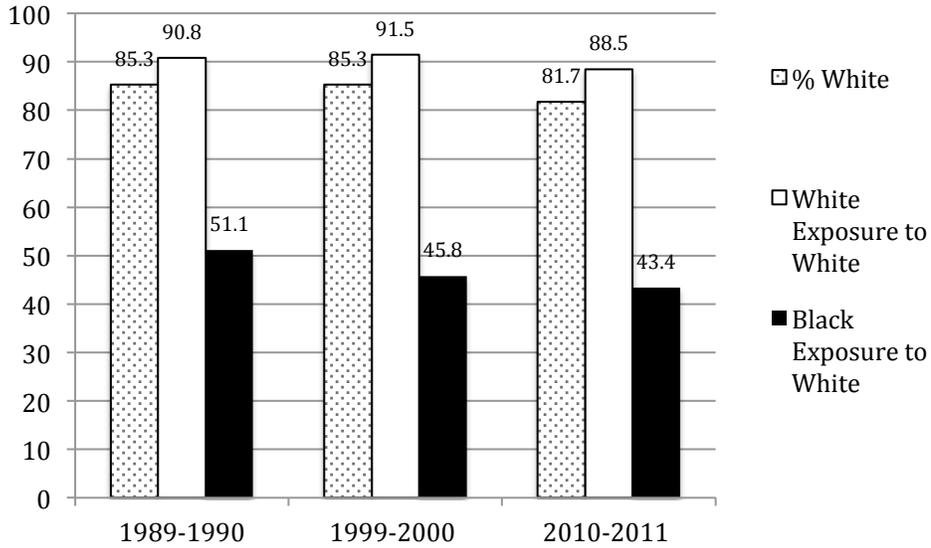
Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

The overall share of white students in the Pittsburgh metro area stayed the same between 1989 and 1999, but declined 3.6% the following decade (Figure 26). Over the last two decades, the white exposure to other whites only declined by about 2%. However, the typical black student attended a school in 2010 with almost 8% fewer whites than they did in 1989. This widening exposure gap suggests that segregation has indeed increased over the last two decades in metro Pittsburgh.⁷²

⁷² Latino share of Pittsburgh student population was too small to accurately calculate exposure indices.

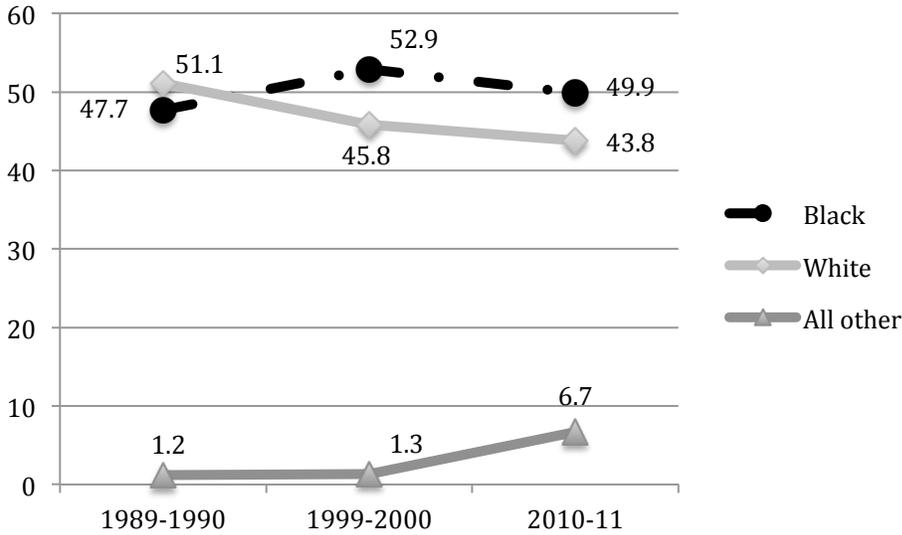
Figure 26 - *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*



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

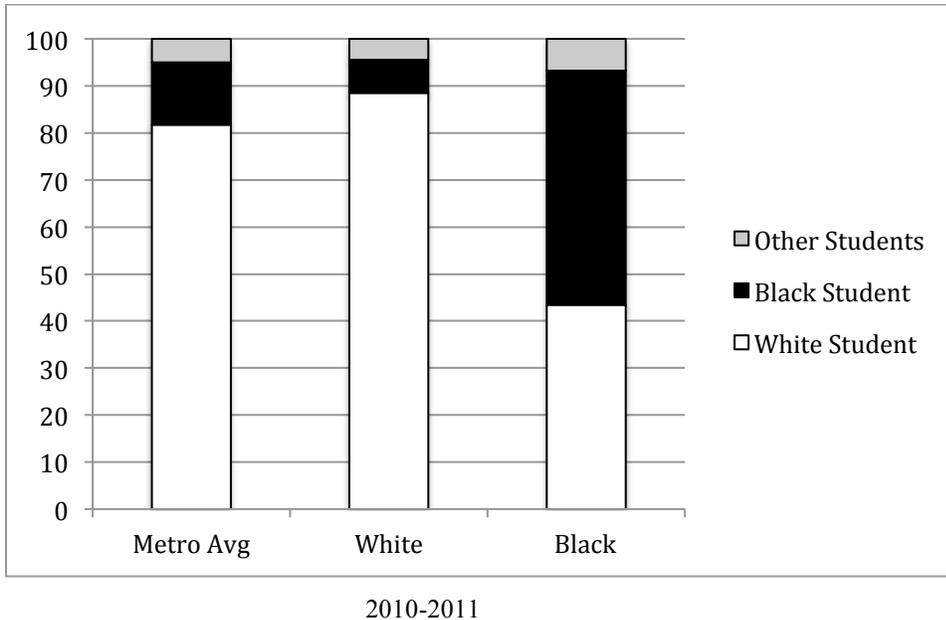
The typical black student attended a school with a smaller share of black students in 2010 than in the previous decade while whites still attended schools typically almost 90% white (Figure 27). However, the typical black student attended a school with almost 7% of the other students identifying as Asian, Latino, American-Indian, or two or more races. Since the last category was only available in 2010, this may explain some of the diminishing share of black students. Conversely, white students, on average, attended a school where almost 9 out of 10 students were also white (Figure 28). This is especially notable considering less than 82% of the metro area was white.

Figure 27 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*



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

Figure 28 - *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*



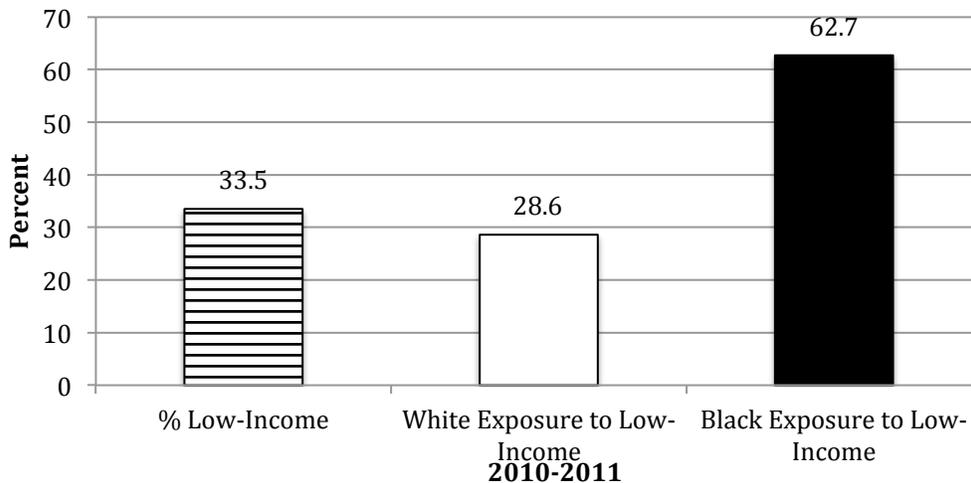
Note: Other includes Latinos, Asians, and American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

Black students disproportionately attended schools with concentrated poverty (Figure 29). The typical white student attended a school with around five percentage points fewer low-

income students than the metro average, while the typical black student attended a school with almost 30 % more low-income students than the metro average.

Figure 29 - Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area



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

Pittsburgh had high levels of overall segregation in both 1989 and 2010 and extreme segregation in 1999 (Table 12). Overall, students were distributed across metro Pittsburgh schools less evenly by race between 1989 and 1999, but the distribution became more even over the last 11 years. Most of this increased evenness is explained by a reduction in the within district distribution which was .06 in 1989 and 1999 and fell to .02 in 2010. However, the between district evenness was identical between 1989 and 2010 at .32. In fact, the between district segregation explained almost 95% of all segregation in 2010.

Table 12 - Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area

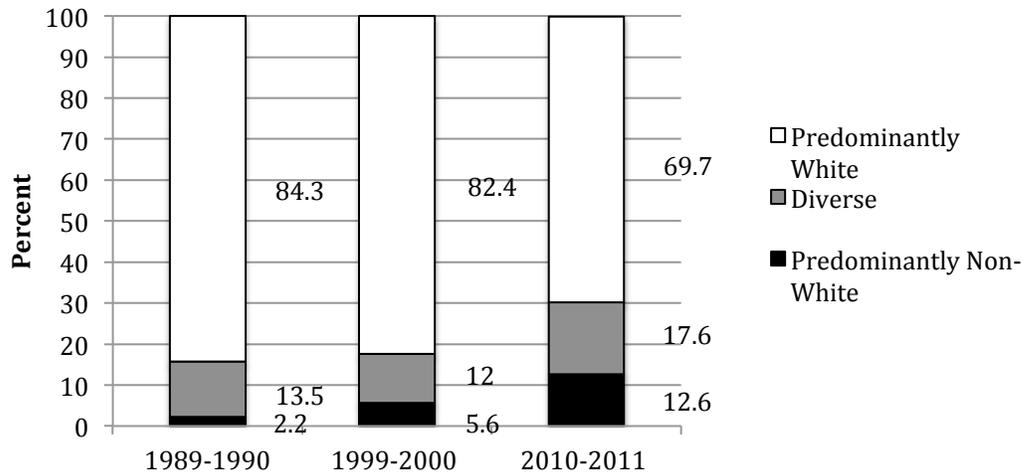
	H	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Pittsburgh			
1989-1990	0.38	0.06	0.32
1999-2000	0.41	0.06	0.35
2010-2011	0.34	0.02	0.32

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 number of predominantly white districts decreased (Figure 30). There was a reduction of 14.6% in the amount of predominantly white districts over this time. Concurrently, there was a 4.1% increase in diverse districts and a six-fold increase in predominantly non-white districts from 2.2% to 12.6%. This rapid increase in predominantly

non-white districts is especially notable given the relatively stable racial composition of the overall metro area over the last two decades.

Figure 30 - *Racial Transition by District, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area*



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

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

Of the ten largest districts in Pittsburgh metro area, only the School District of Pittsburgh was reclassified due to shifts in racial composition over the last two decades (Table 13). The share of white students attending Pittsburgh SD decreased over 12 percentage points over this time. This resulted in Pittsburgh's former designation as a diverse district being replaced by a predominantly non-white classification.

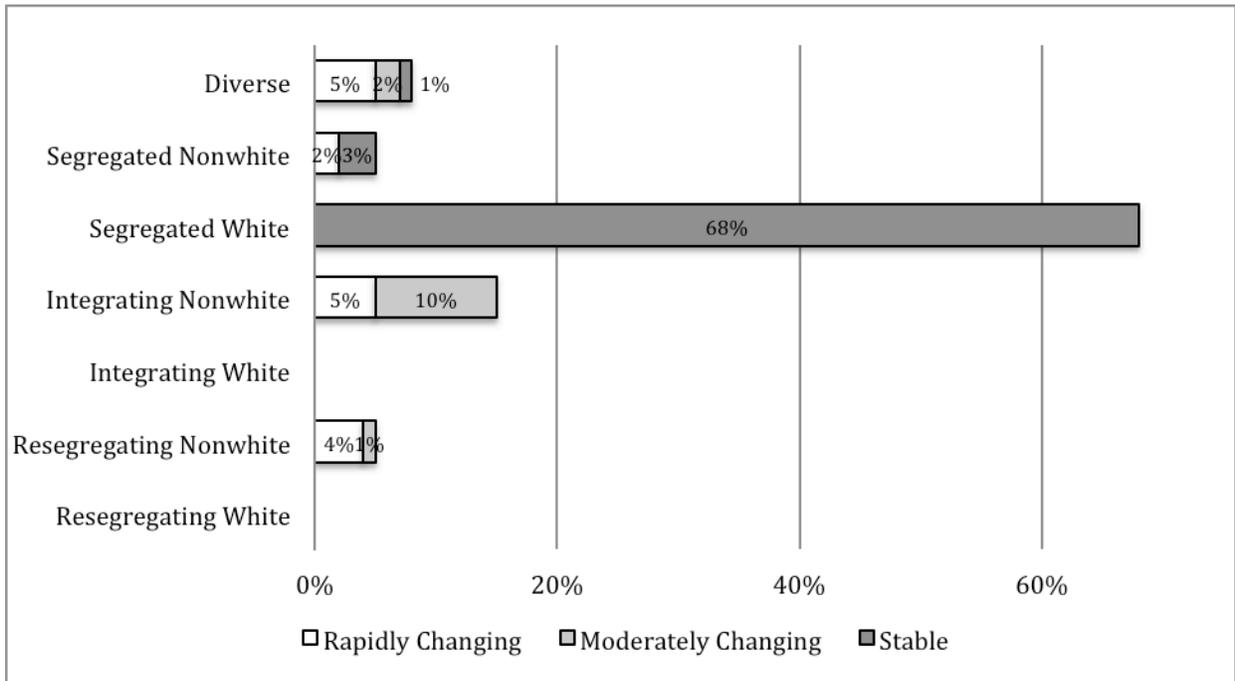
Table 13 - *White Proportion and Classification in Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area and Top Ten Highest Enrolling and Enduring Districts in 2010*

	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Metro	85.3%	85.3%	81.7%	PW	PW	PW
PITTSBURGH SD	46.8%	41.4%	34.4%	D	D	PNW
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS			85.0%			PW
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD	96.1%	95.4%	86.5%	PW	PW	PW
BUTLER AREA SD		96.9%	94.6%		PW	PW
SENECA VALLEY SD		97.7%	95.4%		PW	PW
HEMPFIELD AREA SD	98.1%	97.2%	95.2%	PW	PW	PW
ARMSTRONG SD			98.2%			PW
MT LEBANON SD	95.6%	96.8%	90.9%	PW	PW	PW
NORWIN SD	98.7%	98.8%	97.0%	PW	PW	PW
CANON-MCMILLAN SD	93.5%	93.2%	91.1%	PW	PW	PW

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 any time period. Pennsylvania Cyber Charter School main office is located in Pittsburgh, but enrolls students from entire state.

The two most common types of racial transitions in Pittsburgh were when a district became segregated white or integrating non-white (Figure 31). Over two-thirds of the districts were stable and segregated white districts. However, 15% of the districts changed and became integrating non-white.

Figure 31 - Degree and Type of Racial Transition for Enduring Districts, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area, 1999 to 2010



Note: $N=104$ 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.

Discussion

Both state-level and metropolitan-level patterns raise serious concerns about the experience of black and Latino students in Pennsylvania's public schools. The increasing concentration of black and Latino students in minority schools and the decreasing exposure of black and Latino students to white students contribute to the increasing racial segregation of black and Latino students in Pennsylvania. The same students are also disproportionately exposed to high levels of low-income students. The result is a situation in which Pennsylvania's black and Latino students experience double segregation by race and class.

Over the last two decades, there has been a significant shift in the racial composition of the state. While the white share of the student population decreased by 11 percentage points, the Asian share of students doubled and the Latino share more than tripled. However, these state trends vary between metropolitan areas. For example, the Latino and Asian shares of student enrollment in the Philadelphia area almost doubled over the last two decades as the share of white students decreased by 7 percentage points.

Yet in Pittsburgh, the racial composition remained fairly stable over the same time period, though there was a small decrease in the share of white students and small increases in minority students. In stark contrast to Philadelphia, as well as the shifting demographics of the state and the nation, the Latino share of the student population in Pittsburgh remained less than 1% of all students. Even though Pittsburgh is the second largest metropolitan area in Pennsylvania, several smaller metropolitan and micropolitan areas have experienced greater demographic change. Still, these state trends likely foretell continued racial diversity across the state including Pittsburgh.

The changes in the racial composition are especially noteworthy given the increasing number of segregated minority schools in Pennsylvania. Over the last two decades, the number of majority minority schools more than doubled, resulting in a situation where now 1 in every 5 Pennsylvania schools is classified as such. The number of intensely segregated schools, those with over 90% minority students, also more than doubled over the last two decades. Finally, those schools considered apartheid increased 37% over the last two decades.

One noteworthy change is that that multiracial schools, those with at least three different racial groups with at least 10% of the student population, are far more common today than they were in past decades. However, only 7% of white students attended such schools in 2010 indicating that the diversity may be occurring with little non-minority participation.

While blacks and Latinos are both far more likely to attend high minority schools than white and Asian students, the metropolitan trends have differed between groups. In Philadelphia, the share of Latinos at majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools has decreased. However, 7 in 10 Latino students in metro Philadelphia still attended majority minority schools while almost half attended intensely segregated schools. Over the same period, the share of blacks in majority-minority and intensely segregated schools increased in Philadelphia. Although there was a decrease in blacks attending apartheid schools, about 38% of blacks in metro Philadelphia still attended these types of schools in 2010. While the concentration of blacks in Pittsburgh was not as stark as in Philadelphia in 1989, the share of blacks in majority minority schools in Pittsburgh has increased even more rapidly at a rate of

17% and 23% for intensely segregated schools. This increase in segregation is not totally surprising given the over 12 percentage point drop in the share of whites in Pittsburgh, though whites still constitute the majority.

Black and Latino exposure to white students remains extremely low in Pennsylvania. Due in part to a shrinking white population, the white over exposure to other white students has decreased over the last two decades. However, while the share of white students in the state decreased by 11 percentage points, the white exposure to other whites only dropped by around 7 percentage points, thus white students are still overexposed to their white peers. The typical black student attended a school with slightly fewer than 30% whites and the typical Latino attended a school with fewer than 40% whites, though whites make up 72% of students statewide. In Philadelphia, there was some positive change over time for Latino exposure to whites, but the typical Latino student still attended a school with less than 30% white students. In 2010, the typical black student attended a school with only 17.6% whites in Philadelphia and 43.4% in Pittsburgh. Notably, while exposure rates among blacks in Pittsburgh dropped at twice the rate of the decreasing white enrollment, the white exposure rate only decreased at half this rate. These data may indicate that the end of desegregation efforts in communities such as Woodland Hills may be leading to new patterns of segregation.

Stemming the flood of segregation in Pennsylvania will be challenging, especially in the highly fragmented large metropolitan areas. Currently, only 1 of the 10 largest districts in Philadelphia, North Penn, is classified as diverse. However, there is reasonable concern this district will become predominantly non-white in the next decade given the rapid transition of another inner-ring suburb, Upper Darby, from predominantly white in 1989 to diverse in 1999 with only 39.2% share of whites in 2010. On the other hand, with the decrease in the share of whites in all 10 of the largest districts, policy makers will have a unique opportunity to manage a transition to stable diverse communities.

Similarly, Pittsburgh's 10 largest districts are also undergoing a shift in racial composition with the share of white students decreasing across the board. The school district of Pittsburgh itself has gone from a diverse district to one in which only one-third of students are whites, complicating desegregation efforts within the district. Conversely, the slower racial change in the other 9 predominantly white districts presents policy makers with the ability to be proactive in creating stable racially integrated schools or to consider crossing district lines.

In the past, Pennsylvania, via the PHRC, was very fairly aggressive in combatting de facto segregation. Today, the PHRC still exists, but their priorities have shifted to various other forms of discrimination. As stated earlier, in the case involving the School District of Philadelphia, education discrimination now focuses on the quality of schools rather than racial equity. However, given the severe funding crisis in Philadelphia (over 300 million dollar deficit), it is feasible that the state would be compelled through political necessity or litigation to address segregation more directly. If policy makers choose to become more involved in the creation or maintenance of racially integrated districts, there are some potential policy options.

Recommendations⁷³

State Level

Many steps can be taken at the state level to create and maintain integrated schools. Given that most segregation exists between different school districts in Pennsylvania, it is also important for state-level policies to provide a framework for developing and supporting inter-district programs in the form of city-suburban transfers and regional magnet schools, and states should play a role in setting up such schools. For example, in Massachusetts, the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO), coordinates an inter-district program. Pennsylvania should develop something similar in its metro areas. Incentives will need to be given to these schools including reimbursements for expenses, grants for teacher training, and support for installing innovative programs.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the receiving schools need to find additional ways to support the minority students who find themselves for the first time in a majority white school. This program could be vital, as the cost of participation in such a program is less than other programs.

An alternative way of addressing the fact that the majority of school segregation in Pennsylvania occurs across districts (rather than within) is to promote voluntary district consolidation or merging. The topic is a particularly sensitive one, and there has not been a successful large-scale attempt at merging since the 1960s. However, the state could create incentives for districts that merge as well as provide resources through competitive grants. Merging extremely small districts will ultimately save the state and local districts money and allow districts to provide a greater diversity of quality services such as AP course offerings, ELL teachers, and magnet programs.

Another important step Pennsylvania could take is to revitalize its energetic battle against school segregation through the PHRC. Currently, the PHRC website emphasizes individual legal protection such as bullying or being denied a scholarship based on background, but makes little mention of systemic inequities. Unfortunately, the drawn out legal battle in Philadelphia district resulted in an emphasis on quality education rather than equity, a decision that is too similar to the “separate but equal” decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* more than an a century ago.

State-level policies that focus on reducing racial isolation and promoting diverse schools are critical. Massachusetts’s Racial Imbalance Act is an example of such state policy. Ohio recently developed an updated version of policies that could provide direction for Pennsylvania as well. Ohio’s policy, which applies to both regular public schools and charter schools, provides guidance to school districts concerning the development of student assignment policies that foster diverse schools and reduce concentrated poverty. The policy encourages inter-district transfer programs and regional magnet schools. Ohio’s policy promotes the recruitment of a diverse group of teachers and also requires districts to report to the Ohio state Superintendent of Public Instruction on diversity-related matters.

⁷³ This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

⁷⁴ Eaton, S., & Chirichigno, G. (2011). *METCO merits more: The history and status of METCO* (p. 26). A Pioneer Institute White Paper in collaboration with The Houston Institute for Race and Justice at Harvard Law School 74. http://www.pioneerinstitute.org/pdf/110616_METCOMeritsMore.pdf

Fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets, particularly in and around areas with diverse school districts. The same groups should bring significant prosecutions for violations. Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies for projects receiving federal direct funding or tax credit subsidies so that they support integrated schools rather than foster segregation.

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

Local Level

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

Many steps can be taken in terms of advocacy as well. Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions and advocate for low-income housing to be set aside in new communities that are attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County, Maryland, just outside Washington, D.C. Schools—both public and charter—should not be built or opened in racially isolated areas of the district. 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. Districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools. Magnet schools and transfer programs within district borders can also be used to promote more racially integrated schools.

The enforcement of laws guiding school segregation is essential. Many communities have failed to comply with long-standing desegregation plans and have not been released by the federal courts. Such noncompliance and/or more contemporary violations are grounds for a new

or revised desegregation order. Many suburban districts never had a desegregation order because they were virtually all white during the civil rights era. However, many of them are now diverse and may be engaged in classic abuses of racial gerrymandering of attendance boundaries, school site selection that intensifies segregation and choice plans, or operating choice plans with methods and policies that undermine integration and foster segregation. Where such violations exist, local organizations and parents should ask the school board to address and correct them. If there is no positive response they should register complaints with the U.S. Department of Justice or the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Education.

Educational Organizations and Universities

Professional associations, teachers' organizations, and colleges of education need to make educators and communities fully aware of the nature and costs of existing segregation. Foundations should fund research dedicated to exploring the continued harms of segregation and the benefits of integration. 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 major inequalities exist.

The Courts

The most important public policy changes affecting desegregation have been made not by elected officials or educators but by the courts. The U.S. Supreme Court has changed basic elements of desegregation policy by 180 degrees, particularly in the 2007 *Parents Involved* decision, which sharply limited voluntary action with desegregation policies by school districts using choice and magnet school plans. The Court 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.

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. Without such requirements, choice policies, particularly those guiding charter schools, often foster increased racial segregation.

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

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

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

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

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

Over the last two decades, the racial and ethnic makeup of Pennsylvania's public school population has diversified, yet this diversity has not resulted in racial integration, and in many cases segregation has intensified. Two dominant statewide trends are double segregation and across-district segregation. Across the state, whites are overexposed to their white peers, while black and Latino students are underexposed to whites. The data also show that black and Latino students in Pennsylvania frequently experience double disadvantage, as they are segregated by race and socioeconomic status.

The statewide trend of double segregation by race and socioeconomic status is even more intense in the Philadelphia metro area, where the Latino population grew nearly 100% and where the share of intensely segregated schools increased over time. Further, in Philadelphia segregation occurs across districts rather than within districts.

Pittsburgh is demographically quite different from Philadelphia, yet in Pittsburgh, an even greater percentage of the segregation—nearly all (94%)—is due to between-district segregation. Though Pittsburgh has a smaller and more stable minority population, minority students there continue to experience extreme segregation.

That so much of the segregation in Pennsylvania occurs between districts requires creative thinking on the part of policymakers, who must find interdistrict solutions. We suggest that the state pursue integration using a multifaceted approach, including creating interdistrict transfer and magnet programs and incentivizing voluntary district merging. We also urge the state to breathe new life into the PHRC, the body charged with monitoring school segregation, among other things.

Appendix A: Additional Data Tables

State-Level Data

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

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Pennsylvania					
1989-1990	82.8%	92.4%	31.2%	69.5%	41.7%
1999-2000	79.0%	90.6%	29.2%	66.2%	40.5%
2010-2011	71.8%	85.1%	29.5%	62.8%	39.0%
Northeast					
1989-1990	73.9%	89.0%	26.6%	58.7%	28.4%
1999-2000	68.5%	86.5%	25.0%	50.5%	26.4%
2010-2011	61.1%	80.7%	24.2%	45.7%	27.0%
Nation					
1989-1990	68.4%	83.2%	35.4%	49.4%	32.5%
1999-2000	61.2%	80.2%	31.4%	44.8%	26.7%
2010-2011	52.1%	73.1%	27.8%	39.6%	25.1%

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

Last Revision: October 29, 2012

Other interpretations: Typical (racial group) exposure to white students, percentage of white students in school with a typical (racial group) student, or the average intergroup exposure to white students for a typical (racial group) student.

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

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Pennsylvania					
1989-1990	12.9%	4.9%	62.2%	17.8%	21.6%
1999-2000	14.7%	5.5%	61.9%	19.5%	21.8%
2010-2011	15.3%	6.3%	54.7%	16.0%	19.0%
Northeast					
1989-1990	14.6%	5.3%	55.4%	14.1%	26.0%
1999-2000	15.2%	5.5%	53.0%	13.6%	22.9%
2010-2011	14.6%	5.8%	47.3%	11.8%	19.4%
Nation					
1989-1990	16.5%	8.6%	54.6%	11.0%	11.5%
1999-2000	16.8%	8.6%	54.5%	11.7%	10.9%
2010-2011	15.7%	8.4%	49.4%	10.8%	10.9%

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

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

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Pennsylvania					
1989-1990	1.6%	1.3%	2.1%	8.3%	2.6%
1999-2000	1.9%	1.6%	2.6%	8.1%	2.8%
2010-2011	3.2%	2.8%	3.4%	11.0%	3.2%
Northeast					
1989-1990	3.0%	2.4%	2.9%	13.6%	4.8%
1999-2000	4.3%	3.1%	3.8%	18.3%	6.3%
2010-2011	6.2%	4.7%	5.0%	23.0%	6.8%
Nation					
1989-1990	3.3%	2.4%	2.2%	23.8%	4.6%
1999-2000	4.1%	3.0%	2.9%	24.4%	4.6%
2010-2011	5.0%	3.8%	3.5%	24.2%	4.6%

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

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

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Pennsylvania					
1989-1990	2.6%	1.3%	4.3%	4.3%	34.0%
1999-2000	4.2%	2.2%	6.2%	6.1%	34.7%
2010-2011	8.1%	4.4%	10.1%	8.1%	37.0%
Northeast					
1989-1990	8.4%	3.2%	15.0%	13.4%	40.6%
1999-2000	11.8%	4.6%	17.8%	17.4%	44.1%
2010-2011	16.6%	7.3%	22.0%	18.2%	45.6%
Nation					
1989-1990	10.8%	5.2%	7.5%	15.2%	50.8%
1999-2000	16.6%	7.2%	10.8%	18.4%	57.1%
2010-2011	23.6%	11.4%	16.5%	21.7%	56.9%

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

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

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
Pennsylvania			
1989-1990	84.4%	35.2%	-49.2%
1999-2000	80.9%	34.4%	-46.6%
2010-2011	75.0%	36.1%	-38.9%
Northeast			
1989-1990	76.9%	30.7%	-46.1%
1999-2000	72.7%	30.5%	-42.2%
2010-2011	67.3%	31.6%	-35.7%
Nation			
1989-1990	71.7%	37.7%	-34.0%
1999-2000	65.4%	32.8%	-32.6%
2010-2011	57.1%	30.3%	-26.8%

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

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

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low-Income Students	Black Exposure to Low-Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low-Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students
Pennsylvania					
1999-2000	28.8%	22.0%	57.8%	28.3%	56.1%
2010-2011	38.7%	30.3%	65.8%	33.0%	62.6%
Northeast					
1999-2000	32.2%	20.4%	59.8%	37.4%	63.3%
2010-2011	39.5%	26.8%	64.5%	39.9%	64.4%
Nation					
1999-2000	36.9%	26.3%	55.1%	35.7%	57.9%
2010-2011	48.3%	37.7%	64.5%	39.9%	62.2%

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

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

	H	HW	HB
Pennsylvania			
1989-1990	.52	.11	.40
1999-2000	.49	.09	.40
2010-2011	.41	.05	.35
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

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

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino
Pennsylvania						
1989-1990	.78	.54	.77	.70	.72	.70
1999-2000	.76	.54	.74	.67	.68	.67
2010-2011	.72	.53	.67	.64	.60	.64
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

Metropolitan-Level Data

Table A-9 – *Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups Across Public Schools*

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD						
1989-1990	0.75					
1999-2000	0.76		0.72		0.66	
2010-2011	0.76	0.44	0.65	0.68	0.59	0.63
Pittsburgh, PA						
1989-1990	0.68					
1999-2000	0.71					
2010-2011	0.69					

Note: Blank cells less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

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

Table A-10 – *Racial Transition by District, Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City Metropolitan Area*

1989 Classification	2010 Classification			
Philadelphia Metro	PNW	D	PW	Total
PNW	2(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	2(3%)
D	3(30%)	7(70%)	0(0%)	10(16%)
PW white	1(2%)	14(28%)	35(70%)	50(81%)
Total	6(10%)	21(34%)	35(56%)	62(100%)

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

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

Table A-11 – Racial Transition by District, Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area
Racial Transition of District Type, 1989-2010

1989 Classification	2010 Classification			
Pittsburg Metro	PNW	D	PW	Total
PNW	2(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	2(2%)
D	5(42%)	7(58%)	0(0%)	12(14%)
PW white	1(1%)	7(10%)	65(89%)	73(84%)
Total	8(9%)	14(16%)	65(75%)	87(100%)

Top 10 Districts in Pennsylvania

Table A-12 – Public School Enrollment, 2010-2011

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD								
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	urban	148,791	13.9%	58.4%	7.3%	17.2%	0.2%	3.0%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD	suburban	20,432	89.8%	1.9%	5.2%	2.6%	0.1%	0.4%
NORTH PENN SD	suburban	12,665	69.3%	7.7%	18.9%	3.9%	0.1%	0.0%
UPPER DARBY SD	suburban	12,057	39.2%	42.7%	13.8%	3.7%	0.1%	0.6%
COUNCIL ROCK SD	suburban	11,882	90.5%	1.2%	6.6%	1.6%	0.1%	0.0%
WEST CHESTER AREA SD	suburban	11,825	81.6%	6.8%	6.5%	5.0%	0.1%	0.0%
DOWNINGTOWN AREA SD	suburban	11,813	85.0%	4.1%	8.1%	2.7%	0.0%	0.1%
PENNSBURY SD	suburban	10,850	82.4%	5.8%	6.4%	3.5%	0.2%	1.7%
NESHAMINY SD	suburban	8,587	87.6%	4.5%	3.6%	2.9%	0.4%	1.0%
SPRING-FORD AREA SD	suburban	7,730	85.3%	4.4%	5.4%	2.8%	0.2%	1.9%
Pittsburgh, PA								
PITTSBURGH SD	urban	27,062	34.4%	55.7%	2.4%	1.5%	0.1%	5.8%
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS		9,651	85.0%	8.4%	0.9%	1.9%	0.2%	3.6%
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD	suburban	8,105	86.5%	1.6%	10.1%	0.9%	0.0%	1.0%
BUTLER AREA SD		7,616	94.6%	2.5%	0.6%	1.4%	0.1%	0.7%
SENECA VALLEY SD		7,288	95.4%	1.6%	2.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
HEMPFIELD AREA SD	suburban	6,236	95.2%	2.0%	1.5%	0.7%	0.1%	0.5%
ARMSTRONG SD		5,544	98.2%	1.1%	0.2%	0.4%	0.1%	0.0%
MT LEBANON SD	suburban	5,259	90.9%	1.5%	4.8%	1.7%	0.2%	0.9%
NORWIN SD	suburban	5,197	97.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.3%	0.1%	0.5%
CANON-MCMILLAN SD	suburban	4,954	91.1%	4.8%	1.0%	1.2%	0.0%	1.9%

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 A-13 – Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD					
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	255	25.1%	89.4%	67.5%	35.7%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD	23				
NORTH PENN SD	17	11.8%	5.9%		
UPPER DARBY SD	14	35.7%	57.1%	28.6%	
COUNCIL ROCK SD	15				
WEST CHESTER AREA SD	16				
DOWNINGTOWN AREA SD	14				
PENNSBURY SD	15				
NESHAMINY SD	12				
SPRING-FORD AREA SD	12				
Pittsburgh, PA					
PITTSBURGH SD	62	14.5%	77.4%	19.4%	4.8%
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS	1				
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD	12				
BUTLER AREA SD	14				
SENECA VALLEY SD	9				
HEMPFIELD AREA SD	11				
ARMSTRONG SD	12				
MT LEBANON SD	10				
NORWIN SD	7				
CANON-MCMILLAN SD	11				

Note: Blank cells represent no schools or other. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment 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 A-14 – *Percentage of Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011*

	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD				
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	66.9%	82.2%	89.0%	91.8%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD				
NORTH PENN SD	32.0%	35.0%		
UPPER DARBY SD	44.5%	49.7%	65.8%	
COUNCIL ROCK SD				
WEST CHESTER AREA SD				
DOWNINGTOWN AREA SD				
PENNSBURY SD				
NESHAMINY SD				
SPRING-FORD AREA SD				
Pittsburgh, PA				
PITTSBURGH SD	81.2%	76.2%	88.6%	89.8%
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS				
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD				
BUTLER AREA SD				
SENECA VALLEY SD				
HEMPFIELD AREA SD				
ARMSTRONG SD				
MT LEBANON SD				
NORWIN SD				
CANON-MCMILLAN SD				

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment 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 A-15 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated School, 2010-2011

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latino	% of Black	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD						
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	95.6%	97.7%	65.5%	80.8%	15.4%	46.4%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD						
NORTH PENN SD	11.8%	5.6%				
UPPER DARBY SD	81.1%	86.2%	22.0%	23.1%		
COUNCIL ROCK SD						
WEST CHESTER AREA SD						
DOWNTOWN AREA SD						
PENNSBURY SD						
NESHAMINY SD						
SPRING-FORD AREA SD						
Pittsburgh, PA						
PITTSBURGH SD	50.0%	83.5%	4.1%	28.5%	1.4%	9.1%
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS						
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD						
BUTLER AREA SD						
SENECA VALLEY SD						
HEMPFIELD AREA SD						
ARMSTRONG SD						
MT LEBANON SD						
NORWIN SD						
CANON-MCMILLAN SD						

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

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

Table A-16— *Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools, 2010-2011*

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD					
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	70.4%	17.8%	74.4%	35.9%	51.2%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD					
NORTH PENN SD	6.4%	12.0%	12.5%	19.1%	28.6%
UPPER DARBY SD	47.4%	65.2%	66.2%	60.4%	42.9%
COUNCIL ROCK SD					
WEST CHESTER AREA SD					
DOWNTOWN AREA SD					
PENNSBURY SD					
NESHAMINY SD					
SPRING-FORD AREA SD					
Pittsburgh, PA					
PITTSBURGH SD	10.8%	8.3%	13.6%	21.0%	20.0%
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS					
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD					
BUTLER AREA SD					
SENECA VALLEY SD					
HEMPFIELD AREA SD					
ARMSTRONG SD					
MT LEBANON SD					
NORWIN SD					
CANON-MCMILLAN SD					

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. AI = American Indian. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student population 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 A-17 – Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD					
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	13.9%	39.9%	7.0%	21.9%	11.8%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD	89.8%	89.9%		89.2%	
NORTH PENN SD	69.3%	70.2%	68.1%	67.6%	
UPPER DARBY SD	39.2%	54.7%	28.8%	28.7%	
COUNCIL ROCK SD	90.5%	90.6%		89.4%	
WEST CHESTER AREA SD	81.6%	81.8%	80.9%	79.2%	81.2%
DOWNINGTOWN AREA SD	85.0%	85.5%		80.5%	
PENNSBURY SD	82.4%	82.7%	79.8%	82.1%	
NESHAMINY SD	87.6%	87.9%			
SPRING-FORD AREA SD	85.3%	85.4%		84.3%	
Pittsburgh, PA					
PITTSBURGH SD	34.4%	47.9%	25.1%		
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS	85.0%				
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD	86.5%	86.7%		84.9%	
BUTLER AREA SD	94.6%	94.7%			
SENECA VALLEY SD	95.4%	95.4%			
HEMPFIELD AREA SD	95.2%	95.2%			
ARMSTRONG SD	98.2%	98.2%			
MT LEBANON SD	90.9%	90.9%			
NORWIN SD	97.0%	97.0%			
CANON-MCMILLAN SD	91.1%	91.3%			

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

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

Table A-18 – Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD					
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	58.4%	29.5%	75.3%	37.2%	35.8%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD	1.9%				
NORTH PENN SD	7.7%	7.5%	8.1%	7.9%	
UPPER DARBY SD	42.7%	31.5%	51.6%	46.4%	
COUNCIL ROCK SD	1.2%				
WEST CHESTER AREA SD	6.8%	6.8%	7.3%	7.0%	6.7%
DOWNINGTOWN AREA SD	4.1%				
PENNSBURY SD	5.8%	5.6%	7.8%	5.6%	
NESHAMINY SD	4.5%				
SPRING-FORD AREA SD	4.4%				
Pittsburgh, PA					
PITTSBURGH SD	55.7%	40.7%	66.5%		
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS	8.4%				
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD	1.6%				
BUTLER AREA SD	2.5%				
SENECA VALLEY SD	1.6%				
HEMPFIELD AREA SD	2.0%				
ARMSTRONG SD	1.1%				
MT LEBANON SD	1.5%				
NORWIN SD	1.0%				
CANON-MCMILLAN SD	4.8%				

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

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

Table A-19 – Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD					
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	7.3%	11.4%	4.6%	21.1%	6.6%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD	5.2%	5.1%	5.1%	6.0%	
NORTH PENN SD	18.9%	18.4%	19.4%	20.2%	
UPPER DARBY SD	13.8%	10.1%	15.0%	20.1%	
COUNCIL ROCK SD	6.6%	6.5%	6.5%	7.6%	
WEST CHESTER AREA SD	6.5%	6.3%	6.7%	9.0%	5.9%
DOWNINGTOWN AREA SD	8.1%	7.6%	8.0%	12.4%	
PENNSBURY SD	6.4%	6.4%	6.2%	7.1%	
NESHAMINY SD	3.6%				
SPRING-FORD AREA SD	5.4%	5.3%	4.9%	6.7%	
Pittsburgh, PA					
PITTSBURGH SD	2.4%				
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS	0.9%				
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD	10.1%	9.9%	9.3%	11.7%	
BUTLER AREA SD	0.6%				
SENECA VALLEY SD	2.0%				
HEMPFIELD AREA SD	1.5%				
ARMSTRONG SD	0.2%				
MT LEBANON SD	4.8%				
NORWIN SD	1.0%				
CANON-MCMILLAN SD	1.0%				

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

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

Table A-20 – Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD					
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	17.2%	14.6%	10.5%	15.6%	42.1%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD	2.6%				
NORTH PENN SD	3.9%				
UPPER DARBY SD	3.7%				
COUNCIL ROCK SD	1.6%				
WEST CHESTER AREA SD	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%	4.6%	6.0%
DOWNINGTOWN AREA SD	2.7%				
PENNSBURY SD	3.5%				
NESHAMINY SD	2.9%				
SPRING-FORD AREA SD	2.8%				
Pittsburgh, PA					
PITTSBURGH SD	1.5%				
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS	1.9%				
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD	0.9%				
BUTLER AREA SD	1.4%				
SENECA VALLEY SD	0.7%				
HEMPFIELD AREA SD	0.7%				
ARMSTRONG SD	0.4%				
MT LEBANON SD	1.7%				
NORWIN SD	0.3%				
CANON-MCMILLAN SD	1.2%				

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 A-21 – *Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011*

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD			
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	21.2%	13.2%	-8.0%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD	95.0%		
NORTH PENN SD	88.3%	87.1%	-1.2%
UPPER DARBY SD	52.9%	44.1%	-8.8%
COUNCIL ROCK SD	97.1%		
WEST CHESTER AREA SD	88.1%	87.4%	-0.6%
DOWNINGTOWN AREA SD	93.1%	92.2%	-0.9%
PENNSBURY SD	88.8%	86.7%	-2.1%
NESHAMINY SD	91.1%	89.0%	-2.2%
SPRING-FORD AREA SD	90.7%	89.8%	-0.8%
Pittsburgh, PA			
PITTSBURGH SD	36.8%	27.5%	-9.3%
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS	85.9%		
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD	96.5%		
BUTLER AREA SD	95.3%	93.2%	-2.1%
SENECA VALLEY SD	97.4%		
HEMPFIELD AREA SD	96.7%		
ARMSTRONG SD	98.4%		
MT LEBANON SD	95.7%		
NORWIN SD	98.1%		
CANON-MCMILLAN SD	92.2%	91.2%	-1.0%

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

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

Table A-22 – Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low-Income Students	Black Exposure to Low-Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low-Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD					
PHILADELPHIA CITY SD	80.2%	64.1%	84.2%	69.6%	84.9%
CENTRAL BUCKS SD	5.9%	5.9%		5.6%	
NORTH PENN SD	19.0%	18.4%	20.5%	20.0%	
UPPER DARBY SD	43.3%	34.6%	49.3%	48.5%	
COUNCIL ROCK SD	4.7%				
WEST CHESTER AREA SD	9.8%	9.7%	10.2%	10.1%	10.9%
DOWNINGTOWN AREA SD	5.1%	5.0%		5.1%	
PENNSBURY SD	12.0%	11.9%	13.9%	11.3%	
NESHAMINY SD	16.9%	16.6%			
SPRING-FORD AREA SD	7.7%	7.6%		6.8%	
Pittsburgh, PA					
PITTSBURGH SD	68.5%	60.7%	73.9%		
PENNSYLVANIA CYBER CS					
NORTH ALLEGHENY SD	3.5%				
BUTLER AREA SD	29.5%	29.1%			
SENECA VALLEY SD	10.8%	10.8%			
HEMPFIELD AREA SD	21.4%	21.3%			
ARMSTRONG SD	40.9%	40.9%			
MT LEBANON SD	7.6%	7.6%			
NORWIN SD	17.3%	17.3%			
CANON-MCMILLAN SD	20.6%	20.5%			

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

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

Appendix B: Data Sources and Methodology

Data

The data in this study consisted of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Using this data, we explored demographic and segregation patterns at the national, regional, state, metropolitan, and district levels. We also explored district racial stability patterns for each *main* metropolitan area in Massachusetts—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 analyses include the following regions and states:

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

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

Data Analysis

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

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

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

0) reflect more of an even distribution or more integration. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes: above .60 indicating high segregation (above .80 is extreme), .30 to .60 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .30 indicating low segregation.⁷⁵

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).⁷⁶ 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 predominantly white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominantly nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.⁷⁷ We then identified the degree to which district white enrollment has changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area. This analysis resulted in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable.⁷⁸ We classified rapidly changing districts as those with a white percentage change three times greater than the metro white percentage change. For moderately changing districts, the white student percentage changed two times but less than three times greater than the metropolitan white percentage change. Also included in the category of moderate change were those districts that experienced a white percentage change less than two times the metropolitan white percentage change but were classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. We identified stable

⁷⁵ Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁷⁶ Reardon, S. F., & Firebaugh, G. (2002). Measures of multigroup segregation. *Sociological Methodology*, 32, 33-67.

⁷⁷ 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.

⁷⁸ Similar typography has been used in Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation: A typology of suburban districts. In E. Frankenberg and G. Orfield (Eds.), *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

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

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

Data Limitations and Solutions

Due to advancements in geocoding technology, as well as changes from the Office of Management and Budget and Census Bureau, metropolitan areas and locale school boundaries have changed considerably since 1989. To explore metropolitan patterns over time, we 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, although there were 11 schools missing 2010 boundary codes for the state of Massachusetts.

Another issue relates to missing or incomplete data. Because compliance with NCES reporting is voluntary for state education agencies (though virtually all do comply), some statewide gaps in the reporting of student racial composition occur. To address this limitation, particularly for our national and regional analyses, we obtained student membership, racial composition, and free reduced status from the nearest data file year these variables were available. Below we present the missing or incomplete data by year and state, and how we attempted to address each limitation.

Data Limitation	Data Solution
<p>1999-2000:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • States missing FRL and racial enrollment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Arizona ○ Idaho ○ Illinois ○ Tennessee ○ Washington 	<p>1998-1999:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tennessee: racial enrollment only <p>2000-2001:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arizona: racial enrollment only • Idaho: FRL and racial enrollment <p>2001-2002:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illinois: FRL and racial enrollment • Washington: FRL and racial enrollment
<p>1989-1999:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many states missing FRL enrollment for this year • States missing racial enrollment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Georgia ○ Maine ○ Missouri ○ Montana ○ South Dakota ○ Virginia ○ Wyoming 	<p>1990-1991:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Montana: racial enrollment only • Wyoming: racial enrollment only <p>1991-1992:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missouri: racial enrollment only <p>1992-1993:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Dakota: racial enrollment only • Virginia: racial enrollment only <p>1993-1994:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Georgia: racial enrollment only • Maine: racial enrollment only <p>Other:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Idaho is missing racial composition data from 1989 to 1999 and thus excluded from this year

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