



Settle for Segregation or Strive for Diversity?

A Defining Moment for Maryland's Public Schools

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with

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Foreword by

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Foreword

Maryland was one of the six slave states that did not join the Confederacy and had a tradition of less abrasive and violent race relations than the eleven states of the South, though it was thoroughly segregated. After the Supreme Court declared mandatory segregation by state law unconstitutional in 1954, desegregation was expected to be a less difficult in these “Border states” and it clearly was in the early stages. But then Maryland fell seriously behind much of the South and became one of the nation’s most segregated states for black students. This report shows that segregation by both race and class continues to intensify. A relatively small state, greatly influenced by the large metropolitan areas of Baltimore and Washington, D.C., it has had no serious leadership on school desegregation in a very long time. Like the rest of the country, Maryland is becoming less white and its schools are more and more shaped by students of color, who will shape larger and larger shares of the state’s future. By 2011 most of the children being born in the state were African American and Hispanic.¹ The proportion of Maryland students who are African American has been stable, but the Hispanic numbers have rapidly increased as the white numbers fall. Since African American and Hispanic students have, on average, lower test scores and higher dropout rates under current policies, despite many efforts to improve education, the future will produce decline and falling levels of educational attainment for the state if things continue along the present path. Projections suggest that the number of white high school graduates in Maryland peaked in 2007-08 and that they will decline by a third by 2022 when almost two-thirds of the graduates will be nonwhite if the existing trends continue.² If that future majority is educated in separate and inferior schools and is not ready for higher education, the state and its economy are destined to decline on many dimensions as will the quality of its race relations. Educators continually claim that they know how to make schools segregated by race and poverty equal. The statistics across the nation show that, with very few exceptions, that is not true.

As someone who has lived in Washington four times and is familiar with the area, this is a sad story, long in the making and becoming steadily worse. I remember when I was moving to Washington in the early 1970’s to work with the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and I looked for a home in a diverse neighborhood. One of the places I looked was in the Washington suburb of Prince George’s County, the part of the suburbs which then had the most diverse population. Though I explicitly told realtors I preferred an integrated area, they warned me against moving into Prince George’s, telling me that it was going to be “all black out to the beltway.” In fact, during the 1970s the county experienced the largest black suburbanization of any locality in the U.S. as Washington black families sought suburban opportunities and were channeled into this area, even as whites were warned away, even if they were interested. I decided for other reasons to move into Washington instead. Of course, the self-fulfilling predictions of the realtors came true. In the coming decades there would be a vast black exodus out of Washington, particularly into Prince George’s County, usually into segregated or resegregating neighborhoods and schools.. The truth is that Maryland, like many parts of the country, has a long, deeply embedded and continuing tradition of segregation and that in the absence of conscious and effective school

¹ *Maryland Vital Statistics Annual Report 2011.*

² WICHE, *Knocking at the College Door, Projections of High School Graduates by State and Race/Ethnicity 1992-2022*, March 2008., p. 84.

and housing policies to foster and support stable integration that tradition will continue to operate as this report shows that it has in the recent past. Spreading segregation is the implicit plan built into the housing market.

Maryland has undergone a vast racial transition and large patterns of residential segregation have spread. Maryland was far less segregated than some of the Southern states in the late 1960s. During the major push of the federal courts and the federal Office for Civil Rights to deal with segregation in metropolitan areas in the 1970s, however, it made less progress than almost any of the other 16 states with a history of segregation by law. In 1980 black students in both the Baltimore and Washington DC metropolitan areas were, on average, in schools where over 75% of the students were nonwhite.³ In contrast the black students in Tampa were in 72% white schools, those in Jacksonville in 50% white schools, those in Louisville in 68% white schools as were those in nearby Wilmington, Delaware. Many metros had significantly less segregation. Among the seventeen de jure states, no state made less progress than Maryland in moving children into majority white schools by 1980.⁴ As a state, Maryland had a small increase in integration of black students in the 1970s, followed by a large decline in the 1980s and 1990s.⁵ As this report clearly shows, Maryland has done very little since that time to deal with either its entrenched urban segregation or the expansion of segregation in sectors of its suburbs. A state that was not on the list of most segregated states for many years found itself on that list, behind what had been considered some of the most backward parts of the deep South. The typical black student attends a black school with few white and Latino students, and a very few Asians. Black and Latino students have twice as many poor classmates than white student because of the state's pattern of double segregation by race and poverty for nonwhite students

Since the 1980s the idea has spread widely that segregation is no longer a problem and that there is some way that we know to make separate schools serving poor students of color equal. Every time there is a poor segregated school, usually an elementary school, that achieves scores above the norm on the state testing system, many people assume that the solutions are known and that we merely need a set of requirements that would apply them on a large scale. Almost a half century ago, however, a massive national study commissioned by Congress and led by a Baltimore resident, Johns Hopkins Professor James Coleman, showed that segregated schools were systematically unequal, not in funds but in the background of the students and their families and the tested skills of their teachers. Black students in diverse schools performed better though diversity itself did not eliminate the test score gap, which Coleman and his associates found to be linked to differences in family background and resources and the academic skills of their classmates. In other words, this study, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, concluded that the quality of educational success was fundamentally related to poverty and low parent education, isolation from higher achieving fellow students, and less knowledgeable teachers. Sometimes it is easier to understand this by thinking about colleges. Anyone who thinks about what makes a college great can immediately understand that it is the quality of the faculty and the curriculum and training they produce and the skills of the students with whom you interact,

³ G. Orfield, *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980*, Washington: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983, p. 41

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵ G. Orfield, *Schools More Separate: Consequences of a Decade of Resegregation*, Cambridge: Harvard Civil Rights Project, 2001, p. 42

which strongly affect what students learn in and out of class and the level at which instruction can proceed. The Coleman study told us that the same thing was true of all levels of schooling. Without reviewing the controversies over that study, and the half century of hundreds of other studies that have followed, the truth is that the basic argument stands. Student success and the success of schools are powerfully linked to the education and resources of homes and communities, the quality and range of the curriculum, the nature of the peer group in the school, and the skills of the teachers. All of these things tend to be systematically better in middle-class and upper-class schools than in schools of concentrated poverty and students from poor families, growing up in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty and attending schools with less prepared fellow students and teachers face enormous obstacles. Schools that are doubly segregated by race and class or triply segregated by race, class, and language, cumulate these disadvantages. Of course, bringing the students into the same school buildings do not assure equity or fair access to the possibilities of a good school; that requires transforming the school into a truly integrated institution with strong values and practices of equal treatment in all aspects of schooling and respect and understanding of the diverse groups of students and parents.

Federal and state policy since the Reagan era have simply ignored patterns of relationships between segregation and inferior opportunities and embraced the ideas that one can ignore these relationships and achieve equal outcomes by increasing accountability pressure on students, teachers, and administrators with lower achievement levels or by setting up charter schools or other forms of competition. Educators are told that if they have the right expectations they can overcome all of these obstacles. Enormous public and professional pressure is brought to bear on low achieving schools. It is, of course, good to have high expectations, challenging goals, and accountability, but three decades of serious implementation of these policies have left the basic patterns of inequality between high poverty segregated schools and middle-class white and Asian schools largely untouched. Punishing the teachers does not solve this problem. Badly managed, it makes life grim for good teachers in schools under unfair pressure and gives them an incentive to leave even more rapidly.

No one has a magic solution for comprehensive integration of schools in Baltimore or PG County and it would be foolish to claim that there is one. It is equally foolish, on the other hand, to do nothing about the continuing spread of segregated schools and resegregation of neighborhoods or not to use school choice and magnet methods appropriately to create integrated schools where it is feasible. Stably integrated communities are more successful educationally and socially than resegregated communities which tend to experience rising poverty and declining educational and job opportunities.

The Maryland story, particularly in the Baltimore area, is still more a black-white story than that in many states experiencing massive international immigration from Latin America and Asia, but patterns of multiracial diversity are clearly present now in parts of the state. The declining white and black birth rates and the rising numbers of Latino and Asian families, and the increasing share of children growing up in poor families create new challenges and new possibilities. None of this is easy, but addressing the issues of separation and systemic inequality will only become harder and the costs of negligence higher as time passes without action. The basic trend, and the likely consequence of doing nothing to address these challenges, is deepening division and educational inequality. As a growing share of students grow up in doubly

and triply segregated settings they are less likely to develop their educational and economic potential and the state's communities will suffer and may decline if these trends continue.

The inequalities for students in segregated schools are not all caused by segregation and cannot all be cured by desegregation, so it is vitally important for Marylanders to think about equity policies in employment, housing, health care and other aspects of life and to give extraordinary resources, strong programs, and support to schools that remain segregated. If families of color have more resources and are able to live in communities with more diversity and better opportunities, then the education of their children will improve. The successful conclusion of the long battle of civil rights groups against a history of discrimination in subsidized housing in Baltimore is a real step forward on these issues. Equal schooling, which is greatly enhanced by integration by race and class, especially when all students are treated with fairness and respect within their diverse schools, could make a very real contribution. Where desegregation is impossible, it is essential, of course, to do everything possible to foster the kind and level of instruction found in middle-class schools in schools of concentrated poverty. Good policy must make it rewarding for strong experienced teachers and administrators to devote their career to this task, something that policies that continuously sanction the most vulnerable schools and subject their students to a test-prep curriculum strongly work against. There should be serious exploration of possibilities for regional approaches providing choice across district lines. Where there is gentrification, there should be efforts to draw the new families and their resources into public schools and create more schools with a very strong path to college for all students. Serious collaboration with agencies working on housing discrimination and housing opportunity could be of great benefit.

It is time for Maryland educators and leaders to foster more schools that will successfully prepare students of all backgrounds to live and work effectively in a deeply multiracial society. Across Maryland most of the school districts are still either multiracial or predominantly white, places where thoughtful and courageous leaders could create strong and lasting integration of schools and communities. In other areas gentrification or regional approaches could expand opportunity. Where racial integration is impossible integration across class lines is beneficial. Though the state has only about two-fifths white students, those students are still concentrated with other whites and all other groups have less contact with white students than in the past, not a healthy pattern for development of a state which has no racial majority among its young, a state where whites need to learn to live and work in diverse settings. Expanding strong and diverse schools and supporting lasting integration of schools and communities would strengthen Maryland's future.

Gary Orfield

Executive Summary

Maryland, as one of 17 states that had *de jure* segregation, has an intense history of school segregation. Following the 1954 *Brown* decision, school districts across the state employed various methods to desegregate their schools, including mandatory busing in Prince George's County, magnet schools in Montgomery County, and a freedom of choice plan in Baltimore. Although the districts made some progress in desegregating their schools, after plans that had the explicit goal of decreasing segregation ended, many of the schools in Maryland again reached high levels of segregation.

This report investigates trends in school segregation in Maryland 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 turns to the Baltimore-Washington CMSA to analyze similar measures of segregation.

Major findings in the report include:

Maryland

- The white share of Maryland's public school enrollment decreased from 61.9% in 1989-1990 to 43.4% in 2010-2011, and during the same time period the Latino share of enrollment increased by 457.1%, a substantial increase from 2.1% to 11.7%.
- In 2010-2011, the typical white student attended a school with 27.2% low-income students as compared to the typical black student who attended a school that was 54.6% low-income and the typical Latino student whose school was 49.9% low-income.
- A clear pattern has emerged of increasing levels of low-income students as the level of racial segregation within the schools also has increased. In 2010-2011, the most segregated of schools, 99-100% minority, termed apartheid schools, also had the highest level (72.8%) of low-income students. This highlights the double segregation of students by race and class.
- Over the last two decades, the share of majority minority schools has almost doubled, the share of intensely segregated schools has more than doubled, and in 2010-2011, more than one-tenth of the total schools in Maryland were apartheid schools.
- In 2010-2011, a high percentage of Maryland's black students (85.7%) and Latino students (78.1%) were enrolled in majority minority schools. Almost one-quarter of the state's black students attended apartheid schools.
- Although both the typical black and the typical Latino student attended schools in which they were underexposed to white students, it was more extreme for the typical black student, who in 2010-2011 attended a school where only 19.6% of his/her classmates were white despite the fact that white students made up 43.4% of the overall enrollment in the state.
- In 2010-2011, the typical black student attended a school that was 62.4% black while the typical white student attended a school that was 66.7% white. The typical Asian student attended a school that most closely reflected the state's overall enrollment and therefore was the most integrated of all races of students in Maryland's schools.

Baltimore-Washington Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area⁶

- The white share of enrollment decreased from 59.7% in 1989-1990 to 40.3% in 2010-2011 and the Latino share of enrollment increased by 443.5%, a substantial increase from 2.3% in 1989-1990 to 12.5% in 2010-2011.
- In 2010-2011, the typical black student attended a school with 54.8% low-income students and the typical Latino student attended a school with 49.9% low-income students, which is approximately double the share of low-income students in schools attended by the typical white student (24.4%).
- As the level of racial segregation within schools has increased, the level of low-income students in segregated schools also has increased, revealing a strong relationship between segregation by race and class; in 2010-2011, the Baltimore-Washington CMSA's apartheid schools enrolled 72.8% low-income students.
- Over the last two decades, majority minority schools have almost doubled, intensely segregated schools have almost tripled, and in 2010-2011, more than one-tenth of the total schools in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA were apartheid schools.
- The vast majority of the metro's black students (87.8%) and Latino students (80.4%) were enrolled in majority minority schools in 2010-2011; similar to the state, almost one-quarter of Baltimore-Washington CMSA's black students attended apartheid schools.
- Over the last two decades, exposure to white students has decreased for students of all races but is the lowest for black students who, in 2010-2011, attended schools with 17.6% white students even though 40.3% of Baltimore-Washington CMSA's students were white.
- Similar to the state, in 2010-2011, the typical black student attended a school that was 64.1% black while the typical white student attended a school that was 64.8% white; the typical Asian student attended a school that most closely reflected Baltimore-Washington CMSA's overall enrollment and therefore was the most integrated of all races of students in the metro's schools.
- In 2010-2011, the average school was 34% less diverse than the entire metropolitan area, and most (59%) 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.
- Of the 13 districts opened in all time periods in the metro area, all but one of them had a smaller proportion of white students enrolled in 2010-2011 than in 1989, and in three of those districts the white proportion of students in 2010-2011 had dropped to half or less of what it had been two decades earlier.
- In 1989-1990, more than half (seven) of the 13 districts in the metro area were predominantly white; however, by 2010 only two districts remained predominantly white,

⁶ We use the term "Baltimore-Washington CMSA" to refer to the Washington, D.C.-Baltimore metropolitan area. In this report our data includes only the districts in this metropolitan area that are located in the state of Maryland. The 1999 MSA boundaries included Anne Arundel County, Baltimore City, Baltimore County, Calvert County, Carroll County, Charles County, Frederick County, Harford County, Howard County, Montgomery County, Prince George's County, Queen Anne's County, and Washington County.

and more than half (seven) were diverse with the remaining four being predominantly nonwhite.

These findings highlight the deepening segregation by race and class of Maryland's public school students and emphasize the degree to which black students in particular are segregated in the state.

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

- Maryland 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 home buyers are not being steered away from areas with diverse schools.
- Local and state government should monitor land use and zoning decisions and effectuate policies for low-income housing to be set aside in new communities that are attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County.
- Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce school site selection policies so that they support integrated schools.
- New schools—both public and charter—should not be built or opened in racially isolated areas of the district unless they are part of a regional magnet school strategy and can feasibly be expected to attract middle-class students and those of diverse backgrounds.
- 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 within 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.

Given the trends presented in this report, it is likely that segregation will continue to intensify if nothing is done to address it. Having already reached high levels of segregation for the state's students of color, it is necessary that Maryland now take steps to reverse these trends by being proactive in addressing the segregated nature of its public schools.

SETTLE FOR SEGREGATION OR STRIVE FOR DIVERSITY? A DEFINING MOMENT FOR MARYLAND'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This report investigates trends in school segregation in Maryland over the last two decades. First, we provide a brief overview of the history of school desegregation in the state and in several prominent school districts. We then summarize several decades of social science research highlighting the harms of segregation and the benefits of diverse learning environments. The next section describes the report's data and methods. We examine enrollment patterns and several measures of segregation at the state level. After exploring trends at the state level, we turn to the Baltimore-Washington CMSA and provide similar measures of segregation for the metro; in this section we also discuss the degree and type of racial transition occurring in the largest school districts in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. The report concludes with a discussion of our findings and multiple recommendations for those who seek to address segregation in Maryland's schools. Additional fact sheets documenting segregation trends in three of Maryland's metro areas also accompany this report.

Background and Context

Maryland is a state in which there was historically intense segregation, followed by a modest effort to desegregate and then an abandonment of this effort. Prior to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, Maryland was one of 17 states that had *de jure* segregation, requiring separate schools for students along racial lines.⁷ It was one of the six Border states, and Baltimore used to be considered the northernmost Southern city. The peak of the effort to desegregate K-12 schools nationwide was in the late 1960s and early 1970s, after which segregation of black students decreased and reached its lowest point in the late 1980s.⁸

Before Maryland began to desegregate K-12 schools, the University of Maryland's law school was required to start the process of desegregation. In 1936, the Maryland Supreme Court ordered the University of Maryland's law school, which was restricted to white students only, to allow a black student to enroll at the school.⁹ Charles Hamilton Houston argued the case by using the "equalization strategy," which demanded that facilities for black students be made equal to the facilities that were provided for white students. Because there was not a state-supported law school for black students at the time, the black student was permitted to enroll in the University of Maryland's law school. This case provided precedent as one of the decisions that helped to pave the way for the 1954 *Brown* decision.

In addition to desegregating the schools, some Maryland citizens embraced desegregation in other areas of their lives. The developer James Rouse created Columbia with the goal of eliminating racial, religious, and class segregation.¹⁰ This self-contained community of ten villages, which was intended to promote integration, was located in Howard County between Baltimore and Washington, D.C.

⁷ *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

⁸ Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2004). *Brown at 50: King's dream or Plessy's nightmare?* Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project.

⁹ *University v. Murray*, 169 Md. 478 (1936).

¹⁰ Columbia Archives. "History of Columbia: A story of a planned community," Accessed November 15, 2012. http://www.columbiaarchives.org/?action=content.sub&page=history_community&oid=1.

Because Maryland had practiced *de jure* segregation, all school districts in the state had an affirmative duty to comply with *Brown* and submitted plans to the Office for Civil Rights. However, since the height of desegregation, Maryland has ranked high on the lists of most segregated states for black and Latino students. In 2009-2010, Maryland was sixth among the 50 states for the percentage of black students in minority segregated schools, enrolling 82.4% of the state's black students in schools that were predominantly minority schools.¹¹ Similarly, Maryland ranked eighth for percentage of Latino students in minority segregated schools with 77.6% of Latinos enrolled in majority minority schools.¹² In comparison to other states, Maryland's ranking of school segregation has risen over the last several decades.

Within the state of Maryland, three school districts require particular attention due to their prominence in metropolitan areas and on the national stage: Prince George's County, Montgomery County, and Baltimore City Public Schools.¹³ Prince George's County and Montgomery County, two Maryland school districts that border Washington, D.C., followed quite different trajectories in response to the demand for school desegregation.

Prince George's County

From the *Brown* decision in 1954 until the 1964-1965 school year, Prince George's County operated under a freedom of choice plan, which was similar to the plans of many other school districts in Southern and Border states.¹⁴ Under the freedom of choice plan, students in Prince George's County were assigned to the schools that they would have attended under the previous system of segregated black and white schools; however, parents could choose to enroll their children in different schools by requesting a transfer. Although the process for requesting a transfer was challenging, the number of black students who attended previously all-white schools increased during this 10-year period. This type of plan placed the responsibility for desegregation on individual families.

In 1964, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) became involved in Prince George's County because of the inadequacy of the county's freedom of choice plan. HEW required Prince George's County to create a new plan for desegregation that included unitary attendance zones that were not determined by race. In doing so, this plan created neighborhood schools, which had little effect on desegregating the schools because of high levels of residential segregation in Prince George's County.¹⁵ This action preceded the 1968 decision in *Green v. County School Board*, which determined that freedom of choice plans were not sufficient for eliminating segregation.¹⁶

¹¹ Orfield, G., Kucsera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students* (p. 46). Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

¹² *Ibid.*, 50.

¹³ Baltimore County also deserves close examination but is not included in the background of this report.

¹⁴ Weaver, R. (1985). *The resilience of school desegregation in a decade of political opposition to busing: A case study of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1973-1980* (pp. 53-54) (Dissertation). University of Maryland.

¹⁵ United States Commission on Civil Rights. (1976). *A long day's journey into light: School desegregation in Prince George's County*. Washington, DC: Author.

¹⁶ *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, 391 U.S. 430 (1968).

In the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* case, the Court approved busing as an appropriate mechanism for overcoming the effect of residential segregation on school segregation.¹⁷ One year later, in 1972, *Vaughns v. Board of Education of Prince George's County* found that Prince George's County was illegally segregating black students and required it to adopt a desegregation plan that included a mandatory busing plan.¹⁸ At the time, Prince George's County was the tenth largest school system in the nation, and it was the nation's largest school district to adopt such a plan. Based on the Supreme Court decision in *Alexander v. Holmes*, which ordered that desegregation be implemented immediately and required school districts to operate unitary school systems right away, Prince George's County was required to implement busing immediately in the middle of the school year.¹⁹

During this time—the 1970s—the largest black movement of suburban migration in the country occurred in Prince George's County.²⁰ Three distinctive housing bands developed during this suburbanization. The inner band was the closest to Washington, D.C., and included all-black neighborhoods; the middle band was mostly integrated neighborhoods; and the outer band, which was the farthest away from Washington, D.C., was mostly white neighborhoods.²¹ Between 1967 and 1986, Prince George's County had the largest increase in black enrollment along with the largest decrease in white enrollment of the 60 largest school districts in the nation.²² In 1993, 69% of the public school enrollment in Prince George's County consisted of black students, which made it the nation's largest suburban area in which black students comprised the majority of the student enrollment.²³

After considering a variety of options to promote school desegregation and improve student achievement, in 1985 the school board of Prince George's County chose the Murphy plan, which created magnet schools and magnet programs within schools. The intent of the magnets, which were originally located in predominantly black areas, was to attract white students, thereby aiding the district in desegregation efforts. Eventually magnet programs were also created in white areas, allowing black students access to magnet programs there. Although the success of the Murphy plan in achieving its goals is questionable, it was praised throughout the nation as an example of educational excellence in which the district used magnet schools as a tool for desegregating the district and improving student achievement.²⁴

When the court-ordered desegregation plan was lifted in 2002, the school board of Prince George's County divided the district into three subdistricts that were relatively balanced in terms of racial and socioeconomic composition. Within a subdistrict, students could choose to attend any magnet school. The hope was that integrated schools would result naturally from the students'

¹⁷ *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971).

¹⁸ *Vaughns v. Board of Education of Prince George's County*, 355 F. Supp. 1051 (D.Md. 1972).

¹⁹ *Alexander v. Holmes*, 396 U.S. 19 (1969).

²⁰ Eaton, S. E., & Crutcher, E. (1996). Magnets, media, and mirages: Prince George's County's "miracle" cure. In G. Orfield & S. E. Eaton (Eds.), *Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education* (p. 266). New York: The New Press.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 267.

²² Orfield, G., & Monfort, F. (1989). *Racial change and desegregation in large school districts*. Alexandria, VA: National School Boards Association.

²³ Eaton & Crutcher, 266-267.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 265-289.

choices combined with the fact that each subdistrict was racially and socioeconomically balanced, but this goal was never fully achieved. At the beginning of the 2004-2005 school year, Prince George's County eliminated 33 magnet programs due to state funding cuts, thus drastically reducing the strategy that was originally intended to achieve integration.²⁵

Montgomery County

Located to the northwest of Prince George's County and also bordering Washington, D.C., Montgomery County never faced a mandatory court order to desegregate. In 1975, the Montgomery County school board passed the Quality and Integrated Education Policy, which required the school board to consider taking action if a school became racially imbalanced; however, when situations arose in which schools were racially imbalanced, the school board did not always take action to correct such imbalances. This policy used magnet schools as the primary means of desegregation and also included a transfer policy that allowed any student to transfer. However, because free transportation was not provided, the transfer policy did little to achieve integration and in some cases, it exacerbated racial imbalances.²⁶

Two types of magnet schools were created in Montgomery County. At the elementary level, dedicated magnet schools were created in which the entire school was based around a particular theme, and any student in the county could transfer to the school as long as space was available and the student's transfer did not increase the level of segregation. Although magnet schools decreased levels of segregation at the elementary school level, for the most part, desired levels of desegregation through dedicated magnet schools were not achieved. For example, in the 1992-1993 school year, nine out of ten elementary magnet schools in the Blair cluster and one out of four magnet schools in the Bethesda-Chevy Chase cluster were racially imbalanced, which was defined as having a minority enrollment that was more than 20 percentage points away from the minority enrollment of the district.²⁷ At the secondary level, a school-within-a-school was created that used a competitive process to bring gifted students into magnet programs at predominantly black schools. Although these programs appeared to improve the overall racial balance at magnet schools, secondary schools that operated under the school-within-a-school model were segregated within the school, with the majority of white and Asian students participating in the magnet program and the majority of black students attending classes in the larger, non-magnet portion of the school.²⁸ Thus, while having the outward appearance of working toward integration, Montgomery County's magnet schools did not truly achieve integrated learning environments for students. Montgomery County Schools expanded its magnet programs through the 1990s.

In 1999, a white student tried to transfer to a mathematics and science magnet elementary school in Montgomery County but was not allowed to do so because his transfer would not have improved desegregation efforts. In *Eisenberg v. Montgomery County Public Schools*, the Fourth

²⁵ Rossell, C. (2005). Magnet schools: No longer famous, but still intact. *Education Next* 5(2), 44-49.

²⁶ Eaton, S. E. (1996). Slipping toward segregation: Local control and eroding desegregation in Montgomery County. In G. Orfield & S. E. Eaton (Eds.), *Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education* (pp. 207-239). New York: The New Press.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 220.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 218-220.

Circuit determined that this policy was not narrowly tailored and was instead a form of unconstitutional “racial balancing.”²⁹ As a result, Montgomery County removed all specific references to race from its magnet policies.

In 1999, Montgomery County Public Schools began to develop a new approach for targeting the disparities in academic achievement by race and class. Recognizing the relationship between achievement and school demographics, they divided the district into a green zone and a red zone, in which the latter included schools that had high levels of poverty, mobility, English Learners, and students of color. The district used a differentiated treatment approach to allocate resources and management support according to whether schools were focus schools in the red zone or non-focus schools in the green zone. By 2006, second grade students had higher reading scores for the fifth consecutive year and the minority-white achievement gap was narrowing at the elementary level; fourth grade students who entered kindergarten when this approach was implemented had the highest pass rate on reading and math assessments in the district’s history.³⁰ Efforts to address achievement indicated early success; however, this approach did little to address segregation in the district.

Montgomery County has made efforts to address diversity through housing policies. The county has one of the oldest and largest inclusionary zoning policies in the nation. The policy requires developers to designate a certain proportion of new homes to be rented or sold at below-market prices with stipulations that allow the public housing authority to purchase one-third of these homes for use as public housing. Families, the majority of whom are black, are randomly assigned to public housing in middle-income areas. On assessments of reading and mathematics, students in public housing who attend the district’s most economically advantaged “green zone” schools far outperform similar students in public housing who attend the district’s least advantaged “red zone” schools.³¹ Additionally, by the end of elementary school, the achievement gap between non-poor students and poor students who attended schools in the green zone was cut in half for math and reduced by one-third for reading.³² It is clear that this form of economic desegregation in housing is beneficial to the school system as well.

Baltimore City Public Schools

In addition to Prince George’s County and Montgomery County, Baltimore City Public Schools comprises an important metropolitan school district in Maryland. Although most of Baltimore’s schools were not integrated until after the 1954 *Brown* decision, the efforts to start desegregation in Baltimore began in 1952 at Baltimore Polytechnic Institute. The all-white high school offered an advanced college preparatory curriculum that was not available at the all-black high schools in Baltimore at the time. With assistance from Thurgood Marshall, 16 black male students petitioned the school board to attend the all-white school. By a vote of five to three, the

²⁹ *Eisenberg v. Montgomery County Public Schools*, 197 F.3d 123 (4th Cir. 1999).

³⁰ Elmore, R., Thomas, D., & Clayton, T. C. (2006). *Differentiated treatment in Montgomery County Public Schools*. Cambridge, MA: Public Education Leadership Project at Harvard.

³¹ Schwartz, H. (2010). *Housing policy is school policy: Economically integrative housing promotes academic success in Montgomery County, Maryland*. New York, NY: The Century Foundation.

³² *Ibid.*

school board approved the black students' petition, and they were allowed to enroll at Baltimore Polytechnic Institute the following school year.³³

Within less than a month after the *Brown* decision, Baltimore City Public Schools was one of the first school districts in the country to end *de jure* segregation, and the district adopted a freedom of choice plan that ignored race and allowed any student to attend any school. Essentially, Baltimore City Public Schools continued its previous student assignment policy but lifted the racial segregation that had previously separated white and black students.³⁴ The plan did not provide transportation to students choosing to transfer, which made transferring an unrealistic option for many families as choice without transportation favors more advantaged families and is impossible for families who cannot provide their own transportation. Lacking a proactive policy to achieve integration, the school board left the process of desegregation up to individual families and their choices. Because of black migration to the city during wartime, postwar white migration to the suburbs, and increased white flight after the *Brown* decision, Baltimore became a predominantly black city. In addition, Baltimore lacked a county-wide school system that could integrate students from outside the city of Baltimore. Consequently, the freedom of choice plan never truly achieved desegregation.³⁵

In the 1973 *Adams v. Richardson* decision, 85 districts across the country, including Baltimore, were named as being in violation of *Swann*.³⁶ Having previously ignored the fact that Baltimore was doing little to promote integration, HEW was now required to acknowledge this fact and to take action to enforce Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by requiring desegregation in Baltimore's public schools. Following many proposed desegregation plans, revised plans, and extended deadlines for achieving progress in desegregation, in 1976 the city of Baltimore filed a suit in which the city achieved an injunction against HEW.³⁷ Following this suit, three conditions discouraged HEW from further involvement in Baltimore: the city's success in court meant that Baltimore had little incentive to cooperate, the limited number of white students in the city made it difficult to achieve desegregation, and the Reagan administration strongly opposed desegregation efforts.³⁸ Baltimore City Public Schools did not take further action to significantly address segregation.

Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says³⁹

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

³³ Baum, H. S. (2010). *Brown in Baltimore: School desegregation and the limits of liberalism* (pp. 51-57). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 69-75.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

³⁶ *Adams v. Richardson*, 480 F.2d 1159 (1973).

³⁷ *Baltimore v. Mathews*, 411 F. Supp. 542 (1976).

³⁸ Baum, 206.

³⁹ This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kucsera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project. Available at: <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students>

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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified⁴² and experienced⁴³ teachers are spread very unevenly across schools, and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.⁴⁴ Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools of concentrated poverty.⁴⁵

Findings showing that the academic performance of classmates is strongly linked to educational outcomes for poor students date back to the famous 1966 Coleman Report. The central conclusion of that report (as well as numerous follow-up analyses) was that the concentration of poverty in a school influenced student achievement more than the poverty status of an individual student.⁴⁶ This finding is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance, and college-going are normalized by peers.⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁰ Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement. *Econometrica*, 73(2), 417-58.

⁴¹ 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

⁴² 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).

⁴³ 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, and W. J. Pittz (Eds.), *Racial profiling and punishment in U.S. public schools* (pp. 39-44). Oakland, CA: Applied Research Center.

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ Miller, R. (2010). *Comparable, schmomparable. Evidence of inequity in the allocation of funds for teacher salary within California's public school districts*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress;

Roza, M., Hill, P. T., Sclafani, S., & Speakman, S. (2004). *How within-district spending inequities help some schools to fail*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution; U.S. Department of Education. (2011). *Comparability of state and local expenditures among schools within districts: A report from the study of school-level expenditures*. Washington, DC: Author.

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ Kahlenberg, R. (2001). *All together now: Creating middle class schools through public school choice*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰

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.⁵¹ Student discipline is harsher and the rate of expulsion is much higher in minority-segregated schools than in wealthier, whiter ones.⁵² Dropout rates are significantly higher in segregated and impoverished schools (nearly all of the 2,000 “dropout factories” are doubly segregated by race and poverty),⁵³ and if students do graduate, research

⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ 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.

⁵² Exposure to draconian, “zero tolerance” discipline measures is linked to dropping out of school and subsequent entanglement with the criminal justice system, a very different trajectory than attending college and developing a career. Advancement Project & The Civil Rights Project (2000). *Opportunities suspended: The devastating consequences of zero tolerance and school discipline policies*. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project. Retrieved from <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/school-discipline/opportunities-suspended-the-devastating-consequences-of-zero-tolerance-and-school-discipline-policies/>.

⁵³ 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.

indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.⁵⁴ Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students' success in school and later life.⁵⁵

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.⁵⁶ Relatedly, integrated schools are linked to reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes.⁵⁷ Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.⁵⁸

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students,⁵⁹ with no corresponding detrimental impact for white students.⁶⁰ These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations,⁶¹ and high

⁵⁴ Camburn, E. (1990). College completion among students from high schools located in large metropolitan areas. *American Journal of Education*, 98(4), 551-569.

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ 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.

⁵⁷ Mickelson, R., & Bottia, M. (2010). Integrated education and mathematics outcomes: A synthesis of social science research. *North Carolina Law Review*, 88, 993; Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751-783; Ready, D., & Silander, M. (2011). School racial and ethnic composition and young children's cognitive development: Isolating family, neighborhood and school influences. In E. Frankenberg & E. DeBray (Eds.), *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multiracial generation* (pp. 91-113). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ 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 and C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597-616). New York: Macmillan Publishing.

⁶⁰ Hoschild, J., & Scrovronick, N. (2004). *The American dream and the public schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁶¹ 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.

levels of civic and communal responsibility.⁶² 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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵

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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ 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, heterogenous grouping in classrooms, and highly visible, positive modeling from teachers and school leaders around issues of diversity.⁶⁸

Data and Methods

In this report, we explore the demographic and segregation trends over the last two decades for the state of Maryland and the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. For the Baltimore-Washington CMSA, we also investigate district racial stability over time. Below is an overview

⁶² 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.

⁶³ 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.

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.

⁶⁷ Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751-783.

⁶⁸ 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.

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.

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

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

School segregation patterns by the proportion or concentration of each racial group in segregated schools (50-100% of the student body are students of color), intensely segregated schools (90-100% of the student body are students of color), and apartheid schools (99-100% of the schools are students of color) were also explored. Such schools, especially hypersegregated and apartheid schools are nearly always associated with stark gaps in educational opportunity.⁶⁹ To provide estimates of diverse environments, the proportion of each racial group in multiracial schools (schools with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body) was calculated.

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

⁶⁹ 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.

To explore district stability patterns in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA’s districts, as well as the metropolitan area, districts 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.⁷⁰ 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.

State Trends

Consistent with the nation and the other Border states, Maryland shows a growing enrollment. Maryland’s enrollment increased by 21.4% over the last two decades (Table 1). Maryland experienced more growth from 1989-1990 to 1999-2000 than in the next decade, which again is similar to the growth patterns of the larger region and the nation.

Table 1 – *Public School Enrollment, Maryland, Border States, and the Nation*

	Total Enrollment
Maryland	
1989-1990	684,940
1999-2000	824,614
2010-2011	831,579
Border	
1989-1990	3,206,644
1999-2000	3,442,635
2010-2011	3,530,033
Nation	
1989-1990	39,937,135
1999-2000	46,737,341
2010-2011	48,782,384

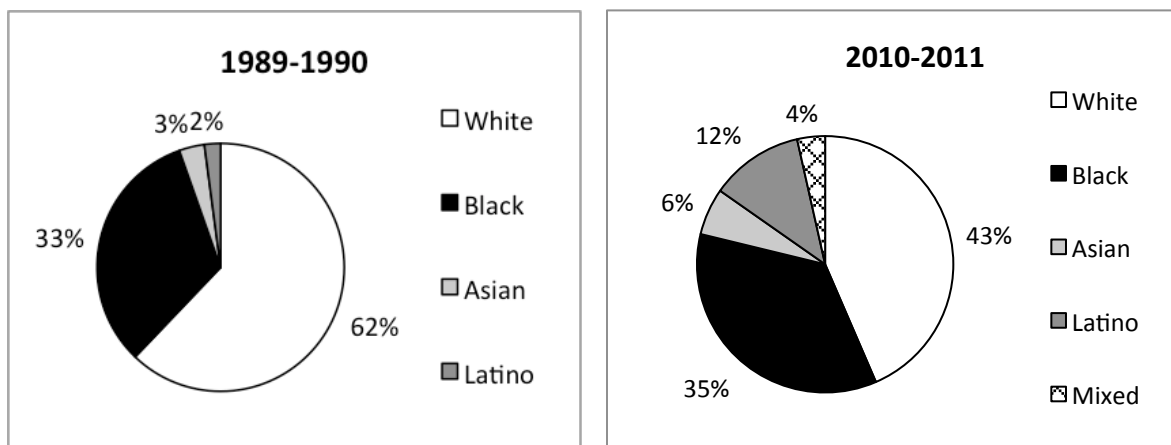
Note: Border region includes Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

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

⁷⁰ 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.

Driven by a decrease in the white enrollment and an increase in the Latino enrollment, the public school enrollment in Maryland has changed dramatically over the last two decades (Figure 1). The white share of enrollment decreased from 61.9% in 1989-1990 to 43.4% in 2010-2011, a decrease of 29.9%. During the same time there was a slight increase in the black share of enrollment from 32.4% to 35.1%, an increase of 8.3%. Although a smaller share of the total enrollment, the Asian share increased by 75.5% from 3.4% in 1989-1990 to 5.9% in 2010-2011. However, the major change in Maryland over these two decades occurred with the Latino share of enrollment, which grew by 457.1%, a substantial increase from 2.1% in 1989-1990 to 11.7% in 2010-2011. With such large shifts in the public school enrollment, the overall composition of the state’s schools changed considerably during these two decades.

Figure 1 – *Public School Enrollment by Race, Maryland*



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment.

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

To accommodate the growing enrollment, the number of schools in the state increased during this time period, including schools with both multiracial and majority minority enrollment (Table 2). Among these schools, there are four different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students—multiracial schools, majority minority schools, intensely segregated schools, and apartheid schools.

Multiracial schools are those in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups. The percent of multiracial schools in Maryland tripled. Majority minority schools are schools in which 50-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students. Majority minority schools have almost doubled since 1989-1990, and more than half of the schools in Maryland are majority minority schools. Intensely segregated schools, those that are 90-100% minority, have more than doubled. Apartheid schools are schools in which 99-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students. Of concern is the fact there was also a large increase in apartheid schools, and now more than one-tenth of the total public schools in Maryland are apartheid schools.

Table 2 – *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Maryland*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Maryland					
1989-1990	1148	7.8%	28.8%	11.6%	6.7%
1999-2000	1240	11.2%	39.1%	20.6%	8.6%
2010-2011	1323	24.0%	55.0%	28.2%	11.0%

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

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 contribute to the inequalities found in segregated schools, including fewer qualified and less experienced teachers, less stability in the teaching force, less successful peers, and inadequate facilities and resources.

In 2010-2011, there was a larger share of low-income students in both multiracial and minority schools than there was in 1999-2000 (Table 3). This is likely reflective of the economic crisis during the latter half of the decade, which resulted in an overall increase in low-income students. There is a clear pattern of increasing levels of low-income students as the level of segregation within the schools also increases such that the most segregated of schools, apartheid schools, also have the highest level (72.8%) of low-income students. One interesting note is that the multiracial schools are not necessarily schools of concentrated poverty, as they have lower levels of low-income students than any of the majority minority categories of schools. This data suggests that students in racially isolated schools are also far more likely to attend schools with higher percentages of low-income students, segregating students not only by race but also by class.

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

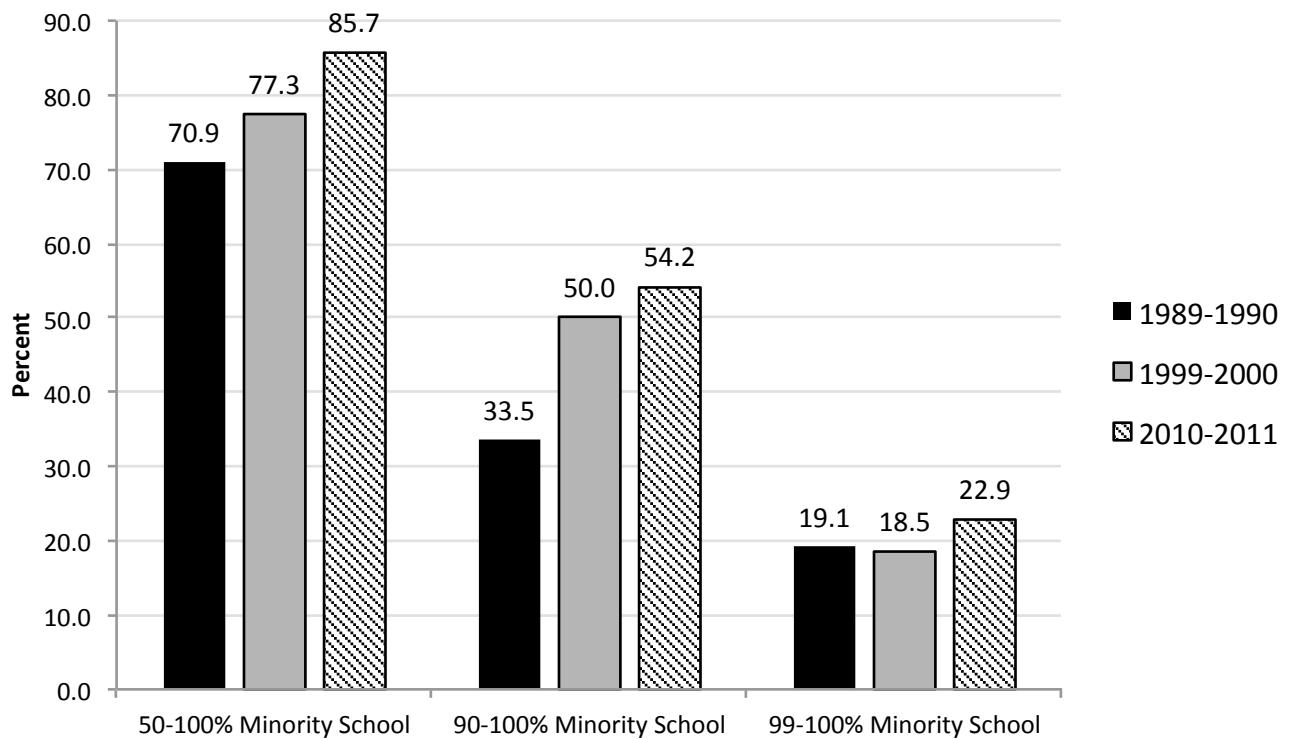
	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Maryland				
1999-2000	29.1%	48.3%	58.0%	72.9%
2010-2011	37.8%	53.5%	67.3%	72.8%

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.

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

The share of black students in majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools has increased over the last two decades (Figure 2). One minor exception was a very slight dip in the share of black students in apartheid schools, which was then followed by an increase. A high percentage of black students (85.7%) is enrolled in majority minority schools in Maryland. There has also been a very substantial increase in the share of black students enrolled in intensely segregated settings, with a shift from about one-third of black students to more than one-half of black students enrolled in such schools. A final finding is that almost one-quarter of black students in the state are enrolled in apartheid schools. This data clearly demonstrates the increasingly segregated nature of schooling for the vast majority of black students in Maryland.

Figure 2 – *Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Maryland*

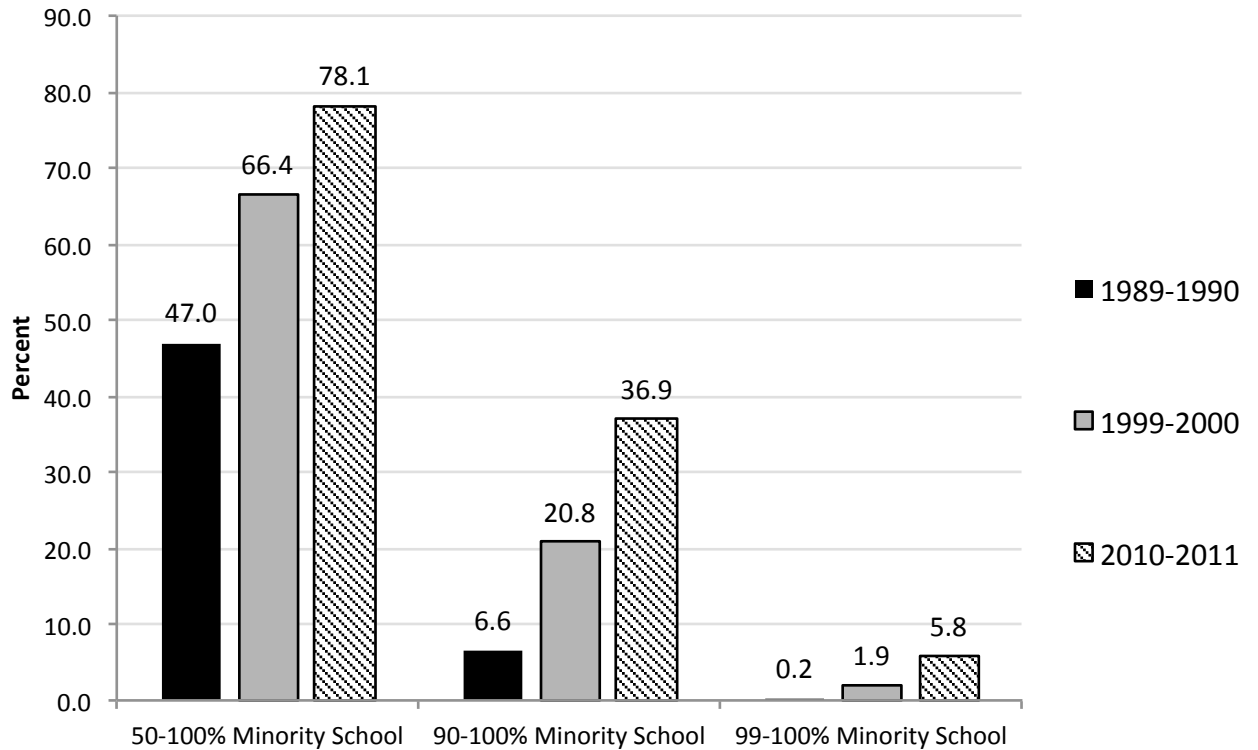


Note: Minority segregated school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

The share of Latino students in majority minority schools has also increased over the last two decades (Figure 3). Although the overall levels of Latino students in majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools are considerably lower than the levels of black students in such schools, there is still a disconcerting percentage of Latino students (78.1%) enrolled in majority minority schools.

Figure 3 – *Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Maryland*

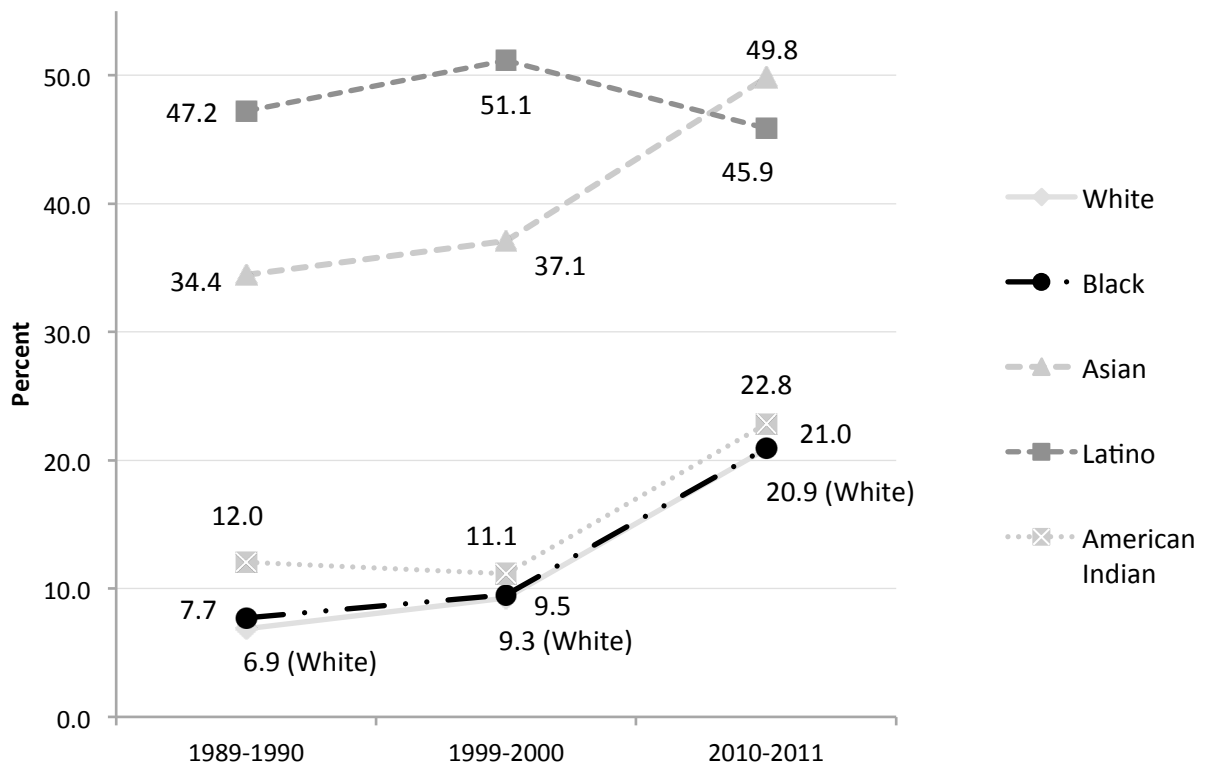


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

Since 1989-1990, multiracial schools in Maryland—those that have any three races representing at least one-tenth of the total student enrollment—have drawn much larger shares of Asian and Latino students than white and black students (Figure 4). There has been an increase in the shares of Asian, white, black, and American Indian students in multiracial schools but a slight decline in the share of Latino students in these schools. In 2010-2011, the share of Asian and Latino students was more than double the share of black, white, and American Indian students in multiracial schools.

Figure 4 – *Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Maryland*



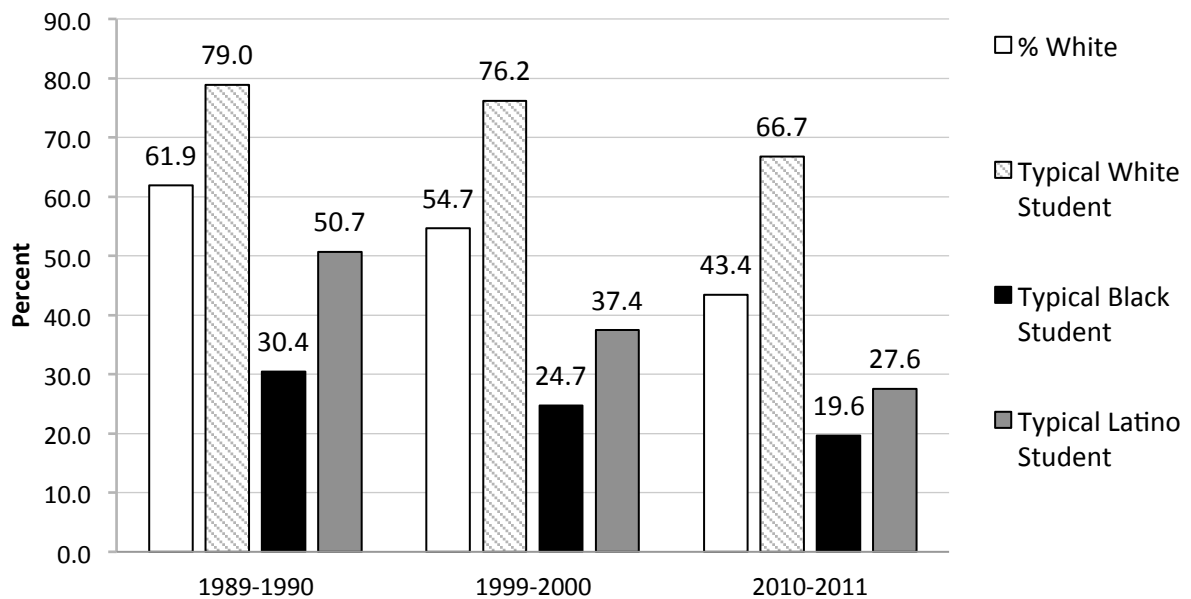
Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment respectively.

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

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

Since 1989-1990, there has been a decline in the white share of the enrollment as well as a decline in the exposure to white students for the typical student of each race (Figure 5). In all three decades, the typical white student attended a school in which the large majority of his/her classmates were other white students, and this percentage is more than what would be expected based on white students' share of the total enrollment. The gap between the overall share of white students and the percentage of white students in the school of a typical white student has widened considerably. Although both the typical black and the typical Latino student attended schools in which they were underexposed to white students, it was more extreme for the typical black student, who in 2010-2011 attended a school where only 19.6% of his/her classmates were white despite the fact that 43.4% of the overall enrollment of students in the state was comprised of white students. This data shows that while both black and Latino students have been underexposed to white students, the situation is more extreme for the typical black student in Maryland.

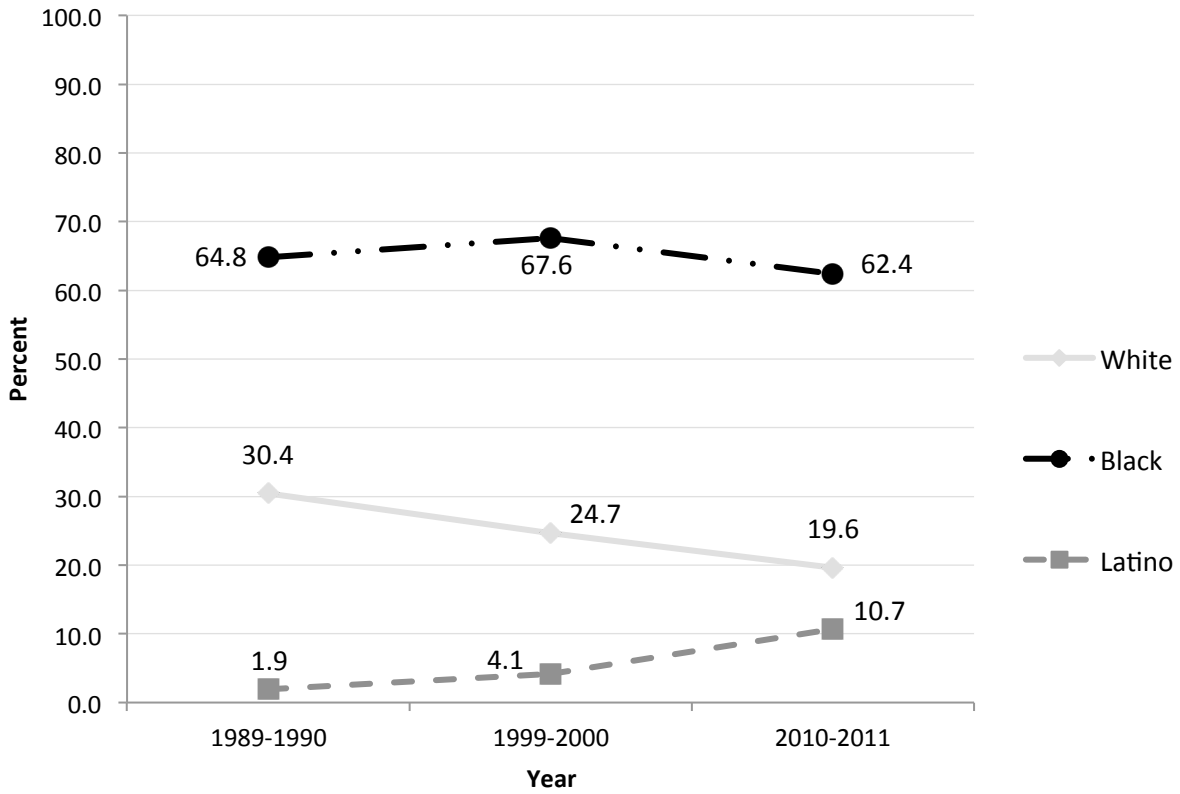
Figure 5 – *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Maryland*



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

During the last two decades, the typical black student has attended a school that was predominantly black (Figure 6). The typical black student now attends a school that has become less white and more Latino than it was two decades ago.

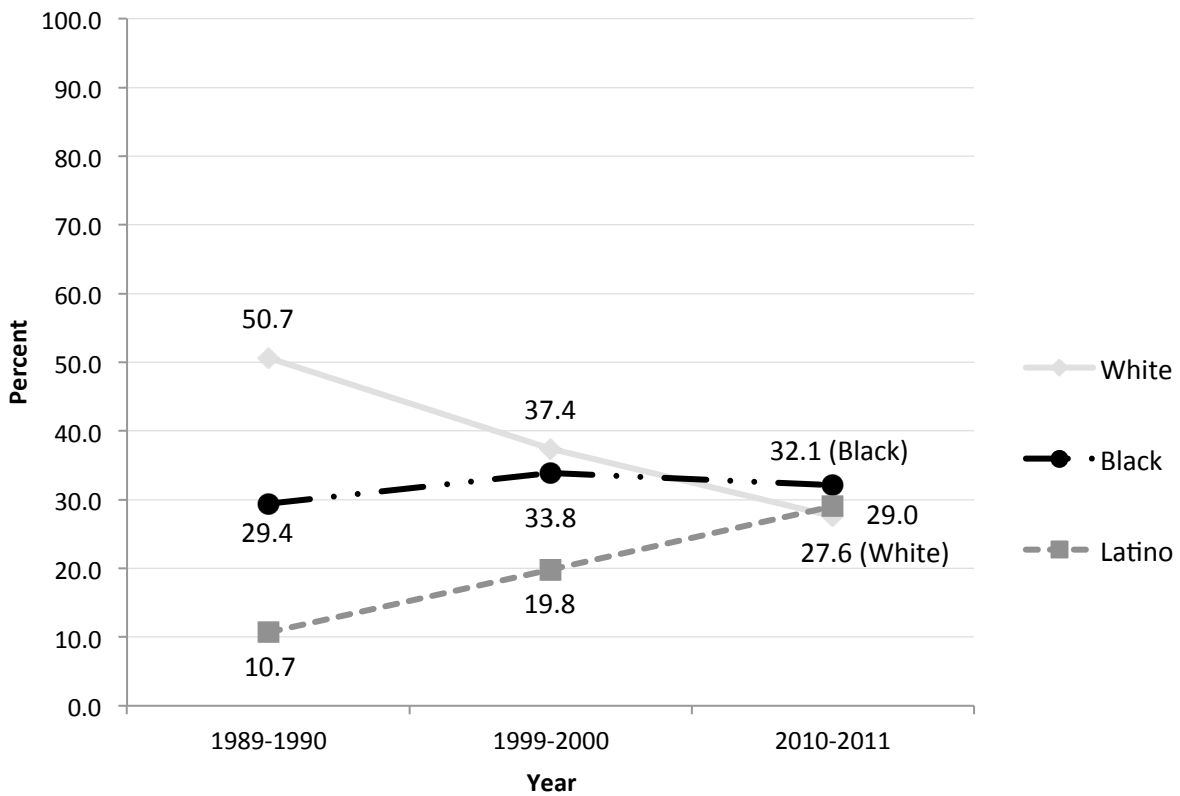
Figure 6 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Maryland*



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 Latino student in Maryland has experienced more change in the racial composition of his/her school than the typical black student, and in fact, a major shift has occurred such that the typical Latino student now attends a school where the largest share of his/her classmates is composed of black students (Figure 7). In 1989-1990, the typical Latino student attended a school that was mostly white and the same was true in 1999-2000, but in 2010-2011, the typical Latino student was enrolled in a school that was mostly black. The typical Latino student of 2010-2011 was enrolled in a school with relatively comparable shares of Latino, black, and white students—a student population that was more Latino, more black, and much less white than two decades earlier.

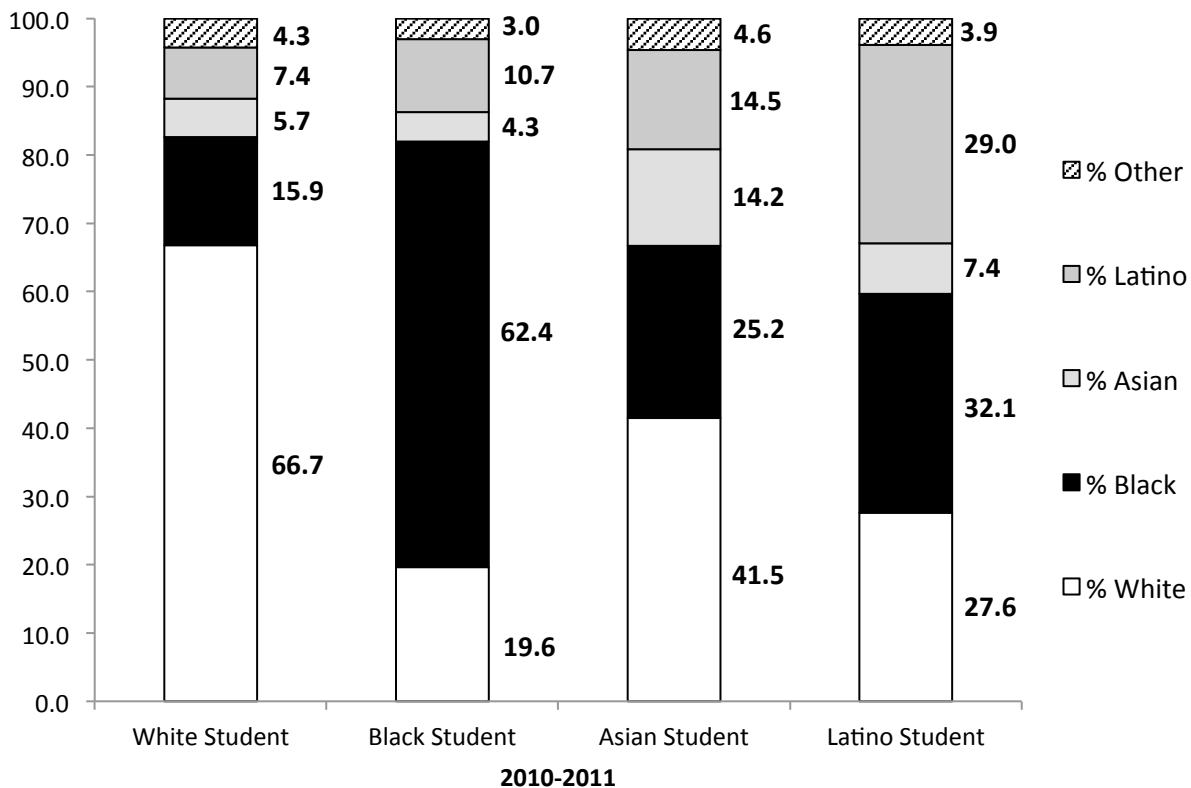
Figure 7 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, Maryland



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

A side-by-side comparison of the racial composition of schools that the typical student of each race in Maryland attends illustrates the average make-up of the school attended by students of different races. It also shows the inconsistent distribution of students by race in Maryland's public schools (Figure 8). In 2010-2011, the typical white student attended a school with mostly white classmates, a small share of black classmates, and an even smaller share of Latino and Asian classmates. The typical black student attended a school with mostly black classmates, a small share of white classmates, a small share of Latino classmates, and an even smaller share of Asian classmates. The typical Asian student attended a school with mostly white students, some black students, and smaller shares of Latino and Asian students. The typical Latino student attended a school that was somewhat balanced among black, Latino, and white students with a small share of Asian students. The racial composition of the school attended by the typical Asian student is most reflective of the overall enrollment of the state (Figure 1), which had an enrollment that was 43.4% white, 35.1% black, 5.9% Asian, 11.7% Latino, and 3.5% mixed. This indicates that the typical Asian student is the most integrated of all races in Maryland, and there is an extremely different experience between the typical black and the typical white student in Maryland.

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

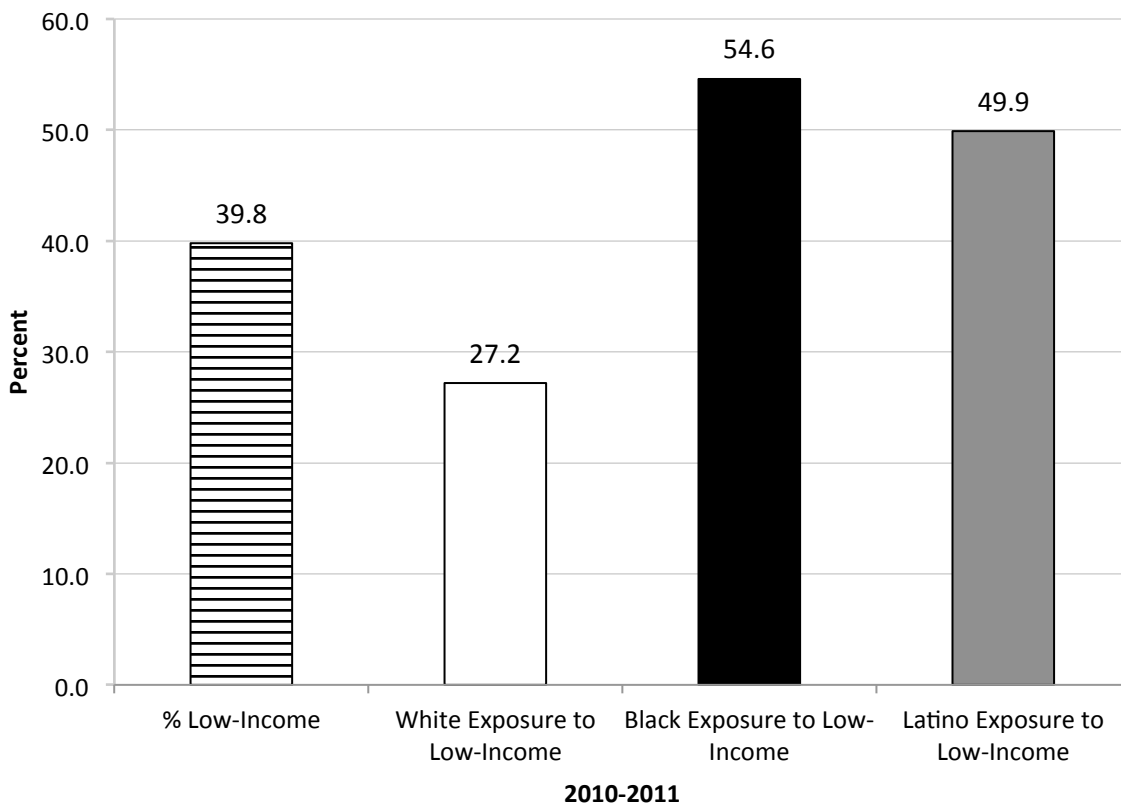


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

An examination of students' income levels reveals a similarly disturbing picture; the typical black and Latino students in Maryland attend schools with approximately twice as many low-income students as the typical white student (Figure 9). The overall enrollment of low-income students in Maryland's public schools is 39.8%, and if these students were distributed evenly across schools we would expect students to attend schools that had this percentage of low-income students. However, the typical white student in Maryland attends a school that enrolls only 27.2% low-income students while the typical black student attends a school that enrolls 54.6% low-income students, and the typical Latino student attends a school with 49.9% low-income students. This data shows the disproportionate under-exposure of white students to low-income students as compared to black and Latino students, who are overexposed to low-income students.

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



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

State-level trends indicate that segregation for black and Latino students in Maryland has intensified over the last two decades and has been even more extreme for black students than for Latino students. There has been a notable decrease in the white share of public school enrollment and a substantial increase in the Latino share of enrollment. Shares of black and Latino students enrolled in majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools have increased and have reached particularly high levels for black students. The typical black and the typical Latino student in Maryland have experienced decreasing exposure to white students in their schools, and again, the situation is even more extreme for the typical black than the typical Latino students.

Asian students are the most integrated of all groups in Maryland while black and white students have dramatically different experiences in terms of the racial compositions of their schools. The distribution of low-income students in Maryland's public schools is disparate with black and Latino students attending schools with disproportionately high levels of low-income students. There is an increasing double segregation of Maryland's black and Latino students by race and class. Similar trends are evident in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA.

Metropolitan Trends⁷¹

As enrollments around the country grow more diverse, the racial makeup of school systems in metropolitan areas often shifts rapidly. A district that appears integrated or diverse at one point in time can transition to a resegregating district in a matter of years. A recent study of neighborhoods, based on census data from the 50 largest metropolitan areas, found that diverse areas with nonwhite population shares over 23 percent in 1980 were more likely to become predominantly nonwhite over the ensuing 25 years than to remain integrated.⁷² School districts reflect similar signs of instability. Nearly one-fifth of suburban school districts in the 25 largest metro areas are experiencing rapid racial change.⁷³

The process of transition is fueled by a number of factors, including pervasive housing discrimination (to include steering families of color into specific neighborhoods), the preferences of families and individuals, and school zoning practices that intensify racial isolation. Importantly, schools that are transitioning to minority segregated learning environments are much more likely than other types of school settings to be associated with negative factors like high levels of teacher turnover.⁷⁴

Stably diverse schools and districts, on the other hand, are linked to a number of positive indicators. Compared to students and staff at schools in racial transition, teachers, administrators, and students experience issues of diversity differently in stable environments. In a 2005 survey of over 1,000 educators, those working in stable, diverse schools were more likely to think that their faculty peers could work effectively with students from all races and ethnicities.⁷⁵ They were also significantly more likely to say that students did not self-segregate. And though white and nonwhite teachers perceived levels of tension somewhat differently, survey respondents reported that tension between racial groups was lowest in schools with stable enrollments and much higher in rapidly changing schools.⁷⁶ It stands to reason, then, that school and housing policies should help foster stable diversity—and prevent resegregation—whenever possible.

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). *America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges*. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.

⁷³ Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation: A typology of suburban districts. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield, (Eds.), *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

⁷⁴ Jackson (2009).

⁷⁵ Siegel-Hawley, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2012). *Spaces of inclusion: Teachers' perceptions of school communities with differing student racial and socioeconomic contexts*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

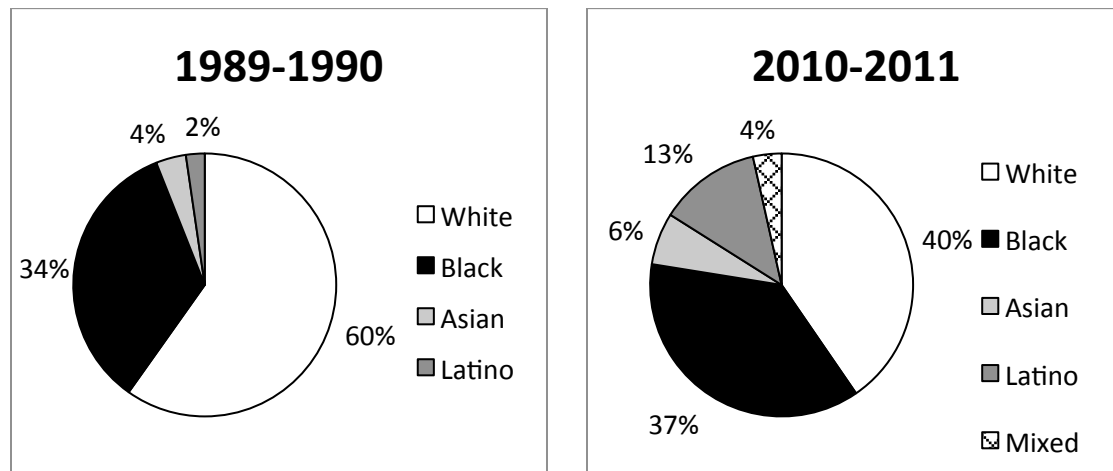
⁷⁶ Ibid.

The following section explores the enrollment, segregation, and poverty concentration patterns of public school students in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA, home to most of the state’s urbanized and suburban areas. The degree and type of racial transition occurring in the largest school districts of the metro is also presented. The analysis in the following section includes only the districts in this consolidated metropolitan area that are located in the state of Maryland.

Baltimore-Washington Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area⁷⁷

As a result of a decrease in the white enrollment and a large increase in the Latino enrollment, the racial composition of the Baltimore-Washington CMSA’s public schools has changed considerably since 1989-1990 (Figure 10). The white share of enrollment decreased by 32.5% from 59.7% in 1989-1990 to 40.3% in 2010-2011. The black share of enrollment increased slightly from 34.1% to 37%. Although a smaller share of the total enrollment, the Asian share of enrollment increased by 73% from 3.7% in 1989-1990 to 6.4% in 2010-2011. A substantial increase of 443.5% occurred in the Latino share of enrollment, causing it to jump from just 2.3% of the total enrollment in 1989-1990 to 12.5% in 2010-2011.

Figure 10 – *Public School Enrollment by Race, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 608,604. In 2010, total enrollment was 744,896.

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

⁷⁷ We use the term “Baltimore-Washington CMSA” to refer to the Washington, D.C.-Baltimore metropolitan area. In this report our data includes only the districts in this metropolitan area that are located in the state of Maryland. The 1999 MSA boundaries included Anne Arundel County, Baltimore City, Baltimore County, Calvert County, Carroll County, Charles County, Frederick County, Harford County, Howard County, Montgomery County, Prince George’s County, Queen Anne’s County, and Washington County.

Within the Baltimore-Washington CMSA, the white share of enrollment decreased in both urban and suburban schools while the black, Asian, and Latino shares of enrollment increased in both urban and suburban schools (Table 4). Of all races, black students are the only ones whose share of the enrollment is larger in urban schools than in suburban schools. Black students are the clear majority of racial groups in urban schools with 58.5% of the enrollment in 2010-2011. The Latino share of enrollment has grown more in urban districts, but Latino students comprise a larger share of the enrollment in suburban than urban districts.

Table 4 – *Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*

	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools				
	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other
Baltimore-Washington CMSA										
1989-1990	40.1%	54.8%	3.0%	1.8%	0.3%	64.4%	27.6%	4.7%	3.0%	0.2%
1999-2000	33.7%	57.4%	4.5%	4.1%	0.3%	52.2%	35.8%	5.6%	6.1%	0.4%
2010-2011	24.0%	58.5%	5.6%	9.3%	2.6%	36.6%	37.2%	7.0%	15.1%	4.1%

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other includes American Indian students 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 a result of the growing number of students, the number of schools in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA also grew during this time period. Just as described above on a statewide level, there are four different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students in Baltimore-Washington CMSA’s public schools—multiracial schools, majority minority schools, intensely segregated schools, and apartheid schools.

The percentage of multiracial schools in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA—schools in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups—has increased over the last two decades and so has the percentage of minority schools (Table 5). Multiracial schools have almost tripled since 1989-1990. Majority minority schools—those in which 50-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students—have almost doubled since 1989-1990. In intensely segregated schools—those that are 90-100% minority—there was an even more extreme increase from 13.6% in 1989-1990 to 32.3% in 2010-2011. Apartheid schools—those in which 99-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students—have also increased over this time period. More than half of the schools in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA are majority minority and more than one-tenth of the schools in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA are apartheid schools.

Table 5 – *Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Baltimore-Washington CMSA					
1989-1990	979	9.0%	33.1%	13.6%	7.9%
1999-2000	1065	13.1%	43.8%	23.9%	10.0%
2010-2011	1156	26.5%	60.1%	32.3%	12.5%

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

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

In all types of schools, low-income students comprised a larger share of the enrollment in 2010-2011 than in 1999-2000 except in apartheid schools in which the low-income share remained stable and very high (Table 6). This pattern reflects the pattern at the state level and again is likely due to the nationwide economic crisis during this decade. As the level of segregation within schools increases, the level of low-income students in the school also increases, revealing a direct relationship between segregation by race and class.

Table 6 – *Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*

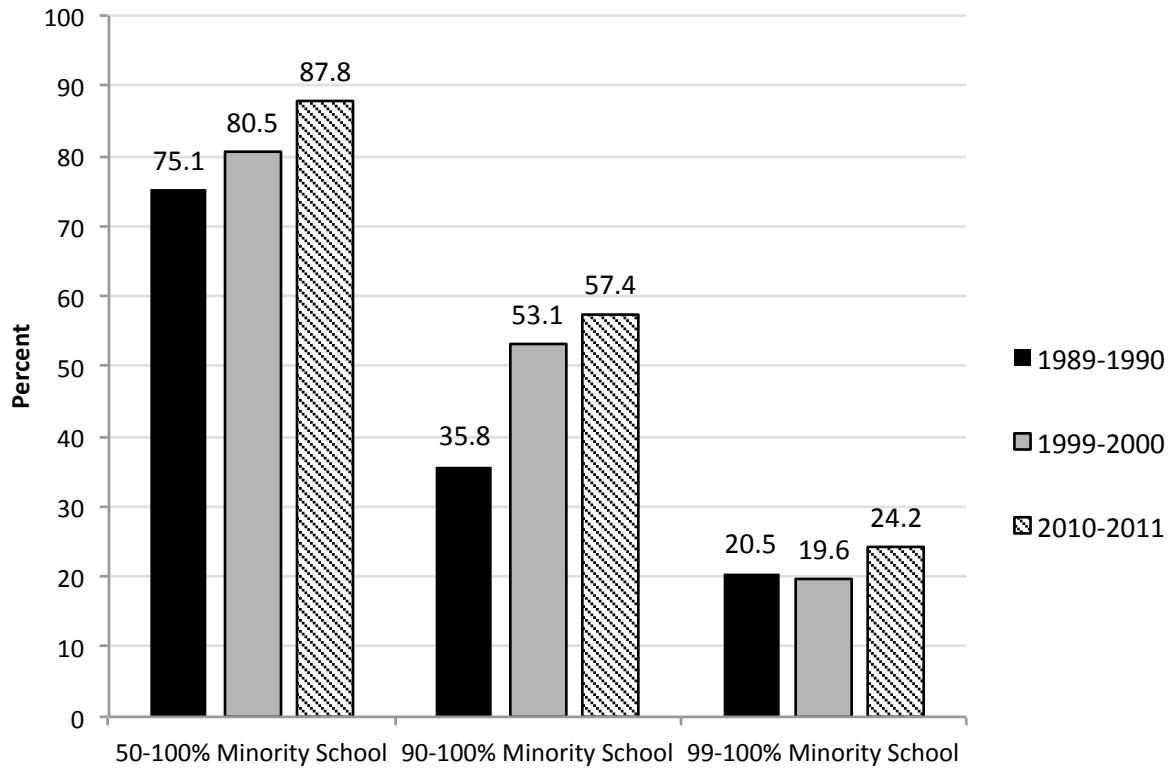
	Overall % Low-Income in Metro	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Baltimore-Washington CMSA					
1999-2000	29.1%	29.1%	48.1%	58.0%	72.9%
2010-2011	39.4%	37.1%	53.2%	67.3%	72.8%

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.

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

Over the last two decades, the share of black students enrolled in majority minority schools and intensely segregated schools has increased; there was a slight dip in the share of black students attending apartheid schools in 1999-2000 but their share has since increased (Figure 11). Almost one-quarter of black students in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA attend apartheid schools. These patterns mirror those of the state, but the overall levels in the metro are slightly higher (about 2%) than the state in 2010-2011.

Figure 11 – *Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*

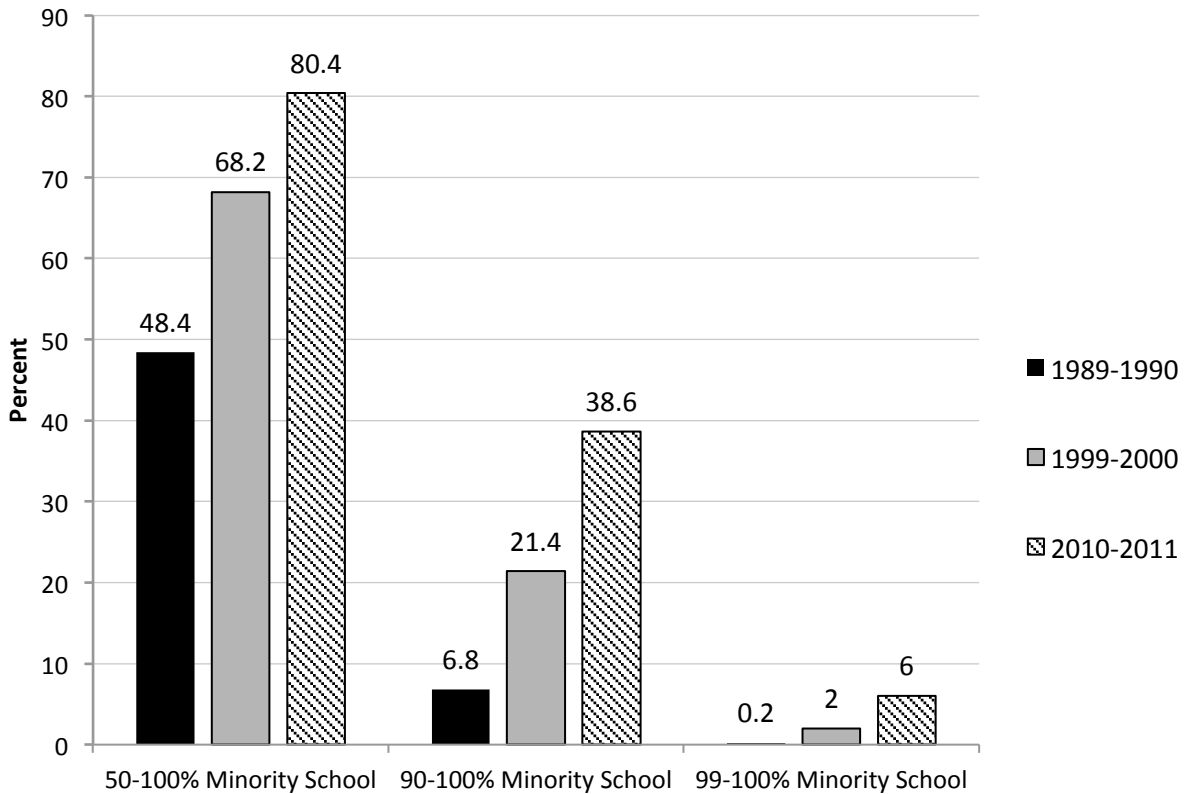


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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

During the same time period, growth occurred in the share of Latino students enrolled in majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools (Figure 12). Again, similar to the state levels, the share of Latino students in all three types of schools is lower than the share of black students in similar schools.

Figure 12 – *Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*

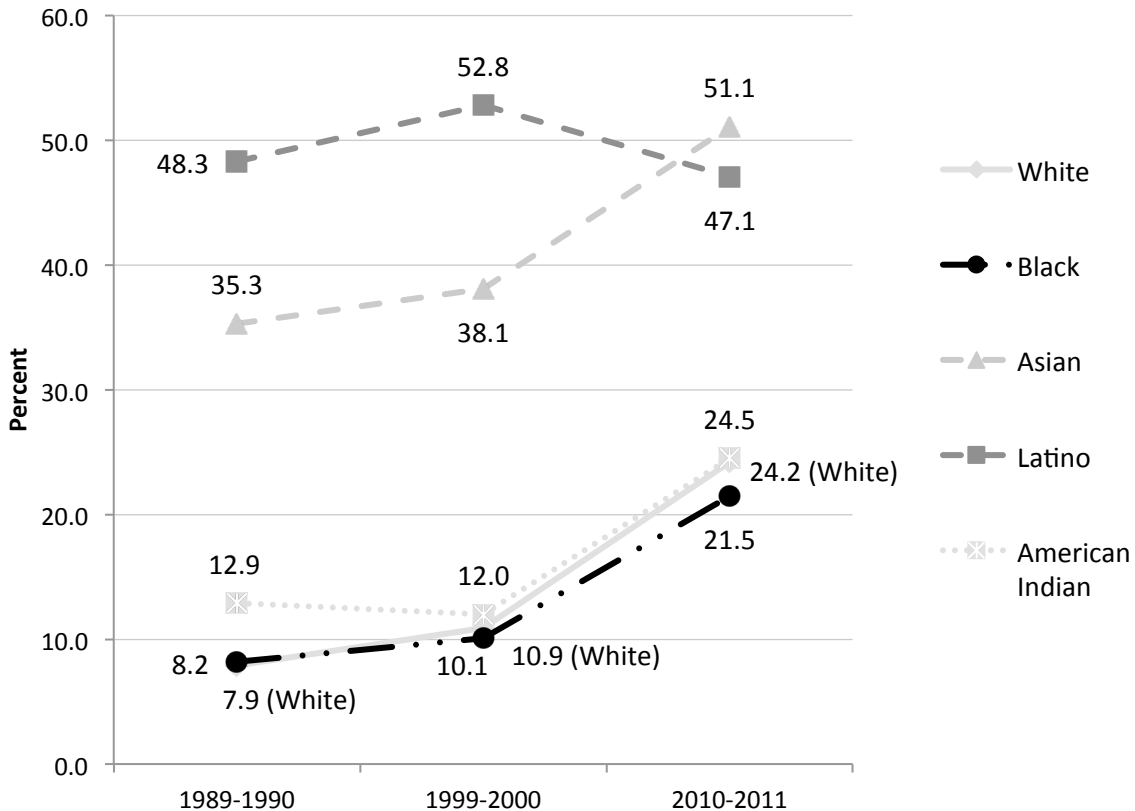


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

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 two decades, there has been an increase in the share of students from all racial groups that attend multiracial schools—those that have any three races representing at least one-tenth of the total student enrollment—except for Latino students who increased from 1989-1990 to 1999-2000 but then decreased in 2010-2011 (Figure 13). Similar to Maryland, the largest percentage of students enrolled in multiracial schools are Asians and Latinos with shares of white and black students being considerably lower.

Figure 13 – *Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*

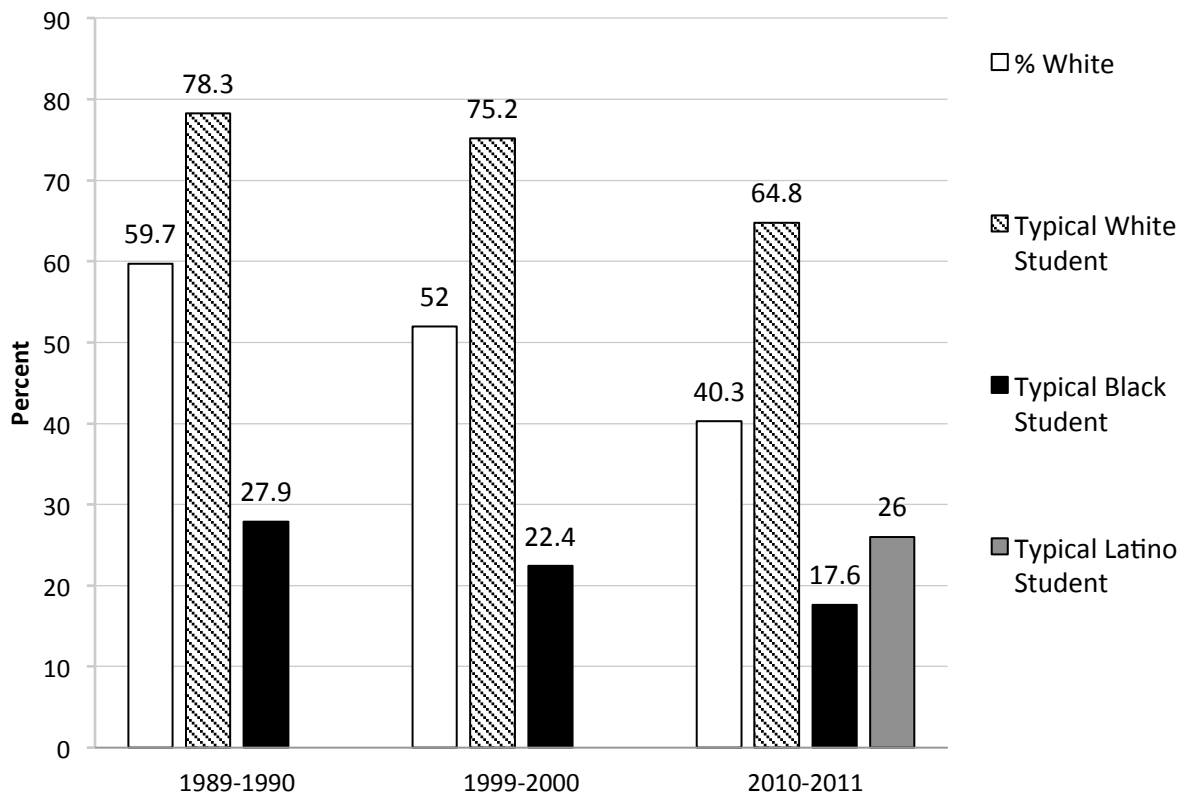


Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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 in Baltimore-Washington CMSA’s public schools has declined from 59.7% in 1989-1990 to 40.3% in 2010-2011, white students continue to attend schools that are overwhelmingly comprised of white classmates (Figure 14). Exposure to white students has decreased for students of all races. The typical black student has the least exposure to white students; in 2010-2011 the typical black student attended a school with only 17.6% white classmates. The typical Latino student is also underexposed to white students, but not quite as extremely as the typical black student.

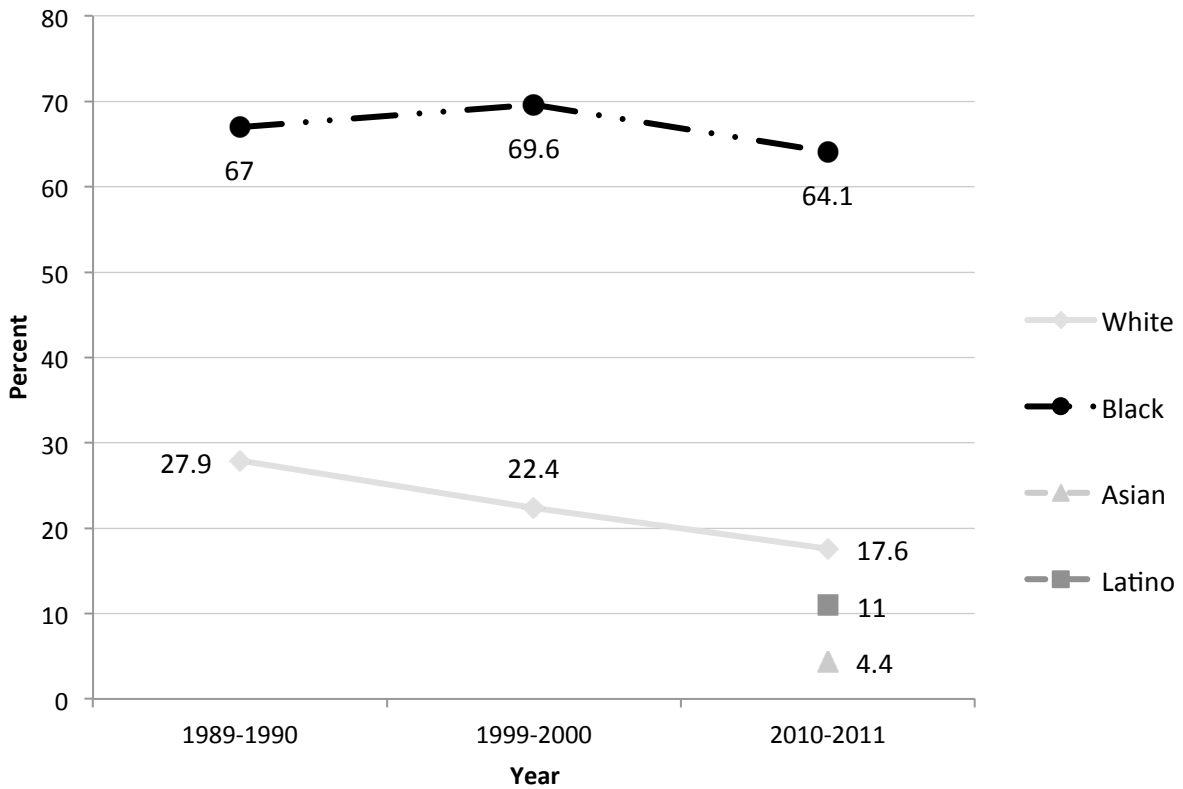
Figure 14 – *White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*



Note: Less than 5% proportional enrollment for Latino students in 1989-1990 and 1999-2000 so data is excluded.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Over the last two decades, the typical black student in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA has attended a predominantly black school (Figure 15). Again, this mirrors the trend at the state level.

Figure 15 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*

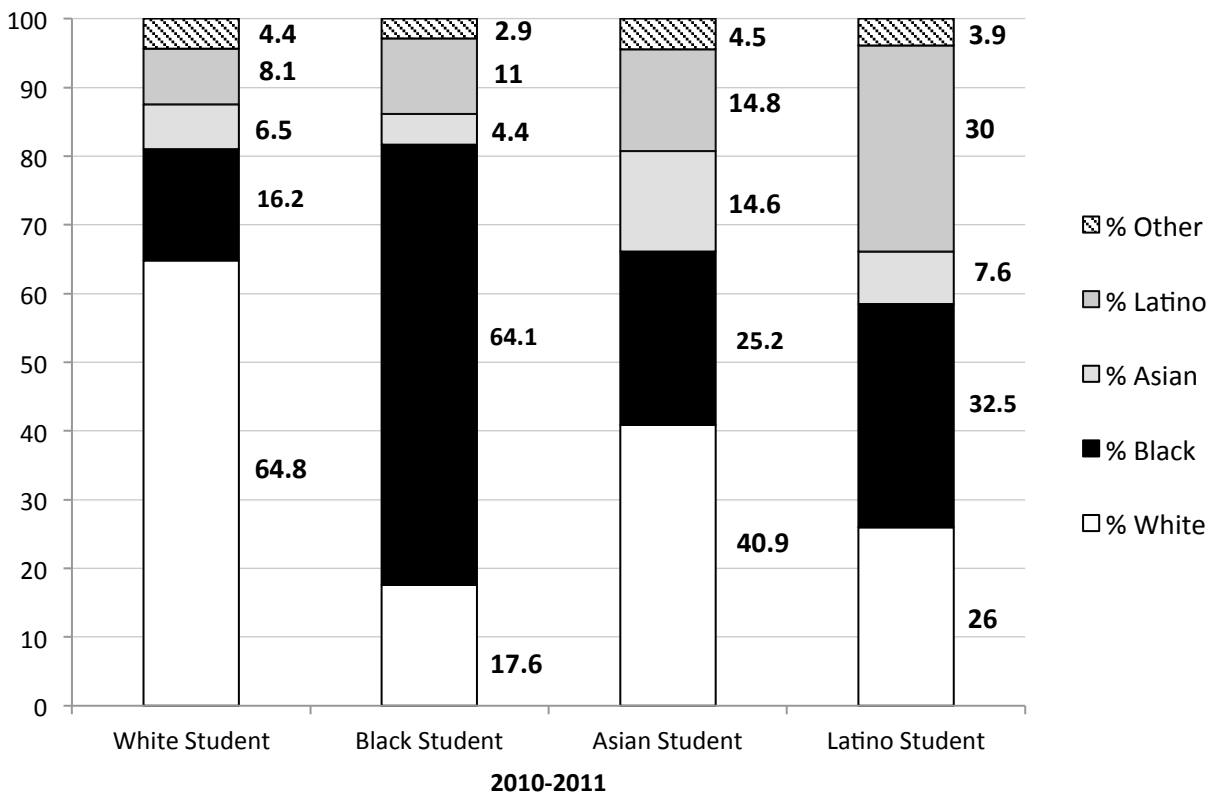


Note: Less than 5% proportional enrollment for Latino and Asian students in 1989-1990 and 1999-2000 so data is excluded.

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

Figure 16 shows the inconsistent distribution of students by race in Baltimore-Washington CMSA’s public schools. Even as the metro’s student enrollment becomes more diverse and white students comprise less than half of the enrollment, the typical white student attends a school that is predominantly white and has small shares of black, Asian, and Latino students. In an almost mirror reversal, the typical black student attends a school that is predominantly black, has small shares of white and Latino students, and a very minimal share of Asian students. The typical Asian student attends a school with white students comprising its largest share and with smaller shares of black, Asian, and Latino students. The typical Latino student attends a school that has almost equally large shares of white, black, and Latino students and a smaller share of Asian students. Consistent with the state, the typical Asian student in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA is the most integrated of all races of students and attends a school that most closely resembles the overall distribution of the metro’s enrollment, which in 2010-2011 was 40.3% white, 37% black, 6.4% Asian, 12.5% Latino, and 3.5% mixed (Figure 10).

Figure 16 – *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*

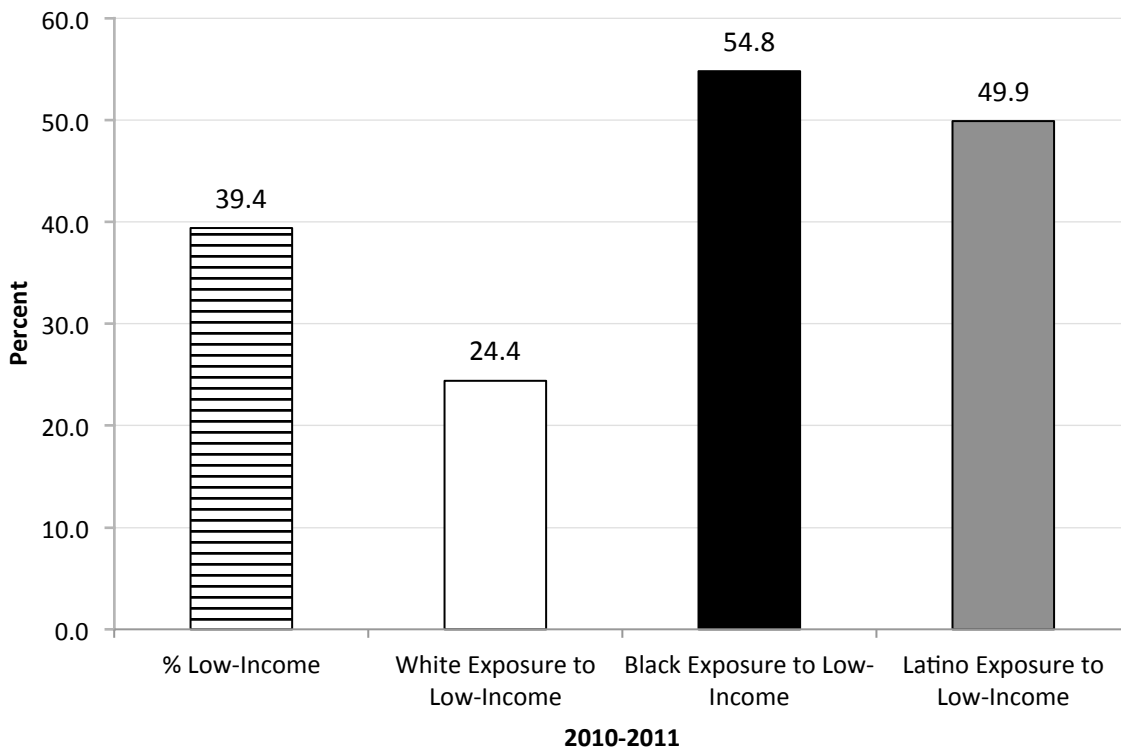


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

Turning to a focus on students' income levels reveals that the typical white student in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA attends a school with about half the share of low-income students as the school attended by the typical black or Latino student (Figure 17). Although 39.4% of students in the metro are low-income, the typical white student has only 24.4% low-income classmates whereas the typical black student has 54.8% low-income classmates and the typical Latino student has 49.9% low-income classmates. This demonstrates the double segregation of students by race and class.

Figure 17 – *Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*



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

Since 1989-1990, there has been a highly uneven distribution of racial groups throughout Baltimore-Washington CMSA’s public schools. In 2010-2011, the average school was 34% less diverse than the entire intrastate metropolitan area, which again, indicates a high level of segregation (Table 7). It is important to note that 59% 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. This is likely due to the existence of districts that are largely comprised of students of only one race, such as Baltimore City, Prince George’s County, and Carroll County (Table 8). In fact, between 1989-1990 and 2010-2011, the level of segregation within districts in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA has remained stable and moderate at 0.14. During the same time, the level of segregation between different school districts in Baltimore-Washington CMSA has declined slightly from 1989-1990 to 2010-2011, with a significant decrease occurring from 1999-2000 to 2010-2011. One possible reason for the slight decline in between-district segregation is that a number of school systems in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA are becoming more diverse, better reflecting the racial/ethnic makeup of the metro as a whole.

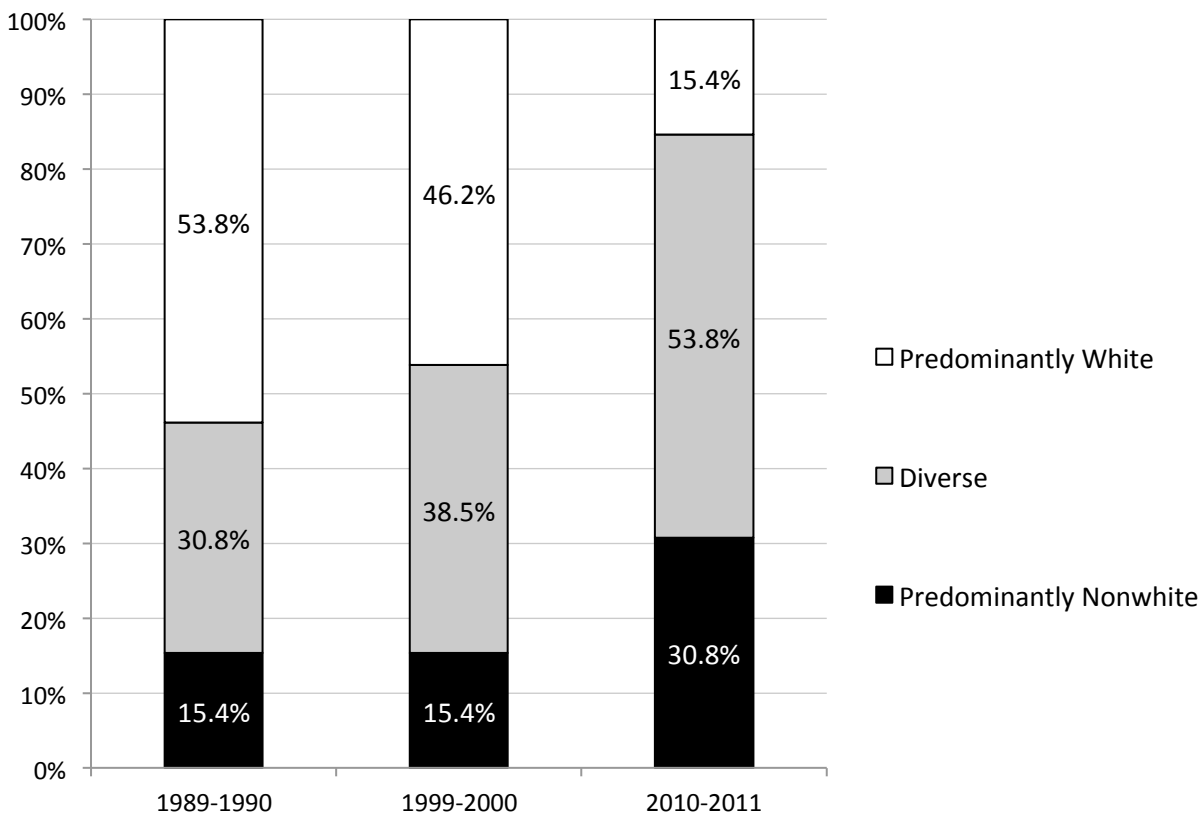
Table 7 – Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Baltimore-Washington CMSA

	H	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Baltimore- Washington CMSA			
1989-1990	0.38	0.14	0.24
1999-2000	0.39	0.14	0.25
2010-2011	0.34	0.14	0.20

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

School districts across the Baltimore-Washington CMSA have experienced a substantial amount of racial transition over the last two decades. A decade-by-decade look at the composition of the metro area as a whole underscores these changes (Figure 18). From 1989-1990 to 1999-2000, district changes created a metro area that had slightly more diverse districts and fewer predominantly white districts, but there was even greater change from 1999-2000 to 2010-2011, when far more of the metro’s districts became diverse and predominantly nonwhite, and many fewer of the metro’s districts were predominantly white.

Figure 18 – *Racial Transition by District, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly nonwhite districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. *N* = 13 districts for 1989, 1999, and 2010.

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 13 districts in the metropolitan area, all but one of them had a smaller proportion of white students enrolled in 2010 than in 1989, and in three of those districts the white proportion of students in 2010 had dropped to half or less of what it had been two decades earlier (Table 8). Striking changes can also be observed when districts are classified over this time period according to one of three categories: predominantly white—80% or more white; predominantly nonwhite—60% or more nonwhite; or diverse—more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite. In 1989, more than half (seven) of the districts were predominantly white. However, by 2010 only two districts remained predominantly white, and more than half (seven) of them

were diverse with the remaining four being predominantly nonwhite. These changes were likely due to the shrinking share of white enrollment coupled with the growth in Latino enrollment across the metro area over the last 20 years.

Table 8 – *White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts, Baltimore-Washington CMSA*

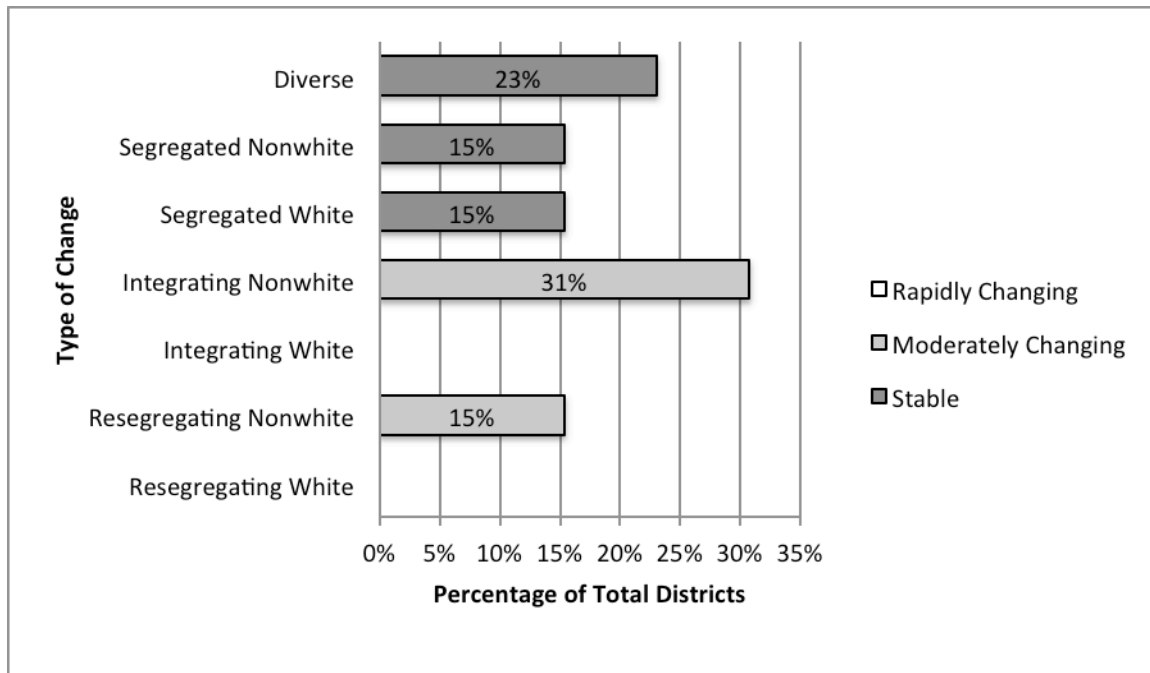
	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Baltimore-Washington CMSA	59.7%	52.0%	40.3%	D	D	D
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	82.3%	75.8%	62.0%	PW	D	D
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	18.5%	11.7%	8.0%	PNW	PNW	PNW
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	78.4%	63.3%	45.9%	D	D	D
CALVERT COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	79.9%	82.7%	75.3%	D	PW	D
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	97.0%	95.7%	89.0%	PW	PW	PW
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	75.8%	62.1%	34.8%	D	D	PNW
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	91.9%	87.4%	68.0%	PW	PW	D
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	85.6%	81.8%	68.5%	PW	PW	D
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	80.0%	71.1%	48.8%	PW	D	D
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	63.4%	50.7%	34.6%	D	D	PNW
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	28.1%	12.6%	4.4%	PNW	PNW	PNW
QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	84.5%	88.0%	85.1%	PW	PW	PW
WASHINGTON COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	94.8%	90.3%	74.8%	PW	PW	D

Note: D = Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW = Predominantly nonwhite area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW = Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. *N* = 13 districts for 1989, 1999, and 2010.

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

Over the past decade, a slight majority of districts (53%) was stable and the others (46%) were moderately changing; none was rapidly changing (Figure 19). Among the stable districts, almost half (43.4%) were diverse and the others (56.6%) were segregated. Among the segregated districts, half were segregated nonwhite and the other half were segregated white. During this same time period, the moderately changing districts were all becoming more nonwhite. One-third of them were resegregating nonwhite and the remaining two-thirds of moderately changing districts were integrating nonwhite.

Figure 19 – Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Baltimore-Washington CMSA, 1999 to 2010



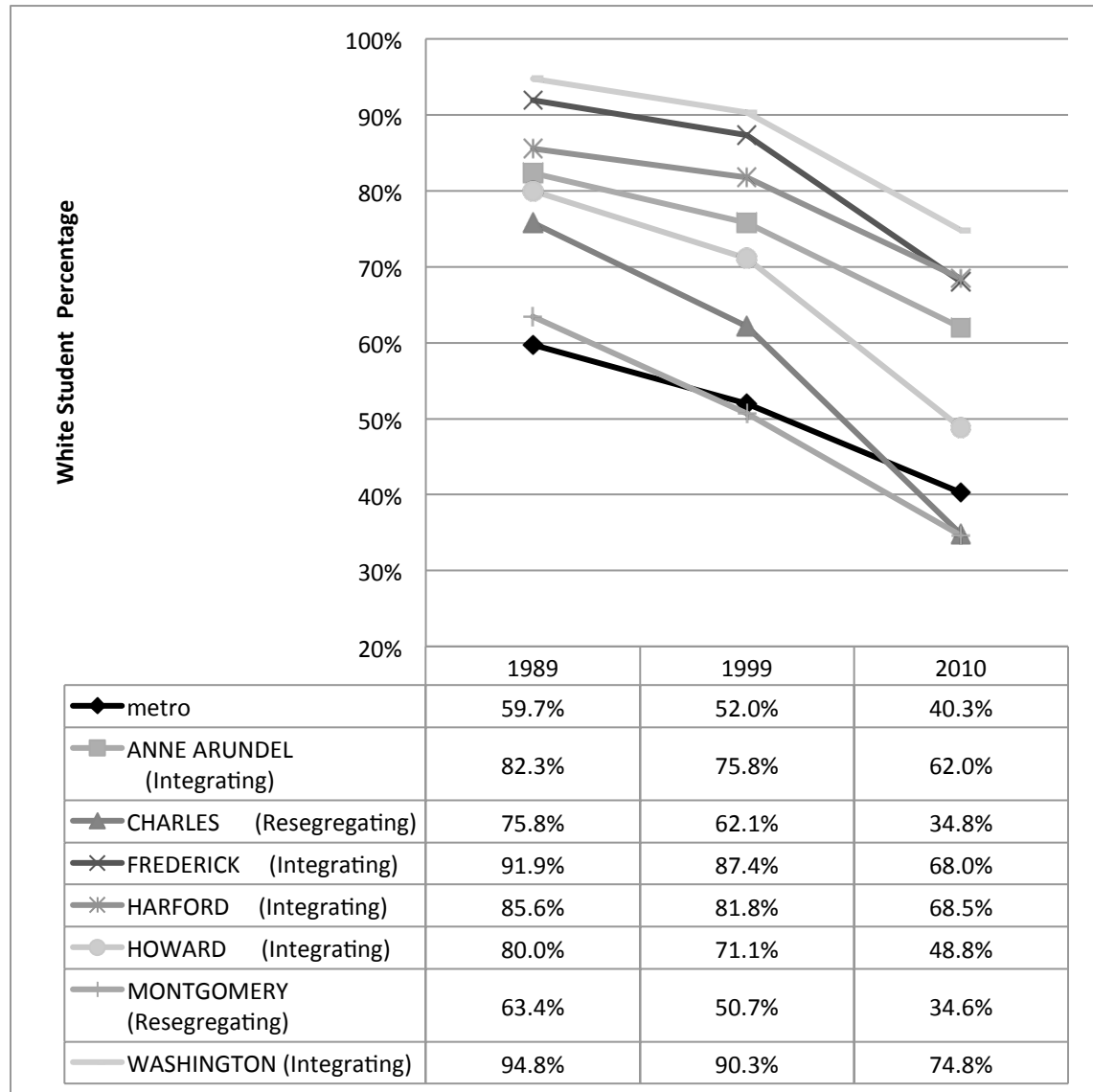
Note: N = 13 districts. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the latter period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominant type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

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

In 1989, all seven of the metro area’s moderately transitioning districts—Anne Arundel, Charles, Frederick, Harford, Howard, Montgomery, and Washington—had an enrollment of white students that was higher than the metro’s white enrollment as a whole; in fact, most of these districts were predominantly white in 1989 (Figure 20). While each district’s white share of the enrollment is different, the overall pattern indicates that the white share of enrollment decreased steadily in all of these moderately transitioning districts and in the metro area as a whole over these two decades. The decline was more accelerated from 1999-2000 to 2010-2011

than in the previous decade. Of the seven districts, more—Anne Arundel, Frederick, Harford, Howard, and Washington—were integrating than resegregating—Charles and Montgomery—during these two decades. The two resegregating districts had the greatest percent change in their white share of enrollment from 1989 to 2010: Charles (-54.1%) and Montgomery (-45.4%).

Figure 20 – Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Baltimore-Washington CMSA



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 latter period. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite, or diverse in the prior year and classified as the other predominant type in the latter year. Integrating districts are those 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

Metropolitan-level trends indicate that segregation of Baltimore-Washington CMSA's black and Latino students has become more extreme since 1989-1990. Over the last two decades, the black share of public school enrollment has increased slightly, and there has been a decrease in the white share of public school enrollment and an increase in the Latino and Asian shares of enrollment. While the share of both black and Latino students in majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools has increased, the large share of black students in such schools is disturbing. Of all racial groups in metro Baltimore-Washington CMSA, Asian students are the most integrated. The typical black student in the metro has experienced decreasing exposure to white students, and in 2010-2011 the typical Latino student was also underexposed to white students. Schools in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA are less diverse than the overall metropolitan area. The uneven distribution of students by race is greater between districts than within districts, although almost all of the districts in the metro area have become more nonwhite over the last two decades. The distribution of low-income students in the metro's public schools is also unequal; black and Latino students attend schools with disproportionately high levels of low-income students, which reveals an intensified double segregation of Baltimore-Washington CMSA's black and Latino students by both race and class.

Discussion

Both state-level and metropolitan-level patterns raise serious concerns about the experience of black and Latino students in Maryland'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 Maryland. The same students are also disproportionately exposed to high levels of low-income students. The result is a situation in which Maryland's black and Latino students experience double segregation by race and class.

In exploring segregation measures, it is essential to consider the demographic composition of the state. At all levels, Maryland has been experiencing major demographic change. At the state level, the Latino share of public school enrollment has increased by 457.1% and the white share of public school enrollment has decreased by 29.9%. Similar changes are reflected at the metropolitan level with an increase of the Latino share of public school enrollment of 443.5% and a decrease in the white share of public school enrollment of 32.5% in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. Similar demographic change will undoubtedly continue into the future, making it imperative for the state and districts to consider the impact of racial change on the racial composition of their schools. Without such planning, the current trends toward increasing isolation of black and Latino students will almost certainly be intensified.

An increasing concentration of black and Latino students in minority schools is also apparent at all levels. Since 1989-1990, the number of minority schools has increased at all levels. Majority minority schools, which have 50-100% minority enrollment, have increased by 91% in Maryland and 81.6% in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. During the same time, the increase in intensely segregated schools, which have 90-100% minority enrollment, is even more dramatic with an increase of 143.1% in Maryland and 137.5% in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. Of concern is the large share of apartheid schools, which have 99-100% minority enrollment; in 2010-2011, 11% of Maryland's schools and 12.5% of Baltimore-Washington

CMSA's schools were apartheid schools. The increasing number of minority schools is indicative of the increasing number of minority students who attend such schools.

The shares of black and Latino students in minority schools have increased, and although the levels are high for both black and Latino students, they are especially noteworthy for black students. In 2010-2011, 85.7% of black students and 78.1% of Latino students in Maryland attended majority minority schools. From 1989-1990 to 2010-2011, in intensely segregated schools, the already high share of black enrollment increased by 61.8% in Maryland and by 60.3% in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. From 1989-1990 to 2010-2011, the share of Latino enrollment in intensely segregated schools increased hugely by 459.1% in Maryland and 467.6% in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. Again, serious attention needs to be given to apartheid schools, which enroll 22.9% of black students in Maryland and 24.2% of black students in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. These high and expanding shares of black and Latino enrollment in racially segregated schools must be halted and reversed.

Black and Latino students' exposure to white students has steadily decreased throughout Maryland, resulting in less contact among racial groups in schools. In 2010-2011, the white share of enrollment was 43.4% in Maryland and 40.3% in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. However, in 2010-2011, black students went to schools where the white share of their classmates was only 19.6% in Maryland and 17.6% in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. Similarly, in 2010-2011, Latino students attended schools where the white share of their classmates was 27.6% in Maryland and 26% in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. Not only were both black and Latino students underexposed to white students in 2010-2011, but they had become even more so since 1989-1990 when exposure levels to white students were higher for both black and Latino students. The decreasing contact among students across racial lines is dangerous for all students in this increasingly diverse state and country.

Within the Baltimore-Washington CMSA, districts are becoming more nonwhite, a transition that has sped up over the last decade. In 2010, the majority of the metro's districts were either diverse or predominantly white, suggesting that with strong leadership and thoughtful planning these transitioning districts have the potential to become or remain diverse districts where resegregation resulting in predominantly nonwhite districts could be prevented. However, without this leadership and planning, these districts will undoubtedly continue their transition to become more nonwhite and more racially segregated.

In addition to the increasing trend toward racial segregation, black and Latino students in Maryland also experience segregation by class. Black students attend schools that are 54.6% low-income at the state level and 54.8% low-income in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. Latino students attend schools that are 49.9% low-income at the state level and 49.9% low-income in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. In striking contrast, white students attend schools that are 27.2% low-income at the state level and 24.4% low-income in the Baltimore-Washington CMSA. At all levels of analysis, black and Latino students experience increasing levels of double segregation by race and class, which has serious implications for the quality of schooling provided to these students.

Recommendations⁷⁸

State Level

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

State-level policies to promote diversity in schools are needed across the United States. Policies should provide guidance about how districts can create student assignment policies that foster diverse schools. Policies should also consider how to recruit a diverse teaching staff and states should set credentialing standards for training a more diverse teaching force. Given that most segregation in Maryland exists between different school districts, 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. Additionally, states should require that districts report to the state on diversity-related matters for both public and charter schools.

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, inter-district 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.

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

⁷⁸ This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kucsera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

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. As fair housing advocates have long urged, state and local government should monitor the impact of land use and zoning decisions on patterns of segregation and ensure that opportunities for low-income housing are set aside in new communities that are attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County, which has one of the oldest and largest inclusionary zoning policies in the nation, and to a lesser extent, Howard County and Baltimore City. By designating a certain proportion of new homes to be rented or sold at below-market prices with stipulations that allow the public housing authority to purchase one-third of these homes for use as public housing, Montgomery County has created a system in which new communities are attached to strong schools. Families, the majority of whom are black, are randomly assigned to public housing in middle-income areas. Students in public housing who attend the district's most economically advantaged schools far outperform similar students in public housing who attend the district's least advantaged schools.⁷⁹ It is clear that this form of economic desegregation is beneficial, and similar efforts are needed to promote racial diversity in school districts through housing policies across the state. Strict enforcement of Fair Housing Laws in Maryland is essential to provide families of all races access to homes in all neighborhoods. New schools—both public and charter—should not be built or opened in racially isolated areas of the district unless they are part of a magnet strategy and hold promise to result in diverse student bodies. Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn. Communities need to provide consistent and vocal support for promoting school diversity and recognize the power of local school boards 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 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

⁷⁹ Schwartz, H. (2010). *Housing policy is school policy: Economically integrative housing promotes academic success in Montgomery County, Maryland*. New York, NY: The Century Foundation.

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. Education opinion leaders must not continue to reinforce the notion that separate schools are equal schools, or that school reform efforts can make them equal while largely ignoring the politically sensitive issues of increasing racial and economic segregation. Researchers and advocates need to analyze and publicize the racial patterns and practices of public charter schools. Nonprofits and foundations funding charter schools should not incentivize the development of racially and economically isolated programs but instead they should support civil rights and academic institutions working on these issues.

Institutions of higher education can also influence the development of more diverse K-12 schools by informing students and families that their institutions are diverse and that students who have not been in diverse K-12 educational settings might be unprepared for the experiences they will encounter at such institutions of higher education. Admission staffs of colleges and universities should also consider the skills and experiences that students from diverse high schools will bring to their campuses when reviewing college applications and making admissions decisions.

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

The Courts

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

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.

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
Maryland					
1989-1990	61.9%	79.0%	30.4%	59.3%	50.7%
1999-2000	54.7%	76.2%	24.7%	52.7%	37.4%
2010-2011	43.4%	66.7%	19.6%	41.5%	27.6%
Border					
1989-1990	77.3%	87.3%	37.9%	65.9%	58.1%
1999-2000	72.0%	84.6%	33.1%	59.7%	49.2%
2010-2011	64.3%	79.0%	29.5%	52.7%	41.1%
Nation					
1989-1990	68.4%	83.2%	35.4%	49.4%	32.5%
1999-2000	61.2%	80.2%	31.4%	44.8%	26.7%
2010-2011	52.1%	73.1%	27.8%	39.6%	25.1%

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

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

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Maryland					
1989-1990	32.4%	15.9%	64.8%	25.3%	29.4%
1999-2000	36.3%	16.4%	67.6%	27.2%	33.8%
2010-2011	35.1%	15.9%	62.4%	25.2%	32.1%
Border					
1989-1990	17.9%	8.7%	57.9%	21.9%	24.1%
1999-2000	20.1%	9.2%	60.0%	23.7%	25.2%
2010-2011	19.4%	8.9%	55.2%	20.8%	22.7%
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
Maryland					
1989-1990	3.4%	3.2%	2.6%	9.5%	8.9%
1999-2000	4.3%	4.1%	3.2%	10.9%	8.5%
2010-2011	5.9%	5.7%	4.3%	14.2%	7.4%
Border					
1989-1990	1.3%	1.1%	1.6%	6.7%	4.3%
1999-2000	1.8%	1.5%	2.1%	7.9%	4.4%
2010-2011	2.8%	2.3%	3.0%	9.9%	4.2%
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
Maryland					
1989-1990	2.1%	1.7%	1.9%	5.6%	10.7%
1999-2000	4.4%	3.0%	4.1%	8.8%	19.8%
2010-2011	11.7%	7.4%	10.7%	14.5%	29.0%
Border					
1989-1990	1.3%	1.0%	1.8%	4.4%	10.8%
1999-2000	3.0%	2.0%	3.7%	7.2%	17.4%
2010-2011	7.7%	4.9%	9.0%	11.6%	25.9%
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
Maryland			
1989-1990	65.3%	34.7%	-30.6%
1999-2000	59.0%	29.8%	-29.1%
2010-2011	49.4%	26.6%	-22.7%
Border			
1989-1990	78.7%	41.0%	-37.7%
1999-2000	73.8%	37.6%	-36.1%
2010-2011	67.1%	36.1%	-31.0%
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
Maryland					
1999-2000	29.6%	19.3%	45.0%	22.1%	38.2%
2010-2011	39.8%	27.2%	54.6%	28.5%	49.9%
Border					
1999-2000	39.4%	35.9%	50.6%	27.6%	47.8%
2010-2011	49.8%	45.5%	60.4%	35.7%	59.3%
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
Maryland			
1989-1990	.38	.13	.25
1999-2000	.38	.14	.25
2010-2011	.34	.13	.20
Border			
1989-1990	.42	.07	.35
1999-2000	.41	.07	.34
2010-2011	.36	.07	.30
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
Maryland						
1989-1990	.64	.53	.62	.63	.67	.36
1999-2000	.66	.53	.64	.61	.63	.42
2010-2011	.67	.53	.60	.58	.53	.44
Border						
1989-1990	.67	.61	.65	.64	.68	.49
1999-2000	.68	.61	.62	.61	.63	.50
2010-2011	.68	.57	.58	.58	.55	.49
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

Baltimore-Washington CMSA

Table A-9 – Enrollment in Urban, Suburban, and Other Schools, Baltimore-Washington CMSA

	Total Enrollment	Urban Schools	Suburban Schools	Other Schools
Baltimore-Washington CMSA				
1989-1990	555,654	105,441	371,363	78,850
1999-2000	699,147	112,338	478,745	108,064
2010-2011	744,896	126,885	492,623	125,388

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

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

Table A-10 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups Across Public Schools

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino
Baltimore-Washington CMSA						
1989-1990	0.66	*	*	*	*	*
1999-2000	0.68	*	*	*	*	*
2010-2011	0.68	0.50	0.60	0.59	0.54	0.44

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

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

Table A-11 – Racial Transition by District, Baltimore-Washington CMSA, 1989-1999

1989 Classification	1999 Classification			
	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	2(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	2(100%)
Diverse	(0%)	3(75%)	1(25%)	4(100%)
Predominantly White	(0%)	2(29%)	5(71%)	7(100%)
Total	2(15%)	5(38%)	6(46%)	13(100%)

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

Table A-12 – *Racial Transition by District, Baltimore-Washington CMSA, 1999-2010*

1999 Classification	2010 Classification			Total
	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	
Predominantly Nonwhite	2(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	2(100%)
Diverse	2(40%)	3(60%)	(0%)	5(100%)
Predominantly White	(0%)	4(67%)	2(33%)	6(100%)
Total	4(31%)	7(54%)	2(15%)	13(100%)

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

Table A-13 – *Racial Transition by District, Baltimore-Washington CMSA, 1989-2010*

1989 Classification	2010 Classification			Total
	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	
Predominantly Nonwhite	2(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	2(100%)
Diverse	2(50%)	2(50%)	(0%)	4(100%)
Predominantly White	(0%)	5(71%)	2(29%)	7(100%)
Total	4(31%)	7(54%)	2(15%)	13(100%)

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

Top 10 Highest Enrolling Districts in Baltimore-Washington CMSA

Table A-14 – Public School Enrollment, 2010-2011

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	White	Black	Percentage			
					Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Baltimore-Washington CMSA								
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	suburban	143,153	34.6%	21.2%	14.4%	25.3%	0.2%	4.3%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	suburban	122,578	4.4%	68.6%	3.3%	21.4%	0.6%	1.8%
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	suburban	100,342	45.9%	38.6%	6.0%	6.0%	0.4%	3.0%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	urban	75,749	8.0%	86.0%	1.2%	4.1%	0.4%	0.3%
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	suburban	74,741	62.0%	20.6%	3.8%	8.8%	0.3%	4.5%
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	suburban	50,783	48.8%	20.4%	16.1%	8.2%	0.3%	6.2%
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	suburban	40,094	68.0%	10.6%	4.7%	10.9%	0.4%	5.3%
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	suburban	37,115	68.5%	18.1%	3.2%	5.2%	0.4%	4.6%
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	suburban	27,163	89.0%	3.5%	2.0%	3.3%	0.2%	1.8%
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	suburban	26,775	34.8%	51.4%	3.2%	5.1%	0.7%	4.8%

Note: Blank urbanicity represents rural, missing, or other.

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 – 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
Baltimore-Washington CMSA					
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	194	68.6%	73.2%	18.0%	0.5%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	184	11.4%	100.0%	88.0%	33.7%
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	155	21.9%	48.4%	20.0%	3.2%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	174	5.7%	97.1%	79.3%	44.3%
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	112	26.8%	32.1%	4.5%	
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	70	58.6%	47.1%		
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	60	33.3%	18.3%		
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	50	10.0%	34.0%		
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	42	2.4%			
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	35	2.9%	71.4%	2.9%	

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

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

Table A-16 – 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
Baltimore-Washington CMSA				
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	33.7%	38.9%	64.0%	90.9%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	44.3%	54.9%	57.6%	58.0%
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	44.1%	56.9%	57.7%	66.4%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	86.2%	85.2%	88.3%	90.5%
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	44.2%	47.3%	82.8%	
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	22.2%	27.5%		
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	34.6%	46.8%		
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	64.8%	53.9%		
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	50.0%			
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	65.2%	30.3%	63.9%	

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

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

Table A-17 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated Schools, 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
Baltimore-Washington CMSA						
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	88.1%	89.6%	26.4%	24.5%	1.2%	0.4%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	100.0%	100.0%	88.7%	89.9%	18.3%	38.7%
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	56.3%	76.2%	17.4%	43.2%	2.6%	5.5%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	96.1%	99.3%	44.7%	86.9%	7.6%	49.1%
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	51.4%	55.8%	9.4%	7.0%		
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	68.1%	73.5%				
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	43.3%	48.8%				
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	49.0%	75.7%				
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS						
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	85.1%	90.2%	4.7%	3.1%		

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-18 – Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools, 2010-2011

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Baltimore-Washington CMSA					
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	61.4%	82.8%	69.9%	76.9%	76.8%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	39.7%	7.9%	27.0%	12.4%	15.3%
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	21.1%	14.9%	35.6%	31.6%	19.3%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	23.0%	3.3%	27.1%	42.4%	18.7%
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	14.8%	44.3%	32.4%	44.0%	26.3%
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	46.6%	74.4%	52.8%	73.7%	60.0%
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	26.4%	77.8%	64.1%	67.4%	43.7%
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	3.3%	11.0%	4.4%	10.6%	7.6%
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	0.7%	1.7%	1.3%	3.0%	1.1%

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

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

Table A-19 – 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
Baltimore-Washington CMSA					
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	34.6%	47.5%	24.3%	35.8%	24.5%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	4.4%				
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	45.9%	62.6%	26.3%	47.0%	42.6%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	8.0%	33.1%	4.8%		
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	62.0%	70.5%	44.2%		48.0%
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	48.8%	54.5%	38.8%	49.7%	40.6%
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	68.0%	74.4%	50.0%		52.3%
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	68.5%	75.3%	47.5%		59.4%
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	89.0%	89.2%			
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	34.8%	46.0%	28.0%		30.5%

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 Black Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Baltimore-Washington CMSA					
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	21.2%	14.9%	29.9%	19.2%	24.0%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	68.6%		76.6%		47.0%
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	38.6%	22.1%	59.7%	32.8%	38.4%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	86.0%	51.7%	91.2%		
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	20.6%	14.7%	34.2%		27.6%
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	20.4%	16.2%	30.0%	16.1%	27.3%
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	10.6%	7.8%	19.8%		16.6%
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	18.1%	12.6%	35.5%		24.9%
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	3.5%				
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	51.4%	41.4%	57.7%		54.6%

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

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

Table A-21 – 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
Baltimore-Washington CMSA					
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	14.4%	14.9%	13.0%	19.0%	12.2%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	3.3%				
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	6.0%	6.2%	5.1%	10.5%	6.3%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	1.2%				
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	3.8%				
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	16.1%	16.4%	12.8%	21.3%	13.5%
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	4.7%				
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	3.2%				
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	2.0%				
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	3.2%				

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

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

Table A-22 – 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
Baltimore-Washington CMSA					
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	25.3%	17.9%	28.6%	21.4%	35.2%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	21.4%		14.6%		42.7%
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	6.0%	5.6%	6.0%	6.3%	8.7%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	4.1%				
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	8.8%	6.8%	11.8%		15.3%
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	8.2%	6.9%	11.0%	6.9%	11.4%
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	10.9%	8.4%	17.1%		18.8%
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	5.2%	4.5%	7.2%		6.5%
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	3.3%				
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	5.1%	4.5%	5.4%		5.9%

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

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

Table A-23 – 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
Baltimore-Washington CMSA			
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	49.0%	37.0%	-12.0%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	7.7%	6.9%	-0.8%
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	52.0%	33.7%	-18.2%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	9.3%	6.5%	-2.8%
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	65.8%	49.8%	-16.0%
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	64.9%	52.3%	-12.6%
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	72.7%	57.3%	-15.4%
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	71.7%	53.1%	-18.6%
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	91.1%	89.6%	-1.5%
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	38.0%	31.7%	-6.3%

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-24 – 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
Baltimore-Washington CMSA					
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	30.7%	18.8%	39.1%	25.7%	43.2%
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	54.9%		51.6%		68.4%
BALTIMORE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	42.8%	35.1%	51.6%	35.9%	50.1%
BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	84.9%	73.0%	86.2%		
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	27.9%	22.5%	38.2%		39.5%
HOWARD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	16.0%	12.1%	24.2%	12.7%	23.1%
FREDERICK COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	22.6%	18.5%	34.5%		34.6%
HARFORD COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	27.6%	21.4%	46.3%		35.5%
CARROLL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	15.6%	15.4%			
CHARLES COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	28.4%	25.7%	30.0%		30.0%

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

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

Appendix B: Data Sources and Methodology

Data

The data in this study consisted of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Using this data, we explored demographic and segregation patterns at the national, regional, state, metropolitan, and district levels. We also explored district racial stability patterns for each *main* metropolitan area in Maryland—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.⁸⁰

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).⁸¹ 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.⁸² 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

⁸⁰ Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁸¹ Reardon, S. F., & Firebaugh, G. (2002). Measures of multigroup segregation. *Sociological Methodology*, 32, 33-67.

⁸² 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.

stable.⁸³ 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 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.

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.

⁸³ 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.

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.