

REGIONAL TRENDS

Black Segregation

One of the most consistent trends of the last decade is a reversal of gains in desegregation for black students made in the South in the late 1960s and 1970s as a result of judicial and executive enforcement of desegregation orders. In fact, court-ordered desegregation of black students in Southern states resulted in the South becoming the most integrated region of the country, with 43.5% of black students in majority white schools in 1988 (Table 10). In the 1990s, as the desegregation plans have been dismantled across the South, however, the proportion of black students in majority white schools has decreased by 13 percentage points.

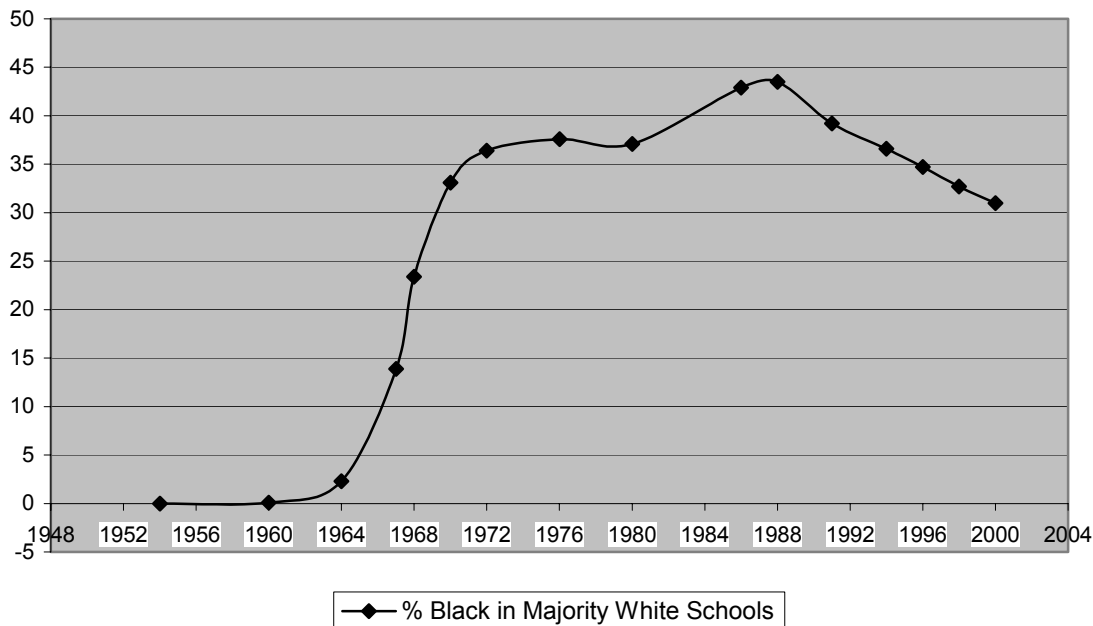
In 2000, black segregation rates in the South continue to increase steadily as they have for over a decade. Today, only 31% of Southern black students are in majority white schools, a rate lower than any year since 1968 (see Table 10).

Table 10
Change in Black Segregation in the South, 1954-2000

Year	Percent of Black Students in Majority White Schools
1954	0.001
1960	0.1
1964	2.3
1967	13.9
1968	23.4
1970	33.1
1972	36.4
1976	37.6
1980	37.1
1986	42.9
1988	43.5
1991	39.2
1994	36.6
1996	34.7
1998	32.7
2000	31.0

Source: Southern Education Reporting Service in Reed Sarratt, The Ordeal of Desegregation (New York: Harper & Row, 1966): 362; HEW Press Release, May 27, 1968; OCR data tapes; 1992-93, 1994-5, 1996-7, 1998-9, 2000-1 NCES Common Core of Data.

Figure 10
Change in Black Integration in the South



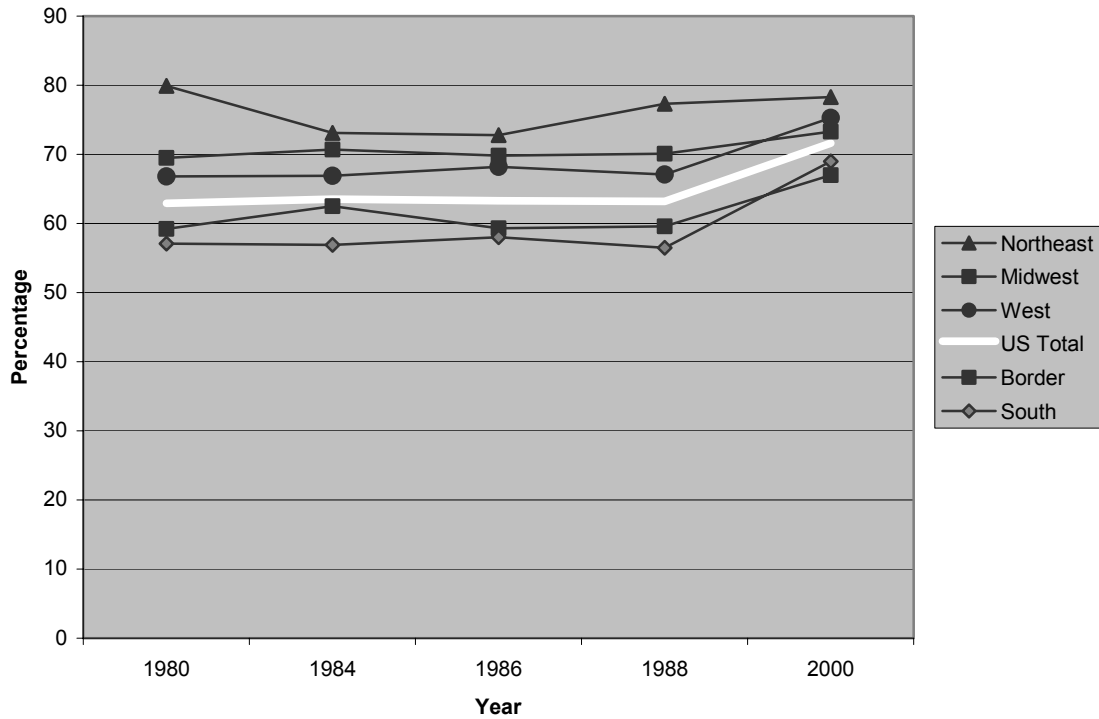
*Source: Southern Education Reporting Service in Reed Sarratt, *The Ordeal of Desegregation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966): 362; HEW Press Release, May 27, 1968; OCR data tapes; 1992-93, 1994-5, 1996-7, 1998-9, 2000-1 NCES Common Core of Data.*

Another contributing factor to segregation of all students is the role of private schools in much of the South, which has the highest levels of segregation between the public and private sectors.⁹⁹ White students are enrolled in private schools at a rate three times greater than black students and twice as great as Latino students.

Increasing segregation was evident in every region, as the percentage of black students in both predominantly minority (50-100% minority) schools and in intensely segregated (90-100%) minority schools rose from 1988-2000. As seen in Figure 11, the Border and South regions (the two regions of the country that formerly practiced legally-mandated segregation) have the lowest percentages of blacks in predominantly minority schools, although this percentage has risen considerably (more than 10 percentage points) in the South since 1988. The three regions with the smallest proportion of black students (Northeast, Midwest, and West) consistently have had at least two thirds of their black students attending predominantly minority schools. Since 1980, the Northeast remains the region with the highest share of blacks attending predominantly minority schools, with almost four out of every five black students in these schools. Additionally, the exposure of black to white students in their schools has decreased across all regions from 1988-2000. In 1988, the average black student attended schools that were 36.2% white; in 2000, the typical black student attends a school that is 30.9% white.

⁹⁹ Reardon, Sean and John Yun. *Private School Racial Enrollments and Segregation*. Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project, June 2002.

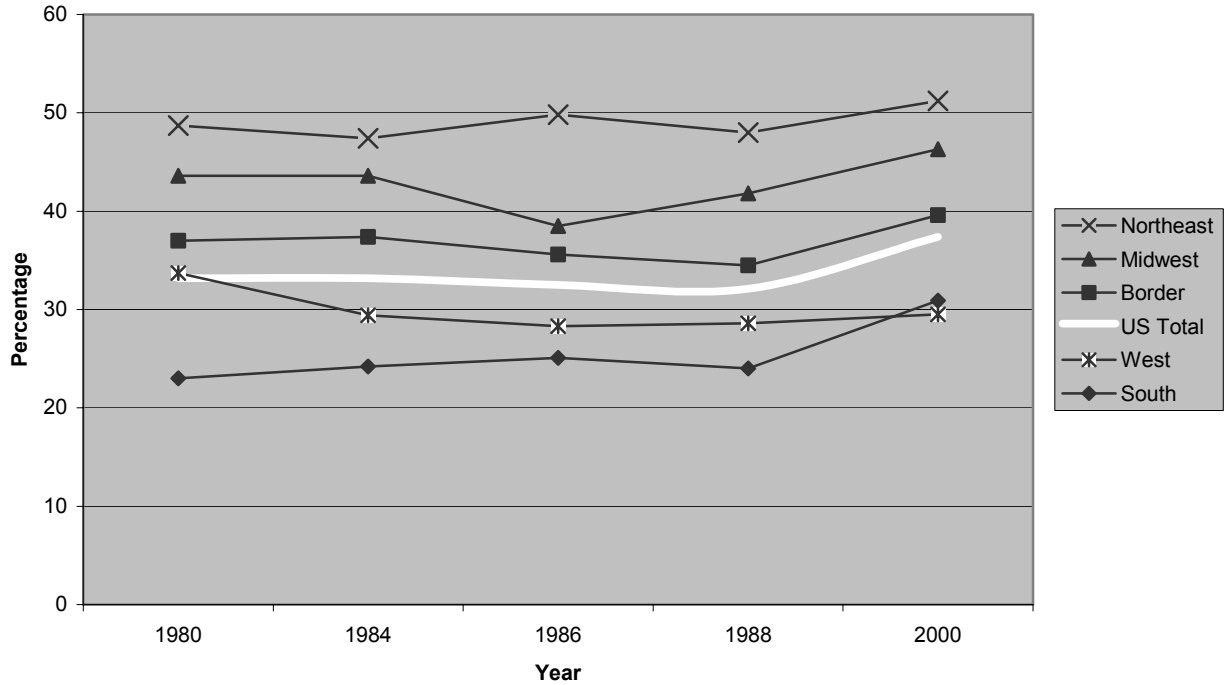
Figure 11
Percentage of Black Students in Predominantly Minority Schools by Region, 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation; 1988-89; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data.

More black students were also attending 90-100% minority schools in 2000 than in 1980. Again, the Northeast has remained the region with the highest proportion of its black students attending minority and 90-100% minority schools, with over half of black students attending such schools. In 2000, two out of every five black students in the Border and Midwest regions attended intensely segregated schools. The South and the West have the lowest percentages of black students in these intensely segregated schools, although the South is rapidly resegregating: in just a little over a decade, the proportion of black students attended intensely segregated schools in the South has risen seven percentage points (Figure 12).

Figure 12
Percentage of Black Students in 90-100% Minority Schools by Region, 1980-2000



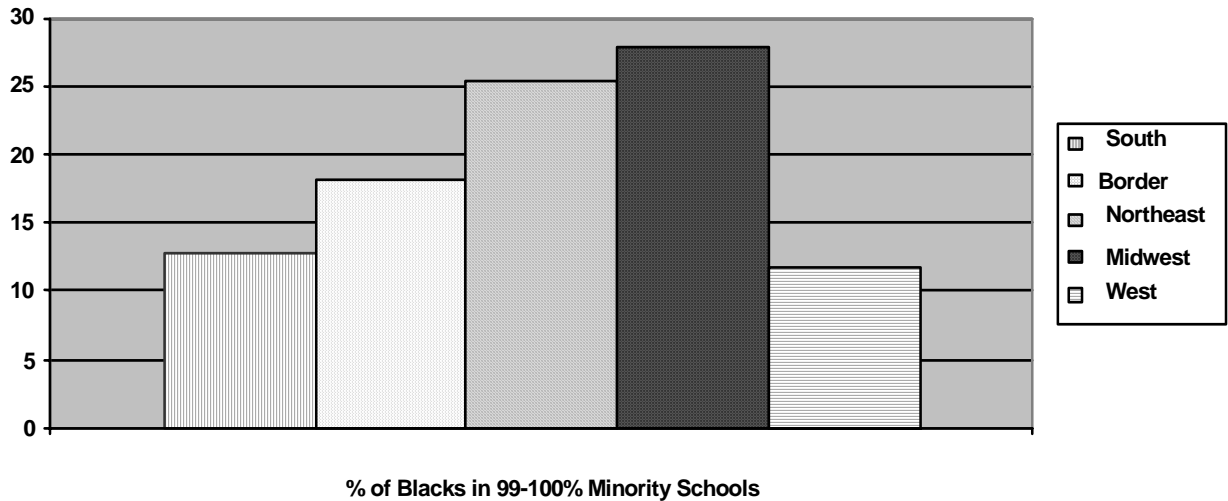
Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, *Status of School Desegregation: 1988-89; 2000-01 NCEC Common Core of Data*.

A promising note is that, in almost every region, the percentage of black students in almost entirely minority schools (99-100% minority) has decreased since 1988 (Appendix C, Table 34). The South and the West, the two regions of the country with the most minorities, have the smallest percentage of black students in 99-100% minority schools (Figure 13). Despite these decreases, however, over one quarter of black students in the Northeast and Midwest attend 99-100% minority schools. The relatively few desegregation court orders still enforced in the North and Midwest may explain the intense segregation of black students in these regions.¹⁰⁰ Another contributing factor may be due to the fact that many school districts in the North and Midwest draw their students from local, highly segregated neighborhoods that reflect the segregated residential patterns in metro areas. By contrast, when school districts draw the students from broader geographic areas, particularly countywide districts, they tend to have lower levels of racial isolation and segregation.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Orfield and Eaton, *supra* note 8.

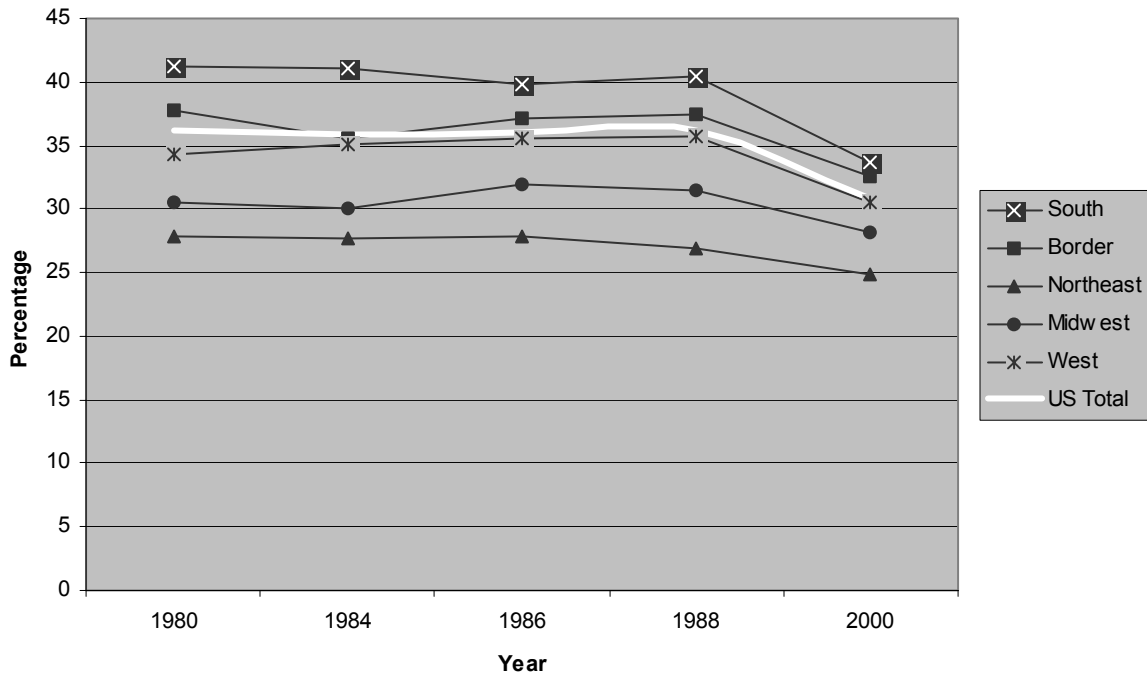
¹⁰¹ Clotfelter, C.T. (1999). "Public School Segregation in Metropolitan Areas," *Land Economics* 75 (November), 487-504.

Figure 13
Percentage of Black Students in 90-100% Minority Schools by Region, 2000-01



Without exception, black exposure to white students across regions has been steadily falling since the late 1980s (see Figure 14). In the Northeast, where nearly 7 out of 10 students are white, the average black student goes to a school that is only 25% white. While black students in the South are still exposed to a larger percentage of white students in their schools than in any other region, this is rapidly changing. The percent of whites in school of the average black student dropped eight percentage points in the last two decades, seven in the last twelve years alone. By 2000, the average black student in the South attends schools that are only one-third white.

Figure 14
Percentage of White students in School Attended by the Average Black Student by
Region, 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation; 1988-89; 2000-01 NCEC Common Core of Data.

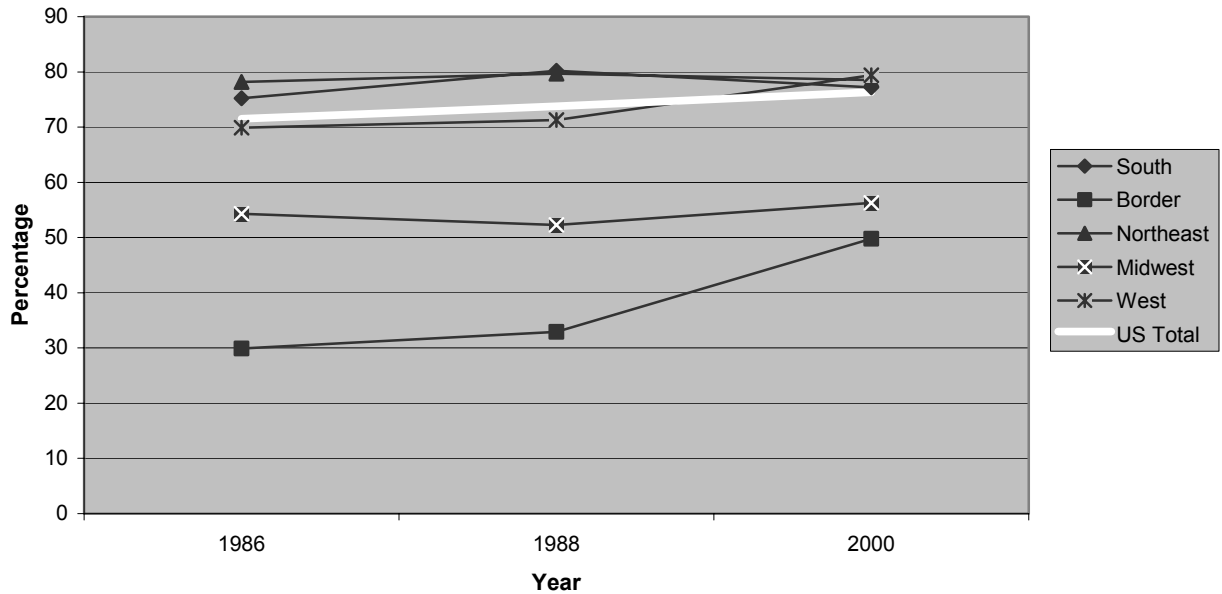
Latino Segregation

As it has nationally throughout the last third of a century, Latino segregation continues to increase in every region.

Regionally, while there are more black students than Latino students in all regions except the West, the share of Latino students in predominantly minority schools equals or surpasses that of the black students in three regions: South, Northeast, and West, where more than three out of every four attends predominantly minority schools and over one in three attends intensely segregated schools in these regions. In 2000, by several measures, Latinos are the most segregated in the Northeast and West.

In the South, Northeast, and West, nearly 80% of Latino students attend predominantly minority schools. Even Latinos in regions with small Latino populations are experiencing increasing isolation since 1988. As seen in Figure 15, there has been an increase of almost twenty percentage points in the proportion of Latino students in the Border region attending predominantly minority schools.

Figure 15
Percentage of Latino Students in Predominantly Minority Schools by Region, 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, Status of School Desegregation; 1988-89; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data.

Almost 37% of Latino students are in 90-100% minority schools in the West, an area of the country where one out of every three students attending public school is Latino. The Northeast, an area where two out of three students are white, has the highest percentage of Latino students in intensely segregated schools: over 45%. In contrast, slightly more than one-eighth of Latino students in the Border region are enrolled in 90-100% minority schools. The only region to show no increase, the share of Latino students in the Midwest in intensely segregated schools in 2000 was 25 percent (see Table 11).

Table 11**Percentage of Latino Students in 90-100% Minority Schools by Region, 1988-2000**

Region	1988	2000	Change 1988-2000
South	37.9	39.5	+1.6
Border	8.9	13.4	+4.5
Northeast	44.2	45.3	+1.1
Midwest	24.9	24.9	0
West	27.5	36.7	+9.2
US Total	33.1	37.4	+4.3

Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data, 1988-89; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data.

This isolation is even more extreme when considering the percentage of Latino students attending 99%-100% minority schools. Nationally, almost one in nine Latino students go to schools that are less than 1% white, a slight increase from 1988 (see Table 12). In the South and West, about 1 in 10 Latino students attend schools that are 99-100% minority; in the Northeast, 1 in 6 Latinos are attending such schools.

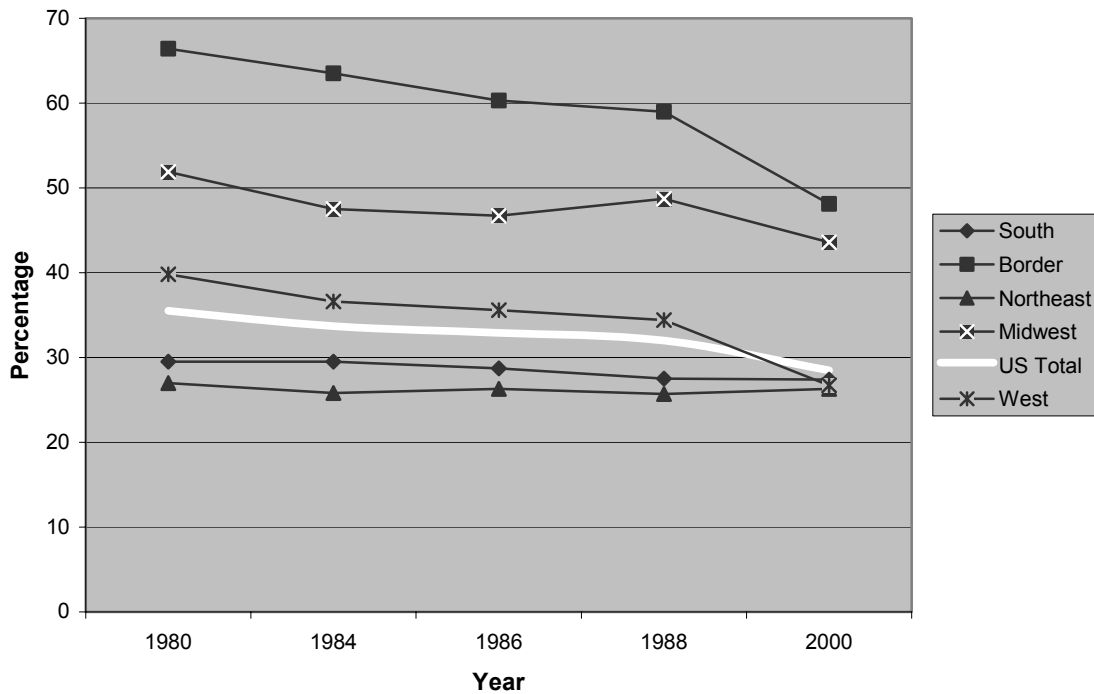
Table 12**Percentage of Latino Students in 99-100% Minority Schools by Region, 1988-2000**

Region	1988	2000	Change 1988-2000
South	7.9	9.1	+1.2
Border		4.5	--
Northeast	19.6	16.3	-3.3
Midwest	2.9	4.6	+1.7
West	8.4	11.6	+3.2
US Total	9.9	10.8	+0.9

Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data, 1988-89; 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data.

Nationally and in every region, the school of a typical Latino student is less than one-third white. Across all regions, there are less white students in the school of the average Latino student than in 1980. In the South, West, and Northeast—the three regions of the country with the most Latino students—the average Latino student attends schools that are only one-fourth white. (Figure 16) Despite their relatively small proportion of public school enrollment, Latino students in the Border and Midwest states, on average, attend schools that are almost one-half white. The typical Latino in the Northeast, since 1980, has attended schools with the smallest percentage of white students in the student body, although the West is rapidly approaching comparable levels of segregation. In the West, the typical Latino is in a school that is almost 75% non-white, an increase of thirteen percentage points in the last two decades.

Figure 16
Percentage of White Students in School Attended by the Average Latino Student, 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights data in Orfield, Monfort & Aaron, *Status of School Desegregation: 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data*.

Although the overall percentage of black and Latino students in intensely segregated minority schools in 2000 was identical (see Figure 4 in previous section), there are notable regional differences between Latinos and blacks. The Border and Midwest regions, two areas with relatively small Latino populations, have much larger percentages of black students in 90-100% minority schools than Latinos. By contrast, in the two regions with the largest percentages of Latino students, the South and West, a higher proportion of Latino students are in intensely segregated schools than black students. Overall, the Northeast has the highest percentage of both Latino and black students in intensely segregated schools (see Figure 17).

Figure 17
Percentage of Black and Latino Students in 90-100% Minority Schools by Region, 2000-01

