Increasingly Segregated and Unequal Schools as Courts Reverse Policy

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Abstract

Purpose: School administrators and policy makers live in a complex, changing policy universe in which there are many competing demands and political pressures. Rarely is there much time to think about sensitive issues of long duration that are not part of the immediate demands they face. This article is about such an issue, a question that will deeply influence the future of schools and communities but which is usually ignored—the increasing separation of large sectors of our student bodies into intensely segregated schools with unequal educational opportunity. **Research Methods:** The data analyzed come from the National Center for Education Statistics, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe, which contain demographic data about all public schools since the late 1980s. We rely on two measures of segregation, concentration and exposure/isolation index, to assess its current status and change over time in the nation's public schools. **Findings:** This article describes the vast transformation of the nation's school population since the civil rights era. As diversity spreads, so too does segregation by race and often class, including into suburbia in many large metropolitan areas. As a legacy of *Brown*, Black students are still more desegregated in the South than any other region of the country, but both Black and Latino students are experiencing rising segregation. **Implications:** We conclude with recommendations about possible responses educational

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leaders might pursue to make the promise of *Brown* a reality in the 21st century. Desegregation properly implemented can help equalize educational opportunities and prepare young Americans for the diverse society in which they will live.

Keywords
desegregation, education policy, legal, diversity, civil rights

The inequality of many schools segregated by race and poverty is obvious to anyone who compares high-poverty Black or Latino schools with the schools of affluent White and Asian communities. The differences in segregated minority schools as compared with schools with more White and/or middle-class students include fewer educational resources such as teacher quality and experience, parent and student resources, stability of enrollment, and advanced instruction. The U.S. Supreme Court implemented a policy of "separate but equal" for nearly six decades under *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), but inequality between Black and White schools was pervasive. *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was based on the Court's conclusion that separate schools were "inherently unequal" and began the largest constitutional change ever to affect American education. It declared that the racial policies of 17 states violated the Constitution. Almost all the leaders of the South fought it until change was forced (Sarratt, 1966). Later, as the civil rights revolution changed America, many educators took risks for this important goal. After politics and the courts changed, however, that leadership in facing and resolving racial challenges became far less common and the tacit assumption that segregation could be ignored spread. This article summarizes policy and legal developments since *Brown v. Board of Education*, presents new data on changing populations and intensifying segregation, and discusses possible responses by education leaders.

American education must come to terms with three basic demographic, economic, and policy realities. First, the largest demographic transformation in American history has made "minorities" into the majority in much of our multiracial country including its two largest regions (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014). Second, the U.S. economy has left behind workers and families without needed educational credentials. As Latinos demographically displace many Whites in the school-aged population, the country's average educational levels and economic success will decline if we do not better educate non-White children. Third, "separate but equal" has never succeeded on any significant scale because of the many forms of inequality embedded in

schools and communities doubly or triply segregated by race/ethnicity, poverty, and/or language. We do not know how to make segregation equal, according to a half century of research (e.g., Linn & Welner, 2007), in spite of decades of promises by educational leaders that they have the solution. Goals 2000 and No Child Left Behind are two examples of federal policies promising to equalize opportunity but both failed as did many other plans by state and local governments (Superfine, 2005). Educational leaders remain an important part of the solution to growing inequality, but they must first proactively recognize these trends in terms of segregation and diversity so that they may identify options such as changing student assignment to distribute students differently across a district or work on retraining teachers for diverse student enrollments in order to attain desired outcomes for students and schools. One of the advantages of thinking systematically about these changes is that educators could better respond, in concert with other community leaders, to some of the external trends that create deep problems that the schools did not cause and that may not be solvable without attacking the "inherent inequality" of segregated schools.

Changing Nature of Public School Enrollment

At the peak of the Civil Rights era, the United States was still a nation with a large White majority reaching the end of a massive baby boom, and at a historically low point in immigration. The United States was two decades into a massive migration within metropolitan areas that made it a predominantly suburban nation, as White suburbs spread across farmland. Massive urban deindustrialization had not yet occurred. Though Black population was growing rapidly, it was only the beginning of a fundamental social transformation that included the first great immigration of non-Whites in U.S. history, which followed the 1965 immigration reform laws and the drastic decline in White and Black birth rates. These changes have transformed U.S. schools.

The 43 years from 1968 to 2011 brought a 28% decline in White enrollment, a 19% increase in the Black enrollment, and a 495% increase in the number of Latino students (Figure 1). During this time, Latinos became the dominant minority in Western schools and surged across the nation. White enrollment was almost four times the combined Black and Latino enrollment in 1968, but only about a fifth bigger in 2011. The Asian enrollment, statistically insignificant in 1968, reached 2.5 million by 2011. By the 2011-2012 school year, the United States was, in important ways, a different society.

Changes were even more dramatic in some regions. The most populous and fastest growing regions of the country are the South and the West. Both these regions now have substantial majorities of "minority" students (see
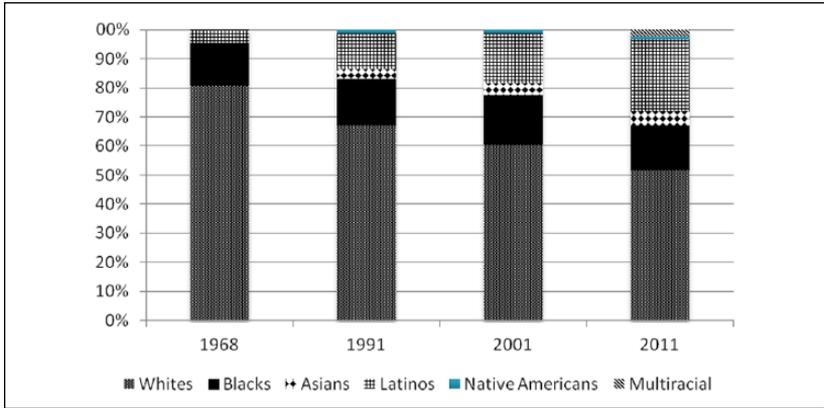
Figure 1. Public school enrollment from 1968 to 2011.
Note. 2011 data are the first to reflect the new changes to racial classification of students, and categories may not be comparable across years.

Table 1. Public School Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity and Region, 2011-2012.

	Total Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Asian	% Latino	% Native American	% Multiracial
South	15,957,201	44.7	24.1	3.1	25.3	0.5	2.3
West	11,310,045	40.2	5.3	8.3	41.4	1.7	3.1
Northeast	7,731,000	60.1	14.4	6.4	17.3	0.3	1.4
Border	3,548,325	63.7	19.1	2.8	8.2	3.4	2.8
Midwest	9,451,340	68.1	13.5	3.1	11.2	0.9	3.1
Alaska	113,093	48.2	3.7	8.7	6.4	25.3	7.6
Hawaii	182,529	14.3	2.4	68.1	6.4	0.5	8.2
Other	489,846	0.2	2.5	8.4	88.6	0.1	0.2
U.S. total	48,783,379	51.5	15.4	5.1	24.3	1.1	2.5

Note. For definition of regions, see Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014.

Table 1). There are now more southern Latinos than Blacks in this tradition-ally biracial area. A region that has always been home to the majority of Blacks and that is far from solving the issues of Black–White inequality now faces more complex challenges to successfully educate three large groups of students and to help deepen understanding among them. In the West, Whites are only the second largest minority group, following Latinos, who account for 41% of students. When *Brown* was decided, the West was an overwhelm-ingly White area but now is a very complex multiracial setting.

With 68% White students, the Midwest is the Whitest region in the country. It is lagging in rate of racial change, partially because it is a slow-growth region. The Border region, the historically segregated states that were slave states but not part of the old Confederacy, are 64% White. The Northeast has 60% White students. All these regions are continuing to change, especially because of growing Latino enrollment. Our two noncontiguous states, Hawaii and Alaska, have the most distinctive populations with high shares of Asian and Native American students, respectively.

How Did Desegregation Policy Become Resegregation Policy?

As the country's enrollment becomes more diverse, it is increasingly urgent to understand how our policy has shaped the growing segregation described below. Desegregation became the central strategy of the civil rights movement after generations of failed efforts to make the *Plessy* "separate but equal" doctrine work. Once the Court accepted separation imposed by *Plessy* as legitimate, the former slave states adopted segregation in all aspects of life. For example, just 3 years after *Plessy*, however, a unanimous Supreme Court held in *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899) that a decision by a Georgia district to abandon high school education for Blacks was equal enough. It was more than fifty years before the Court in *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) held that creating a separate Black law school rather than admit one qualified Black student to the University of Texas Law School could not possibly equal the opportunities in the state's leading law school where the strongest faculty trained the leaders of the state bar and connected students with the best legal opportunities. The goal of both *Sweatt* and *Brown* was gaining access to the better schools for African American students since educational and political leaders had never provided equal segregated schools (Kluger, 1975).

The basic conclusion in the *Brown* decision was that in the segregated states, separate schools were "inherently unequal" and thus violated the constitutional requirement of equality under law. *Brown* said nothing about schools in states without segregation laws or the rights of Latino students. The Court called for gradual change adapted to local conditions, setting no standards or deadlines. Southern leaders did everything they could to avoid integration (Muse, 1961). Southern schools remained 98% segregated until the Johnson Administration forced change by cutting off funds and suing districts after the 1964 Civil Rights Act became law. In just 5 years, this effort made the South's schools the nation's most integrated (Orfield, 1969), and it remains the least segregated today even though it has moved rapidly

backward from the peak of integration in the 1980s. Government forced change but Southern Whites, initially almost totally opposed, became far more accepting after the changes took place. Many educators led their schools through challenging changes. During this period the Supreme Court unanimously demanded an end to delay and required comprehensive desegregation. The federal government, which had been largely irrelevant to educational policy, was becoming a force on behalf of greater inclusion and more resources for the schools of the poor. It was a time of social transformation; the country seemed to be on a difficult but important path toward bringing down historic barriers.

Strong support from all branches of government lasted only a few years, ending with the election of President Nixon, whose "Southern strategy" promised to slow desegregation and make the Supreme Court more conservative. Nixon, who believed Blacks were inferior to Whites, was able to appoint four of the nine justices during his 5 years as President and to fire federal officials who wanted to actively enforce desegregation (Haldeman, 1995; Panetta & Gall, 1971). In 1973, the Supreme Court issued *Keyes v. School District*, which extended desegregation in a limited way to the North and West and recognized the desegregation rights of Latinos. Segregation of Latinos was rapidly increasing and few efforts were made to enforce integration for their schools. The next year, the Court turned against desegregation for the first time since *Brown* in a 5-4 decision forbidding city–suburban desegregation even though it was the only comprehensive remedy for clear violations by Detroit and Michigan educational officials (*Milliken v. Bradley*, 1974). The decision made full desegregation impossible in many large metropolitan areas.

The federal government's only major effort to help schools address integration successfully, the federal desegregation assistance program known as the Emergency School Aid Act, was enacted in 1972 but ended in the first year of the Reagan Administration. The voluntary program funded retraining teachers, developing better curricula, managing race tensions within schools, and creating new magnet schools. It was popular with educators and showed positive impacts on student attitudes and achievement (Crain, 1974).

Reagan's judicial appointments further remade the Supreme Court, and by 1991 the Supreme Court issued the first of four major decisions that radically reversed desegregation policy in the United States. The Court authorized lower courts to end desegregation orders and allowed districts to return to segregated neighborhood schools (*Oklahoma City Bd. of Ed. v. Dowell*, 1991). Finally, in a very controversial decision in 2007, it forbade the most common forms of local voluntary plans that educational leaders wished to continue without court orders to maintain integration (*Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 2007).

It is often said that desegregation ended because it had failed. Like any policy it had, of course, uneven impacts depending on the quality of the local plan and its implementation (Frankenberg & Orfield, 2007; Hawley et al., 1983). There is a steadily growing body of research showing real benefits, not only in test scores but also in important outcomes such as high school graduation, success in college, and being prepared to live and work in interracial settings as adults (Linn & Welner, 2007; Mickelson & Nkomo, 2012). Students and parents who have experienced diverse schools often strongly support the experience (Wells, Holme, Revilla, & Atanda, 2004). When schools lose racial diversity, they tend to lose middle-class families and experienced teachers, which severely damage educational opportunities (Frankenberg, 2009; Freeman, Scafidi, & Sjoquist, 2005). While it is true that there is no way to put all students in heavily non-White districts in majority White schools, there are important things that can be done with the use of choice and transfer policies and in tapping the new possibilities created in some cities by gentrification. A major cause of the major retreat that began for Blacks in the 1990s, and Latinos much earlier, was the result of political decisions about educational policy such as funding charter schools instead of magnet schools and naming judges and officials who opposed desegregation policies (Orfield & Eaton, 1996).

What this history means it that educators face growing segregation, harmful to both educational success and the future of our multiracial society, with too few tools and limited leadership by political leaders. These trends pose major challenges in a society in which all groups of children will be minorities living in a society polarized by race and poverty with schools that give the best to those who are most privileged and offer the least to those for whom the schools are the only good chance for mobility in a society where inequality is deepening and mobility declining. The following statistics, calculated from federal enrollment data, show how fast the transformation of the schools is proceeding and how far we have moved backward.[1]

Segregation Trends: Growing Diversity but Deepening Separation

Given the vast changes in U.S. school enrollment, even if there were a perfectly even distribution of students from all racial groups, there would still be a decline in contact by students of other races with Whites, because the share of Whites has declined sharply. In many districts, though, the increased segregation is larger than can be explained by these changes.

By one of the common measures of segregation, White students nationally remain more isolated than students from any other racial group. The typical

Table 2. Racial Composition of Schools Attended by the Average Student of Each Race, 2011-2012.

Percent Race in Each School	Racial Composition of School Attended by Average			
	White Student	Black Student	Asian Student	Latino Student
% White	72.5	27.6	38.9	25.1
% Black	8.3	48.8	10.7	10.9
% Asian	3.9	3.6	24.5	4.7
% Latino	11.8	17.1	22.1	56.8
% Other	3.5	2.9	3.8	2.5

Note. "Other" represents students who identified as Native American or Multiracial.

White student now attends a school nearly three-fourths White, one-eighth Latino, and one-twelfth Black (Table 2). That is, in a classroom of 30 students, the classmates of the typical White student would include 22 Whites, 2 Blacks, 4 Latinos, 1 Asian, and 1 "Other."[2] On the other hand, the typical Black or Latino student would have 8 White classmates and at least 20 Black and/or Latino classmates. The typical Asian student would have 12 White classmates and 7 Asian classmates, meaning about two thirds of the classmates of the Asian student would be from groups with higher average parent education levels, higher incomes, and higher test scores. The typical Latino student is now in a school that is 57% Latino, more segregated than Black students are with fellow Blacks and second only to Whites in the level of in-group isolation. Nationally Black students are in schools that are already more than one-sixth Latino, with much higher percentages in some regions. This means that working on relationships between African Americans and Latinos sharing the same schools is increasingly important.

These patterns of segregation are increasingly being seen across different types of communities. For decades there has been deep concern about the inequality in overwhelmingly minority, highly impoverished central city school systems, while the large majority of metropolitan Whites have lived in the suburbs. But now suburbs are going through huge demographic changes, creating a different and far more complex educational reality.

In the nation's most populous metropolitan areas, Latinos now comprise the largest share of central city public school enrollment, 42% (see Table 3). These cities, many of which were predicted to become almost totally Black at the time of the civil rights revolution, are now on average little more than one-fourth Black (27%), one-fifth White, and 8% Asian. The suburban rings

Table 3. Racial Composition of Public School Enrollment by Geography, 2011-2012.

	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian
Large metro				
Central city	20.3	27.3	41.5	8.0
Suburb	50.0	14.6	25.5	6.7
Midsize metro				
Central city	33.3	24.9	31.5	6.4
Suburb	60.3	9.6	22.5	3.9
Small metro				
Central city	45.6	17.8	26.7	5.9
Suburb	61.7	9.3	21.0	4.6
Other				
Towns	64.8	10.5	17.9	2.4
Rural areas	69.8	9.8	13.7	2.5

Note. Large, midsize, and small metros refer to areas with populations of 250,000 or more; less than 250,000 but greater than or equal to 100,000; and less than 100,000, respectively.

of these largest metros, traditionally spaces of overwhelmingly White schools, are now only half White, and that ratio is steadily declining. So instead of the "chocolate city, vanilla suburb" of that era (Farley, Schuman, Bianchi, Colasanto, & Hatchett, 1978), we now have diverse multihued cities and checkerboard suburbs in our largest metropolitan regions. Understanding of these trends and their implications, coupled with the development of policy and training, has not kept pace with what have been unprecedented and rapid changes—changes that are still very much in motion. Blacks, Latinos, and Asians are all larger shares of central city than suburban enrollments in these large metropolitan areas.

Just as diversification is spreading across suburban lines, so too is segregation. There are stark differences between Whites and Blacks and Latinos in their exposure to White students in many types of communities, including suburbs. Black and Latino students have especially low contact with White students in largest metropolitan areas and in midsize central cities (see Table 4). The experiences of Blacks and Latinos are very different across city–suburb lines but also between the largest metros and those that are midsize or small. The typical Black or Latino suburban student in the largest metros has fewer White schoolmates than Black or Latino students in the central cities of small metropolitan areas. Yet, within each sized metropolitan area, there is more exposure to White students in the suburbs

Table 4. Exposure Rates to Whites, by Racial Group and Metro Region, 2011-2012.

	White/White	Black/White	Latino/White	Asian/White
Large metro				
Central city	47.0%	11.7%	11.8%	21.5%
Suburb	69.8%	28.5%	24.7%	44.3%
Midsize metro				
Central city	53.8%	20.4%	20.4%	35.4%
Suburb	73.3%	46.4%	33.3%	50.7%
Small metro				
Central city	62.7%	31.1%	26.3%	40.8%
Suburb	74.5%	47.8%	35.0%	41.2%
Other				
Towns	77.9%	40.2%	37.5%	38.6%
Rural areas	80.6%	44.7%	41.2%	53.8%

Note. Large, midsize, and small metros refer to areas with populations of 250,000 or more; less than 250,000 but greater than or equal to 100,000; and less than 100,000, respectively.

than in the central city, particularly for Black students. In the largest metros, suburban Black and Latino students are in schools that are more than 70% non-White, on average, but they are far more segregated in the central cities, where nearly 90% of students in their schools are non-White.

One of the reasons that racial segregation is harmful is the strong connection between schools that concentrate Black and Latino students and schools that concentrate low-income students (see Table 5). In schools that are 81% to 100% Black and Latino, more than three quarters of the students are also enrolled in schools where more than 70% of the students live in poverty. In fact, half of students in 91% to 100% Black and Latino schools are in schools that also have more than 90% low-income students. This means that these students face almost total isolation not only from White and Asian students but also from middle-class peers as well. By contrast, many students whose schools have more White and Asian students are attending schools alongside far fewer low-income students. Of students attending schools that are overwhelmingly White and Asian (0% to 10% Black and Latino schools), only 4% have 80% or more students living in poverty. Seventy percent of students enrolled in schools with less than 20% Black and Latino enrollment are also in schools where fewer than half of the students are low-income. Because nearly half of all schools are less than 20% Black and Latino (and one third of schools have a tenth or less Black and Latinos students), the relatively low

Table 5. Relationship Between Segregation by Race and by Poverty, 2011-2012.

% Poor in Schools	Percent Black and Latino Students in Schools									
	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	91-100
0-10	11.4	10.0	3.6	1.9	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.9	2.1	2.2
11-20	11.8	16.2	11.3	4.2	2.8	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.3
21-30	13.4	14.7	14.4	10.1	5.2	3.7	2.5	2.2	1.7	1.5
31-40	16.1	15.0	15.2	14.8	10.7	7.2	4.8	2.7	2.2	1.8
41-50	16.3	14.3	15.5	16.5	15.1	12.7	8.6	4.9	3.0	2.4
51-60	13.4	12.7	14.9	17.1	16.7	16.9	13.4	8.0	4.6	3.5
61-70	9.0	9.3	12.5	15.7	19.1	17.8	18.5	15.5	9.2	5.4
71-80	4.7	4.7	7.7	11.3	16.0	18.8	20.8	22.0	18.3	10.5
81-90	2.0	1.9	3.4	5.7	8.7	13.2	17.5	23.2	29.3	20.6
91-100	1.9	1.2	1.5	2.6	3.4	5.6	10.0	17.0	28.0	50.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% U.S. schools	33.2	13.9	9.0	6.9	5.9	4.9	4.4	4.2	5.0	12.7

Note. Excludes schools with 0% Free and Reduced-Price Lunch students.

poverty concentrations in such schools means that low-income students are instead concentrated in schools with higher shares of Black and Latino students. The idea of neighborhood schools sounds race-neutral but these findings mean that such a policy results in middle-class schools for Whites and Asians and concentrated poverty schools for Blacks and Latinos.

Black Student Segregation: Progress Unraveling

Segregation differs not only across geographic boundaries, but the segregation experiences of Blacks and Latinos differ though the two groups are similarly deeply segregated from White students today. Since 1968, the most striking change in the South was a long-lasting dramatic decline in the percentage of Black students in 90% to 100% minority schools, but recently, data show a rise in the share of students attending these segregated schools. Yet, as of 2011, the South, which has more than half of all Black students in the United States, had the lowest percentage of students in intensely segregated minority schools (see Figure 2). Reflecting the slow pace of progress in *Brown*'s immediate aftermath, more than three out of four Black students in the South attended racially concentrated minority schools in 1968. Twenty years later, after many southern districts had implemented comprehensive desegregation plans, fewer than one in four Black students was enrolled in
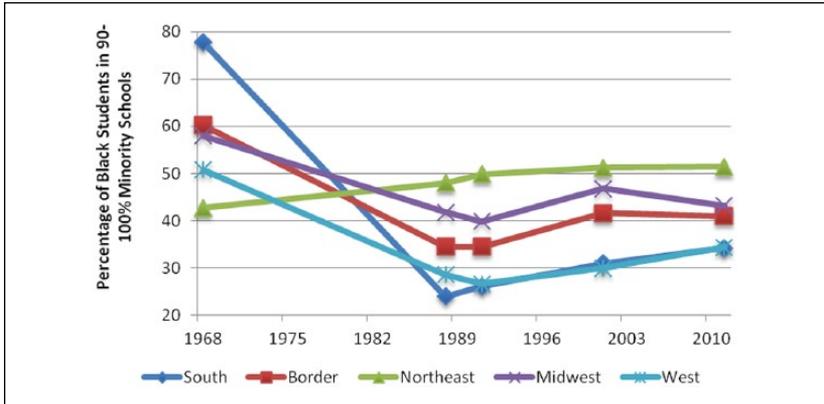
Figure 2. Percentage of Black students in intensely segregated minority schools by region.

such intensely segregated schools. Thus, in a brief period of time as a result of court oversight and enforcement actions stemming from *Brown* and the Civil Rights Act, respectively, dramatic changes for Black students were seen in the South where most action and legal requirements were targeted.

The South was not alone in having majorities of Black students attending 90% to 100% minority schools in 1968, though in no other region was Black segregation as extensive as in the South. Likewise, except for the Northeast, which in 1968 had the lowest percentage of Black students in racially concentrated minority schools, all other regions experienced declines, through 1991, in the percentage of Black students in these highly segregated schools.

All regions have experienced an increase in the percentage of Black students in 90% to 100% minority schools since 1991, and the South and the West have witnessed the sharpest increases in the shares of Black students attending intensely segregated schools (approximately 8 percentage point increase since 1991). While rates of segregation have stabilized in the Northeast, since 2001, more than half of Black students in the region attended 90% to 100% minority schools, even though 60% of students in the region are White. Encouragingly, during the last decade, the percentage of Midwestern and Border region Black students in intensely segregated schools has declined.

The drop in segregation for Black students seen in most regions since 1968, particularly in the South where most desegregation cases were filed, was a sign of success for civil rights policy. Outside of the Northeast, which has experienced steady increases in the percentage of Black students in 90%

Table 6. Percentage of Latino Students in 90% to 100% Minority Schools.

	1968	1988	1991	2001	2011	Change From 1968 to 2011 (% Change)	Change From Past Decade (% Change)
South	33.7	37.9	38.6	39.9	41.5	7.8 (23.1)	1.6 (4.0)
Border	—	—	11.0	14.2	20.0	—	5.8 (40.8)
Northeast	44.0	44.2	46.8	44.8	44.2	0.2 (0.5)	−0.6 (−1.3)
Midwest	6.8	24.9	20.9	24.6	26.2	19.4 (285.3)	1.6 (6.5)
West	11.7	27.5	28.6	37.4	44.8	33.1 (282.9)	7.4 (19.8)

to 100% minority schools, the share of Black students in more than 90% minority schools remains lower in 2011 than in 1968, even with the reversals of civil rights gains in recent decades. Changes accomplished in the civil rights era have had some enduring impact.

Latino Student Segregation: Growing Size, Growing Segregation

The trends in segregation of Latino students differ from Blacks, and show dramatic changes, particularly in the West, the historic center of Latino population, where Latinos now outnumber Whites. Millions of young Latinos have immigrated to the United States since the 1960s and formed large families. Although they have been a highly metropolitan population, originally concentrated in Texas and the Southwest, as well as in the greater New York City, Chicago, and Miami areas, Latinos are now spreading out in secondary migrations to many parts of the United States. A young population, frequently using Spanish as the home language and experiencing growing residential isolation, has had a massive impact on public schools, particularly in the West and the South, but now, increasingly, in all regions.

With the vast increase of the Latino population, the school segregation of Latinos became much more severe, as areas of segregated housing spread, and the White population dropped. Mexican Americans account for about two thirds of the Latino enrollment in the United States, and they have experienced the most dramatic increases in segregation (see Table 6). More than 43% of all Latinos in the United States are in 90% to 100% minority schools in 2011, a 20 percentage point increase since 1968. The changes are particularly extreme in the West. Between 1968, when only one ninth of Latino students were enrolled in intensely segregated schools, and 1988, their share had more than doubled (27.5%). The share of Latino students in 90% to

100% minority schools reached 45% of the total Western Latino enrollment by 2011. In 1968, Latinos in the West were only one fourth as concentrated in intensely segregated schools as those in the Northeast, but now they are the most segregated. The South, clearly influenced by Texas, was much more segregated than the West for Latinos for the first quarter century of these data, but that is no longer true.

Conclusion: What Can Be Done?

Today educators are preparing for a different world, one in which segregation has been increasing across the country for a quarter century and where the two largest regions already have White minorities. It is a society with four major racial groups where most of the children in many parts of the country are from families too poor to pay for their lunches. The middle-class Whites who still account for the large majority of prospective teachers must increasingly teach in schools where they must successfully cross lines of color and class and where many schools have two or more substantial non-White groups and concentrated poverty. Today's teachers and administrators receive little preparation regarding the background and culture of the various groups of students, for dealing more effectively with the one fifth of families of students who speak another language at home, and in techniques designed to build fairness and positive intergroup relations into schools. Educators who have grown up without interracial experiences and education especially need such training. This should not be sensitivity training about recognizing personal racism but practical training giving teachers and administrators understanding of the background of their students and their parents, of diverse cultures, and specific research-based tools for improving race relations, classroom climate, and achievement in diverse settings (e.g., Frankenberg & Orfield, 2007; Pollock, 2008).

The changing demography of schools and the patterns of segregation and stratification and all that is attached to them are fundamental challenges to schools, communities, school districts, urban planners, and state and national officials. These trends are powerful, and the changes will continue long into the future. Not to understand them nor to think about what can be done while it is still possible leaves educational and community leaders in a far weaker position. So the trends we document though now at the periphery of school policy will deeply influence the future of the society.

Educational leaders and those who care about equal educational opportunity and educational policy face a very challenging future. Ideally, school and district leaders would be supported in their efforts by state and federal policy that prioritizes supporting and stabilizing integrated schools, but there have

been relatively few such initiatives in recent years. There is much that they can do. School leaders can work on retraining teachers and better managing race relations in diverse schools and ensure resegregation within schools does not occur. District leaders can support plans to stabilize school and housing diversity and design student assignment policies including expanding magnet and choice opportunities with basic policies that can ensure that choice fosters diversity rather than deeper stratification, resegregation, and inequality (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2013). This requires first understanding the trends and their educational and social implications and then exercising leadership in building successful, stable, and equitable multiracial schools and communities (Frankenberg & Orfield, 2007; Hawley et al., 1983; Mexican American Legal Defense Fund and the Civil Rights Project, 2008; Tefera, Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley, & Chirichigno, 2011).

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Funding

Notes

1. Data used in this article are from National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data. Data prior to 1991 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield (1983).
2. These numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number, and this illustration assumes that all students in a school were randomly assigned by race. In fact, unequal distribution among teachers and classes often intensifies segregation.

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