
The Courts, the Legislature, and Delaware's Resegregation

A Report on School Segregation in Delaware, 1989-2010

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Foreword

Delaware's desegregation story is one of the most important in the nation. As the northernmost of East coast states segregated by law at the time of the *Brown* decision, Delaware hardly promised to become a national leader in school desegregation. Yet because it was one of only two states where the federal courts ordered a district merger and full desegregation of what had been separate school districts in a large metropolitan area, Wilmington became a test of the possibility and durability of city-suburban desegregation policies. The scope of these policies went far beyond individual districts in fragmented metropolitan areas and affected the great majority of the local housing market. This happened in only one other major metropolitan area—Louisville-Jefferson County, Kentucky. Because in both cases the dominant metropolitan area served most of the state's students of color, the plans produced rapid, sweeping and long-lasting declines in school segregation. Kentucky and Delaware became the most desegregated states in the nation for black students, with very few schools segregated by race and color--a record that lasted for decades. That both states had a long history of mandatory segregation under state law made this record all the more extraordinary.

Both the Wilmington and Louisville cases, of course, produced epic political battles as well as major educational changes. In Delaware, the state's elected officials focused on limiting and reversing the desegregation policy, even forcing districts that wanted to remain desegregated to implement plans reflecting and reinstating substantial segregation through neighborhood schools. Also in Delaware, Senator Joe Biden was one of two authors of a congressional amendment, the Eagleton-Biden amendment, designed to make it impossible for the federal Office for Civil Rights to enforce urban desegregation by eliminating its authority to cut off funds under Title VI, which was the key to desegregation of the South. In Louisville, however, the metropolitan school system is still desegregated. In fact, the district and community remain so committed to desegregation that they recently came up a new plan when the Supreme Court overturned the former one.

After the Supreme Court authorized the termination of desegregation plans in its 1991 decision in *Dowell* its 1992 decision in *Freeman v. Pitts*, a lawsuit was soon filed to end the metro Wilmington plan. The state government invested heavily in that litigation, hiring two of the only scholars in the U.S. actively testifying for the termination of desegregation orders. Both presented research basically funded by school districts opposing desegregation and by the Reagan Administration, which helped open the legal campaign against school desegregation and made the Court appointments that ultimately led to termination of most desegregation orders. The Delaware case was argued before Judge Sue L. Robinson, appointed by President George H.W. Bush.

I was very familiar with the case at that point. I had been asked by the civil rights plaintiffs to respond to the claims made by the expert witnesses hired by the Delaware state government. The witnesses asserted, among other things, that the persisting racial inequalities in educational opportunities and attainment could be dismissed because Wilmington's black students came from poorer families and were thus less willing to take advanced courses--essentially blaming the persisting inequality on the students. Many statements of this sort, which were made by the state's expert, David Armor, and his colleagues, did not reflect the overwhelming consensus in the research community about the positive values of desegregation.

I was one of the witnesses listed by the civil rights plaintiffs to respond to this testimony, which was weak and very vulnerable to challenge. Unfortunately Judge Robinson rushed the consideration during the Christmas holidays and refused to allow any rebuttal testimony. She then quoted extensively from the unchallenged claims of the state's experts in justifying termination of the desegregation process, which relied on a finding that the history of unequal education in the state by race had been remedied. Judge Robinson's decision was appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals, which recognized that rebuttal evidence had been wrongly prohibited, but a divided panel let the decision stand. I have long thought that the lower court's decision was one of the most superficial and unbalanced among the cases I have read. I also believe that the judge's action, along with that of the state legislature in the neighborhood school mandate, are directly responsible for the considerable resegregation and lost opportunities documented in the following report.

Delaware still is in a much better position than its neighbor across the Delaware River, Pennsylvania and its neighbor to the south, [Maryland](#), but it is clearly moving in the wrong direction and taking no action to prevent the crystallization of a new pattern of segregation for its exploding Latino population. I recommend that Delaware leaders drive across the Delaware River and visit a random selection of long segregated schools the Philadelphia-Camden area to see what the eventual consequences of doing nothing may be.

The best way for Delaware to avoid a deepening polarization of its youth into separate and unequal schools and continuous resegregation of more neighborhoods in the state is to develop a plan for lasting integration and to increase and stabilize diverse schools. Decades of research show that students gain from lasting integration and students and communities lose from resegregation. Although the Supreme Court has created serious barriers to school integration, there are many things that can help and that are legal as Louisville has shown. In terms of policy, school districts and state officials need to understand that it is still unconstitutional to take actions that discriminate. Drawing school attendance boundaries that consistently increase segregation, locating schools that have a similar impact, or operating choice programs that systematically disadvantage and segregate students of color are violations of the law and can trigger new court-ordered or Office for Civil Rights remedies to overcome the impacts of the discrimination.

A second basic concern should be housing discrimination, racial steering and community resegregation. School segregation is a direct product of housing segregation and the resegregation of schools is a critical step in the resegregation of neighborhoods. There are a number of ways that housing segregation can be diminished and lasting integration fostered which are discussed in the recommendation section of this report.

With school choice policies, the reality is that in the absence of a plan for diversity, school choice plans, for many reasons, tend to increase stratification by race and poverty and undermine diverse neighborhoods. If communities and state and local policy makers follow a set of civil rights policies in their choice systems, including charter schools, the outcome can be very different. The key steps are very good and accessible information to all groups of parents, genuinely valuable educational options, no screening or testing for entrance to choice schools, free transportation so that choice is not limited by family income, and a plan for lasting and well-supported diversity.

Compared to Philadelphia and Baltimore, Delaware is still far ahead of where it would be if desegregation had never been ordered, but its advantage is slipping away. It is time to move beyond the polemics of the old plan and to find ways to use voluntary choice, good educational options, and serious moves against housing segregation to produce a more healthy future for the state's schools and society.

--Gary Orfield

Executive Summary

Delaware's history with school desegregation is complicated and contradictory. One of 17 states where segregation was law, Delaware was slow to desegregate its schools after the *Brown* decision. The Wilmington metro's first desegregation plan proved ineffective, and within a decade the case was reopened and produced the first metropolitan, multi-district desegregation court order in the United States.¹ The final plan merged and desegregated the Wilmington city and New Castle county school systems and later created four new pie-shaped districts where each incorporated a portion of both the city and suburban areas. Busing was instituted to desegregate students within each district. This plan was in place for almost two decades and then, despite opposition from some Wilmington parents, the courts granted unitary status to the districts in 1995.² During that period Delaware became a national leader in school desegregation. Within five years the Neighborhood Schools Act was introduced in order to change the assignment practices in place under the desegregation plan. This legislation required that students attend the school closest to their homes. Because the neighborhoods within the districts were segregated, the new policy reversed much of the desegregation progress achieved in earlier decades.

This report will describe trends in school segregation in Delaware between 1989 and 2010—encompassing both the period before and after the Wilmington metro districts became unitary—and reveal the changes that occurred after the comprehensive desegregation plan was dismantled. Drawing on federal data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), it explores patterns at the state, metropolitan and school district level. First, the overall enrollment patterns in the state will be identified. Then, several different measures of segregation will be examined. Finally, similar measures of segregation for the Wilmington metropolitan area and its major school districts will be analyzed.

Findings indicate that the Wilmington metro schools, which served 60% of Delaware's public school students, were largely desegregated until unitary status was granted by the federal court, and the desegregation order dropped. After court oversight was withdrawn, the Delaware General Assembly introduced legislation now linked to the resegregation of black and white students. Concurrent with these trends, both the state and the Wilmington metropolitan area have become more diverse. Opportunities for integration become available with the increase in racial diversity, yet given the current lack of pro-integrative policies, segregation by both race and class is intensifying in Delaware.

Major findings in the report include:

Delaware

- The white share of Delaware's public school enrollment decreased from 69% in 1989-90 to 50% in 2010-11 reflecting national population trends. During the same time period the black share of enrollment grew modestly from 26% to 32% while the Latino share of

¹ *Evans v. Buchanan*, 393 F. Supp. 428 (1975)

² *Consent Order, Evans v. Buchanan*, Nov. 28, 1993, Nos. 56-CV-1816-1822-MMS, U.S. District Court, Wilmington and *Coalition to Save Our Children v. State Board of Education*, CA 56-18016-1822-SLR, Aug. 14, 1995, U. S. District Court, Wilmington,

enrollment increased 333%, from 3% to 13%. The Asian share of enrollment doubled; even so, in 2010-11 it accounted for less than 5% of the total enrollment.

- Between 1989 and 2010 the number of multiracial schools, those where three or more racial groups make up at least 10% of the enrollment, in Delaware grew by 142% to comprise 41.5% of Delaware public schools.
- Over the last two decades, the share of predominantly minority schools (where white students make up less than 50% of the enrollment) increased more than tenfold to almost 60% of schools. During that same period the share of intensely segregated schools (90 – 100% minority) grew from 0.0% to 8.2%. In spite of these large changes Delaware still has less segregation than adjoining states, which never had such plans.
- In 2010-2011, 4.4% of schools in Delaware were apartheid schools where 99%-100% of the students were minorities, as compared to two decades earlier when none of Delaware's schools were apartheid settings.
- Almost 64% of black students—a 10-fold increase—were enrolled in predominantly minority schools in 2010 as compared to 1989. By 2010 close to one-fifth of all black students attended either an intensely segregated minority school or an apartheid school. Almost 7% of black students—just under one in ten—attended apartheid schools.
- In 2010-2011 almost 67% of Latino students (66.8%) were enrolled in predominantly segregated minority schools. Three quarters (74.7%) of Latino students—an increase of more than 800% since 1989—attended either a predominantly or intensely segregated minority school or an apartheid school.
- In 2010-2011, 48.6% of Delaware students were low-income and the typical white student attended a school where 42.4% of students were low-income. By comparison, the typical black student attended a school where 54.9% of students were low-income and the typical Latino student attended one where 60.3% of students were low-income. These data indicate racial disparities in exposure to poverty.
- Concentrations of low-income students and levels of segregation within Delaware's schools increased over the twenty-year period, and by 2010-11 almost 90% of students attending the apartheid schools were low-income. These data underscore the pervasiveness of the double segregation of students by race and class.
- Both the typical black and Latino Delaware student attended schools where they were underexposed to white students. Specifically, black and Latino students attended schools where, on average, white students accounted for approximately 40% of the student populations despite the fact that, in 2010, 49.9% of the overall enrollment in Delaware was white.

Metropolitan Wilmington

- Between 1989-90 and 2010-11, total student enrollment in the Wilmington metro increased by 51% to 68,559. The growth in the number of suburban students outpaced that of urban³ students.
- In 2010-11 white students constituted 45% of Wilmington's public school enrollment, a dramatic decrease from 1989-90 when they made up 68% of the enrollment. By

³ 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.

comparison, during that same period Latino enrollment grew by 367% from 3% to 14% and Asian enrollment increased by 150% from 2% to 5%.

- In 2010-11, 47.3% of metro Wilmington students were low income; however, the typical white student attended a school where only 37.5% of the students were low-income. In contrast, the typical Latino student attended a school where 61.3% students were low-income and the typical black student attended one where 56.2% were low-income.
- In 2010-11, almost 90% of the students in Wilmington's apartheid schools were low-income, highlighting the extreme overlap between racial isolation and concentrations of poverty.
- Intensely segregated and apartheid schools did not exist in metro Wilmington in 1989-90. By 2010-11, intensely segregated schools grew to a troubling 15% of schools in the metropolitan area and apartheid schools accounted for almost 8% of Wilmington's public schools. Having increased 12-fold, predominately minority schools comprised 60% of the schools.
- Almost eight in ten Latino (79.2%) and black (77.1%) students in Wilmington were enrolled in predominantly minority schools in 2010-11. By comparison, fewer than one in ten Latino (8.7%) and black (7.5%) students attended predominantly minority schools in 1989-90 and there were neither intensely segregated nor apartheid schools at that time. In 2010-11, the share of black students (20%) in intensely segregated schools was double that of Latinos (11%) and more than one in ten black students and one in 100 Latino students attended apartheid schools.
- The average exposure level to white students was the same for both black and Latino students; however, at 34.5% it remained a full 10% below the overall proportion of white students in Wilmington (44.5%)
- Latino students attended schools where the share of Latinos (27.5%) was double that of share of Latinos in the total metro area enrollment (14%). A typical black student in Wilmington attended a school where, similar to the metro area, 13% of the students were Latinos. However, black students were underexposed to whites by 10% and overexposed to blacks by 12%.
- In 1989-90 segregation levels according to an evenness measure were very low and roughly the same both within and between districts (at 0.02 and 0.03 respectively). Rapid resegregation became apparent by 2010-11 when the Entropy Index for the Wilmington metropolitan area reached 0.17, which means that the schools in the Wilmington/New Castle districts were 17% less diverse than the overall region, a moderately high level of segregation. In 2010, patterns of segregation in the region could be almost evenly attributed to segregation occurring within districts and between districts. Slightly more segregation occurred within the districts (53%) than between the districts (47%).

These findings highlight the deepening segregation, by both race and class, of Delaware's public school students and emphasize the growing degree to which black and Latino students are segregated in the state.

This report provides **multiple recommendations** to address resegregation in Delaware's schools:

- Delaware 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 intra and inter-district programs, and require that districts report to the state on diversity-related matters for both public and charter schools.

- Districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools.
- Strong magnet schools and transfer programs both within and across district boundaries should also be used to promote more racially integrated schools and minimize “white flight” to Appoquinimink district, which is located south of the four districts created under the desegregation plan.
- Within the Wilmington area, school attendance boundaries should be redrawn to mitigate the effects of the Neighborhood Schools Act, which linked residential segregation to school segregation. In addition, a controlled choice plan, which would alleviate the impacts of school attendance boundaries, could be implemented.
- Fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets and ensure that potential homebuyers are not being steered away from areas with diverse schools.
- Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions and advocate for low-income housing to be incorporated in new communities that are attached to strong schools.
- Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies so that they support integrated schools.
- Schools should not be built or opened in racially isolated areas of districts and rezoning policies should not exacerbate racial isolation.
- 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.
- 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, Delaware must take steps now to reverse these damaging trends and address the resegregated nature of its public schools.

To promote a healthy multiracial future, it is absolutely urgent that Delaware’s citizens understand both the value of diversity and the real risks of resegregation. There are a number of possible policy options bearing no relationship to the mandatory plans in place until the mid-1990s. Many instead involve conscious efforts to use school choice and housing opportunity strategies in innovative and appropriate ways. Regardless of the method, now is the time to proactively harness the opportunities present in the rapidly shifting dynamics of Delaware's school enrollment.

The Courts, the Legislature, and Delaware's Resegregation: *A Report on School Segregation in Delaware, 1989-2010*

Delaware's history with school desegregation is complicated and contradictory. The state both advanced and impeded the goals of *Brown v. Board of Education*.⁴ After implementing desegregation plans that were ineffective by design, Delaware was ultimately placed under the first metropolitan, multi-district desegregation court order in the US. The federal district court's decision was significant because it rendered meaningless the city/suburban boundaries which dramatically separated students by race. The mandated desegregation plan, in place for almost two decades, made Delaware one of the two most integrated states in the US. It was eventually dissolved after the participating districts were granted unitary status. For the period of the court order, metropolitan Wilmington, contiguous with metropolitan Philadelphia, showed a pattern fundamentally different from the rest of the region. After the dissolution, it became far more similar. As Delaware schools grow more diverse, understanding the nature and scope of racial and economic isolation in the state today becomes ever more crucial.

This report examines school segregation trends in Delaware between 1989 and 2010. Drawing on federal data from the National Center for Education Statistics, it explores patterns at the state, metropolitan, and school district level. We provide the following data and policy recommendations in the hope that communities use them to push for positive change.

Since 1989, both black and Latino students experienced noteworthy increases in enrollment in Delaware's minority-segregated schools. This trend became more apparent after 1995 when court oversight was terminated and the Wilmington area desegregation plan was dissolved. Today, almost two decades after unitary status, significant and rising portions of the state's black students enroll in segregated schools that are very isolated by both race and socioeconomic status. Nearly one out of every eight black students in Delaware attends an intensely segregated school in which nonwhite students account for 90-100% of the enrollment. Low-income students make up about 83% of the student population in the state's intensely segregated minority settings, which indicates that poverty concentration is heavily layered onto racial isolation.

Broadly, findings also show that the state and its major metros and districts have become rapidly more diverse, particularly in the past decade. With rising levels of racial diversity come many opportunities for integration, but a key challenge will be to ensure that metropolitan areas and districts that become diverse remain diverse—and do not resegregate.

This report is organized as follows. The first section provides a brief overview of the history of desegregation in Delaware, followed by a summary of social science evidence related to the harms of segregation and the benefits of well-designed diverse schools. It describes the data and methodology and then presents a state-level analysis of enrollment and segregation trends. Those same trends are explored for the Wilmington metropolitan area. Within the metropolitan area discussion, the report briefly delves into the degree and type of racial transition within the largest school districts (further information about school districts is located in Appendix B). It closes with a discussion of the findings, along with a number of policy

⁴ *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

recommendations. Please also note that separate fact sheets documenting segregation trends in the Wilmington metro area accompany this larger report.

Delaware's Desegregation Chronicle

Delaware, along with five other states and the District of Columbia, is a Border State⁵—a slave state that remained within the Union during the Civil War. It was also one of 17 states⁶ where segregation was law prior to *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). The Wilmington case was one of the five cases consolidated into the *Brown* decision.

At 2,026 square miles, Delaware is the second smallest US state and New Castle County, which includes the city of Wilmington and its surrounding suburbs, covers less than 500 square miles. In the 1970s, Wilmington area schools, which educate roughly 60% of Delaware's students, were the focus of litigation resulting in the country's first desegregation order that mandated the development of an urban/suburban, multi-district plan.

The Wilmington case came on the heels of U.S. Supreme Court decisions in two other metropolitan school desegregation cases, *Bradley v. School Board of Richmond* (1974)⁷ and *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974).⁸ Both rulings protected the suburbs from inter-district busing by absolving them of responsibility for metropolitan patterns of school desegregation. Though *Bradley* and *Milliken* represented severe setbacks for metropolitan school desegregation, a policy that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights called "the last frontier to be crossed in the long judicial effort to make equal educational opportunity a living reality,"⁹ the *Milliken* decision did provide some guidance as to what evidence would be necessary to produce an inter-district remedy.¹⁰ Civil rights lawyers in Delaware, in the midst of a long-running effort to effectively desegregate the Wilmington metro, began to tailor their case accordingly.

Stalled Progress before the Inter-District Remedy

Louis L. Redding, Delaware's first black attorney, litigated *Gebhart v. Belton* (1952),¹¹ which was one of the lawsuits incorporated into the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). In *Gebhart* black students sought admission to a better-resourced white school that was closer to their homes. In the ruling, the Supreme Court of Delaware declared that the state's public schools were segregated. Judge Collins Seitz of the Delaware Court of Chancery heard the case and personally visited the schools in order to assess the facts. Convinced that Wilmington's black and white schools were not equal, he ordered the desegregation of the schools.

After the *Gebhart* and *Brown* decisions, educators and reporters claimed that desegregation was a success. For example, Wilmington's school superintendent Ward Miller

⁵ Our definition of Border States: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia

⁶ The 17 states where segregation was law were: Border—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia, and South: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia

⁷ *Bradley v. School Bd. of Richmond*, 416 U.S. 696 (1974)

⁸ *Milliken v. Bradley*, 418 U.S. 717 (1974)

⁹ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1977). Statement on Metropolitan School Desegregation. Washington, DC: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 75.

¹⁰ Green, R. (Ed). Metropolitan Desegregation. New York, NY: Plenum Press, p. 23.

¹¹ *Gebhart v. Belton*, 33 Del. Ch. 144, 87 A.2d 862 (Del. Ch. 1952), aff'd, 91 A.2d 137 (Del. 1952)

said desegregation had “succeeded beyond our fondest hopes...”¹² In reality, though, Delaware was slow to fully desegregate its schools.

A few years after *Brown*, local plaintiffs frustrated by the lack of progress sued the state Board of Education in federal district court demanding that it dismantle the dual school systems (*Evans v. Buchanan*).¹³ The court found in favor of those who brought suit and ordered that: black students desegregate white schools; Delaware’s “crazy quilt”¹⁴ of local school districts that fostered segregation be eliminated; and a statewide desegregation plan, which the court would monitor, be developed and executed.

In 1960, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals rejected an initial plan that required twelve years for full implementation of desegregation; however, later they provisionally approved a version detailing the State’s intent to desegregate the public schools by academic year 1961-62.¹⁵ The plan accepted by the US District Court engendered one-way desegregation. Upon request, black students were allowed to transfer immediately to white or other integrated schools but white students were not required to attend black schools to achieve desegregation. This was the kind of plan that was dominant in the South during this period.

Later that year in *Evans v. Buchanan* (1962),¹⁶ a case where nine black students sought to transfer from an all-black school to an integrated school in another district, attorneys argued that the equal protection clause of the Constitution compelled the state to provide integrated education. The Delaware District Court disagreed. While affirming that students were permitted to transfer schools, the judges stressed that the 14th Amendment did not apply in this case because the segregation in the schools was not caused by the designated attendance zones; rather, it was an outgrowth of discriminatory housing policies. The Constitution protected citizens from discrimination; however, it did not compel integration. In other words, the states did not have an affirmative constitutional duty to provide an integrated education. This practice of “freedom of choice,” adopted widely in historically segregated states, left the great majority of black students in historically segregated all-black schools.

The Delaware State Board of Education and the General Assembly continued to delay and impede desegregation mandates. Delaware lawmakers, emboldened by the *Evans v. Buchanan* (1962) decision, passed the Educational Advancement Act (1968). Never submitted to the federal District Court for approval, this statute gave the state Board of Education the authority to reorganize and develop desegregation plans for all school districts in the state enrolling 12,000 or fewer students. The school district of the City of Wilmington¹⁷ enrolled 15,000 students and was thus excluded by design. The legislation produced racially separate districts because of the segregated neighborhoods that were propagated by discriminatory state and local housing policies and practices. These included public housing policies that contributed

¹² *Wilmington Morning News* (14 Feb 1956)

¹³ *Evans v. Buchanan*, U.S. Dist. (1961), 195 F. Supp. 321

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Evans v. Ennis*, 3 Cir. (1960), 281 F.2d 385, 387

¹⁶ *Evans v. Buchanan*, 207 F. Supp. 820 (D. Del. 1962)

¹⁷ Specifically the Act stated: “the [reorganized] school district for the city of Wilmington shall be the city of Wilmington with the territory within its limits, ... the boundaries of which shall at all times be the same as the boundaries of the city of Wilmington.”

to the concentration of minority residents in Wilmington, racially restrictive real estate covenants, and practices endorsed and codified by the Delaware Real Estate Commission and the National Association of Real Estate Boards.¹⁸

Seeds of an Inter-District Remedy

In 1971 the *Evans v. Buchanan*¹⁹ case was re-opened alleging that the Delaware State Board of Education continued to operate a dual system. The plaintiffs claimed that Delaware's Educational Advancement Act was designed to maintain segregation in the city and demanded that the suburban districts be included in any desegregation plans. In 1975 the federal District Court determined the Act was unconstitutional²⁰ and the state was ordered to develop an inter-district, metropolitan school desegregation plan with the goal of changing "'black' schools and 'white' schools into 'just' schools".²¹ In that decision the court acknowledged that desegregating schools within the city would not alleviate the area wide segregation between the black city schools and the white suburban schools. In other words, the issue was "not merely racially segregated public schools, but racially segregated public school *systems* [emphasis in original]."²² In spite of appeals, by 1978 the lower court ruling had prevailed and metropolitan school desegregation went forward in Delaware.

Interestingly, the Supreme Court in the *Milliken* decision said that interdistrict desegregation was only permissible when there was proof of official action by state or local governments to produce segregation. In Delaware, the court found that state's separate treatment restricting school transfers of students in Wilmington, which was where most black students were concentrated and where local practices of segregated subsidized housing were pervasive, met the burden of proof. The case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court but the decision was not overruled.

The so-called 9-3 school desegregation plan that arose from the court decision was implemented in 1978. It merged 11 districts²³—one urban and ten suburban—and created the New Castle County School District, a single metropolitan district that enrolled more than 60% of the public school students in Delaware. In this plan city students were bused to suburban schools for nine years and suburban students were bused to city schools for three consecutive years.

¹⁸ Until 1970 *The Real Estate License Act and Primer* contained the Code of Realtor Ethics, which stated "a realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood." (p. 142)

¹⁹ Hoff, S. (2007). Delaware's constitution and its impact on education. Retrieved 22-Jul-2013 from: http://www.iccjournal.biz/Scholarly_Articles/Hoff,%20S/DelawareEducationandDesegregation.htm

²⁰ *Evans v. Buchanan*, 393 F. Supp. 428 (1975)

²¹ Raffel, J. (2002). After the court order: The changing faces of school desegregation in the Wilmington metropolitan area. *9 Wid. L. Symp. J. 81*. p. 6

²² Taylor, W. (1975). Desegregating urban school systems after *Milliken v. Bradley*—The Supreme Court and urban reality: A tactical analysis of *Milliken v. Bradley*. *21 Wayne L. Rev. 3*. p. 752.

²³ The districts that were combined as part of the desegregation plan were: Alfred I. DuPont, Alexis I DuPont, Claymont, Conrad, De La Warr, Marshallton-McKean, Mount Pleasant, New Castle-Gunning Bedford, Newark, Stanton, and Wilmington (the sole urban district) school districts

Every school was to achieve and maintain a racial balance where black students accounted for at least 15% and no more than 35% of its total enrollment.²⁴

Residents and parents were concerned that a single district enrolling 65,000 students would be too large for their voices to be heard. Although there are a number of urban and suburban districts this large or larger in other states, Delaware residents were accustomed to districts where enrollments were approximately one quarter of those in the newly mandated system. State officials found it difficult to deal with a single district that had a substantial majority of all the state's students. In 1980, legislation permitted the New Castle County School District to be divided into smaller districts, which would be easier to manage and more responsive.²⁵ The state Board of Education created four pie-shaped areas where each incorporated a portion of both the city and suburban areas.²⁶ These four smaller districts—Brandywine, Christina, Colonial, and Red Clay Consolidated—each enrolled between 10,000 and 15,000 students and remain in place today.

The 9-3 merger and desegregation plan produced impressive results within two years. By 1980 Delaware achieved the largest increase in integration among the eighteen border and southern states.²⁷ The proportion of the state's black students²⁸ enrolled in predominantly white schools increased by 40.9 percentage points between 1968 and 1980, almost double the average increase in the southern states (23.8) and more than triple the average increases in the border states (12.4) and the nation as a whole (13.7). In 1980, 95.1% of Delaware's black students attended predominantly white schools—the highest share achieved by all border and southern states. In addition, the proportion of white students in the school attended by an average black student grew more than 20 percentage points to 68.7% in 1980 from 47% in 1970.²⁹

Dismantling a Groundbreaking Desegregation Plan

In the early 1990s, three decisions reached by the Supreme Court relaxed desegregation requirements and facilitated the release of school districts from court oversight.³⁰ In light of those rulings, Delaware sought release from the seventeen-year-old desegregation procedures that catapulted the state into the position of having the most integrated schools in the country.

Despite opposition from the parent-based Coalition to Save Our Schools, in 1995, the US District Court declared the four districts unitary. The Coalition claimed that educational equity had not been achieved in Delaware's public schools. The group offered empirical evidence, which revealed that academic achievement averages for African Americans in Delaware still lagged far behind white averages. Meanwhile, research from the first several years of desegregation in New Castle County showed significant gains for all students in reading and

²⁴ Raffel, J. (2002). After the court order: The changing faces of school desegregation in the Wilmington metropolitan area. *9 Wid. L. Symp. J. 81*. p. 4

²⁵ 63 DL, ch. 16. "A Plan for the Division of New Castle County School District into Four School Districts," Department of Public Instruction, September 18, 1980. Del Doc # 95-01/80/08/12.

²⁶ "News of Delaware Schools," Department of Public Instruction, December 1980. Del Doc # 95-01/80/12/1.

²⁷ Orfield, G. (1983). *Public school desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980*. Washington, DC: Joint Center for Political Studies.

²⁸ Latino students were not included in the desegregation order.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 6 & 23.

³⁰ *Board of Education v. Dowell*, 498 U.S. 237 (1991), *Freeman v. Pitts*, 503 U.S. 467 (1992), and *Missouri v. Jenkins*, 515 U.S. 79 (1995)

math throughout the metropolitan district, with black students reporting the most substantial increases.³¹ Despite documented gains during desegregation, and clear evidence that much work remained, Judge Sue Robinson called for an end to the court supervision. She said that the plaintiffs failed to show that the achievement gap was due to discriminatory education practices instead of societal factors outside the control of the school. The case was rushed during the holidays of 1994 and testimony rebutting the research claims was not permitted. The Coalition appealed the decision asserting that the continued existence of the gap demonstrated that remnants of segregation remained but were defeated when the U.S. Court of Appeals affirmed the lower court's ruling.

After unitary status was granted, Wilmington area school districts were slow to dismantle their desegregation plans although they now had the power to modify student assignment policies. This inaction in conjunction with continued discontent about school assignments among residents of both urban and suburban neighborhoods provoked the legislature to pass the Neighborhood Schools Act (2000). This law required that students be assigned to the schools closest to their homes, without regard to any factor other than natural, neighborhood boundaries and distance. The law virtually guaranteed that patterns of neighborhood segregation would be replicated in Wilmington area schools. Basically, state law required the resegregation of schools regardless of the desires of educational leaders or local communities.

Under the Neighborhood Schools Act, the four metro area districts were required to submit assignment plans to the State Board of Education. In addition, the City of Wilmington was asked to build a separate plan. Explaining that there were not sufficient funds to support a separate city district, Wilmington's mayor vetoed the bill to resurrect the Wilmington School District. As a result, the four pie-shaped districts remained intact. Of those districts, only Brandywine made a request to defer compliance. District leaders argued that the law would create schools isolated by race and class. Although Red Clay and Cristina submitted plans, their initial assignment proposals were not approved. In order to address imbalances between the sizes of the local populations and the capacities of the neighborhood facilities, students were not assigned to schools closest to their homes. Outgrowths of iterative and collaborative work with the state board, subsequent plans, which included some choice schools and limited busing, were approved in 2005 and 2007 respectively. As this report will show, by 2010-11 as all districts complied with the Neighborhood Schools Act, resegregation began to erode the gains achieved under the court ordered desegregation.

Over the years, each of these historical milestones was linked to progress and regress on patterns of racial segregation across Delaware. Despite the waning commitment of the courts, as well as a general fading of public awareness acknowledging the importance of desegregation, social science evidence has continued to document persistent harms associated with racially isolated schools, along with myriad benefits related to desegregated ones. The following section provides an overview of research on segregation and desegregation.

³¹ Schweitzer, J. "School and Individual Achievement following Desegregation in New Castle County, Delaware." In Green, R. (Ed). *Metropolitan Desegregation* (pp. 161-184). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says³²

The consensus of nearly 60 years of social science research on the harms of school segregation is clear: separate remains extremely unequal. Racially and socioeconomically isolated schools are strongly related to an array of factors that limit educational opportunities and outcomes. These factors include less experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less successful peer groups and inadequate facilities and learning materials.

Teachers are the most powerful influence on academic achievement in schools.³³ One recent longitudinal study showed that having a strong teacher in elementary grades had a long-lasting, positive impact on students' lives—to include reduced teenage pregnancy rates, higher levels of college-going, and higher job earnings.³⁴ Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified³⁵ and experienced³⁶ teachers are spread very unevenly across schools, and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.³⁷ Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools of concentrated poverty.³⁸

Findings showing that the motivation and engagement of classmates are strongly linked to educational outcomes for poor students date back to the famous 1966 Coleman Report. The central conclusion of that report (as well as numerous follow-up analyses) was that the concentration of poverty in a school influenced student achievement more than the poverty status

³² This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project. Available at: <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students>

³³ Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement. *Econometrica*, 73(2), 417-58.

³⁴ 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

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ 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.

³⁷ 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.

³⁸ Miller, R. (2010). *Comparable, schomparable. Evidence of inequity in the allocation of funds for teacher salary within California's public school districts*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress;

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

of an individual student.³⁹ This is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance, and college-going are normalized by peers.⁴⁰ Attitudinal differences toward schooling among low- and middle-to-high income students stem from a variety of internal and external factors, which include watered-down learning materials that seem disconnected from students' lives.

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.⁴¹ The impact of the standards and accountability era has been felt more acutely in minority-segregated schools where rote skills and memorization have, in many instances, subsumed creative, engaging teaching.⁴² 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 garner early college credits and boost student GPAs.⁴³

Taken together, all of these things tend to produce lower educational achievement and attainment—which in turn limits lifetime opportunities—for students who attend high poverty, high minority school settings.⁴⁴ Student discipline is harsher and the rate of expulsion is much higher in minority-segregated schools than in wealthier, whiter ones.⁴⁵ Dropout rates are

³⁹ 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.

⁴⁰ Kahlenberg, R. (2001). *All together now: Creating middle class schools through public school choice*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

⁴¹ 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.

⁴² 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.

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ 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*

significantly higher in segregated and impoverished schools (nearly all of the 2,000 “dropout factories” are doubly segregated by race and poverty),⁴⁶ and if students do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.⁴⁷ Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students’ success in school and later life.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹ Relatedly, integrated schools are linked to reduction in students’ willingness to accept stereotypes.⁵⁰ Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.⁵¹

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students,⁵² with no corresponding detrimental impact for white

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/>.

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ Camburn, E. (1990). College completion among students from high schools located in large metropolitan areas. *American Journal of Education*, 98(4), 551-569.

⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ 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.

⁵² 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.

students.⁵³ These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations,⁵⁴ and high levels of civic and communal responsibility.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸

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.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

⁵³ Hoschild, J., & Scrovronick, N. (2004). *The American dream and the public schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁵⁴ 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.

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ 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.

⁵⁷ 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.

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.

⁶⁰ Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751-783.

⁶¹ 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.

Data and Methods

This study explores demographic, segregation, and district 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 utilized 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 segregated 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 of each racial group enrolled in predominantly minority 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.⁶² 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.

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

⁶² Carroll, S., Krop, C., Arkes, J., Morrison, P., & Flanagan, A. (2005). Orfield, G., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Kucsera, J. (2011).

Districts, as well as their metropolitan area, were categorized into predominantly white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominantly nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.⁶³ 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 of the change in school districts was assessed, which provided insight into whether districts are resegregating, integrating, or remaining segregated or stably diverse. See Appendix B for more details.

⁶³ 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.

Segregation Trends, 1989-1990 through 2010-2011

State Trends

This section of the report will present trends in school segregation in Delaware over the last two decades by examining key measures of segregation: concentration, exposure, and evenness. First, to provide the foundation on which to consider the measures of segregation, the overall enrollment patterns in the state will be described. After examining the trends at the state level, the report will detail the overall enrollment patterns and similar measures of segregation for the Wilmington metropolitan area.

Delaware

The rate at which Delaware's enrollment increased was almost three times faster than the enrollments in the other Border States and two times that of the nation. Delaware's enrollment increased by 29.3% over the last two decades, from 92,126 to 119,134, as compared to 10.1% for the Border States and 22.1% for the nation (Table 1).

Table 1 *Public School Enrollment*

	Total Enrollment
Delaware	
1989-1990	92,126
1999-2000	105,087
2010-2011	119,134
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

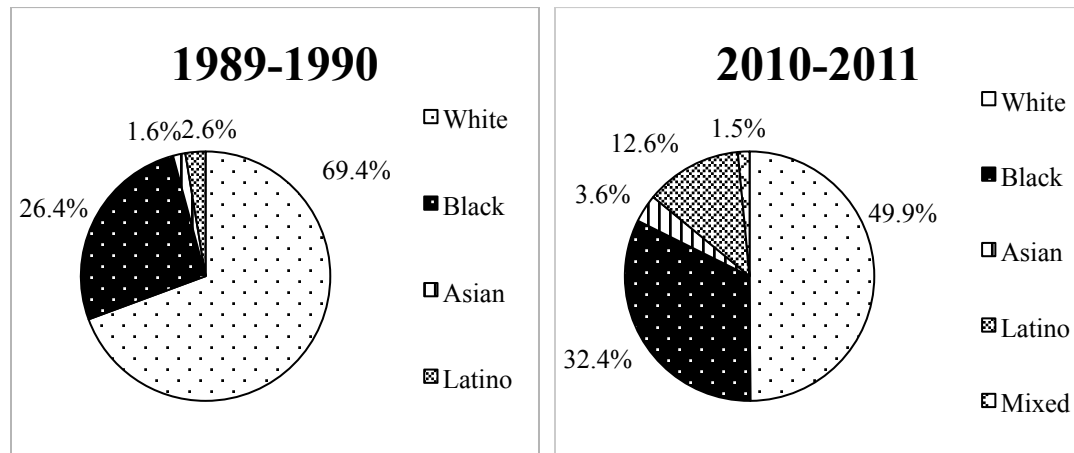
Note: AI=American Indian

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

In two decades, Delaware's student enrollment became predominantly minority (

Figure 1). White students, while no longer the majority, continue to comprise the largest proportion of students at 49.9%. The number of Latino students grew by 333% from 3% to 13%. Black student enrollment grew far more slowly, by 6%, to just under a third of the population. The proportion of Asian students doubled to 4% of students enrolled.⁶⁴

Figure 1 Delaware Public School Enrollment, 1989-90 and 2010-11



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)

⁶⁴ Close to 20% of Delaware's students attended a nonpublic school in 1989. By 2010 that number fell below 15%. Enrollment patterns in nonpublic schools followed the same trajectory as those in public schools. The proportion of white students attending private schools slid eight percentage points from 89% in 1990 to 81% in 2010. Although white students remained in the majority in private schools, the proportion of black students rose three percentage points to 10% and the proportion of Asian students more than doubled to 5%. Data for 1990-91 retrieved from: www.doe.k12.de.us/reports_data/edstats/Files/91/NonPublic_schools_90-91.pdf. Data for 2010-11 retrieved from: www.doe.k12.de.us/reports_data/files/EnrollmentTrends2011.pdf

Multiracial schools are those in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups. The percentage of multi-racial schools in Delaware increased 14-fold. In the two decades leading up to 2010, the number of multiracial schools in Delaware grew by 142% and constituted 41.5% of Delaware public schools (Table 2). The increase reflects the increasingly multiracial nature of Delaware's school enrollment. It is important to note that some of these school settings could consist primarily of two historically underserved groups of children: black and Latino students.

There are three different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students—predominantly minority schools, intensely segregated schools, and apartheid schools. Predominantly minority schools are schools in which minority students comprise 50-100% of the student enrollment. Almost half of the schools in Delaware are predominantly minority schools. These schools expanded more than 10-fold since 1989-1990, increasing from 4.1% of schools to 47.0% of schools.

Intensely segregated schools are schools where minority students account for 90-100% of the student enrollment. There were no intensely segregated schools in Delaware in 1989 when the desegregation plan was in place. Their numbers have increased more than threefold since unitary status was granted, to 8.2%.

Finally, apartheid schools are those where 99-100% of the students identify as members of minority racial/ethnic groups. As was the case with intensely segregated schools, while the desegregation order was still in place in 1989, apartheid schools did not exist in Delaware. Between 1999 and 2011, however, the percent of apartheid schools in Delaware increased from less than 1% to more than 4%.

Table 2 *Number and Percentage of Multi-Racial and Minority Schools in Delaware*

	Total Schools	% of Multi-Racial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Delaware					
1989-1990	146	3.4%	4.1%	NS	NS
1999-2000	161	13.0%	23.0%	2.5%	0.6%
2010-2011	183	41.5%	47.0%	8.2%	4.4%

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

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

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 experienced teachers, less stability in the teaching force, smaller numbers of successful peers, and inadequate facilities and resources.

In 2010-2011, a nearly half or more of the students in all four types of schools were low-income. More than one-half of those enrolled in multi-racial and majority minority were low-income students (Table 3). The concentrations of low-income students grew concurrently with an increase in the degree of racial segregation in the schools. Almost nine out of ten students in apartheid schools (the most segregated schools) and eight out of ten students in intensely segregated schools were low-income. These data clearly show that students in racially isolated schools were more likely to attend schools with higher percentages of low-income students, segregating students not only by race but also by class. In contrast, multi-racial schools have the lowest levels of low-income students among the categories of minority schools.

Table 3 *Percentage of Students who are Low-Income in Multi-Racial and Minority Schools in Delaware*

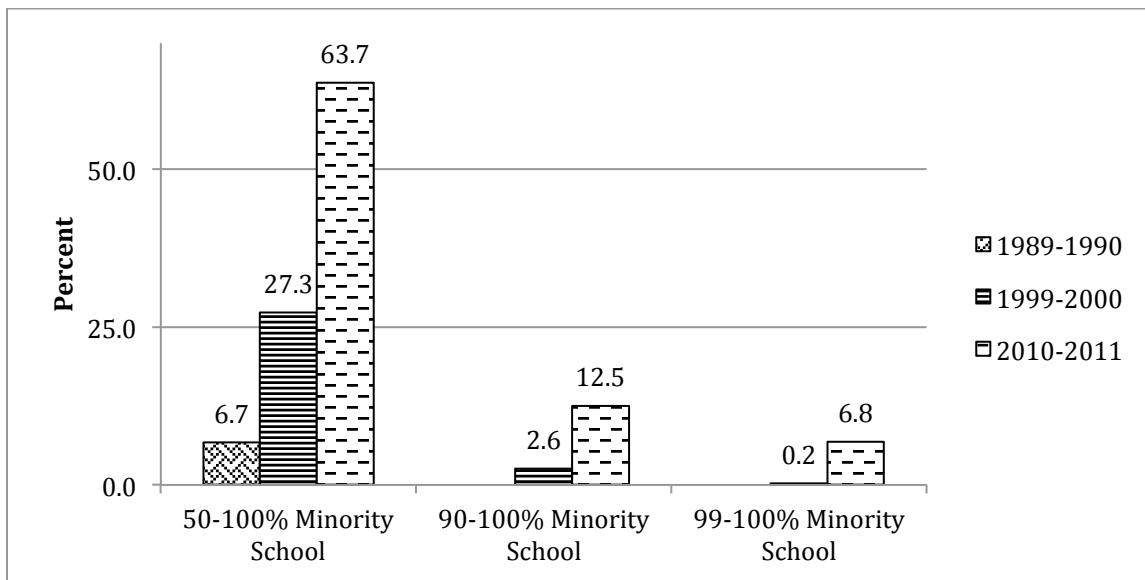
	% Low-Income in Total School Enrollment	% Low-Income in Multi-Racial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Delaware					
1999-2000	33.5%	40.3%	47.6%	74.1%	82.1%
2010-2011	48.6%	57.2%	62.9%	82.7%	87.7%

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

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

The shares of black students in predominantly minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools increased dramatically over the last two decades (Figure 2). Under the court order, few blacks were attending severely segregated schools. By 2010, roughly 64% of black students, a 10-fold increase from 1989, were enrolled in predominantly minority schools and nearly 20% attended intensely segregated schools. In just one decade, the percentage of black students enrolled in apartheid schools increased from 0.2% to 6.8%. These data clearly demonstrate the increasing segregation and isolation faced by more than eight of every ten black students in Delaware. They also highlight the impact of the unitary status designation. While in effect, the desegregation plan ensured that black students attended neither intensely segregated nor apartheid schools.

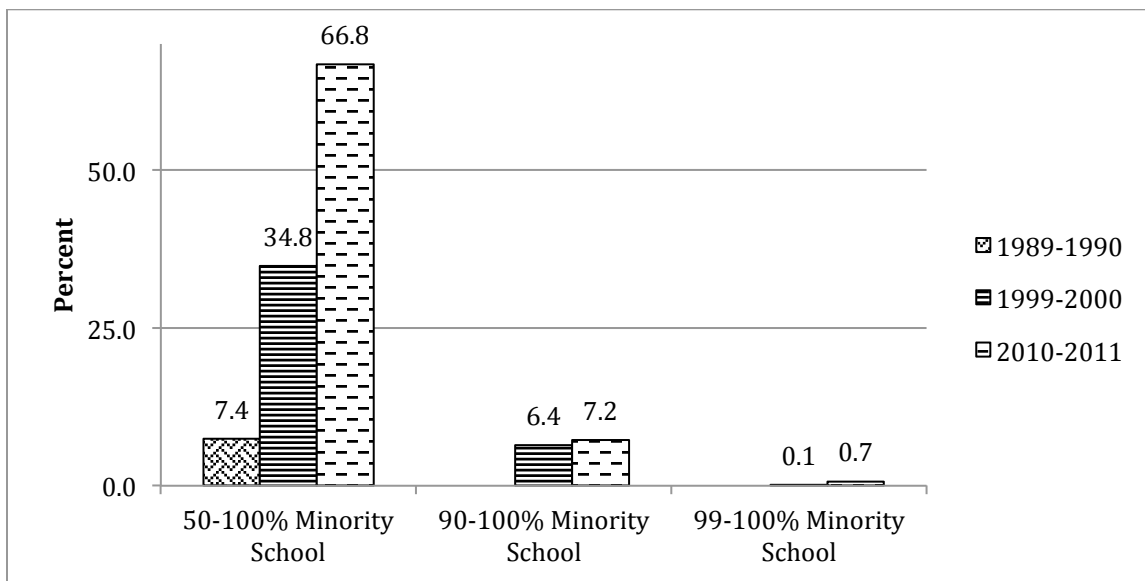
Figure 2 *Percentage of Black Students in Minority Schools in Delaware*



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

In 2010, roughly two-thirds of Delaware's Latino students attended predominantly minority schools, an increase of more than 800% since 1989 (Figure 3). Part of this, of course, reflected major growth in the Latino community and a decline of white students. Across the state, Latino students enrolled in predominantly minority schools at higher proportions than black students, although percentages of Latino students enrolled in intensely segregated and apartheid schools were significantly lower than the percentages of black students in such schools.

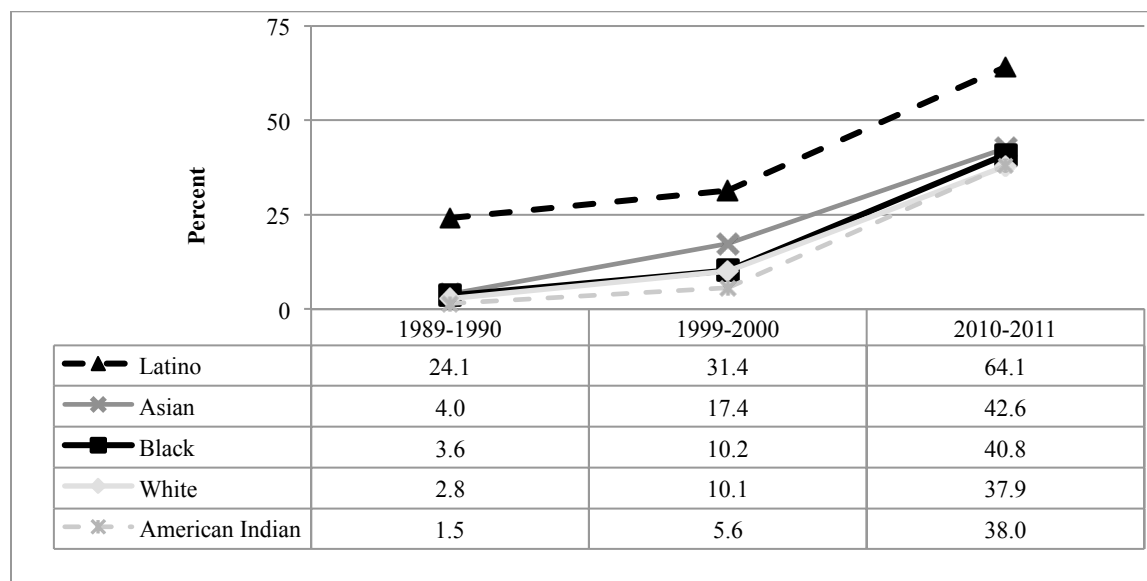
Figure 3 *Percentage of Latino Students in Delaware Minority Schools*



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

Since 1989-1990, multi-racial schools in Delaware—those in which any three races represent at least one-tenth of the total student enrollment—have drawn larger shares of Asian and Latino students than white and black students (Figure 4). In 2010-2011 almost two-thirds of Latino students were enrolled in multi-racial schools compared to less than half of the students from every other racial group. The share of students from every racial and ethnic group attending multi-racial schools has increased dramatically.

Figure 4 *Percentage of Racial Group in Multi-Racial Schools in Delaware*



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

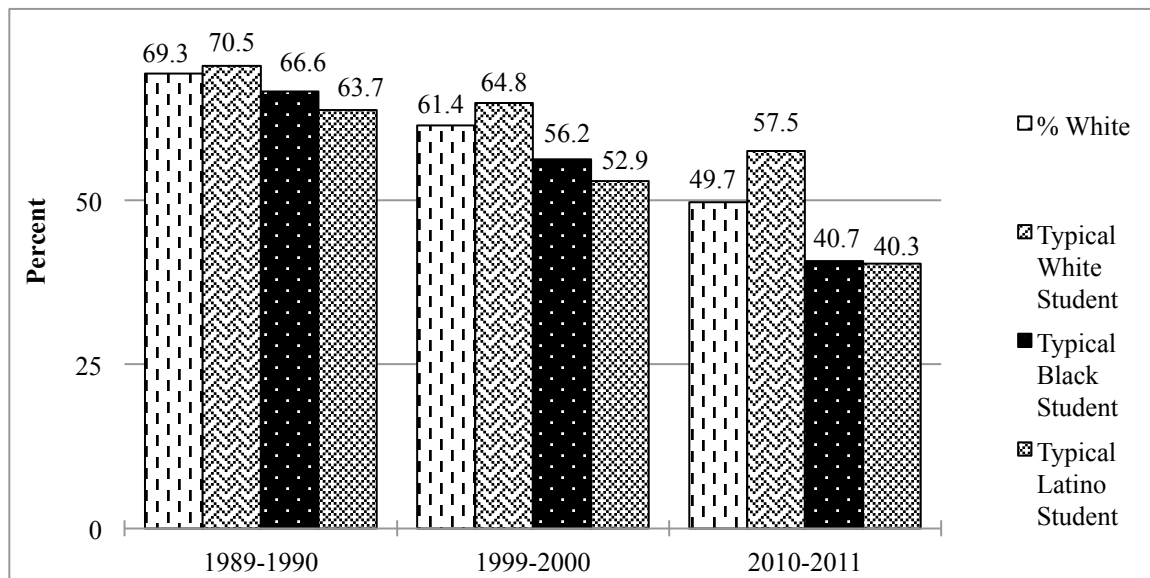
Exposure rates, which measure the level of interracial contact among students, provide a key approach to determine the levels of segregation in schools since they show the actual level of diversity in the school of the average student of each race, information essential to thinking about possible educational impacts. The first column (Figure 5) represents the overall share of white students in the entire state. The next three columns reflect the percent of white students enrolled in schools attended by the typical white, black, and Latino student during the time period noted. In other words, these columns represent the exposure rates to whites associated with each of the different racial/ethnic groups.

Since 1989-1990, the white share of Delaware's enrollment has dropped sharply from almost 70% in 1989 to just under half in 2010 (Figure 5). This pattern reflects population trends in the region that have occurred regardless of desegregation policies. For example, the white share of enrollment in Maryland, a neighboring state that was never under a desegregation plan, revealed a similar pattern. Like Delaware, the share of white enrollment in Maryland fell close to 20 percentage points, from 59.7% in 1989 to 40.3% in 2010. Moreover, much of the decline in Delaware's white enrollment came after the end of the desegregation plan

In conjunction with demographic trends and the change in desegregation policy, there was a noteworthy decline in the exposure to white students for the typical student of each race. In all three decades, the typical white student attended a school where the large majority of her/his classmates were other white students. This share of the school's enrollment was greater than what would be expected based on white students' share of the total enrollment. Importantly, the gap between the overall share of white students enrolled in the public schools and the share of white students in a typical white student's school has widened considerably under neighborhood school assignment.

Over the same period, the typical black and Latino student attended schools in which they were increasingly isolated from white students. In 2010-11 both student groups attended schools where about 40% of their classmates were white even though white students comprised one-half of Delaware's overall enrollment. Black and Latino exposure to white students in 1989, by contrast, was more proportional to the overall share of white students in the state.

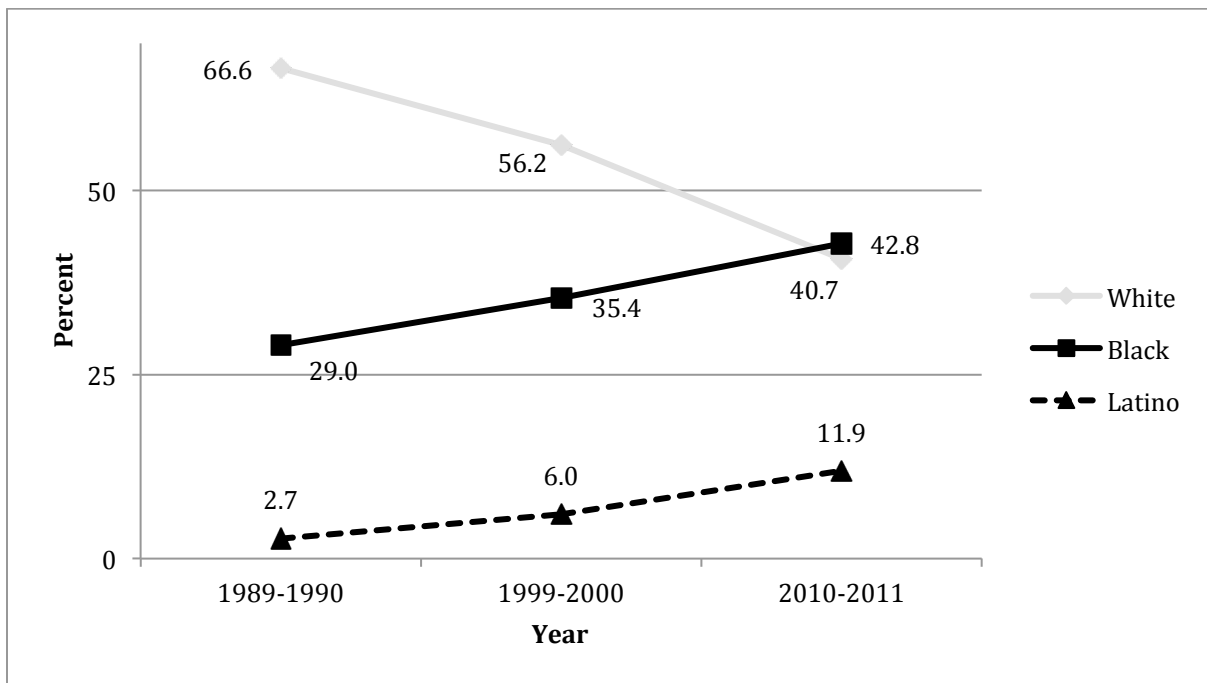
Figure 5 *Percentage of White Students in School Attended by the Typical Student of Each Race in Delaware*



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

Between 1989 and 1999, when the court-ordered 9-3 desegregation plan was largely in effect; the typical black student attended a school where the student body, like the population of the state, was predominantly white. However, by 2010-2011 a typical black student attended a school where fellow black students constituted the largest segment of students. After the desegregation plan ended, the share of fellow black students in the school of the typical black Delaware student almost doubled to about 43% of the enrollment even though their share of the state population remained relatively stable (Figure 6). Over the same 20-year period, the proportion of Latino students in the school of the typical black student grew by more than 340%, while the share of white students shrunk by almost 40%.

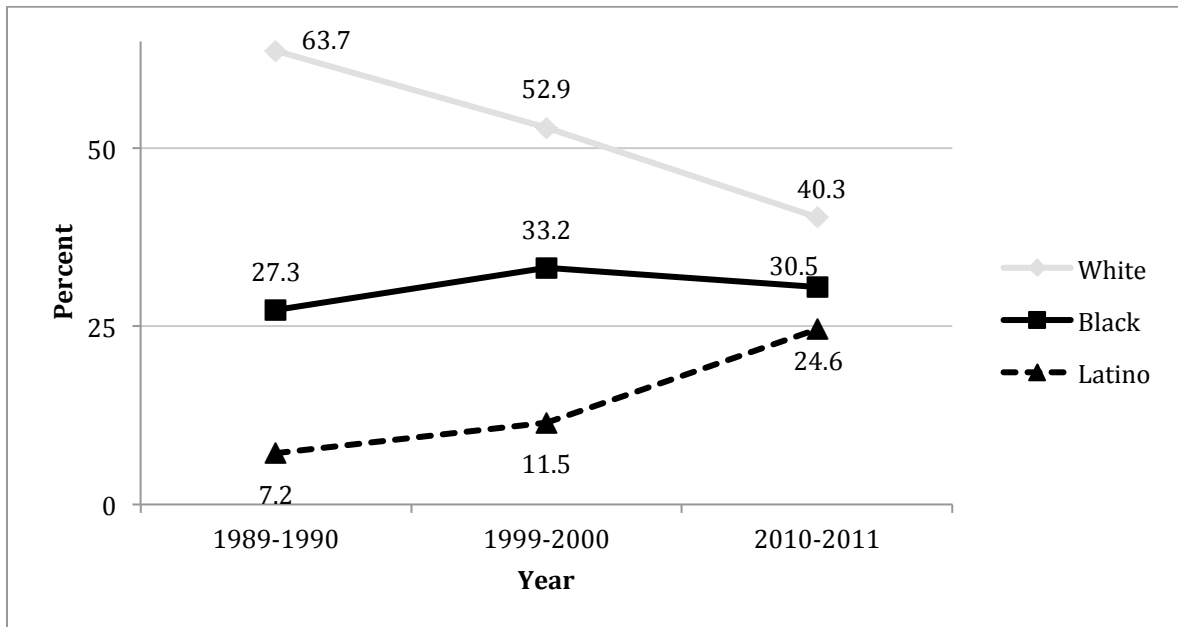
Figure 6 *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student in Delaware*



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

The typical Latino student in Delaware also experienced a substantial change in the racial composition of his/her school. In 2010, in the school of the typical Latino student (Figure 7), Latinos comprised almost 25% of the student population, up from about 7% in 1989. Despite a precipitous (23 percentage points) drop in share of white students in the school of the typical Latino students, whites continued to account for the largest portion of students in those schools. The share of black students remained relatively constant, declining slightly after 1999 (Figure 7). The shifting racial composition of the schools attended by Latino students is likely associated with an overall increase in the shares of Latino and black students in conjunction with a dramatic decline in the proportion of white students.

Figure 7 *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student in Delaware*



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

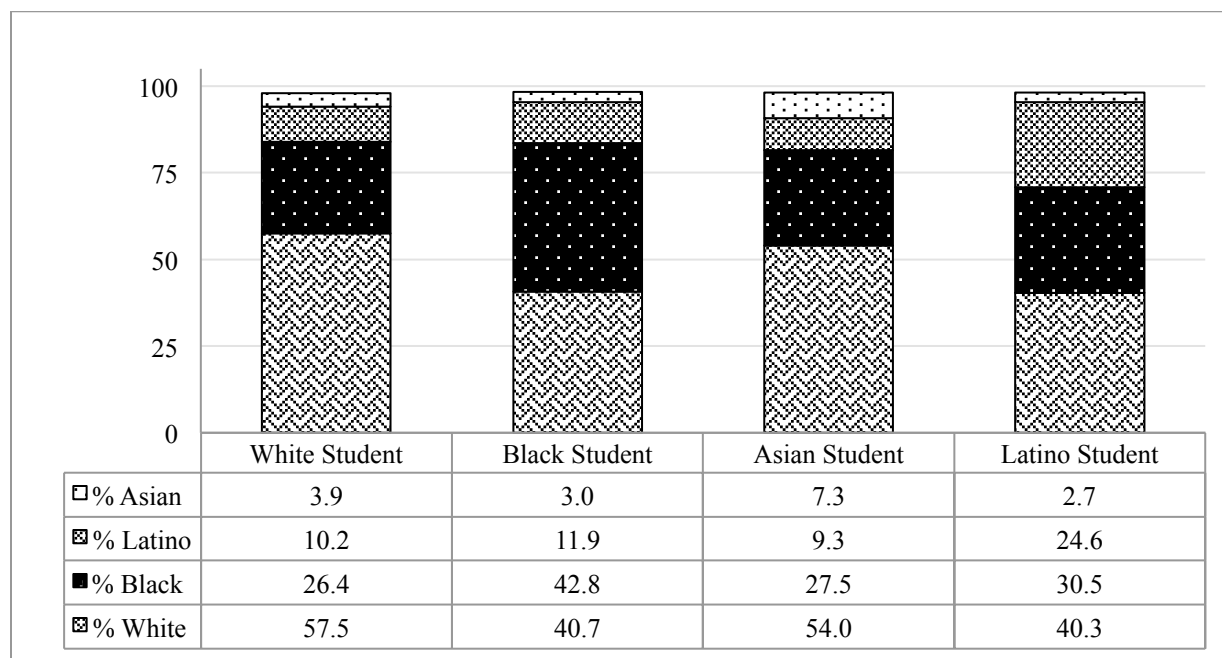
In 2010-2011, white students accounted for just under one half of all students in Delaware (49.9%); however, the typical white student attended a predominantly white school where the share of white classmates exceeded the overall share of white students in the state (Figure 8). Black classmates comprised just over one quarter of the student body in the school of the typical white student and the combined shares of Latino and Asian classmates totaled less than 15%.

The typical black student attended a school with a preponderance of black classmates, a moderate share of white classmates, and small shares of Latino and Asian classmates. The typical black and white student in Delaware experienced similar levels of exposure to Latino and Asian students.

Schools attended by Asian students shared a demographic breakdown similar to that of schools attended by white students. Asian students attended schools with mostly white students, a small share of black students, and even 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 Asian students contributing less than 3% to the student population.

Figure 8 *Composition of School Attended by Typical Student in Delaware, By Race, 2010-11*

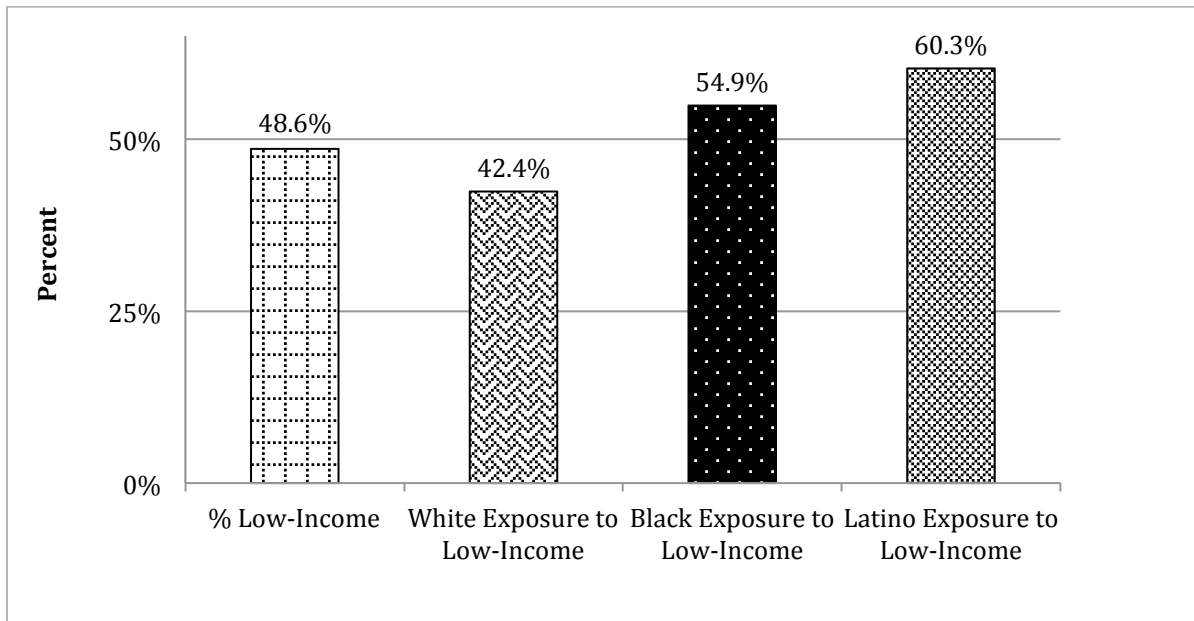


Note: Composition figures exclude American Indian and mixed race students and thus, do not exactly equal 100%.

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

An examination of student exposure by race to low-income students revealed that both race and class doubly segregated black and Latino students. Close to one-half (48.6%) of Delaware public school students were low-income (Figure 9). If these students were distributed evenly across schools we would expect students to attend schools where approximately 50% of students were low-income. In fact, the typical white student attended a school that enrolled 42.4% low-income students, the typical black student attended a school that enrolled 54.9% low-income students, and the typical Latino student attended a school with 60.3% low-income students.

Figure 9 *Percentage of Racial Group and Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students for Typical Student in Delaware Public Schools, by Race, 2010-11*



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

Metropolitan Trends

The Wilmington metro area contains both the city of Wilmington and numerous suburban communities in New Castle County. Today, five districts—the four combined city-suburban districts in New Castle County and Appoquinimink, a suburban fringe district—within this metro educate more than 60% of all students in the state.⁶⁵ Only the four suburban districts, Brandywine, Christina, Colonial, and Red Clay, were included in the court-ordered desegregation plan that was in place for almost three decades. The fifth district, Appoquinimink, is in New Castle County and, while not part of the original desegregation plan, is nevertheless part of the official Core Based Statistical Area (CBSA) boundary.⁶⁶

As enrollments around the country grow more diverse, the racial makeup of school systems in metropolitan areas often shifts rapidly, particularly in suburban districts. A district that appears integrated or diverse at one point in time can transition to a resegregating one in a matter of years. A recent study of neighborhoods based on census data from the 50 largest 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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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, changes in immigration and birth rates, and 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.⁶⁹

Stably diverse schools and districts, on the other hand, are linked to a number of positive indicators. Compared to students and staff at schools in racial transition, teachers, administrators and students experience issues of diversity differently in stable environments. In a 2005 survey of over 1,000 educators, teachers working in stable, diverse schools were more likely to think

⁶⁵ The Census Bureau refers to metropolitan areas as the Core Based Statistical Area (CBSA) (from 1993 to present) or the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) (prior to 1993). A CBSA is a collective term for both metropolitan and micropolitan areas. A metropolitan area contains a core urban area of 50,000 or more residents, and a micropolitan area contains an urban core of at least 10,000 (but less than 50,000) residents. Each metropolitan or micropolitan area consists of one or more counties and includes the counties containing the core urban area. It also includes any adjacent counties that have a high degree of social and economic integration (as measured by commuting to work) with the urban core. In addition, CBSAs generally consist of multiple jurisdictions and municipalities including cities and counties. They can, as is the case with the CBSA containing New York City, also cross state lines. This analysis only considers the parts of the CBSA falling within the state under study. See Appendix B for further details.

⁶⁶ The Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD CBSA(MSA) includes only one DE county: New Castle. According to the 2010 Census (retrieved from "American Factfinder" at United States Census Bureau website www.census.gov), as of 01-Apr-2010 this county accounted for 538,479 of the area's 5,965,343 residents.

⁶⁷ Orfield and Luce, 2012.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ Jackson, 2009.

that their faculty peers could work effectively with students from all races and ethnicities.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ It stands to reason, then, that school and housing policies should help foster stable diversity—and prevent resegregation—whenever possible.

The following section explores the enrollment, segregation, and poverty concentration patterns of public school students in Wilmington, Delaware's largest metropolitan area. The degree and type of racial transition occurring in Wilmington's districts is also presented.

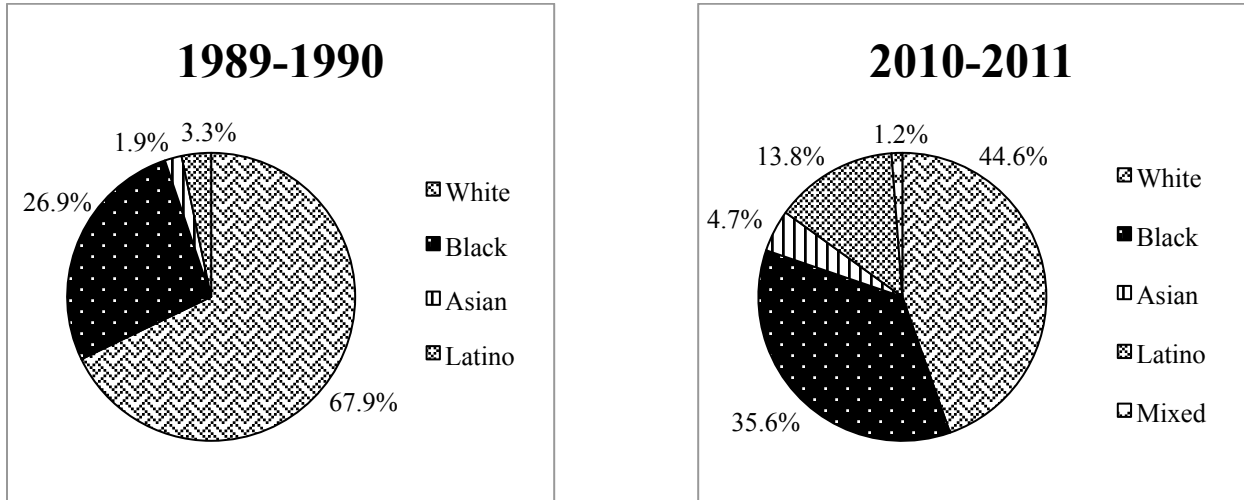
⁷⁰ Siegel-Hawley, G. & Frankenberg, E. (2012). *Spaces of Inclusion: Teachers' Perceptions of School Communities with Differing Student Racial & Socioeconomic Contexts*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Wilmington Metropolitan Area

By 2010-11 the metro Wilmington public school enrollment was multiracial. The proportion of white students attending the public schools plummeted from more than two-thirds of the enrollment in 1989-90 to less than one-half in 2010-11 (Figure 10). During that same period the share of black students rose from about 27% to 36%, increasing by a third. By comparison, the share of Latino enrollment almost quadrupled, growing from roughly 3% to 14% and Asian enrollment increased from about 2% to 5%.

Figure 10 *Wilmington Metropolitan Area Public School Enrollment, 1989-90 and 2010-11*



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)

Over the last two decades in metro Wilmington, public school enrollment increased by more than 50% to 68,559 (Table A 9).⁷² In 2010, just over 1 in 10 students attended a school within the city of Wilmington, down from two decades earlier. Closer examination reveals that the share of suburban school enrollments within the metropolitan area also shrank during that period. A noticeable proportion of metro Wilmington students attended “other” schools. “Other” schools are neither urban nor suburban and are typically located in towns or rural areas contiguous to the suburbs. Enrollments in these types of schools grew more than three-fold and the bulk of Wilmington’s enrollment growth was in the outlying district of Appoquinimink, which was recognized as one of the fastest growing districts in the state.⁷³ In 1989-90 fewer than 7 out of every 100 Wilmington students attended town and rural schools; however, by 2010-11 close to 1 out of every 5 students attended these schools. In 2010-11 the number of students attending “other” schools in the metropolitan area was almost double that of students attending urban schools.

Between 1989-90 and 2010-11, white student enrollment in urban schools—those in the city of Wilmington—fell almost 47 percentage points from 64.5% to 18.6%. Black enrollment increased 35 percentage points from 28.3% to 63.6%. In 1989-90, students in urban schools in the Wilmington metro were predominantly white; however, by 2010-11 the majority of students in these schools was black. In addition, black students were the only group whose share of enrollment in urban schools was larger than their share of enrollment in suburban schools (

⁷² From this point forward, we use “Wilmington” to refer to the Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD metropolitan area. In this report our data includes only the schools and districts in this metropolitan area that are located in the state of Delaware.

⁷³ Retrieved 21-Feb-2014 from the Appoquinimink District website
http://apposchooldistrict.com/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=56063&type=d&pREC_ID=78999&hideMenu=1

Table 4). These changes are likely linked to the termination of the desegregation plan, continued segregation in housing, and the implementation of the Neighborhood Schools Act. Finally, in 2010-11 Latino students represented almost 14% of urban students, growing 219% over 20 years.

In the suburban schools, white students constituted the largest share of the enrollment at 45.1%. The proportion of black students enrolled in suburban schools grew to almost one-third in 2010-11 from just over one-quarter in 1989-90. The share of Latinos grew five-fold since 1989-90 and contributed about 16% to the total suburban enrollment, while Asian enrollment grew to 5%.

Table 4 *Enrollments by Race/Ethnicity in Urban and Suburban Schools in the Wilmington Metro Area*

	Urban Schools				Suburban Schools			
	White	Black	Asian	Latino	White	Black	Asian	Latino
Wilmington Metro								
1989-1990	65.4%	28.3%	2.0%	4.3%	67.4%	27.3%	1.9%	3.2%
1999-2000	46.1%	41.2%	3.0%	9.6%	59.1%	31.7%	3.0%	6.1%
2010-2011	18.6%	63.6%	3.9%	13.7%	45.1%	32.5%	5.0%	15.8%

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. Enrollment data exclude American Indian and mixed race students and thus do not equal exactly 100%.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD) As described earlier on a statewide level, there are four different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students in Wilmington's public schools—multiracial schools, predominantly minority schools, intensely segregated schools, and apartheid schools.

The percentages of multi-racial (schools in which at least one-tenth of the students represents at least three racial groups) and predominantly minority schools in Wilmington have increased over the last two decades (

Table 5). Multi-racial schools increased six-fold from 6.4% of all schools in 1989-1990 to 44.7% in 2010-11. The proportion of predominantly minority schools—those in which 50-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students—increased 11-fold from about 5% to 60% of schools since 1989-1990.

Under the court ordered desegregation plan, in 1989-90 neither intensely segregated schools (those that are 90-100% minority) nor apartheid schools (those where 99-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students) existed in the Wilmington metro. By 2010-11, 15 years after the districts were granted unitary status, the share of intensely segregated schools neared a troubling 15% of schools and apartheid schools accounted for almost 8% of schools.

Table 5 *Number and Percentage of Multi-Racial and Minority Segregated Schools in the Wilmington Metro Area*

	Total Schools	% of Multi-Racial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Wilmington Metro					
1989-1990	78	6.4%	5.1%	NS	NS
1999-2000	86	19.8%	30.2%	4.7%	1.2%
2010-2011	103	44.7%	61.2%	14.6%	7.8%

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

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

In all types of schools, low-income students comprised a larger share of the enrollment in 2010-11 than in 1999-2000 (Table 6). At 55.2%, the share of low-income students in multi-racial schools was lower than in any of the minority segregated schools. More than eight out of every ten students attending either intensely segregated or apartheid schools were low-income.

Table 6 *Percentage of Students Who Are Low-Income in Multi-Racial and Minority Segregated Schools in the Wilmington Metro Area*

	% Low-Income Students	% Low-Income in Multi-Racial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Wilmington Metro					
1999-2000	32.3%	38.5%	48.5%	74.1%	82.1%
2010-2011	47.3%	55.2%	62.3%	82.7%	87.7%

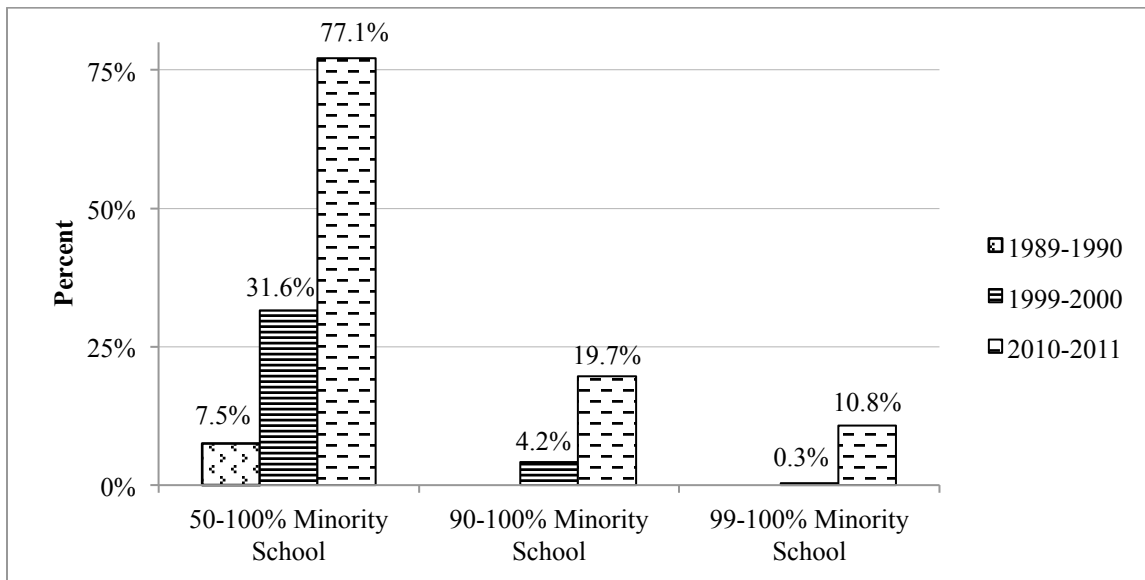
Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multi-racial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment respectively.

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

In 1989-90, while the desegregation plan was in effect, no black students attended an intensely segregated or apartheid school and only 7.5% of black students attended a predominantly minority school. Only fifteen years later—after the districts had been granted unitary status and as the share of the white enrollment declined—the share of black students attending intensely segregated schools reached almost 20%. Furthermore, 11% of black students in the Wilmington metro attended apartheid schools, more than one and a half times the share of black students attending such schools statewide. Finally, in 2010-11 more than three-quarters of black students in Wilmington attended a predominantly minority school—a ten-fold increase from two decades earlier when the desegregation plan was in effect (

Figure 11).

Figure 11 *Percentage of Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools in the Wilmington Metro Area*

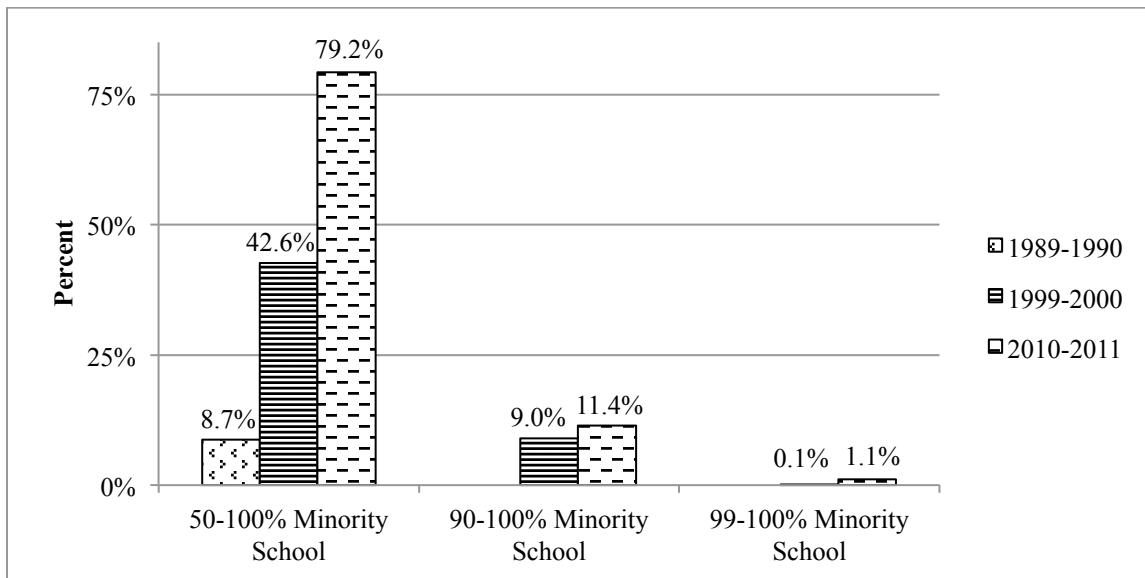


Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

During the same time period, the proportions of Wilmington's Latino students enrolled in predominantly minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools also grew (

Figure 12). Almost eight in ten Latino students, a larger proportion than black students, attended predominantly minority schools in 2010-11. However, the share of black students enrolled in intensely segregated (20%) schools was nearly double that of Latinos (11%). In addition, more than one in ten black students, as compared to one in 100 Latino students, attended apartheid schools in the Wilmington metro.

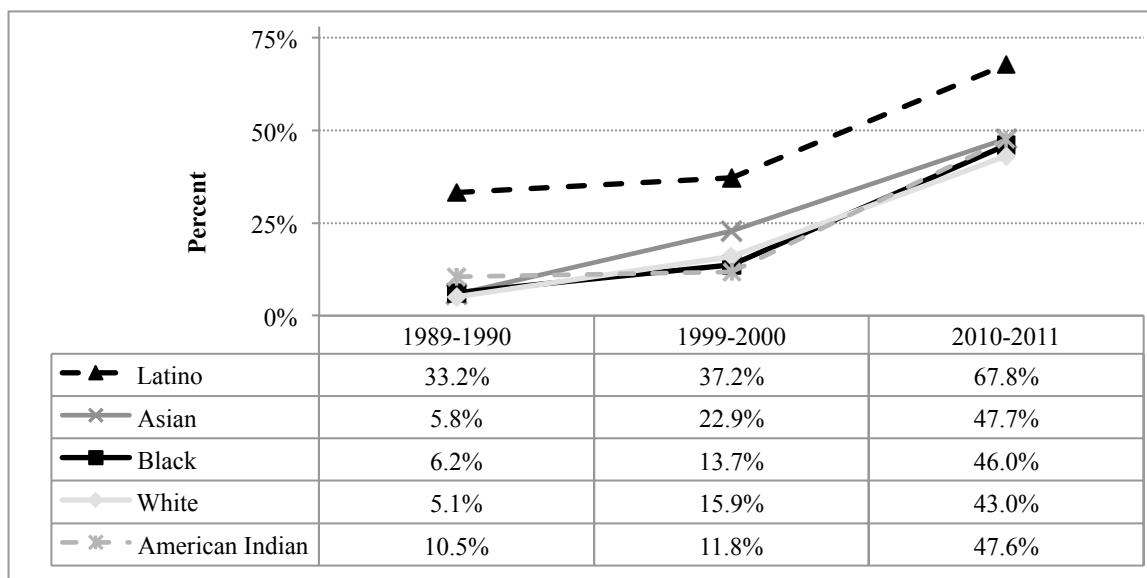
Figure 12 *Percentage of Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools in the Wilmington Metro Area*



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

Over the last two decades, increasing numbers of students of all races attended multi-racial schools in Wilmington (Figure 13). Latino students were the most likely to attend multi-racial schools. More than two-thirds of Latinos, as compared to less than one-half of Asian, white, and black students, were enrolled in these schools.

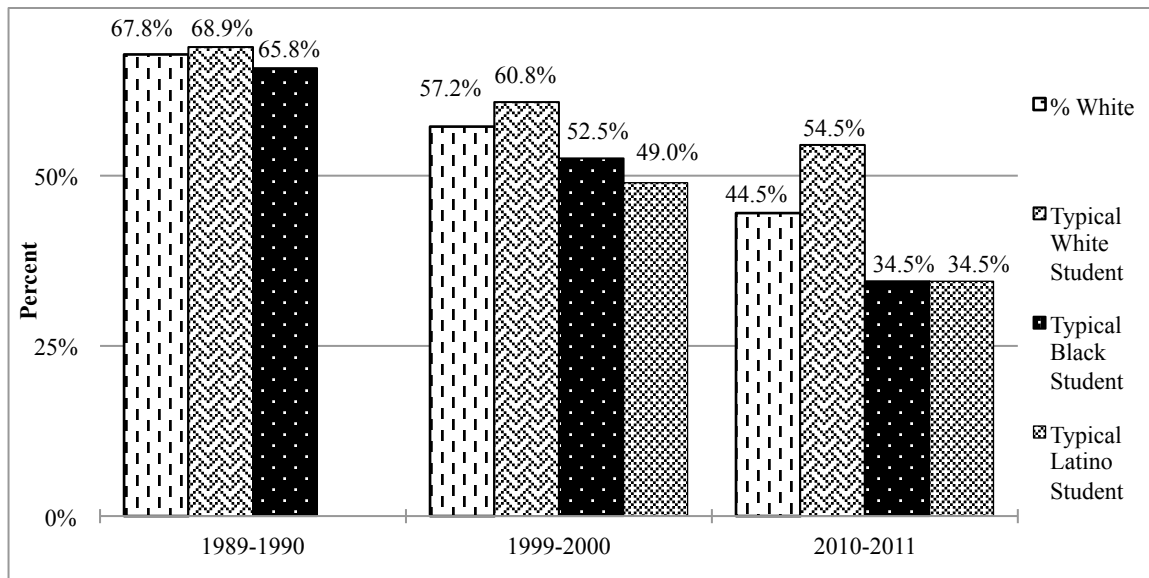
Figure 13 *Percentage of Racial Group in Multi-Racial Schools in the Wilmington Metropolitan Area*



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

Although the percentage of white students in Wilmington's public schools declined from 67.8% in 1989-90 to 44.5% in 2010-11, white students continued to attend schools where white peers constituted a majority (Figure 14). At the same time, exposure to white students decreased for students of all races. In 1989-90, more than 95% of minority enrollment was comprised of black students and a typical black student attended a school where the percentage of white students (65.8%) was a mere two percentage points below the share of white students enrolled in metro schools. However, by 2010-11 there was a 20-point spread between the percentage of white students attending the school of a typical white student (54.5%) and the percent of white students attending a school of a typical black (34.5%) or Latino (34.5%) student. The typical black and Latino student attended a school where the percentage of white students was 10 points *below* the percent of white students enrolled in the metro schools while the typical white student attended a school where the percent of white students was 10 points *above* the percent of white students enrolled in the metro schools. In 2010-11 the typical black and Latino student attended a school where slightly more than one-third (34.5%) of their classmates were white.

Figure 14 *Percentage of White Students in School Attended by the Typical Student of Each Race (Exposure Rates) in the Wilmington Metro Area*

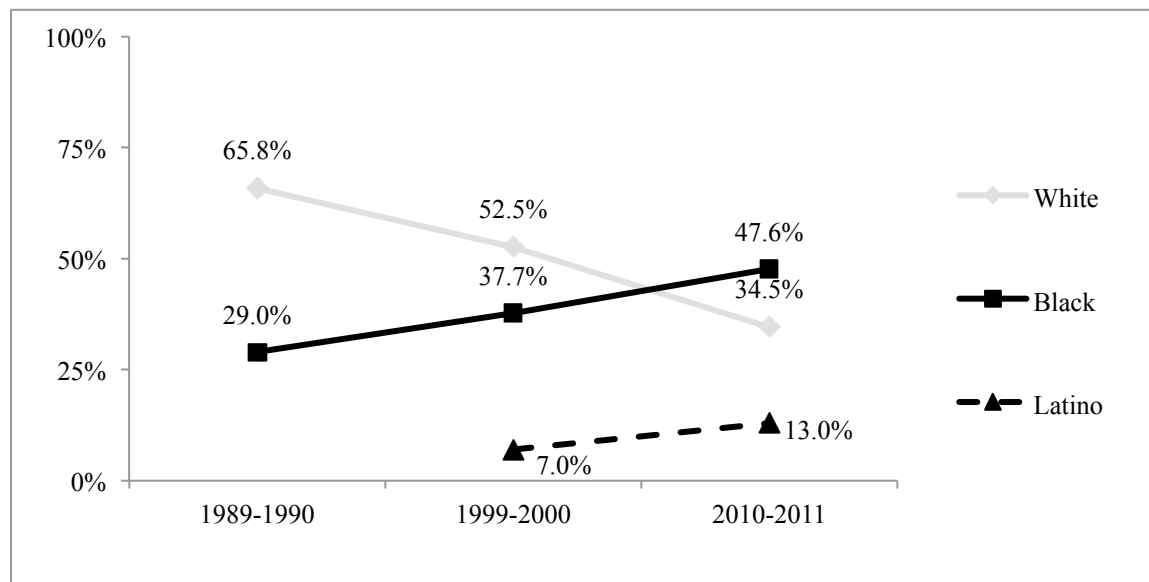


Note: Less than 5% proportional enrollment for Latino students in 1989-1990 and 1999-2000 so data is excluded.

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

The proportion of black enrollment in the Wilmington metro has grown over the last three decades to 35.6% (Figure 10); moreover, in schools attended by a typical black student the racial composition has shifted from majority white to almost majority black. In 1989-90, the metro schools were largely comprised of black and white students. The typical black student in the metro attended a school where almost two-thirds of the students were white (65.8%). By 2010-11 a multiracial enrollment emerged in conjunction with significant growth in the numbers of non-white students, and the typical black student had experienced a 31-percentage point drop in the share of white students in their school. In that year, the typical black student attended a school where close to half of students were black, just over one-third of the students were white, and the share of Latino students grew almost two-fold to 13% (Figure 15). In other words, a decade and a half after unitary status, the typical black student in Wilmington attended a school in which black students were overrepresented by 12 percentage points, and whites were underrepresented by roughly 10 percentage points.

Figure 15 *Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student in the Wilmington Metro Area*



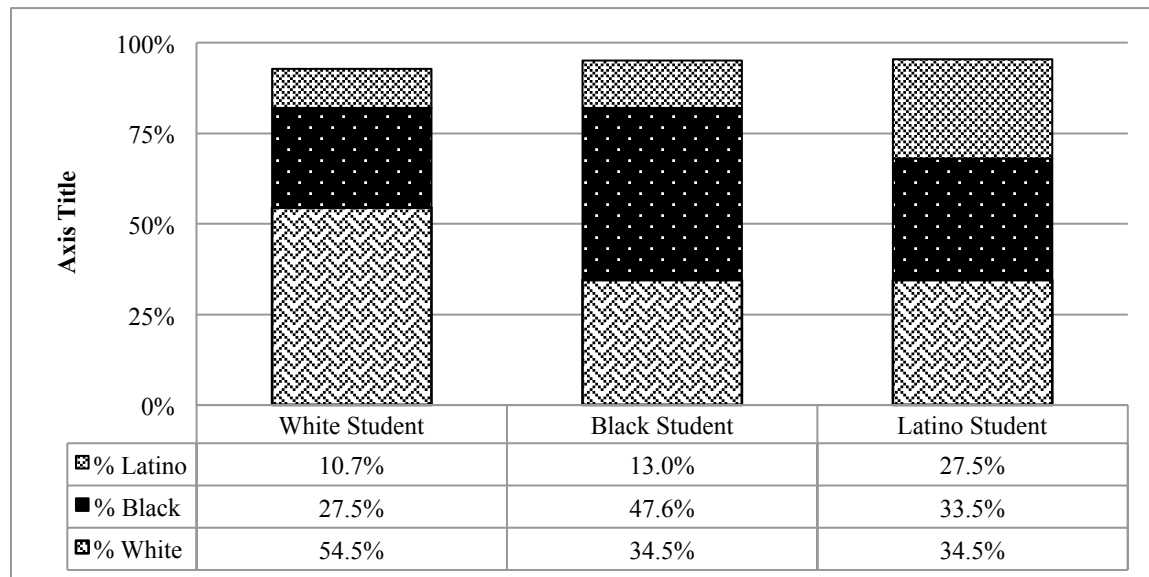
Note: Less than 5% proportional enrollment for Latino in 1989-1990 and Asian students in 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 so data are excluded.

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

The racial composition of schools across metro Wilmington was very different for the typical white, black and Latino student. The typical white student attended a predominantly white school that had small shares of black and Latino students. The typical black student attended a predominantly black school where about 35% of the students were white and 13% of the students were Latino. The typical Latino student attended a school where white and black students each accounted for one-third of the enrollment. The share of Latino students in these schools reached 28%, which was double their share of the total enrollment of the metropolitan area (

Figure 16).

Figure 16 *Composition of School Attended by Typical Student in Wilmington Metro Area, by Race, 2010-11*



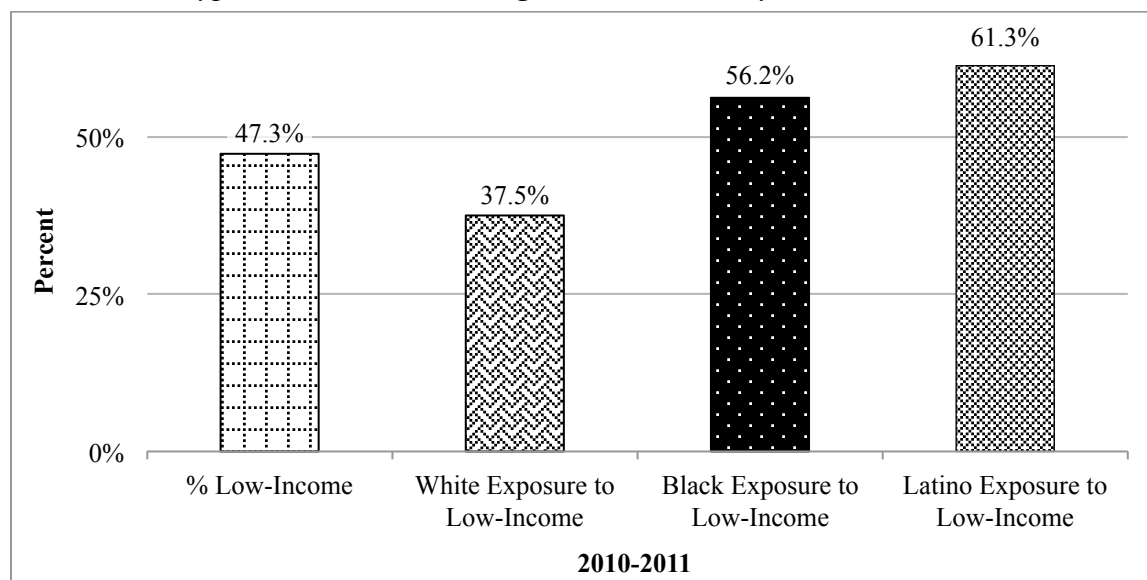
Note: Composition figures exclude American Indian, Asian, and mixed race students and thus, do not equal exactly 100%. Asian students make up less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

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

An examination of Wilmington metro area student exposure rates by race to low-income students revealed substantial disparities. Close to one-half (47.6%) of Wilmington students were low-income (

Figure 17). If these students were distributed evenly across schools we would expect students to attend schools where approximately 50% of students were low-income. In fact, the typical white student attended a school that enrolled 37.5% low-income students, the typical black student attended a school that enrolled 56.2% low-income students, and the typical Latino student attended a school with 61.3% low-income students. These data demonstrate the disproportionate exposure to low income students by race.

Figure 17 *Percentage of Racial Group and Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students for Typical Student in Wilmington Metro Area, by Race, 2010-11*



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

The Wilmington metro reported extremely low levels of unevenness in 1989, with values increasing between three and four times since then (Table 7). Two decades ago, schools were 4% less diverse than the overall metro; today, they are about 17% less diverse. In earlier years, more than 50% of the very low levels of segregation occurred within the Wilmington/New Castle districts (e.g., among schools within one of the pie-shaped districts rather than among the four districts). More recently, however, segregation levels have been roughly the same both within (53%) and between (47%) districts. This is a dramatic change, which likely reflects the impact of the discontinuation of the desegregation plan, the introduction of the neighborhood assignment plans, and the growing diversity of metro area districts.

Table 7 *Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students Across All Wilmington Metro Area Public Schools and Within and Between School Districts*

	H	HW	HB
Wilmington Metro			
1989-1990	.04	.03	.02
1999-2000	.08	.05	.03
2010-2011	.17	.09	.08

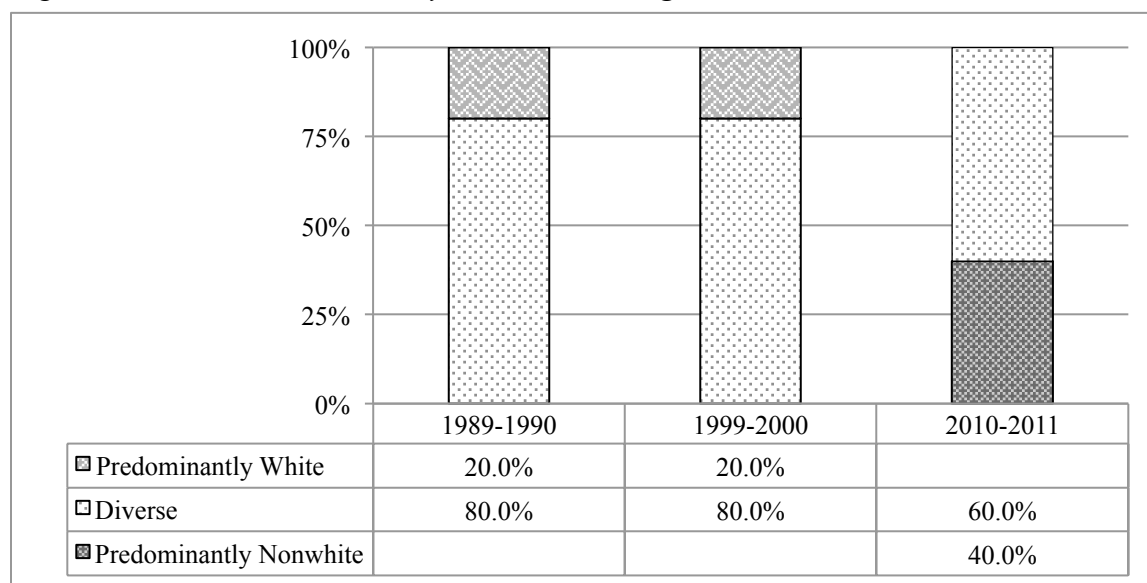
Note: H = Multi-Group Entropy Index or Theil's H. HW = the degree of un/evenness (H) that is within (W) districts. HB = the degree of un/evenness (H) that is between (B) districts.

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

Wilmington Area School Districts

Between 1989 and 1999, the racial enrollment patterns in the Wilmington metro districts remained relatively stable: 80% of the districts were diverse and 20% were predominantly white. By 2010 the overall share of diverse school districts in the Wilmington metro shrunk by one-quarter and none of the districts was predominantly white. The overall share of diverse school districts in the Wilmington metro fell to 60% and the remaining 40% of districts were predominantly non-white (Figure 18). In one decade, school systems in the Wilmington area shifted from more than three-quarters of districts identifying as diverse and the remaining being characterized as predominantly white to an almost even split between diverse and predominantly non-white districts.

Figure 18 *Racial Transition by District, Wilmington, DE, 1989-2010*



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly non-white districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. *N*=5 districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

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

Only one district, Appoquinimink, was predominantly white in both 1989 and 1999. In 2010 that district reported a diverse enrollment; however, the share of white students enrolled in Appoquinimink exceeded the proportion of white students in the metro area by close to 20% (Table 8). During that same timeframe Brandywine and Red Clay, the two districts that maintained diverse enrollments, each saw their proportions of white students slip by nearly 20 percentage points. In addition Christina and Colonial, the two districts whose enrollments transitioned from diverse to predominantly non-white each saw the share of white students drop by more than 30 percentage-points falling from more than one-half to approximately one-third of total enrollments.

The initial plans submitted by the Red Clay and Christina districts were rejected because every student was not assigned to the school closest to her/his home. Brandywine was the sole district that asked the state Board of Education to reject their Neighborhood Schools Act plan in order to delay the implementation of the new student assignment procedure claiming it would create three high poverty schools and “cause ‘substantial hardship’ to the district, its schools and families.”⁷⁴

Table 8 *White Proportion and Classification in the Metro Area and Districts, Wilmington, DE, 1989-2010*

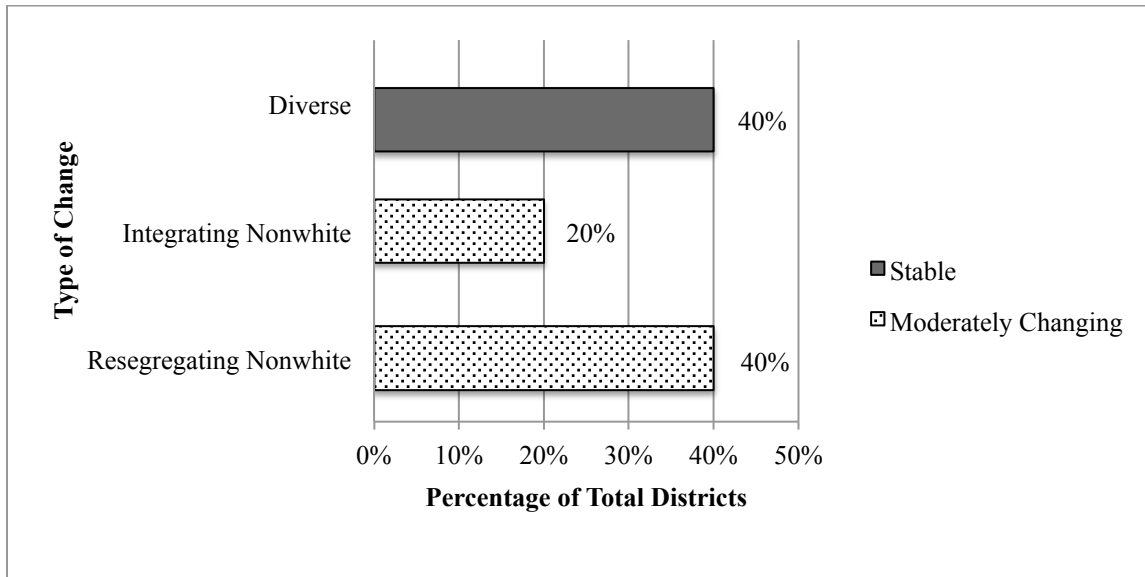
	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Wilmington, DE Metro	67.8%	57.2%	44.5%	D	D	D
Appoquinimink	85.3%	86.0%	64.1%	PW	PW	D
Brandywine	69.1%	57.7%	51.1%	D	D	D
Red Clay	62.9%	53.8%	46.2%	D	D	D
Christina	68.6%	55.8%	35.5%	D	D	PNW
Colonial	67.9%	50.3%	33.6%	D	D	PNW

Note: D=Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW=Predominantly non-white area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW=Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period. Districts are those open, and with enrollments with at least 100 students, for each time period.

⁷⁴ Delaforum news post r.e. a 2001 special session of the Brandywine School Board retrieved on 09-Oct-2013 from: [http://www.delaforum.com/2001-02/4Q/NEWS%20STORIES/Bdwy%20neighborhood%20schools%20\(11-6\).htm](http://www.delaforum.com/2001-02/4Q/NEWS%20STORIES/Bdwy%20neighborhood%20schools%20(11-6).htm)

Forty percent of Wilmington's districts were classified as stably diverse (Figure 19). The remaining 60% were moderately changing: 40% were resegregating non-white—classified as diverse in the earlier time period and classified as predominantly non-white in the later period—and 20% were integrating non-white—that is these districts were classified as predominantly white in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period.

Figure 19 Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Wilmington, DE, 1999 to 2010

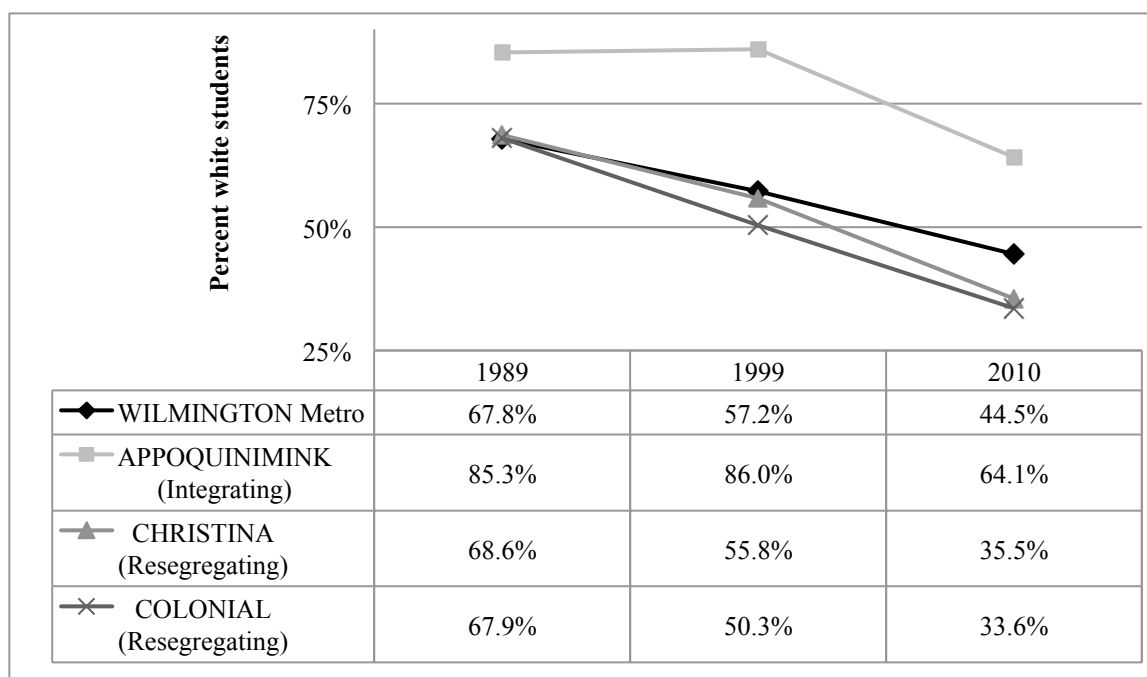


Note: N=5 districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as 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.

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

Three districts, as well as the Wilmington metro area as a whole, have experienced moderate racial transition since 1989 (Figure 20). The Appoquinimink district is integrating. The white population in this rapidly-growing district, which is located south of the original four pie-shaped districts that were established as a result of the court's desegregation mandate, declined from 85% in 1989 to about 64% in 2010. Even so, its share of white students remains 20 percentage points higher than the metro area and about 30 percentage points higher than the two districts that are resegregating. Those two districts—Christina and Colonial—have quickly transitioned from being racially diverse to predominantly nonwhite. The proportions of white students in both districts fell from more than two-thirds of their enrollments in 1989 to approximately one-third in 2010. Once a district begins the process of resegregation, it can be very difficult to reverse the trend.

Figure 20 *Rapid or Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Wilmington Metro Area 1989-2010*



Note: Rapidly changing districts (dashed line) are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing (solid line) districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the prior year and classified as the other predominantly type in the latter year. Integrating are districts classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the prior year and diverse in the latter year. Segregating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both periods but experienced a white % change greater than 2 times the metro white % change. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period.

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

Discussion

Several major findings emerged from this analysis of state, metro and district trends in Delaware. First, in the past two decades, schools across Delaware shifted from serving student bodies that were primarily black and white to serving multiracial student populations. The very swift growth in the Latino population at both the state and metro level helped fuel dramatic shifts in enrollments. Between 1989 and 2010, the share of white students in the state shrank almost 20 percentage points to 50% (even though the actual number of whites only decreased from 63,935 to 59,447); the share of black students grew six percentage points to 32%; and the proportion of Latinos students more than tripled, reaching about 13%. In the Wilmington metro area, school enrollments were multiracial and predominantly minority. Whites comprised only 45% of the total number of students while blacks accounted for 36% and Latinos contributed 14%.

In conjunction with these trends, enrollment at the state and metro levels grew significantly. Student enrollment in Delaware increased by 30%—three times faster than other Border States and two times faster than the nation. This growth is likely related to many factors, among them a shift of almost 5% of the state's students from private schools to public schools⁷⁵, the strength of Delaware's economy, and its proximity to major cities including Philadelphia and Baltimore. Wilmington is the financial center for the US credit card industry⁷⁶ and a sanctuary for corporate charters because of regulations enacted in the 1980s. Major insurance and retail banking operations are also located in the state. As part of the financial services industry—the fastest growing segment in the US economy—these businesses prospered, recruited new workers, and fueled Delaware's population growth.

Second, a stark reversal of earlier desegregation achievements occurred in the aftermath of unitary status. Within a decade, the number and percentage of intensely segregated and apartheid schools grew exponentially. In 1989, after the implementation of court-ordered desegregation, there were no intensely segregated or apartheid schools in Delaware. By 2010, however, more than 8% of Delaware schools were intensely segregated and more than 4% were apartheid settings. Fifteen years after unitary status was granted, 12.5% of black students and 7.2% of Latino students in the state attended intensely segregated schools. In the Wilmington metro more than one in ten black students—double the share in the state—attended an apartheid school. Furthermore, the typical black and Latino student attended a school where the percent of white students was 10 points *below* the percent of white students enrolled in the metro schools, while the typical white student attended a school where the percent of white students was 10 points *above* the percent of white students enrolled in the metro schools. Delaware's contemporary segregation can be linked to the suspension of the desegregation plan and school zoning decisions that isolate nonwhite students in diversifying districts.

Third, high proportions of black—and, increasingly, Latino—students in Delaware attended schools that were segregated by both race and poverty. Overlapping concentrations of poverty in schools of intense racial isolation are primarily responsible for creating conditions of

⁷⁵ Private school enrollment fell from its all-time high of 20% in 1980 to 18% in the 1990s and below 15% in 2010. Retrieved from www.doe.K12.de.us/reports_data/enrollment/files/2012REPORT.pdf

⁷⁶ Bank of America, Chase Card Services, and Capital One 360 are headquartered in Wilmington

educational inequality. In Delaware, roughly 83% of students attending intensely segregated schools were low-income and 88% of students in apartheid schools were low income.

Finally, district-level data indicate a very high level of racial transition over the past decade. As districts in the Wilmington metro become more racially diverse, a key challenge will be to promote *stable* diversity. Between 1999 and 2010 only 40% of Wilmington districts were stably diverse. The remaining 60% were moderately changing: 40% were resegregating nonwhite and 20% were integrating nonwhite. Once districts undergo the transformation from diverse to predominantly nonwhite, it is very difficult to reverse. School systems should advertise diversity as an important benefit in a changing society and work hard to ensure that leaders and teachers are harnessing the benefits of diversity, rather than replicating external racial hierarchies inside of schools.

The following, final section of the report provides a number of policy recommendations that flow from these findings.

Recommendations⁷⁷

State Level

Many steps can be taken at the state level to create and maintain integrated schools. Ohio recently developed a policy that could provide direction for Delaware. It applies to both regular public schools and charter schools and provides guidance to school districts concerning the development of student assignment plans that foster diverse schools and reduce concentrated poverty. Ohio's policy encourages inter-district transfer programs and regional magnet schools, 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, along with inter-district transfers, is another example of state policy that could steer Delaware and other states.

Given the growing levels of within-district segregation in Delaware's metros, fair housing agencies and state and local 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. Housing violations were fundamental to the original desegregation order and, in the future, there must be more attention to the housing issues which underlie school segregation.

Though charter schools remain limited in Delaware, 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. They should investigate charter schools that are virtually all white in diverse areas or schools that provide no free lunch program, making it impossible to serve students who need these subsidies in order to eat and therefore excluding a large share of nonwhite students.

Local Level

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

⁷⁷ This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

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. Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions and advocate for low-income housing to be set aside in new communities that are attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County, Maryland, which 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 schools far outperform similar students in public housing who attend the district's least advantaged schools.⁷⁸ 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.

Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations in Delaware should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn. Communities need to provide consistent and vocal support for promoting school diversity and recognize the power of local school boards to either advocate for integration or work against it. Efforts should be made to foster the development of suburban coalitions to influence state-level policy-making around issues of school diversity and equity.

School district policy-makers also have control over student assignment policies and thus can directly influence the levels of diversity within each school. Districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools. Magnet schools and transfer programs within district borders can also be used to promote more racially integrated schools.

The enforcement of laws guiding school segregation is essential. Many communities have failed to comply with long-standing desegregation plans and have not been released by the federal courts. Such noncompliance and/or more contemporary violations are grounds for a new or revised desegregation order. Many suburban districts never had a desegregation order because they were virtually all white during the civil rights era. However, many of them are now diverse and may be engaged in classic abuses of racial gerrymandering of attendance boundaries, school site selection that intensifies segregation and choice plans, or operating choice plans with methods and policies that undermine integration and foster segregation. Where such violations exist, local organizations and parents should ask the school board to address and correct them. If there is no positive response they should register complaints with the U.S. Department of Justice or the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Education.

Educational Organizations and Universities

Professional associations, teachers' organizations, and colleges of education need to make educators and communities fully aware of the nature and costs of existing segregation.

⁷⁸ Schwartz, H. (2010). *Housing policy is school policy: Economically integrative housing promotes academic success in Montgomery County, Maryland*. New York, NY: The Century Foundation.

Foundations should fund research dedicated to exploring the continued harms of segregation and the benefits of integration. Researchers and advocates need to analyze and publicize the racial patterns and practices of public charter schools. Nonprofits and foundations funding charter schools should not incentivize the development of racially and economically isolated programs but instead they should support civil rights and academic institutions working on these issues.

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

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

The Courts

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

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.

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

Building on the Obama administration's grant program for Technical Assistance for Student Assignment Plans, a renewed program of voluntary assistance for integration should be enacted. This program should add a focus on diversifying suburbs and gentrifying urban neighborhoods and 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.

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.

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.

Closing Thoughts

Delaware played a prominent role in school desegregation in the US. Along with Kansas, Washington DC, South Carolina, and Virginia, it supplied one of the cases that were joined to become the landmark Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board*. However, as one of the 17 states where segregation was law, Delaware impeded school desegregation by implementing plans that were ineffective by design. After constructing new district boundaries that intentionally isolated the City of Wilmington and its predominantly minority student body, the state was placed under the first metropolitan multi-district desegregation order. The order required the consolidation of urban and suburban districts and the initiation of a desegregation plan that remained in place for nearly two decades. The plan's student assignment practices established the state, as well as the Wilmington metro area, as role models of desegregation. The emergence of both intensely segregated and apartheid schools was held at bay until after unitary status was granted and the Neighborhood Schools Act (2000) was implemented.

Enrollments in state and metro schools became multiracial and predominantly minority while growing 30% in the two decades between 1989-90 and 2010-11. The growth was three times more than the average in the states and greater than one and one-third times more than the nation as a whole. Increased diversity was more pronounced within the districts in Wilmington where white students now comprise just 45% of the population.

As a result of changing demographics and the dismantling of the desegregation plan, segregation increased dramatically while concentrations of poverty and racial segregation grew concurrently. These trends were more acute in the Wilmington metro than in the state. While under the court mandated desegregation plan, only 5% of the schools in the Wilmington metro were predominantly minority and no schools were intensely segregated or apartheid. In 2010-11, over 61% of metro schools were predominantly minority, 15% were intensely segregated, and 8% were apartheid. In addition, in 2010-11 minority students were under-exposed to white students at both the state and local levels. For example, in the Wilmington metro there was a 20-point difference between the exposure of the typical white student to other whites (55%) and the typical black or Latino student's exposure to whites (35%). Moreover, at both the state and metro levels, black and Latino students were exposed to low-income students at higher rates than white students.

It is now almost two decades since the courts dissolved the desegregation plan and the state legislature forced school districts to adopt neighborhood schools in what was seen as a promising way to stop "white flight." Neighborhood schools are in place but massive resegregation and "white flight" has continued. Entire large school districts have become predominantly minority. These trends suggest that a central idea that led to abandonment of what had been a very notable regional effort was incorrect and the real causes of the demographic changes were not addressed and continue to operate.

The controversies of the last generation are now far in the past. It is time to face the new reality and to ask whether or not there is a better answer than to simply passively watch the spread of school resegregation into larger and larger parts of the region. There was nothing stable about neighborhood schools as the city of Wilmington went through racial transition a half century ago. If suburban communities want a different outcome they need to adopt different policies for their schools and their local governments. With the nation undergoing a vast change

of populations, flight is not a real possibility. The only choices are stable integration or a churning of communities and ongoing instability. There are good, voluntary, approaches that could help tip the balance toward a future of lasting, positive integrated communities and schools. It is time for leaders to take a very close look at the reality shown in this report. This is not a theory, this is the data from your own school systems and it is about what has already happened. Children already born will push this change further, as is happening across the U.S. Delaware is small, economically healthy, and has sufficient experience with diversity to make better choices about its future.

Appendix A: State, Metropolitan, and District Tables

State

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
Delaware					
1989-1990	69.3%	70.5%	66.6%	68.6%	63.7%
1999-2000	61.4%	64.8%	56.2%	60.2%	52.9%
2010-2011	49.7%	57.5%	40.7%	54.0%	40.3%
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%

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 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
Delaware					
1989-1990	26.4%	25.4%	29.0%	25.7%	27.3%
1999-2000	30.6%	28.0%	35.4%	30.3%	33.2%
2010-2011	32.3%	26.4%	42.8%	27.5%	30.5%
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%

Note: * Less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment. AI = American Indian

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
Delaware					
1989-1990	1.6%	1.6%	1.5%	2.6%	1.8%
1999-2000	2.3%	2.2%	2.2%	3.9%	2.2%
2010-2011	3.6%	3.9%	3.0%	7.3%	2.7%
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%

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 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
Delaware					
1989-1990	2.6%	2.4%	2.7%	3.0%	7.2%
1999-2000	5.5%	4.8%	6.0%	5.4%	11.5%
2010-2011	12.5%	10.2%	11.9%	9.3%	24.6%
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%

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 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
Delaware			
1989-1990	70.9%	65.5%	-5.4%
1999-2000	63.6%	57.9%	-5.7%
2010-2011	53.3%	43.5%	-9.8%
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%

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 6 *Student 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
Delaware					
1999-2000	33.5%	31.5%	36.4%	29.8%	40.8%
2010-2011	48.6%	42.4%	54.9%	38.0%	60.3%
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%

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 7 *Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students across all Public Schools and Within and Between School Districts*

	H	HW	HB
Delaware			
1989-1990	.03	.02	.02
1999-2000	.08	.04	.04
2010-2011	.14	.06	.08
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 *Dissimilarity Index, Delaware*

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino
Delaware						
1989-1990	.16	.30	.38	.33	.35	.41
1999-2000	.25	.34	.37	.32	.31	.42
2010-2011	.35	.33	.43	.39	.38	.50
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

Wilmington Metropolitan Area

Table A 9 *Enrollment in Urban, Suburban and Other Schools, Wilmington Metropolitan Area*

	Total Enrollment	Urban Schools	Suburban Schools	Other Schools
Wilmington, DE				
1989-1990	45,440	6,716	35,637	3,087
1999-2000	56,869	7,124	43,678	6,067
2010-2011	68,559	7,858	48,236	12,465

Notes: Other schools include town and rural schools. Data comprises only schools that were open in all three time periods and applies 1999 boundaries 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 *Dissimilarity Index, Wilmington DE*

	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
Wilmington, DE					
1999-2000	32.3%	29.3%	36.0%	*	41.2%
2010-2011	47.3%	37.5%	56.2%	*	61.3%

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

Wilmington Area School Districts

Table A 11 *Racial Transition by District, Wilmington, DE, 1989-1999*

1989 Classification	1999 Classification			Total
	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	
Predominantly Nonwhite	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	(0%)	4(100%)	(0%)	4(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	0(0%)	1(100%)	1(100%)
Total	0(0%)	4(80%)	1(20%)	5(100%)

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

Table A 12 *Racial Transition by District, Wilmington, DE, 1999-2010*

1999 Classification	2010 Classification			Total
	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	
Predominantly Nonwhite	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	2(50%)	2(50%)	(0%)	4(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	1(100%)	(0%)	1(100%)
Total	2(40%)	3(60%)	0(0%)	5(100%)

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

Table A 13 *Racial Transition by District, Wilmington, DE, 1989-2010*

1989 Classification	2010 Classification			Total
	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	
Predominantly Nonwhite	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	2(50%)	2(50%)	(0%)	4(100%)
Predominantly white	(0%)	1(100%)	(0%)	1(100%)
Total	2(40%)	3(60%)	0(0%)	5(100%)

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

Table A 14 *Public School Enrollment in 1989-1990*

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	White	Black	Percentage		AI	Mixed
					Asian	Latino		
Wilmington, DE								
Christina School District	Suburban	15,826	69.0%	27.0%	2.3%	3.0%		
Red Clay Consolidated School District	Suburban	13,948	63.0%	27.0%	2.0%	7.0%		
Brandywine School District	Suburban	10,841	69.0%	28.0%	2.0%	1.0%		
Colonial School District	Suburban	9,264	68.0%	30.0%	1.0%	2.0%		
Appoquinimink School District		2,350	85.0%	14.0%	0.0%	1.0%		

Note: AI=American Indian. Blank urbanicity represents rural, missing, or other.

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

Table A 15 *Public School Enrollment in 1999-2000*

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	White	Black	Percentage		AI	Mixed
					Asian	Latino		
Wilmington, DE								
Christina School District	Suburban	19,911	55.8%	34.4%	3.2%	6.4%		
Red Clay Consolidated School District	Suburban	14,722	53.8%	30.2%	3.5%	12.4%		
Brandywine School District	Suburban	10,975	57.7%	37.2%	2.8%	2.2%		
Colonial School District	Suburban	10,345	50.3%	41.3%	1.9%	6.3%		
Appoquinimink School District		4,946	86.0%	11.4%	0.9%	1.7%		

Note: AI=American Indian. Blank urbanicity represents rural, missing, or other.

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

Table A 16 *Public School Enrollment in 2010-2011*

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	White	Black	Percentage			
					Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Wilmington, DE								
Christina School District	Suburban	16,943	35.5%	41.2%	4.5%	16.8%	0.3%	1.7%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	Suburban	14,484	46.2%	23.8%	4.9%	24.4%	0.2%	0.6%
Brandywine School District	Suburban	10,525	51.1%	38.1%	5.1%	4.5%	0.2%	1.0%
Colonial School District	Suburban	9,769	33.6%	44.0%	3.1%	18.1%	0.3%	1.0%
Appoquinimink School District		9,319	64.1%	24.4%	4.2%	5.1%	0.4%	1.7%

Note: AI=American Indian. Blank urbanicity represents rural, missing, or other.

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

Table A 17 *Number and Percentage of Multi-Racial and Minority Schools in 1989-1990*

	Total Schools	% Multi-Racial Schools	% 50-100% Minority Schools	% 90-100% Minority Schools	% 99-100% Minority Schools
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	22		4.50%		
Red Clay Consolidated School District	20	25.0%	15.0%		
Brandywine School District	17				
Colonial School District	14				
Appoquinimink School District	5				

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

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

Table A 18 *Number and Percentage of Multi-Racial and Minority Schools in 1999-2000*

	Total Schools	% Multi-Racial Schools	% 50-100% Minority Schools	% 90-100% Minority Schools	% 99-100% Minority Schools
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	24	12.5%	29.2%		
Red Clay Consolidated School District	22	50.0%	36.4%	13.6%	
Brandywine School District	17		23.5%		
Colonial School District	14	7.1%	35.7%		
Appoquinimink School District	6				

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

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

Table A 19 *Number and Percentage of Multi-Racial and Minority Schools in 2010-2011*

	Total Schools	% Multi-Racial Schools	% 50-100% Minority Schools	% 90-100% Minority Schools	% 99-100% Minority Schools
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	26	73.1%	84.6%	19.2%	3.8%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	22	59.1%	54.5%	13.6%	4.5%
Brandywine School District	15	13.3%	53.3%		
Colonial School District	12	75.0%	100.0%		
Appoquinimink School District	14	7.1%			

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

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

Table A 20 *Percentage of Students who are Low-Income in Multi-Racial and Minority Schools in 1989-1990*

	% Low-Income in Multi-Racial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Wilmington, DE				
Christina School District		38.0%		
Red Clay Consolidated School District	33.0%	23.6%		
Brandywine School District				
Colonial School District				
Appoquinimink School District				

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

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

Table A 21 *Percentage of Students who are Low-Income in Multi-Racial and Minority Schools in 1999-2000*

	% Low-Income in Multi-Racial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Wilmington, DE				
Christina School District	41.5%	47.8%		
Red Clay Consolidated School District	40.3%	57.2%	73.6%	
Brandywine School District		39.7%		
Colonial School District	44.2%	45.7%		
Appoquinimink School District				

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

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

Table A 22 *Percentage of Students who are Low-Income in Multi-Racial and Minority Schools in 2010-2011*

	% Low-Income in Multi-Racial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Wilmington, DE				
Christina School District	56.8%	62.1%	93.6%	99.1%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	56.3%	75.9%	87.0%	88.9%
Brandywine School District	45.5%	50.5%		
Colonial School District	66.9%	59.5%		
Appoquinimink School District	10.3%			

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

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

Table A 23 *Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Schools in 1989-1990*

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% Of Latinos	% Of Black	% Of Latinos	% Of Blacks	% Of Latinos	% Of Blacks
Wilmington, DE						
Christina School District	4.3%	4.2%				
Red Clay Consolidated School District	12.8%	23.1%				
Brandywine School District						
Colonial School District						
Appoquinimink School District						

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 24 *Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Schools in 1999-2000*

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% Of Latinos	% Of Black	% Of Latinos	% Of Blacks	% Of Latinos	% Of Blacks
Wilmington, DE						
Christina School District	37.5%	30.3%				
Red Clay Consolidated School District	50.3%	37.3%	20.1%	17.8%		
Brandywine School District	36.0%	33.4%				
Colonial School District	37.5%	29.2%				
Appoquinimink School District						

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 25 *Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Schools in 2010-2011*

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% Of Latinos	% Of Black	% Of Latinos	% Of Blacks	% Of Latinos	% Of Blacks
Wilmington, DE						
Christina School District	91.0%	94.8%	15.8%	21.4%	0.9%	4.2%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	74.1%	66.8%	13.4%	23.4%	0.2%	9.3%
Brandywine School District	65.4%	65.6%				
Colonial School District	100.0%	100.0%				
Appoquinimink School District						

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 26 *Percentage of Racial Group in Multi-Racial Schools in 1989-1990*

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District					
Red Clay Consolidated School District	20.6%	22.9%	16.7%	55.5%	40.0%
Brandywine School District					
Colonial School District					
Appoquinimink School District					

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

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

Table A 27 *Percentage of Racial Group in Multi-Racial Schools in 1999-2000*

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	7.9%	7.3%	13.4%	23.3%	4.0%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	51.6%	44.3%	45.3%	63.1%	46.2%
Brandywine School District					
Colonial School District	3.2%	3.4%	1.6%	7.5%	0.0%
Appoquinimink School District					

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

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

Table A 28 *Percentage of Racial Group in Multi-Racial Schools in 2010-2011*

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	89.1%	73.0%	91.4%	80.9%	88.2%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	55.2%	68.5%	45.6%	68.8%	56.5%
Brandywine School District	9.1%	7.1%	13.9%	15.7%	4.0%
Colonial School District	62.1%	66.6%	49.0%	83.8%	66.7%
Appoquinimink School District	7.4%	5.3%	23.9%	3.8%	11.4%

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

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

Table A 29 *Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools in 1989-1990*

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	68.6%	68.9%	68.0%		
Red Clay Consolidated School District	62.9%	64.7%	59.6%		58.1%
Brandywine School District	69.1%	69.8%	67.3%		
Colonial School District	67.9%	68.2%	67.3%		
Appoquinimink School District	85.3%	85.4%	85.0%		

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

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

Table A 30 *Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools in 1999-2000*

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	55.8%	57.4%	53.7%		53.4%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	53.8%	59.6%	46.9%		43.7%
Brandywine School District	57.7%	59.0%	55.7%		
Colonial School District	50.3%	50.9%	49.8%		49.2%
Appoquinimink School District	86.0%	86.1%	85.2%		

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

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	35.5%	42.3%	29.9%		33.0%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	46.2%	59.6%	32.3%		31.3%
Brandywine School District	51.1%	54.2%	47.0%	53.3%	
Colonial School District	33.6%	35.0%	33.0%		31.8%
Appoquinimink School District	64.1%	64.8%	62.7%		62.6%

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 32 *Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools in 1989-1990*

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	26.5%	26.3%	27.1%		
Red Clay Consolidated School District	27.1%	25.7%	31.1%		26.7%
Brandywine School District	27.6%	26.9%	29.5%		
Colonial School District	29.6%	29.3%	30.2%		
Appoquinimink School District	13.8%	13.8%	14.1%		

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 33 *Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools in 1999-2000*

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	34.4%	33.1%	36.8%		34.5%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	30.2%	26.3%	36.6%		32.8%
Brandywine School District	37.2%	35.9%	39.2%		
Colonial School District	41.3%	40.9%	41.8%		42.0%
Appoquinimink School District	11.4%	11.3%	12.1%		

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

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	41.2%	34.6%	48.8%		38.4%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	23.8%	16.7%	40.1%		23.4%
Brandywine School District	38.1%	35.1%	42.4%	34.6%	
Colonial School District	44.0%	43.3%	45.2%		42.7%
Appoquinimink School District	24.4%	23.9%	26.0%		26.0%

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

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

Table A 35 *Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools in 1989-1990*

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	2.2%				
Red Clay Consolidated School District	2.5%				
Brandywine School District	2.2%				
Colonial School District	0.7%				
Appoquinimink School District	0.3%				

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 36 *Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools in 1999-2000*

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	3.2%				
Red Clay Consolidated School District	3.5%				
Brandywine School District	2.8%				
Colonial School District	1.9%				
Appoquinimink School District	0.9%				

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

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	4.5%				
Red Clay Consolidated School District	4.9%				
Brandywine School District	5.1%	5.3%	4.7%	6.2%	
Colonial School District	3.1%				
Appoquinimink School District	4.2%				

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 38 *Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools in 1989-1999*

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	2.6%				
Red Clay Consolidated School District	7.4%	6.9%	7.3%		13.0%
Brandywine School District	1.0%				
Colonial School District	1.7%				
Appoquinimink School District	0.6%				

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 39 *Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools in 1999-2000*

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	6.4%	6.2%	6.4%		8.7%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	12.4%	10.1%	13.4%		21.0%
Brandywine School District	2.2%				
Colonial School District	6.3%	6.2%	6.4%		7.0%
Appoquinimink School District	1.7%				

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

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

Table A 40 *Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011*

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	16.8%	15.7%	15.7%		23.0%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	24.4%	16.6%	24.0%		42.1%
Brandywine School District	4.5%				
Colonial School District	18.1%	17.1%	17.5%		21.8%
Appoquinimink School District	5.1%	5.0%	5.4%		5.6%

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 41 *Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools in 1989-1990*

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
Wilmington, DE			
Christina School District	70.8%	70.1%	-0.7%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	65.4%	61.2%	-4.2%
Brandywine School District	71.3%	69.5%	-1.8%
Colonial School District	68.6%	57.2%	-11.4%
Appoquinimink School District	85.6%	72.1%	-13.4%

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 42 *Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools in 1999-2000*

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
Wilmington, DE			
Christina School District	59.0%	56.7%	-2.3%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	57.3%	48.8%	-8.6%
Brandywine School District	60.5%	58.2%	-2.2%
Colonial School District	52.2%	51.5%	-0.7%
Appoquinimink School District	86.9%	86.1%	-0.8%

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

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

Table A 43 *Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011*

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
Wilmington, DE			
Christina School District	40.0%	34.6%	-5.4%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	51.0%	34.6%	-16.4%
Brandywine School District	56.2%	51.8%	-4.4%
Colonial School District	36.6%	35.6%	-1.1%
Appoquinimink School District	68.4%	66.5%	-1.8%

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

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

Table A 44 *Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools in 1989-1990*

	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
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District		18.5%	19.5%		
Red Clay Consolidated School District		18.8%	21.8%		26.2%
Brandywine School District		13.4%	16.3%		
Colonial School District		17.5%	18.6%		
Appoquinimink School District		8.4%	8.7%		

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

Table A 45 *Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools in 1999-2000*

	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
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	32.6%	31.1%	34.7%		36.0%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	37.5%	33.0%	42.3%		47.7%
Brandywine School District	30.5%	29.4%	32.2%		
Colonial School District	38.0%	37.5%	38.4%		39.9%
Appoquinimink School District	10.3%	10.3%	10.4%		

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

Table A 46 *Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011*

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low-Income Students	Black Exposure to Low-Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low-Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students
Wilmington, DE					
Christina School District	60.2%	54.1%	64.6%		64.7%
Red Clay Consolidated School District	50.5%	37.3%	64.1%		66.7%
Brandywine School District	41.9%	39.1%	45.2%	40.5%	
Colonial School District	59.5%	57.5%	59.3%		64.9%
Appoquinimink School District	20.7%	20.2%	22.2%		22.8%

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

Geography

National estimates in this report reflect all 50 U.S. states, outlying territories, Department of Defense (overseas and domestic), and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Regional analysis include the following regions and states:

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

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

Data Analysis

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

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

Finally, we explored the segregation dimension of evenness using the index of dissimilarity and the multi-group entropy (or diversity) index, both of which measure how evenly race/ethnic population groups are distributed among schools compared with their larger geographic area. The dissimilarity index is a dual-group evenness measure that indicates the

degree students of two racial groups are evenly distributed among schools. Higher values (up to 1) indicate that the two groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution or more integration. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes: above .60 indicating high segregation (above .80 is extreme), .30 to .60 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .30 indicating low segregation⁷⁹.

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)⁸⁰. 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) types⁸¹. 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 stable⁸². 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

⁷⁹ Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

⁸⁰ Reardon, S. F., & Firebaugh, G. (2002). Measures of multigroup segregation. *Socio- logical Methodology*, 32, 33-67.

⁸¹ 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.

⁸² Similar typography has been used in McDermott, K. A., DeBray, E., & Frankenberg, E. (2012). How does Parents Involved in Community Schools matter? Legal and political influence in education politics and policy. *Teachers College Record*, 114(12), 1-39.

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.

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 multi-racial 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 multi-racial students, as we suggested they do (<http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/data-proposals-threaten-education-and-civil-rights-accountability>), it is difficult to accurately compare racial proportion and segregation findings from 2010 to prior years due to this new categorical collection. We remain very concerned about the severe problems of comparison that will begin nationally in the 2010 data. The Civil Rights Project and dozens of civil rights groups, representing a wide variety of racial and ethnic communities, recommended against adopting the Bush-era changes in the debate over the federal regulation.