Title
Diversity in the Distance: The Onset of Racial Change in Northern New England Schools

Authors
Ayscue, Jennifer B.
Jau, Shoshee
Flaxman, Greg
et al.

Publication Date
2014-09-01

Diversity in the Distance

The Onset of Racial Change in Northern New England Schools

Jennifer B. Ayscue and Shoshee Jau

with
Greg Flaxman, John Kucsera,
and Genevieve Siegel-Hawley

Foreword by

Gary Orfield

The Civil Rights Project
Proyecto Derechos Civiles

September 2014

7th in a Series

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Gary Orfield and Genevieve Siegel-Hawley for sharing their expertise by providing helpful guidance, invaluable feedback, and continued support throughout our work on this report. We also thank John Kucsera and Greg Flaxman for their productive assistance with data collection and analysis. In addition, we appreciate the encouraging support and editorial assistance provided by Laurie Russman, coordinator of the Civil Rights Project/ Proyecto Derechos Civiles.

This report is the eighth in a series of 13 reports from the Civil Rights Project analyzing school segregation trends in the Eastern states.

List of Figures

List of Tables

Foreword

In a country where more than half of the public school students are nonwhite and segregation of schools has been severe and rising for decades, Northern New England is an outlier, still an overwhelmingly white area with so few students of color in most areas that segregation in schools is virtually impossible on any scale. This is much like the pattern of Southern New England at the time of the Brown decision, a pattern that is now dramatically different. We are looking systematically at the entire East Coast from Maine through North Carolina and are finding that the Northern New England states are the only ones that have not been very substantially affected by the massive changes in the country's demography and immigration patterns. One major cause has been the slow population growth of the region which has forestalled the demand for labor, which often precipitates increased diversity, since a very large share of those now entering the nation's labor market are nonwhite. As the region recovers from the Great Recession these changes may well accelerate.

Southern New Hampshire and Vermont and nearby parts of Maine are, of course, affected by the trends in metropolitan Boston since the economic and social ties are strong. Our Massachusetts study shows that Eastern Massachusetts has not handled these issues effectively and constitutes a warning to the nearby states. Other growing metros in Northern New England also show early signs of significant diversification.

In addition to some early signs of segregation, which should be attended to before they become serious challenges, we want to call attention to something we rarely find in other parts of the country—significant areas of concentrated white poverty in schools. Concentrated, persistent poverty, regardless of race, creates very serious challenges to schools. To the extent that boundary changes, choice and magnet plans, and other techniques can be used to create integration across the lines of poverty, they can provide significant social and educational benefits. These issues deserve our attention.

Our reports are, in a way, check-ups on the status of racial and ethnic equity. In contrast to a number of the states we are examining, Northern New England has, in general, modest and solvable challenges. This is a very good time for the educational leaders and municipal authorities of the region to plan to act promptly and avoid the intensifying challenges that many eastern states have failed to address, to their considerable cost. As a long-time resident of greater Boston, who conducted many studies of the area in my years on the Harvard faculty, I know well that Northern New England is a beautiful and special place. I would love to see it break the mold of resegregation and deepening inequality in the years to come.

Gary Orfield

Executive Summary

Northern New England, comprised of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, has the opportunity to plan carefully and intentionally so that the region is not plagued by problems of segregation and can instead benefit from the impending racial change and increased diversity to create and sustain diverse learning environments. There are no serious problems with segregation in northern New England yet, and those problems that do exist are modest and localized. Therefore, now is the optimal time for the region to reflect on what has occurred in southern New England and the rest of the United States, which were once as racially homogenous as northern New England but have since become more multiracial and more segregated. As northern New England is relatively early in the process of racial change, there are no significant responses to it yet. Without policies to harness racial change to create positive and successful diverse learning environments, segregation is likely to increase. In addition to the importance of planning for the future, children who are currently growing up in northern New England will need skills to navigate the rest of society, which is much more diverse, and should begin learning how to do so now. Thus, a close examination of these three states' educational histories and their patterns of demographic change in schools, along with policy recommendations, is essential to planning for a successful future for an increasingly diverse northern New England.

Although northern New England has long been a predominantly white area of the country, demographic change toward increasing multiracial diversity is underway in each of these three states, particularly in metropolitan areas. In this region, as in the rest of the nation, this trend seems likely to grow over time, creating an even more diverse region in the future. Two factors—increased immigration of nonwhite populations and lower reproductive rates among the white population—suggest that racial diversity will continue to grow in northern New England.[1]

In all three northern New England states, black, Latino, and Asian students are a growing share of student enrollment. Black, Latino, and Asian students tend to be concentrated in urban metropolitan areas and attend schools located in the community where they live. A large share of minority students are concentrated in the southeast corner of New Hampshire, with significant shares of immigrant and refugee students located in Manchester and Nashua. A similar situation exists in Vermont, where greater numbers of immigrants and English Learners (ELs) attend public schools in Burlington.[2] Beginning in the 1990s, refugees from Somali and Sudan as well as immigrants seeking asylum from central Africa have contributed to the increasing racial diversity of Portland.[3] Since 2001, the secondary migration of Somalis to Lewiston, Maine has rapidly transformed the area into a significantly more racially diverse community.[4]

---

[1] Migration Policy Institute. (2013). *2011 American Community Survey and Census Data on the Foreign Born by State*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/; Martin, J.A., Hamilton, B.E., Ventura, S.J., Osterman, M. J. K., & Matthews, T. J. (2013). Births: Final Data for 2011, *National Vital Statistics Reports*, *62*(1), 67-68. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

[2] Burlington School District. (2011, October). *Burlington School District recommended strategic plan for diversity, equity and inclusion*. (p. 1). Burlington, VT: Author.

[3] Bell, T. (2012, April 2). Central Africans become city's fastest-growing immigrant group. *Portland Press Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.pressherald.com/2012/04/02/for-havens-sake_2012-04-02/

[4] Ellison, J. (2010, March 13). Lewiston, Maine, revived by Somali immigrants. *Newsweek.* Retrieved from http://www.newsweek.com/lewiston-maine-revived-somali-immigrants-78475

In each state, recent efforts have been made to address the needs of the growing numbers of minority students. In Vermont, the efforts are largely local; the state has not created programs or provided funding for specific programs targeted at minority students. However, the Burlington School Board commissioned a task force in 2010 with hopes to bridge the achievement gap between white and minority students and increase college access among those who have traditionally lacked it.[5] The task force plans to provide diversity training to teachers and enhance school climates through diverse staff and curricula. In Maine, the issue of a diverse campus climate surfaced with the Attorney General's development of the Civil Rights Team Project, in which students, staff, and faculty work together to plan programs that educate students, staff, and faculty about different cultures and backgrounds.[6] State efforts, coupled with federal funding, have also enabled New Hampshire to create more robust efforts to reach low-income and minority students. Through the federal College Access Challenge Grant, non-profit and state entities have channelled their efforts into providing college preparation resources, college counseling, and financial aid information to students who lack access to such resources.[7] Because of the state's growing numbers of ELs, the New Hampshire Department of Education plans to increase training for teachers, especially those who teach low-income, EL, and special needs students.[8]

Acknowledging the context in which schooling occurs in northern New England, this report investigates trends in school segregation in northern New England over the last two decades. Major findings in the report include:

Maine

- The number of students enrolled in Maine's schools decreased over both of the last two decades to 183,427 students in 2010.
- In 2010, the racial composition of schools in Maine was slightly more diverse than it had been in 1989, with white students comprising 93% of student enrollment in 2010 compared to 98% in 1989; black, Latino, and mixed race students each accounted for 2% and Asian students comprised 1% of the total enrollment in 2010.
- In 2010, the typical white student attended a school that most closely reflected the overall racial composition of Maine's student enrollment.
- In 2010, the typical black student, who attended a school with, on average, 77% white classmates, was least exposed to white students.
- In 2010, 0.7% of the state's schools were majority minority (enrolling 50-100% minority students); Maine did not have any schools that were intensely segregated (enrolling 90-100% minority students) or apartheid schools (enrolling 99-100% minority students).
- The share of low-income students in Maine increased from 30% in 1999 to 43% in 2010.
- The typical black student had the highest exposure to low-income students and attended schools that were 50.5% low-income in 2010.

[5] Burlington School District, 1.
[6] Office of the Maine Attorney General. (2011). *History and philosophy of the Civil Rights Team Project.* Retrieved from http://www.maine.gov/ag/civil_rights/history.shtml
[7] New Hampshire Department of Education (2012). *College access challenge grant*. Concord, NH: Author. Retrieved from http://www.education.nh.gov/highered/college_access.htm
[8] New Hampshire Department of Education (2011, September). *New Hampshire's equity plan*. (p. 1). Concord, NH: Author. Retrieved from http://www.education.nh.gov/nclb/documents/equity_plan.pdf

- In 2010, Maine's typical low-income student attended a school that was about 50% low-income while the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about 38% low-income; this disparity in exposure to low-income students by socioeconomic status decreased slightly from 1999 to 2010.

Portland Metropolitan Area

- Schools in the Portland metro area were slightly more diverse than Maine's overall state student enrollment in 2010.
- In 2010, metro Portland's student enrollment was still overwhelmingly white with white students accounting for 91% of the total enrollment. The remaining student enrollment was 3% black, 2% Latino, 2% Asian, and 2% mixed.
- From 1989 to 2010, the white share of enrollment decreased in both urban and suburban schools in the Portland metro, but there was a greater decline in urban schools where white students, who comprised 90.5% of urban school enrollment in 1989, accounted for only 73.5% of urban school enrollment in 2010.
- In both urban and suburban schools, the black share of enrollment increased, though to a greater extent in urban schools; black students accounted for 3.1% of urban school enrollment in 1989 and 14.1% of urban school enrollment in 2010.
- The Latino share of enrollment increased in both urban and suburban schools as well. In 2010 Latino students accounted for 4.1% of the enrollment in urban schools and 1.4% in suburban schools.
- In 1989, all of the districts in the Portland metro were predominantly white; however, by 2010, this was no longer the case. Of the nine public school districts in the Portland metropolitan area, one of the districts could be characterized as racially diverse (enrolling 20-60% nonwhite students) in 2010.
- In 2010 in metro Portland, 3.7% of the schools could be categorized as multiracial, indicating they had any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, and approximately 1.8% of the metro's schools were majority minority, meaning their enrollments were at least 50% minority.
- The racial groups that had the largest share of students enrolled in multiracial schools were blacks and Asians; approximately 29% of each racial group's students were enrolled in the metro's multiracial schools in 2010.
- There were no schools that could be categorized as intensely segregated (90-100% minority) or apartheid (99-100% minority) schools.
- The share of low-income students in metro Portland increased from 22% in 1999 to 32% in 2010.
- In 2010, the typical low-income student attended a school that was 41% low income whereas the typical middle-class student attended a school that was 28% low income; the gap in exposure to low-income students between the typical low-income and middle-class student decreased slightly over the last decade.
- The share of low-income students in multiracial schools, at 54.2%, was higher than the overall share of low-income students in the metro in 2010.
- The share of low-income students enrolled in majority minority schools was more than double that of the overall metro, reaching 75.8% in Portland's majority minority schools in 2010.

New Hampshire

- New Hampshire's student enrollment increased from 1989 to 1999 but then decreased in the following decade from 1999 to 2010 to reach 194,001 students in 2010.
- In 2010, the racial composition of schools in New Hampshire was slightly more racially diverse than it had been in 1989. The state's 2010 student enrollment was 90% white, 4% Latino, 3% Asian, 2% black, and 1% mixed.
- In 2010, the typical white student attended a school that most closely reflected the overall racial composition of New Hampshire's student enrollment while the typical black, Latino, and Asian students attended schools with larger shares of same-race peers.
- In 2010, of all racial groups, the typical Latino student was exposed to the smallest share of white students, 75.9%.
- The share of low-income students in New Hampshire increased from 16% in 1999 to 25% in 2010.
- The typical Latino student was exposed to the highest share of low-income students, attending a school with an average 39% low-income students in 2010.
- In 2010, New Hampshire's typical low-income student attended a school with over one-third low-income students while the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about one-fifth low-income; this disparity has grown slightly larger over the last decade.

Manchester-Nashua Region

- Schools in the Manchester-Nashua region were slightly more diverse than New Hampshire's overall state student enrollment in 2010.
- In 2010, student enrollment in the region was still overwhelmingly white at 88% of the total enrollment; the remaining enrollment was 5% Latino, 3% Asian, 2% black, and 2% mixed.
- From 1989 to 2010, the white share of enrollment decreased in both urban and suburban schools but there was a greater decline in urban schools; white students accounted for 69.7% of urban schools and 91.6% of suburban schools in 2010.
- In both urban and suburban schools, the Latino share of enrollment increased though to a greater extent in urban schools; Latino students accounted for 15.1% of urban school enrollment and 2.5% of suburban school enrollment in the region. The same pattern is true for the black share of enrollment; black students accounted for 6.2% of urban schools and 1.4% of suburban schools in 2010.
- In 1989, all of the districts in the Manchester-Nashua region were predominantly white; however, by 2010, 2 of 53 districts—or 3.8% of Manchester-Nashua's districts—could be categorized as diverse, indicating the districts enroll between 20% and 60% nonwhite students.
- In 2010 in the Manchester-Nashua region, 3.8% of the region's schools could be categorized as multiracial, indicating they have any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, and 1.7% of the metro's schools are majority minority, meaning their enrollments are at least 50% minority.
- In 2010, the racial groups with the largest shares of students attending multiracial schools were black students (16.0%) and Latino students (12.7%).

- None of the region's schools could be categorized as intensely segregated (90-100% minority) or apartheid (99-100% minority) schools.
- The share of low-income students in the Manchester-Nashua region increased from 14% in 1999 to 23% in 2010.
- In 2010, the typical low-income student attended a school with over one-third low-income students while the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about one-fifth low-income; this gap has expanded slightly over the last decade.
- The share of low-income students in multiracial schools (61.1%) was almost triple that of the metro's overall share of low-income students; the share of low-income students in majority minority schools (84.9%) was even greater, reaching a level almost four times as high as that of the overall region.

Vermont

- The size of Vermont's student enrollment increased from 1989 to 1999 but then decreased in the following decade from 1999 to 2010 to reach a two-decade low of 85,131.
- In 2010, the racial composition of schools in Vermont was slightly more diverse than it had been in 1989.
- White students comprised the majority of Vermont's student enrollment at 93%, followed by black, Asian, and mixed students each with 2% of the total enrollment and Latino students accounting for 1% of the state's enrollment.
- In 2010, Vermont's typical white student attended a school that most closely reflected the overall racial composition of the state's student enrollment while the typical black, Asian, and Latino students attended schools with larger shares of same-race peers.
- In 2010, black students in Vermont were the racial group that was least exposed to white students, attending schools, on average, with 81.8% white students.
- The share of low-income students in Vermont increased from 23% in 1999 to 37% in 2010.
- In 2010, Vermont's black students tended to have the highest exposure to low-income students, attending schools, on average, with 45% low-income students.
- In 2010, Vermont's typical low-income student attended a school with about 44% low-income students while the state's typical middle-class student attended a school that was about 32% low-income; this gap has grown slightly larger over the last decade.

Burlington Metropolitan Area

- In 2010, Burlington metro area schools were slightly more diverse than the overall student enrollment in Vermont.
- Student enrollment in the Burlington metro was still overwhelmingly white in 2010 with white students accounting for around 88% of the total enrollment; the rest of the enrollment is 4% mixed, 3% black, 3% Asian, and 1% Latino.
- From 1989 to 2010, the white share of enrollment decreased in both urban and suburban schools but there was a greater decline in urban schools.
- In both urban and suburban schools, the black share of enrollment increased though to a greater extent in urban schools.

- The Latino and Asian shares of enrollment increased in both urban and suburban schools as well.
- In 1989, all of the school districts in metro Burlington were predominantly white; however, by 2010, 2 of the metro's 17 school districts could be categorized as diverse, indicating an enrollment of 20-60% nonwhite students.
- In 2010, 5.5% of the region's schools were multiracial and none of the the region's schools could be categorized as majority minority (50-100% minority), intensely segregated (90-100% minority), or apartheid (99-100% minority) schools.
- The racial groups that have the most significant share of students enrolled in multiracial schools are black and Asian students; approximately one in three black students and one in four Asian students attended a multiracial school in 2010.
- The share of low-income students in metro Burlington increased from 18% in 1999 to 30% in 2010.
- In 2010, the typical low-income student attended a school with about 42% low-income students while the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about 25% low-income; this disparity has become slightly larger over the last decade.
- The share of low-income students in multiracial schools was more than double (64.5%) that of the metro's overall share of low-income students (30%).

This report provides multiple recommendations for those who are seeking to address racial change and the potential for racial integration in northern New England's schools:

State Education Policies

- State-level policies should provide guidance regarding ways districts can create student assignment policies that foster diverse schools.
- State-level policies should provide a framework for developing and supporting inter-district programs in the form of city-suburban transfers and regional magnet schools, and states should play a role in setting up such schools.
- In Maine and Vermont, town-tuitioning policies should include civil rights standards, such as providing transportation to all students, no admissions requirements, making information accessible to parents, and including diversity goals.
- States should require that districts report to the state on diversity-related matters for both traditional public and charter schools in Maine and New Hampshire.
- Charter schools should be authorized only if they adopt civil rights standards, and state and local officials should work to promote diversity in charter school enrollments, in part by encouraging extensive outreach to diverse communities, facilitating interdistrict enrollment, and providing free transportation.
- Policies should also consider how to recruit a diverse teaching staff and states should set credentialing standards for training a more diverse teaching force.
- New teachers should be prepared through training and professional development for working with more diverse student populations, including English Learners.

State and Local Housing Policies

- Fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets and bring prosecutions for violations.

- Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies for projects receiving direct federal funding or tax credit subsidies so that they support integrated schools rather than foster segregation.

School Districts

- To avoid segregation, districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools.
- Magnet schools and transfer programs within district borders can be used to promote more racially integrated schools.
- New Hampshire should build diversity goals into magnet school policies, and Burlington School District, which opened its first two magnet schools in 2009 and included diversity goals, should expand upon this early success.
- Gathering data about the experiences of students who are attending increasingly diverse schools and their schools' climate is essential, as is underway in Portland, Maine (this process is described later in the report); this information should be used to inform appropriate policies at the school and district levels.

Local Organizations and Individuals

- Civil rights organizations and community organizations should study the existing trends and observe and participate in political and community processes and action related to boundary changes, school siting decisions, and other key policies that make schools more segregated or more integrated.
- Community institutions and churches need to facilitate conversations about the values of diverse education and help raise community awareness about its benefits.
- Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn.
- Local journalists should investigate and report on the relationships between segregation and unequal educational outcomes and the emergence of high quality, diverse schools.
- 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.

DIVERSITY IN THE DISTANCE: THE ONSET OF RACIAL CHANGE IN NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND SCHOOLS

Northern New England, comprised of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, has the opportunity to plan carefully and intentionally so that the region is not plagued by problems of segregation and can instead benefit from the impending racial change and increased diversity to create and sustain diverse learning environments. There are no serious problems with segregation in northern New England yet and those problems that do exist are modest and localized. Therefore, now is the optimal time for the region to reflect on what has occurred in southern New England and the rest of the United States, which were once as racially homogenous as northern New England but have since become more multiracial and more segregated. As northern New England is relatively early in the process of racial change, there are no significant responses to it yet. Without policies intended to harness racial change to create positive and successful diverse learning environments, segregation is likely increase . In addition to the importance of planning for the future, children who are currently growing up in northern New England will need skills to navigate the rest of society, which is much more diverse, and should begin learning how to do so now.

Although northern New England has long been a predominantly white area of the country, demographic change toward increasing multiracial diversity is underway in each of these three states, particularly in metropolitan areas. In this region, as in the rest of the nation, this trend seems likely to grow over time, creating an even more diverse region in the future. Indeed, two factors—rising immigration of nonwhite populations and lower reproductive rates among white populations—suggest that racial diversity will continue to grow in northern New England.[9] Thus, a close examination of these three states' educational histories and their patterns of demographic change in schools, along with policy recommendations, is essential to planning for a successful future for an increasingly diverse northern New England.

Between 2000 and 2011, all three states experienced growth in immigration. With an increase of 4.3% in its foreign-born population, Vermont had the smallest increase in immigration. Most of Vermont's immigrants come from Canada, Germany, and the United Kingdom.[10] In Vermont, the racial composition of immigrants is 6% black, 8% Latino, 24% Asian, and 62% white.[11] In Maine, the number of foreign-born immigrants increased by 16.5% with most of them coming from Canada, the United Kingdom, and the Philippines.[12] The racial composition of Maine's immigrants is 8% Latino, 12% black, 21% Asian, and 61% white.[13] New Hampshire experienced the largest growth in immigration with an increase of 36.4%; most

[9] Migration Policy Institute. (2013). *2011 American community survey and Census data on the foreign born by state*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/; Martin, J.A., Hamilton, B.E., Ventura, S.J., Osterman, M.J.K., & Matthews, T.J. (2013). Births: Final Data for 2011, *National Vital Statistics Reports*, *62*(1), 67-68. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
[10] Migration Policy Institute. (2013). *Vermont social & demographic characteristics*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/state.cfm?ID=VT
[11] Ibid.
[12] Migration Policy Institute. (2013). *Maine social & demographic characteristics*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/state.cfm?ID=ME
[13] Ibid.

immigrants to New Hampshire are from Canada, India, and the United Kingdom.[14] The racial composition of immigrants in New Hampshire is 10% black, 15% Latino, 29% Asian, and 53% white.[15] Although these three states are experiencing less immigration than most of the country, the immigration that is occurring is more racially diverse than their existing populations, all of which were about 94% white in 2012,[16] suggesting that these three states will become increasingly diverse and multiracial in the future.

Alongside the growth in immigration, examination of birth rates by race provides insight into the future racial composition of the region. In 2011, whites accounted for 92% of births in Maine, 89% of births in New Hampshire, and 94% of births in Vermont.[17] These birth rates are slightly lower than the overall share of whites in the general population for each state, which is closer to 94% in 2012 for all three states.[18] This disparity indicates that, as in the rest of the nation, the white population in northern New England is not reproducing at a rate that will sustain its current share of the population in these three states. Along with all of the country's experience and the broader demography of the United States, this data shows that racial change is likely to continue to result in communities that are more diverse.

This report investigates trends in school segregation in northern New England over the last two decades. First, we summarize several decades of social science research highlighting the harms of segregation and the benefits of diverse learning environments. The next section describes the report's data and methods. We then divide the report into three parts, one for each of the three states included in this report—Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Within each part, we provide a brief overview of the educational history of the state and several prominent school districts. Then we examine enrollment patterns and several measures of segregation for the state. After exploring trends at the state level, we turn to the metropolitan level and provide similar measures of segregation. In this section we also discuss the degree and type of racial transition occurring in the 10 largest districts in each metro. Following these three state-specific parts, we compare our findings across the three states and conclude with multiple recommendations for those who seek to address racial change and the potential for racial integration in northern New England's schools. Summaries documenting segregation trends in additional metro areas also accompany this report.

Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says[19]

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

[14] Migration Policy Institute. (2013). *New Hampshire social & demographic characteristics*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/state.cfm?ID=NH
[15] Ibid.
[16] U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). *State and county quick facts*, Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/
[17] Martin, J.A., Hamilton, B.E., Ventura, S.J., Osterman, M.J.K., & Matthews, T.J. (2013). Births: Final Data for 2011, *National Vital Statistics Reports*, *62*(1), 67-68. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
[18] U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). *State and county quick facts*, Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/
[19] 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

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.

In terms of school-related factors, teachers are the most powerful influence on academic achievement in schools.[20] One recent longitudinal study showed that having a strong teacher in elementary grades had a long-lasting, positive impact on students' lives, including reduced teenage pregnancy rates, higher levels of college-going, and higher job earnings.[21] Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified[22] and experienced[23] teachers are spread very unevenly across schools, and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.[24] Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools of concentrated poverty.[25]

Findings showing that the academic performance of classmates is strongly linked to educational outcomes for poor students date back to the famous 1966 Coleman Report. The central conclusion of that report (as well as numerous follow-up analyses) was that the concentration of poverty in a school influenced student achievement more than the poverty status of an individual student.[26] This finding is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance, and college-going are normalized by peers.[27] Attitudinal differences toward schooling among low- and middle-to-high income students stem from a variety of internal and external factors, including the difficulty level and relevance of the learning materials that are provided to students in different school settings.

---

[20] Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement. *Econometric*a, *73*(2), 417-58.

[21] 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.har vard.edu/chetty/value_added.pdf

[22] 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).

[23] See, for example, Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2002). Teacher sorting and the plight of urban schools: A descriptive analysis. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 24*(1), 37-62; Watson, S. (2001), *Recruiting and retaining teachers: Keys to improving the Philadelphia public schools.* Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education. In addition, one research study found that in California schools, the share of unqualified teachers is 6.75 times higher in high-minority schools (more than 90% minority) than in low-minority schools (less than 30% minority). See Darling-Hammond, L. (2001). Apartheid in American education: How opportunity is rationed to children of color in the United States*,* In T. Johnson, J. E. Boyden, & W. J. Pittz (Eds.), *Racial profiling and punishment in U.S. public schools* (pp. 39-44). Oakland, CA: Applied Research Center.

[24] 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.

[25] Miller, R. (2010). *Comparable, schmomparable. Evidence of inequity in the allocation of funds for teacher salary within California's public school districts*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress;
Roza, M., Hill, P. T., Sclafani, S., & Speakman, S. (2004). *How within-district spending inequities help some schools to fail.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution; U.S. Department of Education. (2011). *Comparability of state and local expenditures among schools within districts: A report from the study of school-level expenditure*s. Washington, DC: Author.

[26] 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.

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

Schools serving low-income and segregated neighborhoods have been shown to provide less challenging curricula than schools in more affluent communities that largely serve populations of white and Asian students. [28] The impact of the standards and accountability era has been felt more acutely in minority-segregated schools where a focus on rote skills and memorization, in many instances, takes the place of creative, engaging teaching.[29] By contrast, students in middle-class schools normally have little trouble with high-stakes exams, so the schools and teachers are free to broaden the curriculum. Segregated school settings are also significantly less likely than more affluent settings to offer AP- or honors-level courses that help boost student GPAs and garner early college credits.[30]

All these things taken together tend to produce lower educational achievement and attainment—which in turn limits lifetime opportunities—for students who attend high poverty, high minority school settings.[31] Additional findings on expulsion rates, dropout rates, success in college, test scores, and graduation rates underscore the negative impact of segregation. Student discipline is harsher and the rate of expulsion is much higher in minority-segregated schools than in wealthier, whiter ones.[32] Dropout rates are significantly higher in segregated and impoverished schools (nearly all of the 2,000 "dropout factories" are doubly segregated by race and poverty),[33]

---

[28] 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.

[29] 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.

[30] 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.

[31] 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.

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

[33] 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

and if students do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.[34] Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students' success in school and later life.[35]

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.[36] Relatedly, integrated schools are linked to reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes.[37] Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.[38]

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students,[39] with no corresponding detrimental impact for white students.[40] These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations,[41] and high

---

graduates? Who doesn't? In G. Orfield, (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 13-40). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

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

[35] 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.

[36] Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing.

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

[38] 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.

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

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

[41] Crain, R. L. (1970). School integration and occupational achievement of Negroes. *American Journal of Sociology, 75*, 593-606; Dawkins, M. P. (1983). Black students' occupational expectations: A national study of the impact of school desegregation. *Urban Education, 18*, 98-113; Kurlaender, M., & Yun, J. (2005). Fifty years after *Brown*: New evidence of the impact of school racial composition on student outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research, and Practice, 6*(1), 51-78.

levels of civic and communal responsibility.[42] 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.[43] 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.[44] 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.[45]

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.[46] 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.[47] 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, heterogonous groupings in classrooms and highly visible, positive modeling from teachers and school leaders around issues of diversity.[48]

Metropolitan Trends[49]

As enrollments around the country grow more diverse, the racial makeup of school systems in metropolitan areas often shifts rapidly. A district that appears integrated or diverse at one point in time can transition to a resegregating district in a matter of years. A recent study of

[42] 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.
[43] 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.
[44] 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.
[45] 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.
[46] Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.
[47] Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783.
[48] 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.
[49] We used the Census Reference Bureau's 1999 Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as the unit of metropolitan analysis for all years. A MSA must contain at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more inhabitants. See Appendix B for further details.

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.[50] 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.[51]

The process of transition is fueled by a number of factors, including pervasive housing discrimination (to include steering families of color into specific neighborhoods), the preferences of families and individuals, and school zoning practices that intensify racial isolation. Importantly, schools that are transitioning to minority segregated learning environments are much more likely than other types of school settings to be associated with negative factors like high levels of teacher turnover.[52]

Stably diverse schools and districts, on the other hand, are linked to a number of positive indicators. Compared to students and staff at schools in racial transition, teachers, administrators, and students experience issues of diversity differently in stable environments. In a 2005 survey of over 1,000 educators, those working in stable, diverse schools were more likely to think that their faculty peers could work effectively with students from all races and ethnicities.[53] 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.[54] It stands to reason, then, that school and housing policies should help foster stable diversity—and prevent resegregation—whenever possible.

Data and Methods

In this report, we explore the demographic and segregation trends over the last two decades for the states of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont and for each *main* metropolitan area of these states—those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 1989. For each main metropolitan area, we also investigate district racial stability over time. Below is an overview of our data, as well as the segregation and district racial stability analyses. See Appendix B for more details.

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

[50] Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). *America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges*. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.
[51] 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.
[52] Jackson, (2009).
[53] Siegel-Hawley, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2012). *Spaces of inclusion: Teachers' perceptions of school communities with differing student racial and socioeconomic contexts*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.
[54] Ibid.

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

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

School segregation patterns by the proportion or concentration of each racial group in segregated schools (50-100% of the student body are students of color), intensely segregated schools (90-100% of the student body are students of color), and apartheid schools (99-100% of the schools are students of color) were also explored. Such schools, especially hypersegregated and apartheid schools are nearly always associated with stark gaps in educational opportunity.[55] To provide estimates of diverse environments, the proportion of each racial group in multiracial schools (schools with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body) was calculated.

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

To explore district stability patterns in *main* metropolitan areas—those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 1989—districts, as well as their metropolitan area, were categorized into predominantly white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominantly nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.[56] The degree to which district white enrollment has changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area was explored, resulting in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable. Following, the type and direction (i.e., white or nonwhite) of the change in school districts was assessed, which allowed

[55] Carroll, S., Krop, C., Arkes, J., Morrison, P., & Flanagan, A. (2005). *California's K-12 public schools: How are they doing?* Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation; Orfield, G., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Kucsera, J. (2011). *Divided we fail: Segregated and unequal schools in the Southland*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.
[56] 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.

us to determine whether districts are resegregating, integrating, or remaining stably predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse.

Part One: Maine

Background and Context

Although Maine passed its first Civil Rights Act in 1989, the state's involvement in issues of school segregation and discrepancies in education has been limited. This reality is not too surprising given that as recently as 2010, Maine had the 12th lowest black public school enrollment and the second lowest Latino public school enrollment of all 50 states.[57] However, populations in Portland and Lewiston have become increasingly diverse. In Portland, refugees from Somali in the 1990s, followed by refugees from Sudan, and most recently immigrants seeking asylum from Burundi, Rwanda, and the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have contributed to the increasing racial diversity of the area.[58] This has led to a shift in the racial composition of Portland, which was 2.6% black and 91.3% white in 2000 to become 7.1% black and 85.0% white in 2010.[59] Since 2001, the secondary migration of Somalis to Lewiston, Maine has transformed the area into a significantly more racially diverse community.[60] In 2010, Lewiston, a city of 36,592 residents, was 8.7% black compared to the state's overall population that was only 1.2% black.[61] The racial change has occurred rapidly, as only 1.1% of Lewiston's residents were black in 2000 prior to the Somali migration.[62]

In recent years, the state has begun recognizing racial disparities in its education system and has launched efforts to reach a deeper understanding of its problems. While research efforts are beginning to develop, working policies to decrease school segregation and provide equal opportunities among students of different backgrounds have not yet been implemented.

The Maine Civil Rights Act sought to ensure the equal protection of access to property regardless of race. It protected individuals against any action that "intentionally interferes or attempts to intentionally interfere by physical force or violence against a person, damage or destruction of property or trespass on property or by the threat of physical force or violence against a person."[63] Since its passage, the law has made little to no progress in the field of education, and for many years, students of color continued to face harassment from their white peers in schools.[64] However, the Civil Rights Act began to make its way into classrooms through

---

[57] Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus … separation? Deepening double segregation for more students* (pp. 44, 48). Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.
[58] Bell, T. (2012, April 2). Central Africans become city's fastest-growing immigrant group. *Portland Press Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.pressherald.com/2012/04/02/for-havens-sake_2012-04-02/
[59] U.S. Census Bureau (2011). CensusViewer Portland, Maine population: Census 2010 and 2000 Interactive map, demographics, statistics, quick facts. Retrieved from http://censusviewer.com/city/ME/Portland
[60] Ellison, J. (2010, March 13). Lewiston, Maine, revived by Somali immigrants. *Newsweek.* Retrieved from http://www.newsweek.com/lewiston-maine-revived-somali-immigrants-78475
[61] U.S. Census Bureau. (2013) State and county quick facts. Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/23/2338740.html
[62] U.S. Census Bureau (2011). CensusViewer Lewiston, Maine population: Census 2010 and 2000 Interactive map, demographics, statistics, quick facts. Retrieved from http://censusviewer.com/city/ME/Lewiston
[63] Parr, C. (2001). Maine Civil Rights Act: History, enforcement, application, and analysis. *Maine Law Review, 53*, 192.
[64] Ibid., 208.

the Attorney General's program of the Civil Rights Team Project in 1996. These teams were a response to the growing number of violations of the Civil Rights Act among younger populations.[65] Approximately half of the cases initiated by the Attorney General involving prejudice came from teenagers. In schools, violence and racial slurs commonly targeted minority students, who were reluctant to report incidents to the school administration. As a result, the aim of Civil Rights Teams was to encourage a safe, inclusive environment in all schools and foster a deeper understanding of background differences among students. In each school, approximately two faculty members, one community member, and 10-12 students meet regularly to plan programs in their schools to educate students about the value of religious, racial, socioeconomic, and sexual diversity and respect in the community. Past projects have included festivals and performances by minority groups, guest speakers on campus, and campus skits and projects that stimulate deeper thought about the notion of civil rights as a reality in students' lives.[66] At present, more than 150 schools participate in this project.[67]

In addition to the efforts of the Maine Attorney General, independent research organizations have conducted research about racial disparities in Maine's education system. In May 2011, the Maine People's Resource Center, which aims to teach everyday citizens ways to involve themselves with social change, published the "Maine Racial Justice Policy Guide." This report outlines various inequalities among people of different races in the state, from housing to income to education. The report urges the state to take policy actions, noting that injustices directed toward minority populations not only unfairly disadvantage those populations but also may translate into negative economic outcomes for all if left unaddressed.[68] The report also highlights the growing number of people of color in the state: "Every single county in Maine saw a double-digit percentage growth of the number of people of color between 2000 and 2010. Overall, Maine's communities of color grew by 80%. Remarkably, three counties—Cumberland, Androscoggin, and Oxford—saw increases of 99% or higher."[69] The report further highlights discrepancies in the realm of education, pointing out that 58% of black fourth-graders cannot read at a basic level and that black fourth-graders have below-basic math skills at three times the rate of white fourth-graders.[70]

Since 1873, Maine has employed a voucher system called town tuitioning, in which school districts that do not have a local elementary, middle, or high school provide the tuition for students to attend a school in a different district. This practice has been revised several times and is still in effect today. In 2000, 30% of Maine's towns tuitioned out all or some of their students and 18% of secondary students had a choice regarding which high schools they would attend.[71]At times, schools to which students are tuitioned are assigned, but often, students who

[65] Ibid., 207.
[66] Maine Citizenship Education Task Force. (2007). *Civil rights teams.* Augusta, ME: Author. Retrieved from http://www.maine.gov/education/mecitizenshiped/educators/civil_rights_teams.html
[67] Office of the Maine Attorney General. (2011). *History and philosophy of the Civil Rights Team Project.* Augusta, ME: Author. Retrieved from http://www.maine.gov/ag/civil_rights/history.shtml
[68] Chin, B. (2011). *Maine racial justice policy guide* (p. 9). Portland, ME: Maine People's Resource Center.
[69] Ibid., 7.
[70] Ibid., 6.
[71] Hammons, C. W. (2002). *The effects of town tuition in Vermont and Maine* (pp. 9-10). Indianapolis, IN: Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation.

are tuitioned are free to choose their school of attendance.[72] In 2000, 67% of Maine's town-tuitioned secondary students chose to attend public schools, 32% selected private schools, and 1% chose schools outside of the state.[73] If town tutioning is used more widely across the state, there may be a positive impact on the composition of schools, allowing low-income students to be more evenly dispersed throughout the state.[74] However, achieving this goal would require intentional effort and the creation and enforcement of diversity guidelines as well as a provision requiring that transportation be provided to insure access for all eligible students. Otherwise, this choice system could have the opposite effect of further increasing stratification by isolating low-income students and students of color.

Further exploring the idea of school choice, Maine opened its first two charter schools in 2011 and plans to continue the program until at least 10 schools are opened.[75] With three additional charter schools opening in the fall of 2013 and one in 2014, the state now has a total of six charter schools, including the state's first virtual charter school.[76] Maine Governor LePage emphasizes the important role that these schools play by highlighting the neccessity of school choice for parents. The first 10 students to complete high school at a charter school in Maine graduated from the Maine Academy of Natural Sciences in August 2013.[77] While some state education leaders praise the effort of Maine's charter school development, others criticize the movement, stating that it is premature, in light of the fact that the state is underfunding its public schools.[78] The Maine legislature is currently exploring various funding models and approval processes for charter schools.

Portland. The Portland branch of the NAACP has recently established a research initiative aimed at improving the campus climate of schools within the Portland School District. The program was piloted at Lyman Moore Middle School in 2012, a traditionally all-white school that has typically served middle-to-upper-class students but has recently enrolled a growing number of low-income and minority students.[79] Its first data collection project took place in the 2011-2012 school year in the form of a survey of students and staff. The survey results have not yet been released, but the NAACP Portland plans to conduct additional surveys of parents and community members in the future. Thus far, the Portland School District has not formally developed or implemented any policies addressing the issue of providing high-quality education for diverse student populations.

Maine Trends

[72] Maddaus, J., & Mirochnik, D.A. (1992). Town tuitioning in Maine: Parental choice of secondary schools in rural communities. *Journal of Research in Rural Education, 8*(1), 27-28.
[73] Hammons, 14.
[74] Maddaus & Mirochnik, 28.
[75] Associated Press. (2013, August 2). Maine's charter school fight far from over. *Boston.com*. Retrieved from http://www.boston.com/news/education/2013/08/02/maine-charter-school-hold-graduation/lLlQg6Gl30SDMPgUK48DcI/story.html
[76] Gallagher, N. (2013, September 3). Maine charter schools break new ground. *Portland Press Herald.* Retrieved from http://www.pressherald.com/news/charters-new-ground_2013-09-03.html?pagenum=full; Gallagher, N. (2014, August 6). Maine's first virtual school exceeds minimum enrollment. *Portland Press Herald.* Retrieved from http:// http://www.pressherald.com/2014/08/05/virtual-school-signs-up-more-students-than-required-minimum/
[77] Associated Press.
[78] Ibid.
[79] NAACP Portland (n.d.). *Excellence in education initiative*. Retrieved from http://50.118.56.208/excellence-education-initiative

Unlike Vermont, New Hampshire, and the rest of the Northeast and the nation, the size of Maine's student enrollment decreased over both of the last two decades (Table 1). The decrease was more substantial from 1999 to 2010 than in the previous decade. In 2010, Maine's enrollment was similar in size to New Hampshire's and was more than double the size of Vermont's student enrollment.

Table 1 – Public School Enrollment, Maine, Northeast, and the Nation

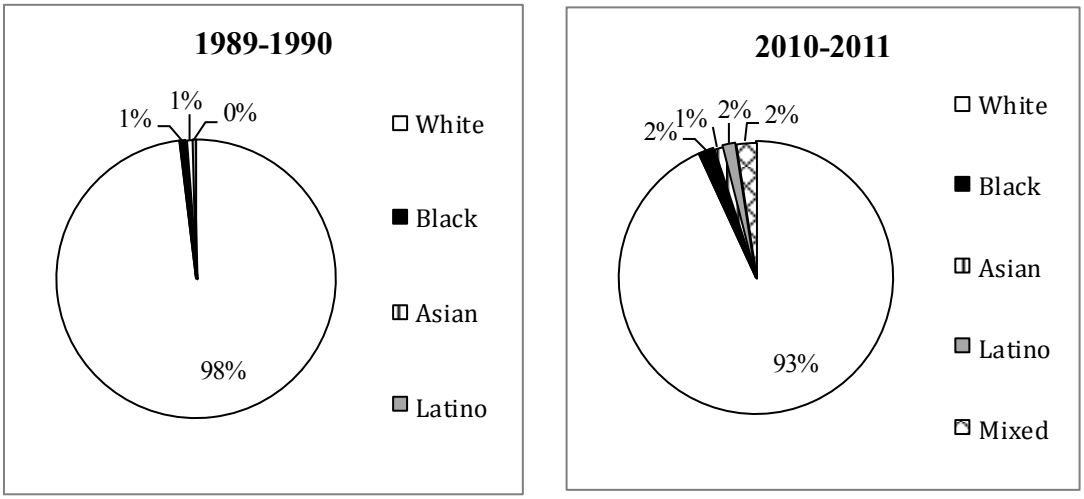
	Total Enrollment
Maine	
1989-1990	213,514
1999-2000	209,035
2010-2011	183,427
Northeast	
1989-1990	6,940,135
1999-2000	8,007,804
2010-2011	7,780,729
Nation	
1989-1990	39,937,135
1999-2000	46,737,341
2010-2011	48,782,384

Note: Northeast region includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

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

From 1989 to 2010, the white share of student enrollment decreased from 97.6% to 92.5% while all other racial groups' share of enrollment increased (Figure 1). The most substantial increase occurred in the Latino share of enrollment, which grew from 0.4% in 1989 to 1.5% in 2010, but black students comprised the largest share of enrollment besides whites with 1.8% of the total enrollment in 2010.

Figure 1 – Public School Enrollment by Race, Maine



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

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

Schools can be classified into four different categories with varying levels of concentration of minority students—multiracial schools, majority minority schools, intensely segregated schools, and apartheid schools. Multiracial schools are those in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups. The share of multiracial schools in Maine increased from 0.1% to 1.0% over the last two decades (Table 2). Multiracial schools can offer many different kinds of scenarios, ranging from a school in which a substantial group of black or Latino students attend a high-achieving middle-class white school with more than one-tenth Asians to a high-poverty school with a great majority of black and Latino students in school with one-tenth white students. Therefore, the presence of multiracial schools should not be equated with integration, particularly with integration that offers a more challenging school program and peer groups

Majority minority schools are schools in which 50-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students. While still a very small share of the total schools, in 2010, 0.7% of Maine's schools were majority minority. According to NCES data, in 2010, 2.8% of Maine's Latino students and 15.0% of Maine's black students attended majority minority schools. Intensely segregated schools enroll 90-100% minority students and apartheid schools enroll 99-100% minority students. None of the state's schools were classified as intensely segregated or apartheid schools in 2010.

Table 2 – Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Maine

	Total	% of	% of	% of	% of

	Schools	Multiracial Schools	50-100% Minority Schools	90-100% Minority Schools	99-100% Minority Schools
Maine					
1989-1990	703	0.1%	0.4%	0.3%	NS
1999-2000	689	0.3%	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	601	1.0%	0.7%	NS	NS

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

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

In 2010, 52.4% of students in multiracial schools and 78.8% of students in majority minority schools were low income even though only 43.0% of the state's students were low income (Table 3). This disparate distribution of low-income students to schools with larger shares of black and Latino students indicates a double segregation of students by race and class.

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

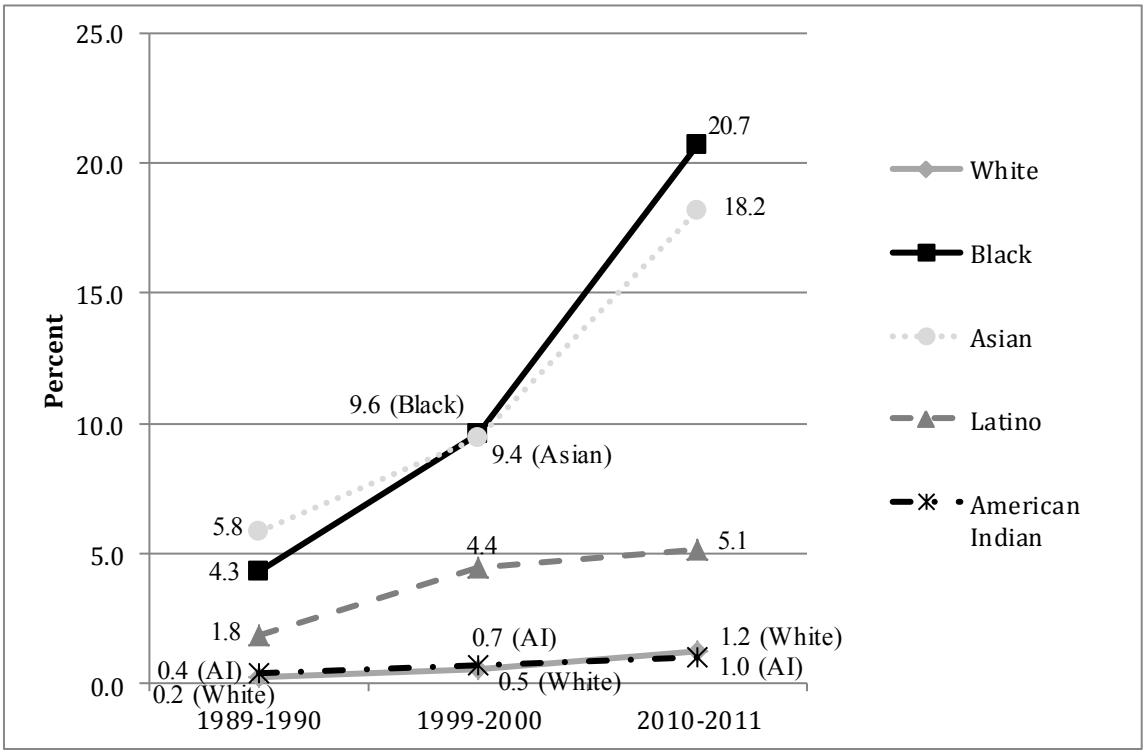
	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Maine				
1999-2000	50.2%	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	54.2%	78.8%	NS	NS

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

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

In 2010, 20.7% of black students and 18.2% of Asian students attended multiracial schools, but only 1.2% of white students attended multiracial schools in Maine (Figure 2). Again, it is important to note that these are schools where more than half of the students were low income; thus, the disproportionate distribution of low-income students to multiracial schools had little effect on the majority of white students.

Figure 2 – Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Maine

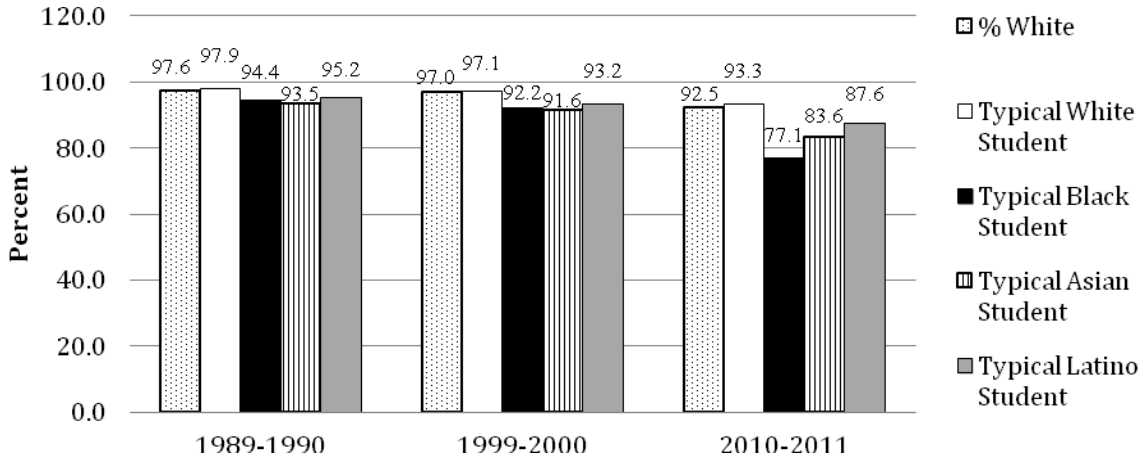


Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment respectively.

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

In Maine, the typical black student was least exposed to white students, attending a school with only 77.1% white classmates despite the overall level of student enrollment of white students at 92.5% in 2010 (Figure 3). The gap in the typical black and Latino student's exposure to white students compared to the overall share of white students in the state's enrollment has grown increasingly larger over the last two decades.

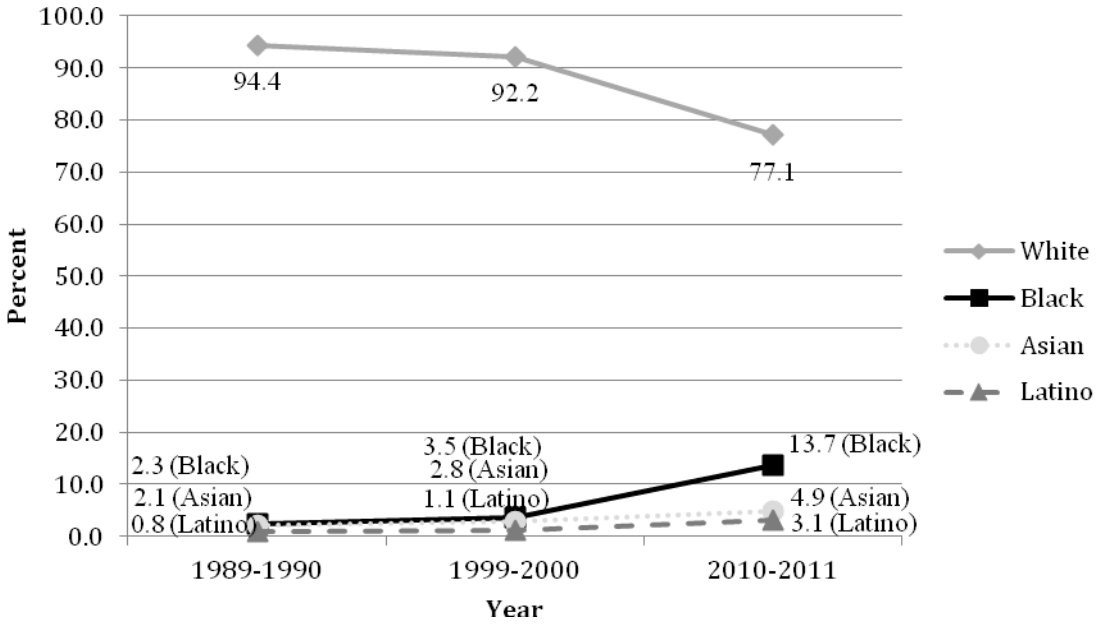
Figure 3 – White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Maine



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

The typical black student attends a school that has become less white and more black, Asian, and Latino, but white students were still the clear majority in such schools (Figure 4). The typical black student attended a school that was more diverse and less white than the school of a typical Latino student. In 2010, the typical black student attended a school with 13.7% black classmates, which was a larger share of same-race peers than the typical black student in either Vermont or New Hampshire. This level is also higher than the overall share of black enrollment in Maine at 1.8%, which is lower than the black share of enrollment in both Vermont and New Hampshire.

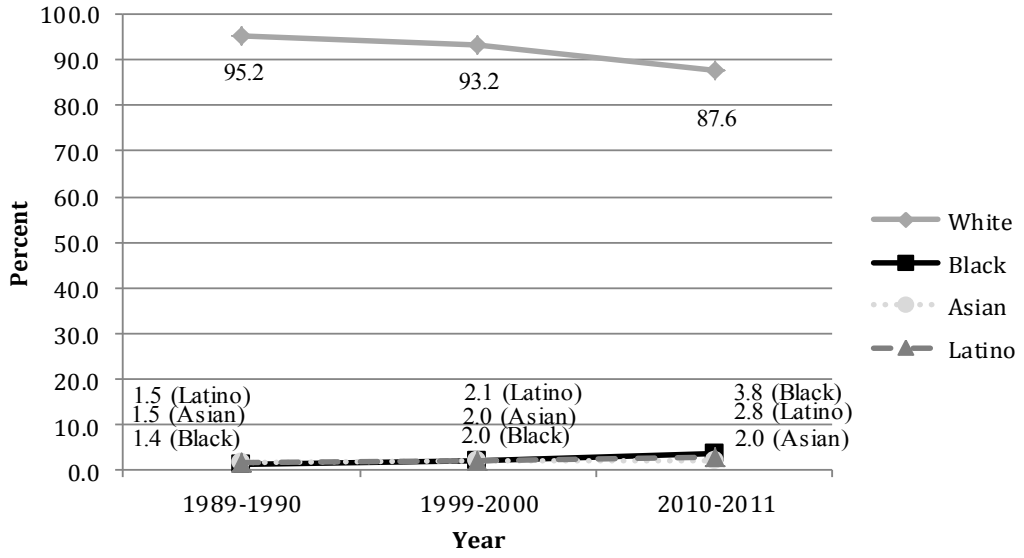
Figure 4 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Maine



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

The typical Latino student attended a school that has become less white and more black, Asian, and Latino; however, white students were still the clear majority in these schools (Figure 5).

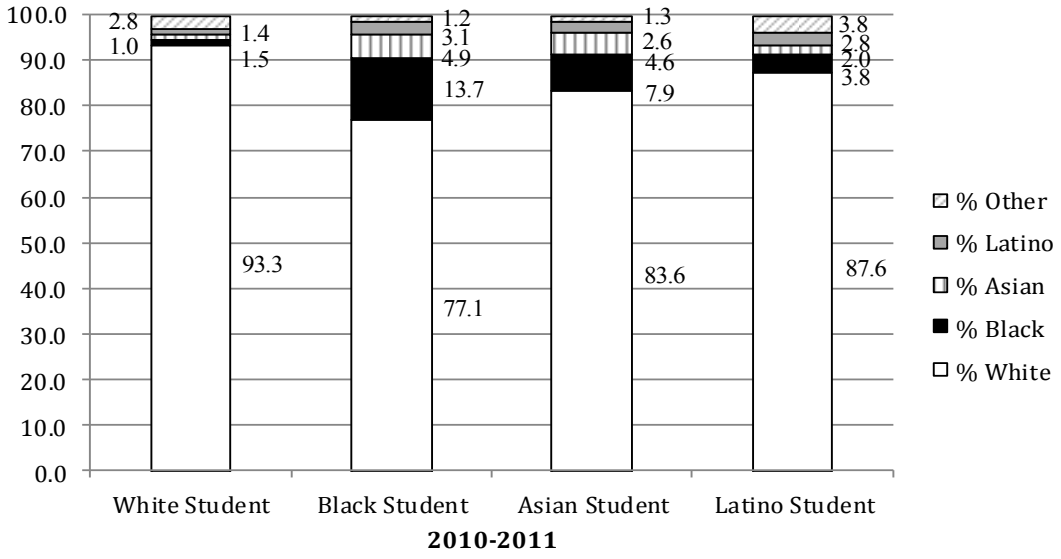
Figure 5 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, Maine



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

Both the typical white student and the typical Latino student attended schools that closely mirror the overall student enrollment in the state (Figure 6). The typical black student attended a school that was least similar to the overall state's student enrollment; in 2010, the typical black student attended a school with 13.7% black classmates even though the overall black enrollment in the state was only 1.8% of the total enrollment.

Figure 6 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Maine

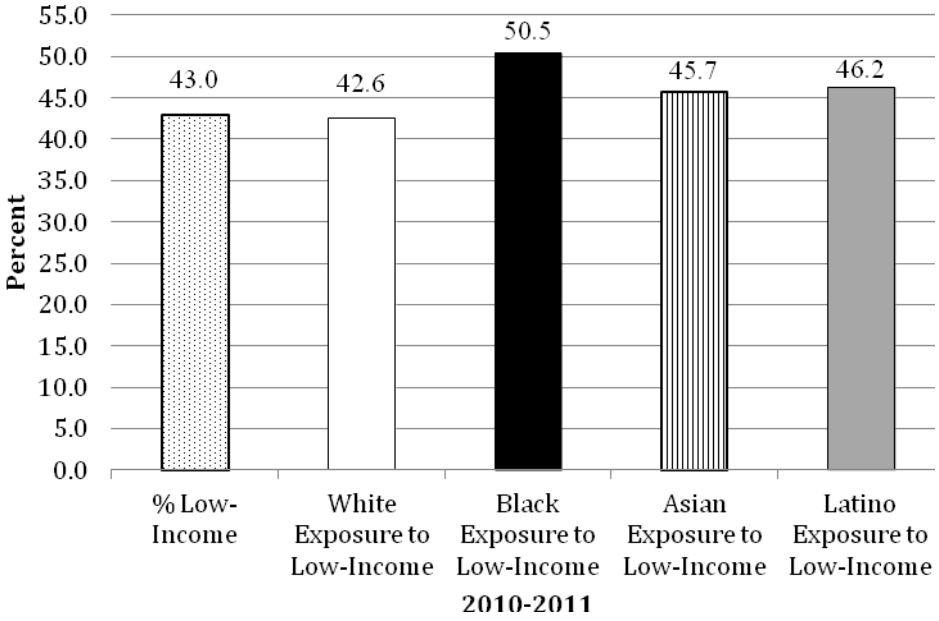


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

In 2010, in Maine, 43.0% of students were low income, which was higher than both Vermont and New Hampshire (Figure 7). The typical white student attended a school with 42.6% of low-income students, which was very similar to the overall level of low-income students in the state. The typical student of all other racial groups attended schools with larger shares of low-income students than the typical white student or the overall level of low-income students in the state. The typical black student attended a school with the largest share of low-income students.

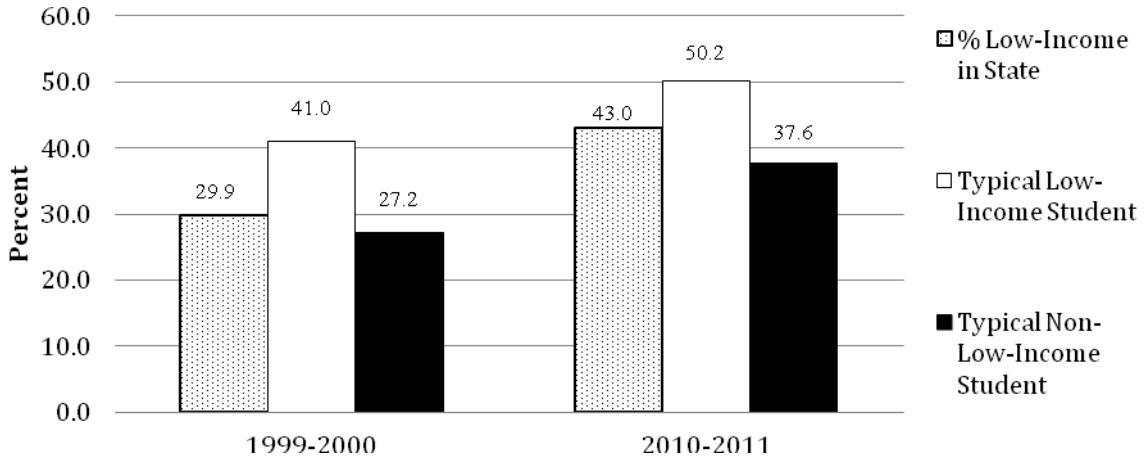
Figure 7 – Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Maine



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

The share of low-income students in Maine increased from 30% in 1999 to 43% in 2010 and therefore exposure to low-income students by both low-income and non-low-income students also increased (Figure 8). In 2010, the typical low-income student in Maine attended a school that was about 50% low income while the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about 38% low-income. Unlike New Hampshire and Vermont (Figures 21 and 33), in Maine the gap in exposure to low-income students between the typical low-income and middle-class student has decreased slightly over the last decade. These trends suggest that while low-income students are over-exposed to other low-income students, this situation is not becoming worse.

Figure 8 – Exposure to Low-Income Students by Socioeconomic Status, Maine



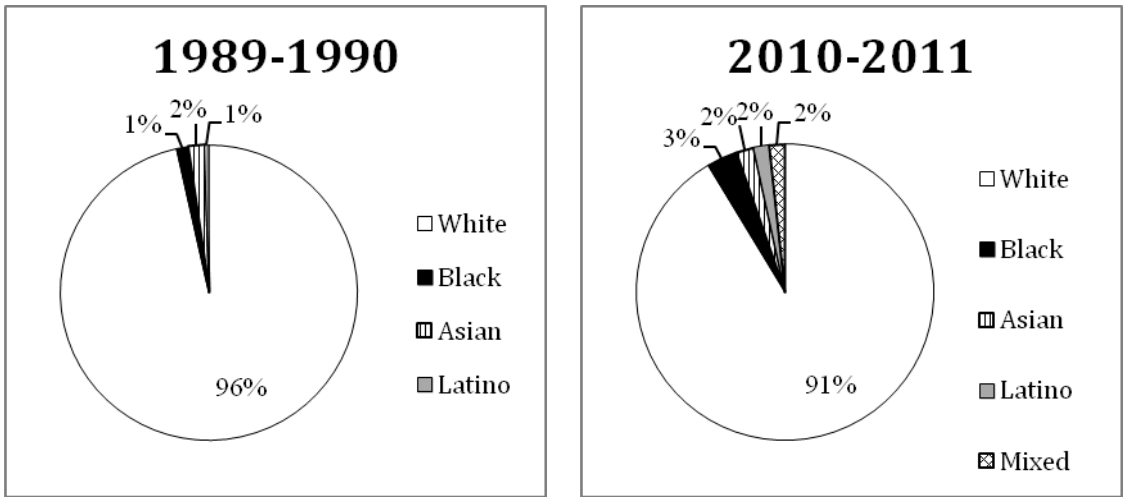
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Portland Metropolitan Area Trends[80,81]

From 1989 to 2010, the white share of public school enrollment in metro Portland decreased from 96.3% to 90.8% while the share of all other racial groups increased (Figure 9). The Latino share of enrollment experienced the largest growth from 0.5% in 1989 to 1.7% in 2010. The public school enrollment in metro Portland is slightly more diverse than the overall enrollment of the state.

[80] We used the Census Reference Bureau's 1999 Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as the unit of metropolitan analysis for all years. A MSA must contain at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more inhabitants. See Appendix B for further details.
[81] The 1999 MSA boundaries for Portland MSA included Cumberland County and York County.

Figure 9 – Public School Enrollment by Race, Portland Metro



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 30,285. In 2010, total enrollment was 71,189.

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

Over the last two decades in both urban and suburban schools in metro Portland, the white share of enrollment decreased, though the decrease in urban schools from 90.5% in 1989 to 73.5% in 2010 was much larger than the decrease in suburban schools from 97.1% to 93.7% (Table 4). During the same time, black, Latino, and other races' shares of the enrollment increased in both urban and suburban schools, and this increase was more substantial in urban schools. The Asian share of enrollment increased in urban schools but decreased in suburban schools. In urban schools, white students were the largest share of the enrollment followed by black students and then Asians. In suburban schools, white students were also the largest share of the enrollment followed by other races and then Latinos; both black students and Asian students accounted for 1% or less of the enrollment in suburban schools.

Table 4 – Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Portland Metro

	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools				
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**
Portland Metro										
1989-1990	90.5%	3.1%	4.9%	1.1%	0.4%	97.1%	0.9%	1.4%	0.4%	0.2%
1999-2000	84.9%	5.8%	7.1%	1.7%	0.5%	97.4%	1.0%	1.1%	0.5%	0.0%
2010-2011	73.5%	14.1%	6.5%	4.1%	1.8%	93.7%	1.0%	0.5%	1.4%	3.4%

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

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

Schools can be classified into four different categories with varying levels of concentration of minority students—multiracial, majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools. Prior to 2010, there were no majority minority schools, but in 2010, 1.8% of schools in metro Portland were majority minority (Table 5). According to NCES data, in 2010, 5.6% of Latinos and 20.9% of blacks attended majority minority schools.

The share of multiracial schools also increased from 1.4% in 1989 to 3.7% in 2010. Again, multiracial schools can offer many different kinds of opportunities and should not be equated with integration.

Table 5 – Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Portland Metro

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Portland Metro					
1989-1990	74	1.4%	NS	NS	NS
1999-2000	167	1.2%	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	164	3.7%	1.8%	NS	NS

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

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

While only 32.2% of the metro's students were low income in 2010, 54.2% of students in multiracial schools and 75.8% of students in majority minority schools were low income (Table 6). This pattern is similar to the pattern at the state level and shows the disproportionate distribution of low-income students in schools where black, Asian, and Latino students are enrolled, as 28.9% of black students, 28.7% of Asian students, and 11.1% of Latino students attended multiracial schools compared to only 3.1% of white students in 2010 (Figure 10).

Table 6 – Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Portland Metro

	Overall % Low-Income in Metro	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Portland Metro					
1999-2000	21.5%	50.2%	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	32.2%	54.2%	75.8%	NS	NS

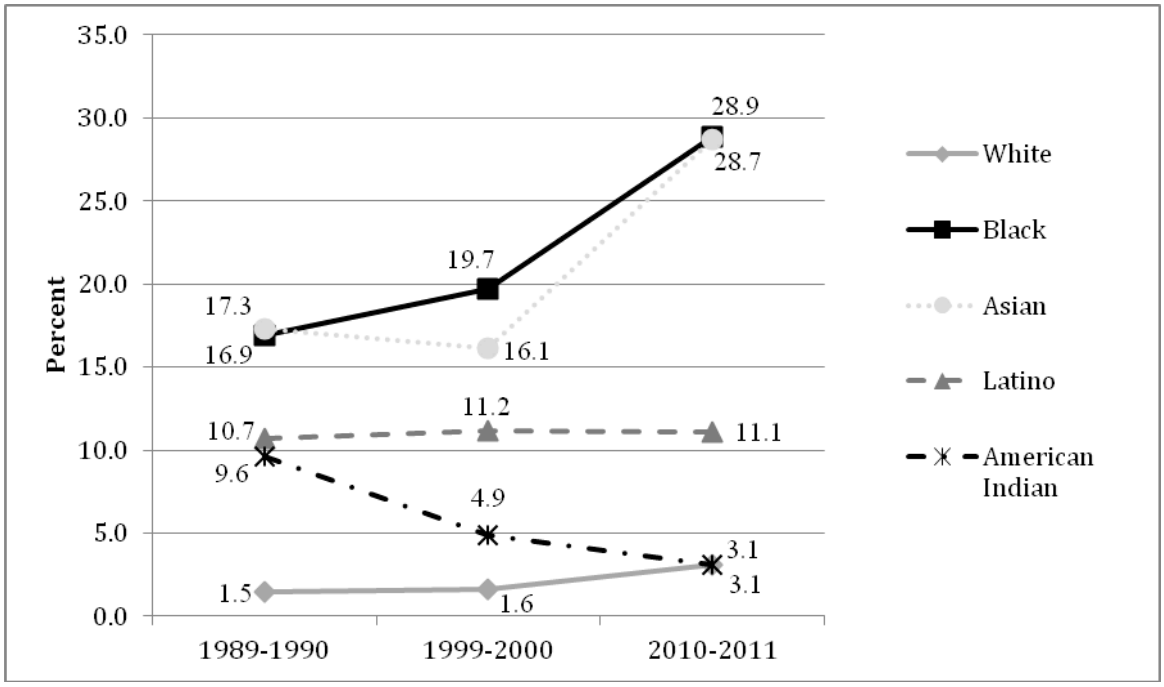
Note: NS = No Schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

More than one-fourth of black and Asian students and one-tenth of Latino students attended multiracial schools in 2010 (Figure 10). The growth in multiracial schools in the metro

was largely due to increasing shares of black and Asian students attending multiracial schools. These are schools where more than half of the students were also low income.

Figure 10 – Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Portland Metro

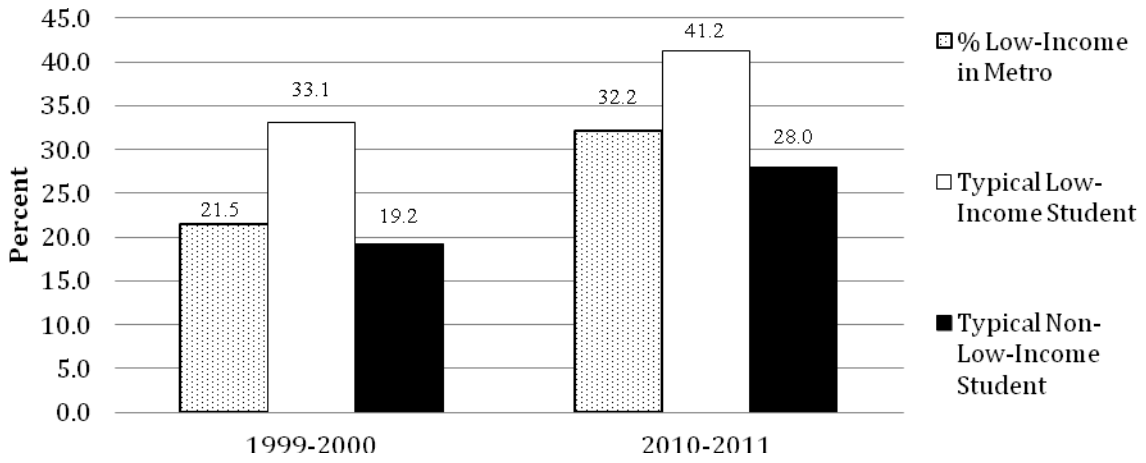


Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

Similar to the state, the share of low-income students in metro Portland increased over the last decade; therefore, exposure to low-income students by both low-income and middle-class students also increased (Figure 11). In 2010, the typical low-income student in metro Portland attended a school that was about 41% low income while the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about 28% low income. The gap in exposure to low-income students between the typical low-income and middle-class student has decreased slightly over the last decade in metro Portland, as in the state. While the trends in metro Portland are similar to statewide trends, all of the percentages are lower in the metro than in the state (Figure 8), suggesting that rural poverty might be an issue in Maine.

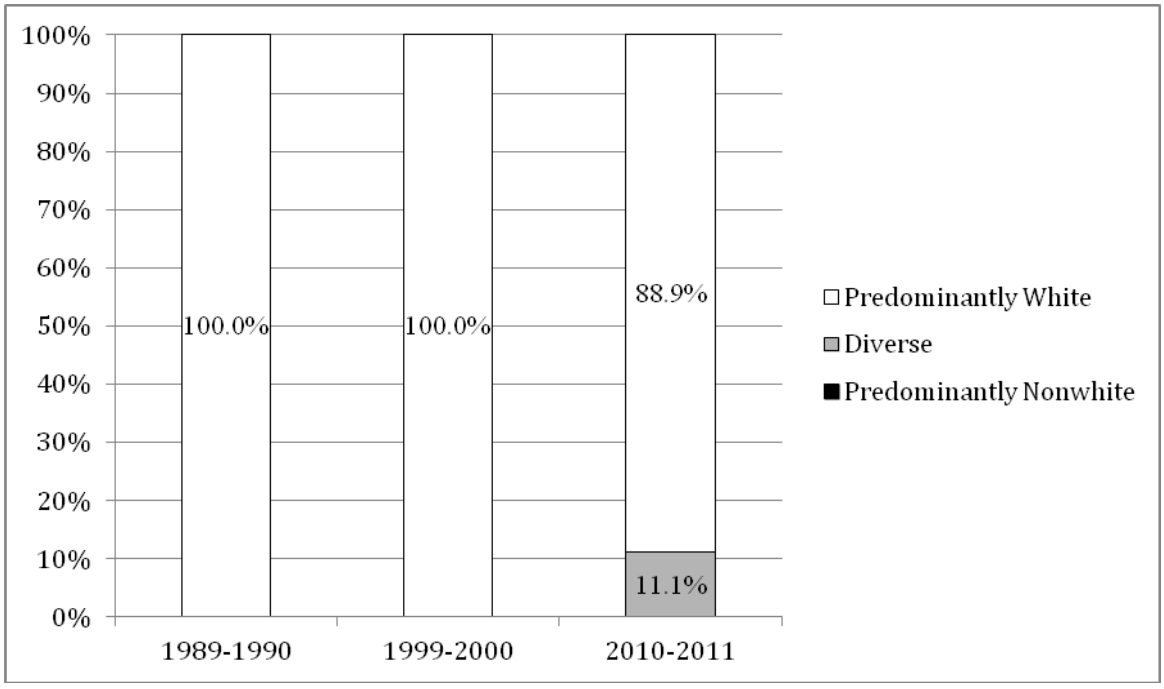
Figure 11 – Exposure to Low-Income Students by Socioeconomic Status, Portland Metro



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 and 1999, all of the districts in the Portland metro were predominantly white, but in 2010, one of the nine districts in the metro could be classified as diverse, indicating an enrollment of nonwhite students between 20% and 60% (Figure 12).

Figure 12 – Racial Transition by District, Portland Metro



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly nonwhite districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. *N* = 9 districts for 1989, 1999, and 2010.

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

Of the nine largest districts in the Portland metro, all of them experienced a decrease in the white share of enrollment from 1989 to 2010 (Table 7). However, all but one of the districts remained predominantly white over the last two decades. Portland is the only district to transition from being predominantly white in 1989 and 1999 to diverse in 2010.

Table 7 – White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts, Portland Metro

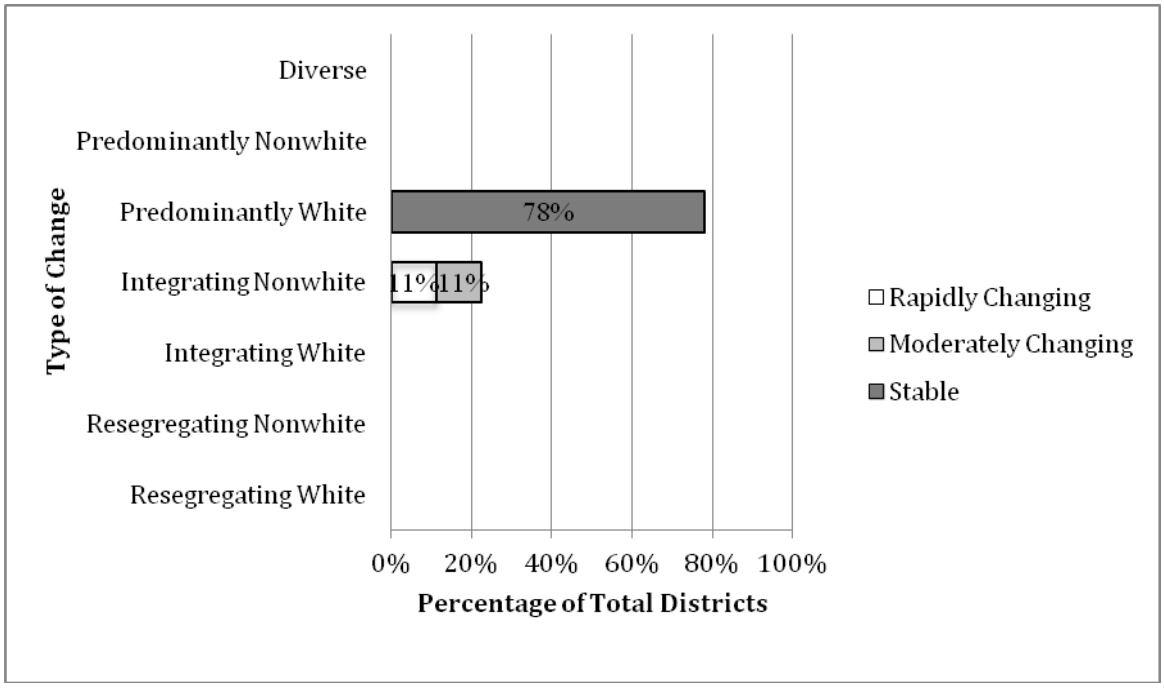
	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Portland Metro	96.3%	96.1%	90.8%	PW	PW	PW
YARMOUTH SCHOOLS	98.6%	98.3%	94.2%	PW	PW	PW
CAPE ELIZABETH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	97.8%	98.1%	93.2%	PW	PW	PW
RSU 15/MSAD 15	99.0%	98.0%	94.8%	PW	PW	PW
FALMOUTH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	98.3%	97.8%	93.7%	PW	PW	PW
WESTBROOK SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	97.4%	96.0%	86.2%	PW	PW	PW
GORHAM SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	98.7%	97.4%	96.3%	PW	PW	PW
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	96.9%	95.3%	84.6%	PW	PW	PW
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	99.5%	98.3%	94.7%	PW	PW	PW
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	90.5%	84.8%	64.8%	PW	PW	D

Note: D = Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW = Predominantly nonwhite area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW = Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. *N* = 9 districts for 1989, 1999, and 2010.

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

From 1999 to 2010, seven of the nine districts in the metro remained stably predominantly white (Figure 13). From 1999 to 2010, only one district was integrating nonwhite at a moderate pace, and one other district was integrating nonwhite at a rapid pace.

Figure 13 – Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Portland Metro, 1999 to 2010

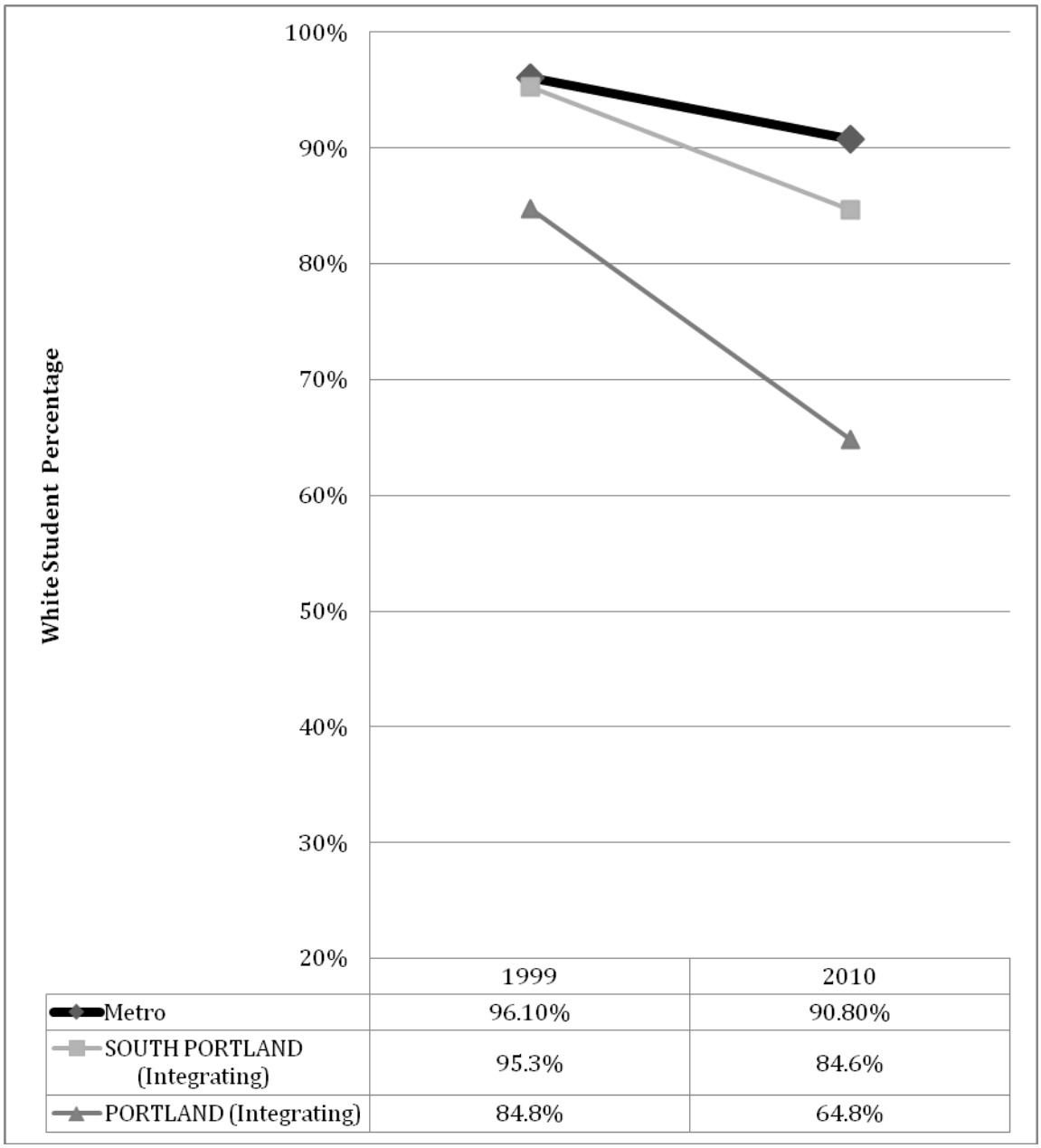


Note: *N* = 9 districts. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the latter period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominant type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Predominantly white or nonwhite 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

From 1999 to 2010, South Portland was integrating at a moderate pace and Portland was integrating at a rapid pace (Figure 14). Both of these districts' decrease in white share of enrollment was greater than that of the overall metro. Both districts are located in Cumberland County in the southwest corner of the state. Portland Public Schools, which is the largest school district in Maine, is an urban district that operated 16 schools with 7,037 students in 2010 (Table A-16). The district's enrollment was 65% white, 22% black, 4% Latino, and 9% Asian (Table A-15). Across the Portland district, 52% of students were low income (Table A-25). South Portland School Department is an urban district that had 8 schools and 3,118 students in 2010 (Table A-16). South Portland's enrollment was 85% white, 3% black, 5% Latino, and 4% Asian (Table A-15). In South Portland, 34% of the students were low income in 2010 (Table A-25).

Figure 14 – Rapid or Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Portland Metro



	1999	2010
Metro	96.10%	90.80%
SOUTH PORTLAND (Integrating)	95.3%	84.6%
PORTLAND (Integrating)	84.8%	64.8%

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

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

State- and metro-level trends indicate that the student enrollment in Maine is becoming increasingly diverse. Although white students still account for the vast majority of public school enrollment, their share of the enrollment is decreasing as the black and Latino shares are increasing. In fact, one of metro Portland's nine districts is now classified as diverse rather than its previous classification as predominantly white. As these changes occur, the types of schools that exist in Maine are also shifting; the state now has some multiracial and majority minority schools but has not yet reached the point of having any intensely segregated or apartheid schools. In addition to racial composition, the socioeconomic composition of schools is also important. Maine's low-income students are disproportionately distributed to multiracial and majority minority schools, indicating that low-income students tend to be enrolled at schools with higher concentrations of students of color; this pattern results in a double segregation of these students by race and class. Even though segregation is not yet a major concern in Maine, the typical black student is the most segregated by race and class as he or she is least exposed to white students and most exposed to low-income students.

Part Two: New Hampshire

Background and Context

In 2010, New Hampshire had the sixth lowest black public school enrollment and the 11th lowest Latino public school enrollment of all 50 states,[82] but, like Maine, New Hampshire's minority population has been increasing steadily in recent years. As these shifts have been occurring, New Hampshire has been equipping itself to support these growing groups of students. Although many of its efforts have had little time to mature, the state has actively pursued funding sources to provide academic support to K-12 students of all backgrounds.

Even though New Hampshire is one of the least diverse states in the nation, it has gradually been adding onto its non-white populations, with minorities now making up 7.7% of the state's population.[83] The state's largest minority group is Hispanics, who comprise nearly 30% of the minority population, followed by Asians at 27%, and blacks at 13%; other groups account for the remaining 30% of the minority population.[84] New Hampshire also has a growing number of immigrants who are Limited English Proficient (LEPs), a group that has increased in size by approximately 36% in the past decade.[85] This historically underserved group continues to lack access to the same quality and quantity of education as others around them. According to 2011 data from the Census Bureau, 18.4% of immigrants above the age of 25 in New Hampshire did not complete high school, compared to 7.9% of native-born individuals.[86] More than 4,900

[82] Orfield, Kucsera, & Siegel-Hawley, 44, 48.
[83] Johnson, K. M. (2012). *New Hampshire demographic trends in the twenty-first century* (p. 15). Durham, NH: Carsey Institute.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Migration Policy Institute. (2011). *New Hampshire social & demographic characteristics*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/state.cfm?ID=NH
[86] Ibid.

English Learners (ELs) currently attend New Hampshire's schools;[87] the number of ELs in the state increased by nearly 150% between 1994 and 2005.[88]

Recently New Hampshire began developing charter schools. Charter schools, which are autonomous public schools outside of the established public school system, are managed by nonprofit or for-profit groups and are the most rapidly growing sector of schools of choice.[89] In 2003, the state began a pilot program to establish 20 charter schools over a period of 10 years.[90] In 2011, the pilot program became permanent, and the state passed a bill allowing the number of schools to exceed 20. However, due to the strain on its budget, in September 2012, the state announced that it would no longer approve new charter schools.[91] This announcement generated an immediate and robust response against the policy: by July 2013, a new state budget had been developed to include $3.4 million of funding for charter schools in the next two years and $1.7 million each two years thereafter.[92] Nevertheless, charter schools continue to experience difficulties with obtaining funding apart from the state. Currently, charter schools receive $5,450 per student, compared to the state average of $11,753 per student.[93]

Of the 22 charter schools that have been approved in New Hampshire,[94] the majority are located in the southeast corner of the state, which contains the most diverse populations in the state.[95] Since their introduction into K-12 education in New Hampshire in 2003, charter schools have gained popularity in the state, and many parents apply annually to send their students to a charter school. From 2007 to 2013, the number of students attending charter schools in New Hampshire increased from 325 to 3,000 students, and now, approximately 1.5% (still a very modest percentage) of students in the state attend a charter school.[96] Among the charter schools in districts with the highest charter enrollments in 2010, the Merrimack School District charter schools enrolled 15.1% Asian students, compared to the 3.1% Asian enrollment in public schools. In the Pembroke School District, charters enrolled 6% of Hispanic students, compared to 1.5% in public schools.[97] This data suggests that some charter schools in New Hampshire do not reflect the racial composition of their traditional public school counterparts.

---

[87] New Hampshire Department of Education. (2012). *English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) program, K-12*. Concord, NH: Author. Retrieved from http://www.education.nh.gov/instruction/integrated/esol/
[88] New Hampshire Department of Education. (2011, September). *New Hampshire's equity plan*. (p. 1). Concord, NH: Author. Retrieved from http://www.education.nh.gov/nclb/documents/equity_plan.pdf
[89] Orfield, G. (2013). Choice and civil rights: Forgetting history, facing consequences. In G. Orfield & E. Frankenberg (Eds.), *Educational delusions? Why choice can deepen inequality and how to make schools fair* (p. 19). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
[90] Feely, P. (2013, July 21). NH OKs opening of three new charter schools. *New Hampshire Union Leader.* Retrieved from http://www.unionleader.com/article/20130722/NEWS04/130729879/0/NEWS
[91] Ibid.
[92] Solomon, D. (2013, June 23). Hopes for charter school expansion receive boost. *New Hampshire Union Leader.* Retrieved from http://www.unionleader.com/article/20130624/NEWS04/130629640/1037
[93] Balanoff, M., Corrin, A., Lee, S. J., Ogunbamise, T., Pine, K., & Wen, F. (2011). *Charter schools in New Hampshire: An overview of characteristics and challenges* (PRS Policy Brief 1011-12), (p. 20). Retrieved from http://rockefeller.dartmouth.edu/shop/prs_charterschools_final_061411.pdf.
[94] New Hampshire Department of Education (2014). *Approved charter schools.* Concord, NH: Author. Retrieved from http:// http://education.nh.gov/instruction/school_improve/charter/approved.htm
[95] Soloman.
[96] Feely.
[97] National Alliance for Public Charter Schools. (2001). *Details from the dashboard: Charter school race/ethnicity demographics* (p. 7). Washington, DC: Author.

Magnet schools have been introduced more recently in New Hampshire. Nationwide, magnet schools were originally designed in the 1970s as the first policy option to combine school choice with the goal of achieving racial diversity and therefore included civil rights protections, such as open enrollment, outreach, and transportation. Although not all magnets remain focused on the pursuit of racial diversity today, they continue to offer a unique curriculum and innovative teaching methods that often attract a diverse set of students from across traditional attendance zones; they are the largest set of schools of choice in the country today.[98] In 2012, New Hampshire opened its first magnet school, Maple Street Magnet School, in Rochester. The elementary school has a 200-day school calendar and focuses on the study of French.[99] Prior to 2012, the neighborhoods around the school had become poorer and before being converted to a magnet, the elementary school had experienced a declining enrollment; therefore, the Rochester School Department converted it to a magnet school with the goal of attracting families from around the district to the school.[100]

The New Hampshire government has developed a variety of programs to address disparities between the educational attainment of minority students and the white majority. Through funding from the U.S. Department of Education, New Hampshire developed the College Access Challenge Grant. This program, which is intended to increase enrollment in postsecondary schools, is funded at the level of $1.5 million annually and will continue through 2014. Through the grant, the state has funded projects that target underrepresented groups, such as foster children, potential first-generation college students, minorities, and financially needy students. These projects are implemented in collaboration with non-profit organizations and other state entities. They focus on increasing access to college planning information, mentorship, and guidance through and beyond the application process, as well as preparing a greater percentage of underserved students for college-level academics.[101]

Among the programs supported by this grant are the organizations affiliated with the New Hampshire Higher Education Assistance Foundation (NHHEAF), a collection of groups that aim to increase higher education attainment for underrepresented students. The NHHEAF is the primary means through which the state provides information to students and their families with the goal of encouraging higher levels of college attendance.[102] Within NHHEAF, the College Planning Program travels throughout the state to provide early outreach activities to underrepresented students and cultivate their interest in college. This program also provides college planning information to high school students, from test preparation skills to information

[98] Siegel-Hawley, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2013). Designing choice: Magnet school structures and racial diversity. In G. Orfield & E. Frankenberg (Eds.), *Educational delusions? Why choice can deepen inequality and how to make schools fair* (pp. 107-108). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
[99] Quinn, J. (2012, August 15). Maple Street Magnet School students get taste of French. *New Hampshire Union Leader.* Retrieved from http://www.unionleader.com/article/20120815/NEWS04/708169975
[100] Evans-Brown, S. (2012, August 7). Back to school already? First day at state's first magnet school. *New Hampshire Public Radio.* Retrieved from http://nhpr.org/post/back-school-already-first-day-states-first-magnet-school
[101] New Hampshire Department of Education (2012). *College access challenge grant*. Concord, NH: Author. Retrieved from http://www.education.nh.gov/highered/college_access.htm
[102] New Hampshire Higher Education Assistance Foundation. (2013). *About I Am College Bound*. Concord, NH: Author. Retrieved from http://www.iamcollegebound.org/about-us/

on careers and financial aid.[103] Additionally, the I Am College Bound Program provides access to information about federal and state financial aid online so that students who face affordability issues can learn about ways to finance their college educations.[104] Beyond the efforts of NHHEAF, many other public and private entities have received funding from the College Access Challenge Grant to support their activities aimed at reaching out to underrepresented communities in an effort to increase college enrollment.

With growing numbers of ELs and immigrant students, the New Hampshire Department of Education identified teacher preparation as an integral element to the success of immigrant and minority students. In a 2011 report, the Department of Education addressed the nearly 150% growth in ELs, as well as high poverty levels in the state, specifically in Nashua and Manchester, the two largest and most diverse cities in the state.[105] The Department of Education plans to increase the quality of teacher training and support so that all teachers can be highly skilled in working with low-income students, ELs, and students with special needs. In 2006, the New Hampshire Department of Education launched the Follow the Child Initiative. Building on No Child Left Behind, Follow the Child ensures that teachers are providing individualized attention and assessment to all students and supporting their physical, academic, personal, and social well-being.[106] As of 2011, 33 districts and 143 schools committed to participating in the initiative.

Manchester-Nashua Region. The Manchester-Nashua region, close to the Boston metropolitan area, is home to the most diverse communities in New Hampshire. Compared to other parts of the state, this region has the greatest number of immigrants and refugees. Its largest cities, Manchester and Nashua, each have populations in which approximately 10% of the residents are immigrants, compared to the state average of 4.4% in 2007.[107] In Nashua, 20% of residents speak a language other than English at home, a figure that mirrors the national rate. In Manchester, the number of black residents grew 157% between 1990 and 2000; the number of Hispanic residents grew by 126%, and the number of Asian residents by 93%.[108] Refugees in the region come from Nepal, Bhutan, the Demogratic Republic of Congo, and Sudan.[109] Manchester receives both federal and state funding to support the high percentage of refugee students in its schools.[110]

---

[103] New Hampshire Higher Education Assistance Foundation. (2013). *The Center for College Planning*. Concord, NH: Author. Retrieved from http://www.nhheaf.org/index.asp?page=pl
[104] Ibid.
[105] New Hampshire Department of Education (2011, September). *New Hampshire's equity plan*. (p. 1). Concord, NH: Author. Retrieved from http://www.education.nh.gov/nclb/documents/equity_plan.pdf
[106] Ibid., 2.
[107] Gittell, R. (2007). *Metro Center –NH and Greater Manchester region development* [PowerPoint Slides]. Retrieved from https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=0CEkQFjAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fpubpages.unh.edu%2F~rgittell%2Fdocuments%2FManchesterRegionDevelopment5-23-07.ppt&ei=4StCUpLOO5SCqQG2rIH4Ag&usg=AFQjCNE82s_cTOiAkcx0z3sKZFSAlEXO5g&sig2=QeeErkz5yiRST3PF2Wndag&bvm=bv.53077864,d.aWM
[108] Chan, A. (2004). *Snapshots of social and economic well-being by race and ethnicity in our community* (p. 2). Manchester, NH: City of Manchester Department of Health.
[109] Kretsch, A., Phuong, J., Rodriguez, E., & Tavaras, C. (2011). *Urban education policy summer research practicum Report: Granite State Organizing Project (GSOP)-Youth Organizers United (YOU)*, p. 3. (Unpublished master's thesis). Brown University, Providence, RI.
[110] Ibid.

The 2000 U.S. Census data indicates that in Manchester, almost 25% of blacks, 30% of Asians, and 42% of Latinos aged 25 years and over have not completed high school, compared to 18.2% of white residents. Only 5% of Hispanics in Manchester have received a bachelor's degree, and nearly one-fourth of Hispanics do not finish high school.[111] These disparities are attributed to geographical housing patterns, as most of the non-white population in the region live in areas of poverty.[112] As a result, students who come from less affluent families lack the ability to access a high quality education.

In 2011, immigrant and refugee high school students, mostly from Manchester, participated in a research project to investigate the situation of ELs in New Hampshire. Called the Youth Organizers United (YOU), this project was part of the Granite State Organizing Project, the largest grassroots community group in the state.[113] Assisted by researchers at Brown University, YOU aimed to pinpoint disparities in educational quality and outcomes between ELs and the rest of the student population in Manchester and elsewhere in New Hampshire.

Findings from the study indicated that in Manchester, EL programs use two models: a "sheltered" model, in which ELs of different language backgrounds are placed in the same class, and a "pull-out" model, in which ELs leave the traditional classroom daily to receive English instruction in a separate environment.[114] While these methods can be beneficial, students in Manchester have difficulty transitioning out of these programs and into mainstream classrooms.[115] Consequently, they score lower on the state's New England Common Assessment Program tests (NECAP) and often fail to pass; in 2010, 61% of students at Manchester Central High School scored proficient on the NECAP writing exam, while only 18% of EL students achieved proficient scores.[116] These trends are reflected across all three high schools in the Manchester School District. In order to better serve ELs, the report concludes that both EL and non-EL teachers should receive more professional development to work with diverse populations. Additionally, YOU plans to help create peer-mentoring opportunities in Manchester, as well as promote cultural diversity on its high school campuses. Further, YOU hopes to develop more college access programs to help its students succeed in high school and beyond.[117] These programs might include the University of New Hampshire Upward Bound Program, Educational Talent Search, and a collaboration with Southern New Hampshire University to allow eligible high school students to take college-preparatory courses.[118]

[111] Chan, 8.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Kretsch et al., 3.
[114] Ibid., 9.
[115] Ibid., 18.
[116] Ibid., 19.
[117] Ibid., 26-27.
[118] Ibid., 36.

New Hampshire Trends

Similar to the rest of the Northeast, New Hampshire's public school enrollment increased from 1989 to 1999 and then decreased in the following decade (Table 8). This trend is distinct from that of the nation, which has had increasing student enrollment over the last two decades. In 2010, New Hampshire's enrollment was similar in size to Maine's enrollment and was more than double the size of Vermont's enrollment.

Table 8 – Public School Enrollment, New Hampshire, Northeast, and the Nation

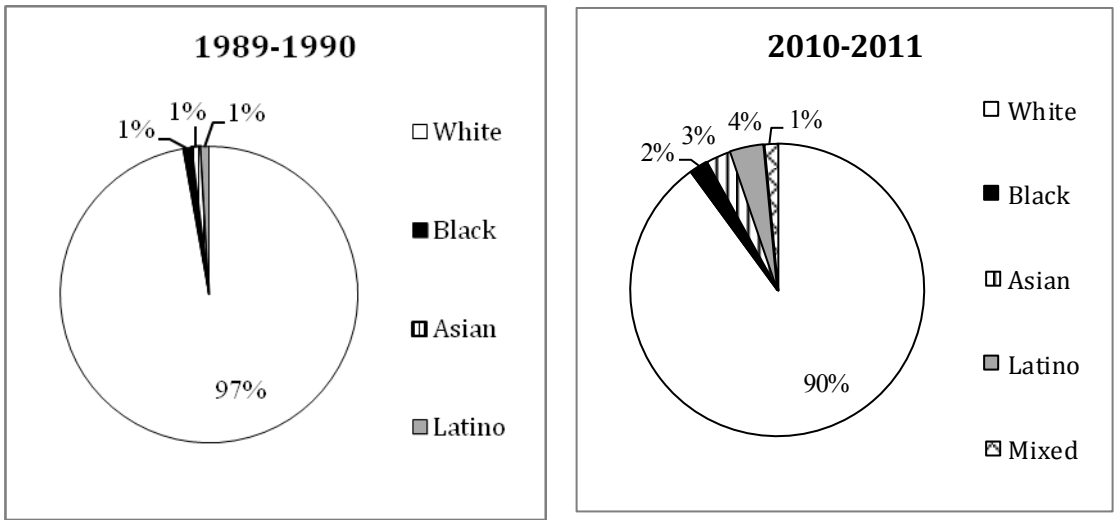
	Total Enrollment
New Hampshire	
1989-1990	171,697
1999-2000	206,783
2010-2011	194,001
Northeast	
1989-1990	6,940,135
1999-2000	8,007,804
2010-2011	7,780,729
Nation	
1989-1990	39,937,135
1999-2000	46,737,341
2010-2011	48,782,384

Note: Northeast region includes Connecticut, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

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

The white share of New Hampshire's enrollment decreased from 97.0% in 1989 to 89.7% in 2010 while the share of enrollment for all other races increased (Figure 15). Similar to Maine, the most substantial increase was in Latino enrollment, which increased from 0.9% in 1989 to 3.7% in 2010. In 2010, New Hampshire was more diverse than either Vermont or Maine and it was also slightly more diverse than either of those two in 1989, which could be in part due to the inclusion of the outer Boston suburbs.

Figure 15 – Public School Enrollment by Race, New Hampshire



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

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

There are four different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students—multiracial, majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools. In New Hampshire, 0.8% of the state's schools were majority minority in 2010 (Table 9). 9.1% of Latino students and 7.8% of black students attended majority minority schools in 2010-2011; there were no such schools prior to the this time point. All the majority minority schools are located in the Manchester-Nashua region and therefore are discussed in more detail in the section on the Manchester-Nashua region (Tables 12 and 13).

Compared to Vermont and Maine, New Hampshire had the largest share of multiracial schools in 2010 at 2.1%. According to NCES data, in 2010, 1.4% of white students, 13.2% of black students, 4.7% of Asian students, and 11.0% of Latino students attended multiracial schools. Again, multiracial schools can offer many different kinds of opportunities and should not be equated with integration.

Table 9 – Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, New Hampshire

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
New Hampshire					
1989-1990	444	NS	NS	NS	NS
1999-2000	521	NS	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	480	2.1%	0.8%	NS	NS

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

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

In 2010, 60.1% of students in multiracial schools and 84.9% of students in majority minority schools were low income even though only 25.2% of students in the states were low income (Table 10). The levels of low-income students in New Hampshire's multiracial and majority minority schools were similar to but slightly higher than those of Maine (Table 3). This pattern suggests a double segregation of students by race and class.

Table 10 – Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, New Hampshire

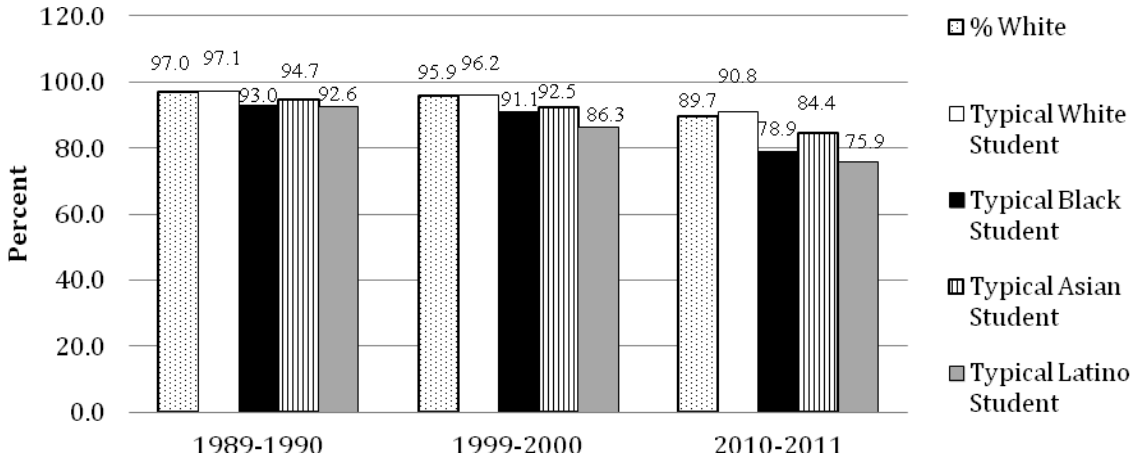
	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
New Hampshire				
1999-2000	NS	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	60.1%	84.9%	NS	NS

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

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

Unlike Vermont and Maine where the typical black student is least exposed to white students, in New Hampshire, the typical Latino student was the least exposed to white students, attending a school with only 75.9% white classmates (Figure 16). Similarly, the rate of exposure for the typical black student, who attended a school with only 78.9% white students, was not far from that of the typical Latino student. A similar pattern has existed over the last two decades. The gap in the typical black and Latino student's exposure to white students versus the overall share of white student enrollment has grown increasingly larger over the last two decades.

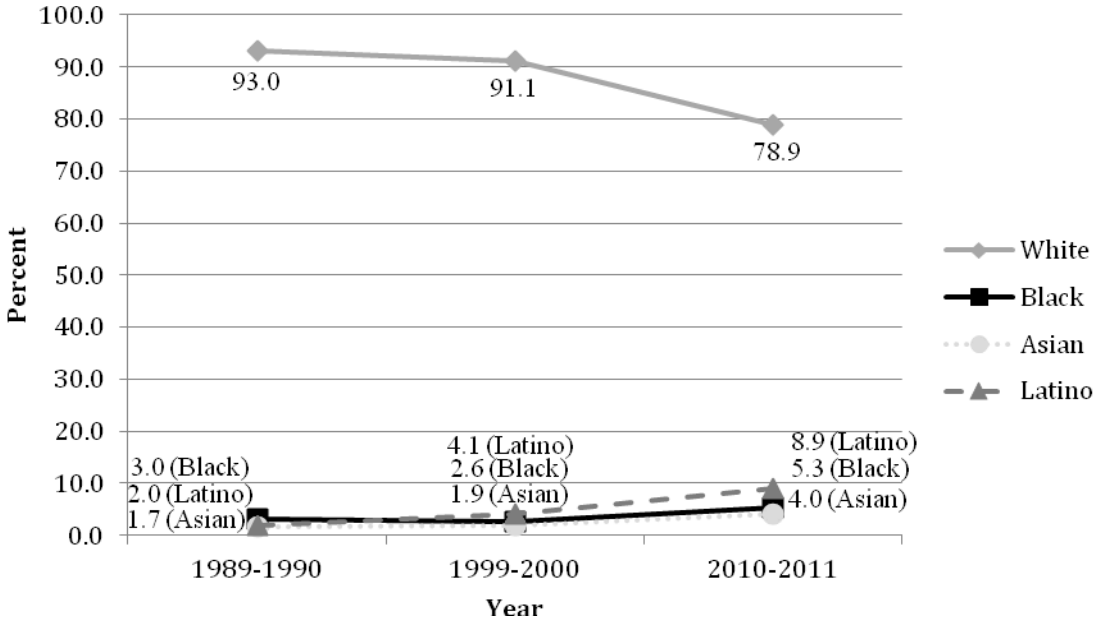
Figure 16 – White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, New Hampshire



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

The typical black student attends a school that has become less white and more black, Asian, and Latino; however, white students were still the clear majority in these schools through 2010 (Figure 17).

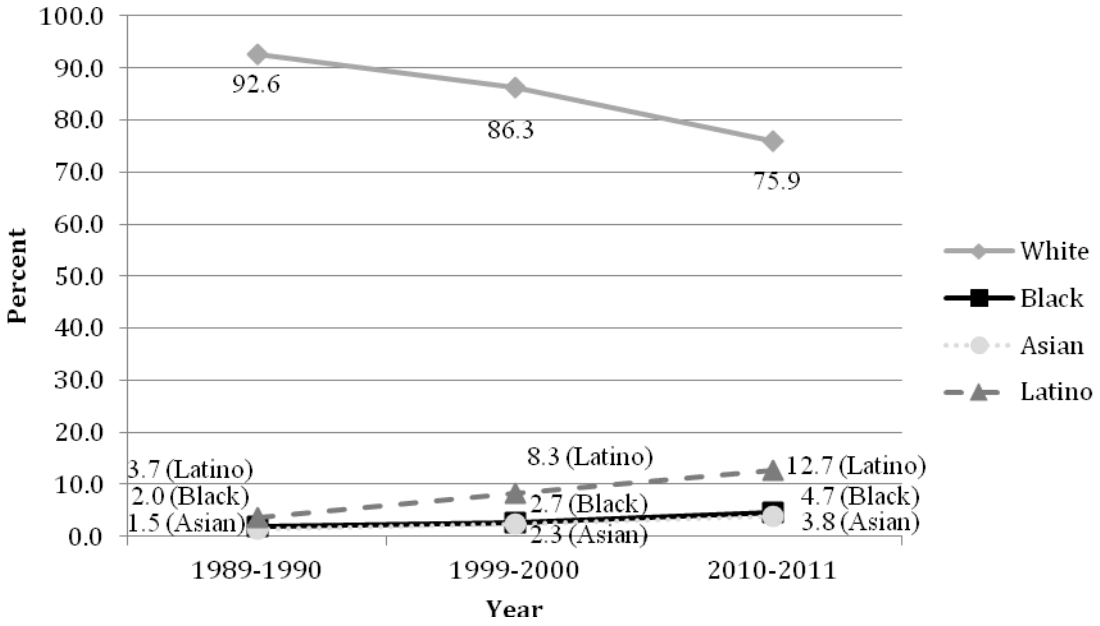
Figure 17 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, New Hampshire



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

The typical Latino student also attends a school that has become less white and more black, Asian, and Latino, but whites were also still the clear majority in these schools as well (Figure 18). In 2010, the typical Latino student attended a school that is slightly more diverse and slightly less white than that of the typical black student. Thus, the typical Latino student and the typical black student in New Hampshire share similar experiences of attending schools that have become somewhat more diverse but are still predominantly white.

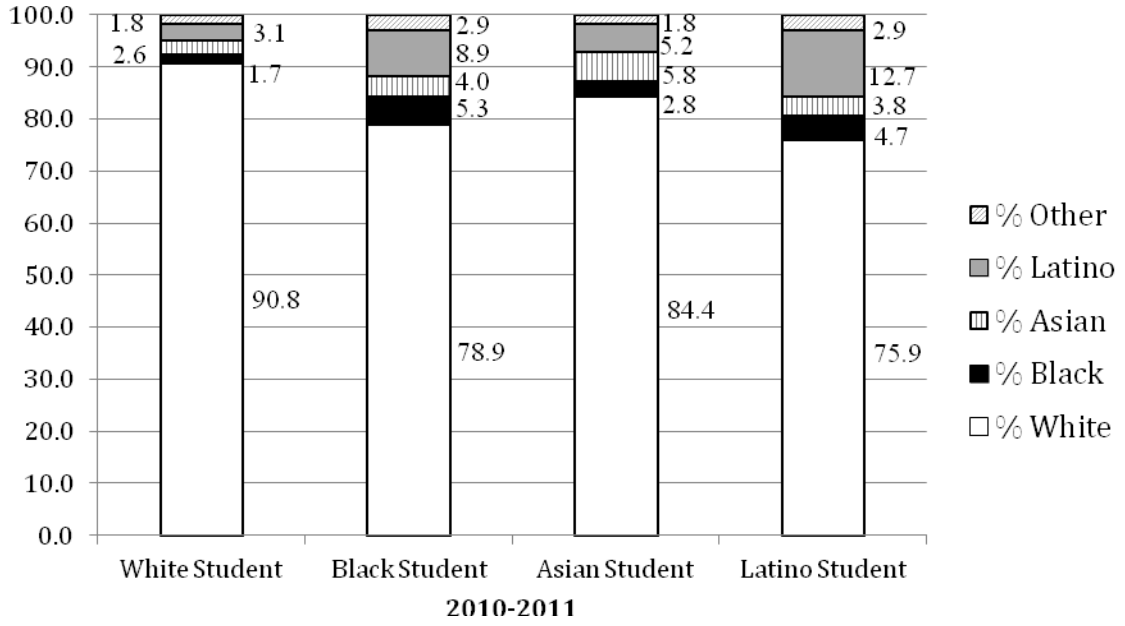
Figure 18 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, New Hampshire



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

In 2010, the typical white student in New Hampshire attended a school that most closely reflected the racial composition of the state's student enrollment (Figure 19). The typical Latino student attended a school that was least reflective of the state's enrollment. The typical student of each race attended a school where his/her own race was a larger share of the enrollment than their portion of the state's overall enrollment.

Figure 19 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, New Hampshire

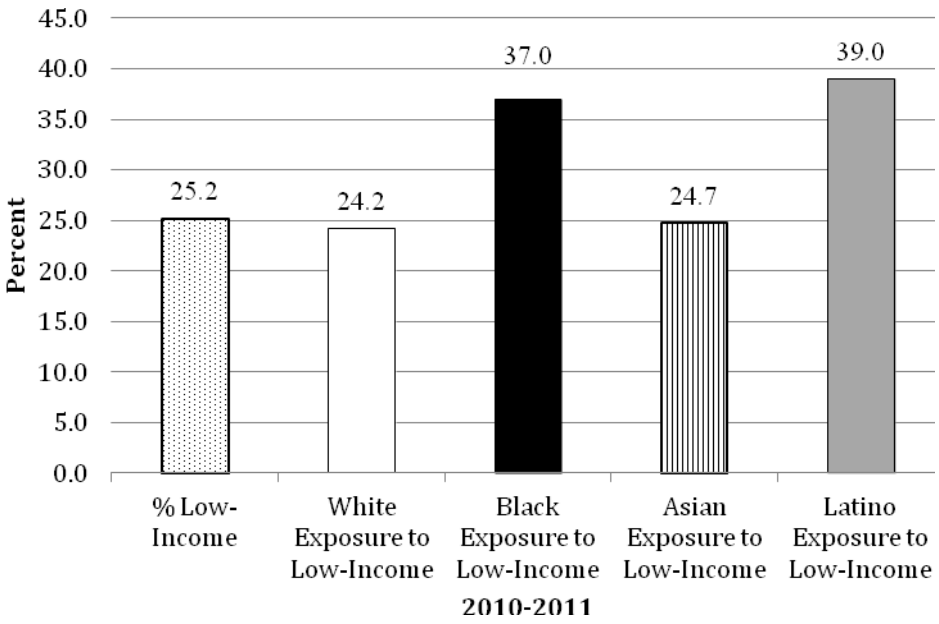


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

In 2010, 25.2% of students in New Hampshire were low income, lower than the share of low-income students in both Vermont and Maine (Figure 20). In 2010, the typical white student in New Hampshire attended a school where 24.2% of his/her classmates were low income, closely matching the overall share of low-income students in the state. However, in 2010, the typical black student attended a school with 37.0% low-income classmates and the typical Latino student attended a school with 39.0% low-income classmates, both larger shares than the schools attended by the typical white student and larger than the overall share of low-income student enrollment. These trends indicate a double segregation of black and Latino students by race and class.

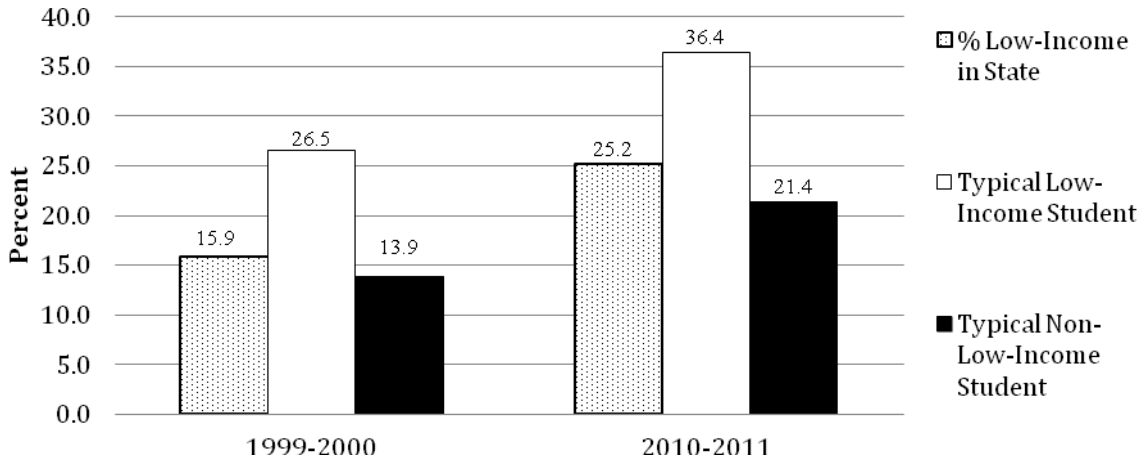
Figure 20 – Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, New Hampshire



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

The share of low-income students in New Hampshire increased from 16% in 1999 to 25% in 2010; correspondingly, exposure to low-income students by both low-income and middle-class students also increased (Figure 21). In 2010, the typical low-income student attended a school with over one-third low-income students while the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about one-fifth low income. Similar to Vermont (Figure 33), this disparity has grown slightly larger over the last decade.

Figure 21 – Exposure to Low-Income Students by Socioeconomic Status, New Hampshire



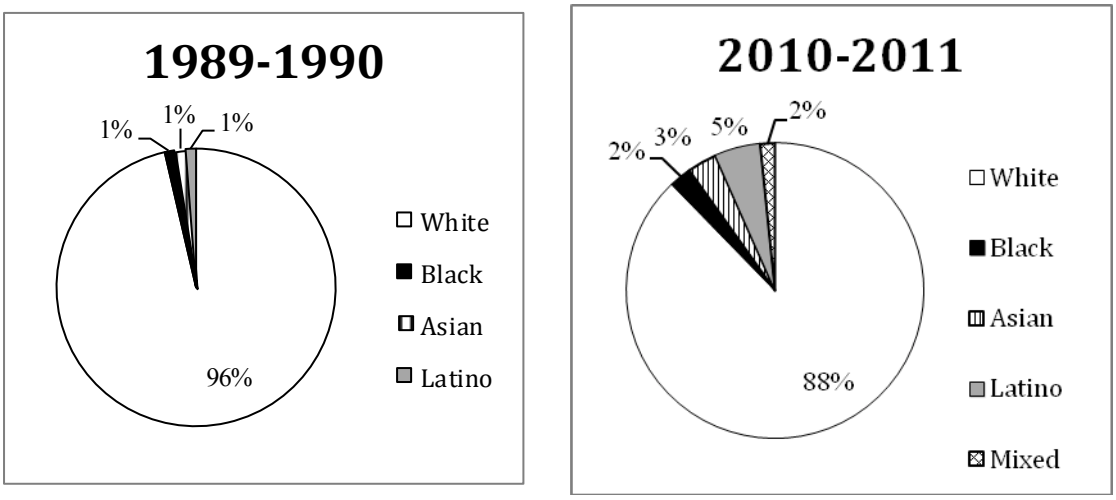
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Manchester-Nashua Region Trends[119]

In 2010, the racial enrollment in the Manchester-Nashua region was similar to but slightly more diverse than that of the state (Figure 9). The white share of enrollment decreased from 96.1% in 1989 to 87.5% in 2010 while the share of enrollment for all other racial groups increased in Manchester-Nashua. The Latino share of enrollment increased the most from 1.2% in 1989 to 5.0% in 2010 (Figure 22).

[119] We used the Census Reference Bureau's 1999 Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as the unit of metropolitan analysis for all years. A MSA must contain at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more inhabitants. See Appendix B for further details. We use the term "Manchester-Nashua Region" to refer to the Boston-Worcester-Lawrence-Lowell-Brockton metropolitan area. In this report our data includes only the districts in this metropolitan area that are located in the state of New Hampshire. The 1999 MSA boundaries included Hillsborough County, Merrimack County, Rockingham County, and Strafford County.

Figure 22 – Public School Enrollment by Race, Manchester-Nashua Region



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 109,505. In 2010, total enrollment was 124,765.

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

In both urban and suburban schools across the Manchester-Nashua region, the white share of enrollment decreased while the black, Asian, and Latino shares of enrollment increased (Table 11). The decrease in white share of enrollment in urban schools from 93.6% in 1989 to 69.7% in 2010 was much greater than in suburban schools where the white share of enrollment decreased from 96.9% to 91.6%. The Latino growth in urban schools from 2.3% in 1989 to 15.1% in 2010 was greater than in suburban schools where the Latino share of enrollment increased from 0.9% to 2.5%. In 2010, white students accounted for the majority share of enrollment in urban schools followed by Latino and then black students. In suburban schools, white students were the majority followed by Asians and then Latinos.

Table 11 – Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Manchester-Nashua Region

	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools				
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**
Manchester-Nashua Region										
1989-1990	93.6%	2.1%	1.7%	2.3%	4.5%	96.9%	0.5%	1.4%	0.9%	0.3%
1999-2000	88.6%	2.8%	2.4%	5.9%	0.3%	96.5%	1.0%	1.3%	1.1%	0.1%
2010-2011	69.7%	6.2%	5.6%	15.1%	3.4%	91.6%	1.4%	2.8%	2.5%	1.7%

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

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

Schools can be classified as four different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students—multiracial, majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools. In 2010, 3.8% of schools in the Manchester-Nashua region were multiracial, which although it is a small share, represents an important shift because previously there were no such schools (Table 12). Multiracial schools can offer many different kinds of opportunities and should not be equated with integration. According to NCES data, in 2010, 2.0% of whites, 16.0% of blacks, 5.7% of Asians, and 12.7% of Latinos in the region attended multiracial schools.

In 2010, 1.7% of schools in the region were majority minority, which again is notable because there were no such schools in the previous two decades. In 2010, majority minority schools enrolled 10.6% of Latinos and 10.0% of blacks. These schools in Manchester-Nashua account for all the majority minority schools in the state. None of the region's schools were classified as intensely segregated or apartheid schools.

Table 12 – Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Manchester-Nashua Region

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Manchester-Nashua Region					
1989-1990	233	NS	NS	NS	NS
1999-2000	314	NS	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	236	3.8%	1.7%	NS	NS

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

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

In 2010, 61.1% of students in the region's multiracial schools and 84.9% of students in its majority minority schools were low income even though only 22.6% of students in the region were low income (Table 13). As only 2.0% of white students and 5.7% of Asian students attended multiracial schools compared to 16.0% of black students and 12.7% of Latino students, it is clear that this disproportionate distribution of low-income students to multiracial and majority minority schools has little effect on white or Asian students. Conversely, black and Latino students, many of whom attended these schools, experienced double segregation by race and class.

Table 13 – Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Manchester-Nashua Region

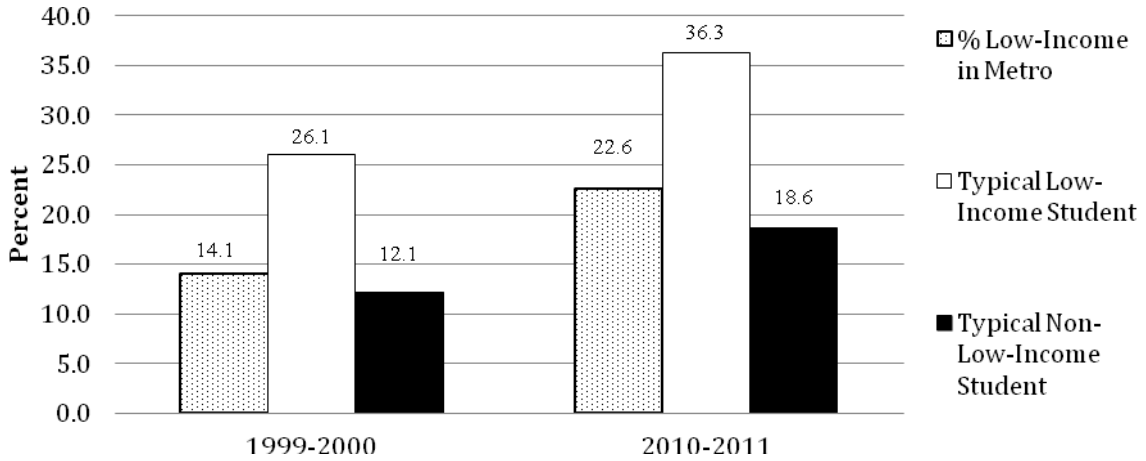
	Overall % Low-Income in Metro	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Manchester-Nashua Region					
1999-2000	14.1%	NS	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	22.6%	61.1%	84.9%	NS	NS

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

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

Similar to the state, the share of low-income students in the Manchester-Nashua region increased from 14% in 1999 to 23% in 2010; therefore, exposure to low-income students by both low-income and middle-class students also increased (Figure 23). In 2010, the typical low-income student attended a school with more than one-third low-income students while the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about one-fifth low income. Also similar to the state, this gap has slightly expanded over the last decade. The overall levels of low-income students in general and exposure levels for both low-income and middle-class students were lower in this region than in the state (Figure 21), indicating that there might be issues with rural poverty in the state.

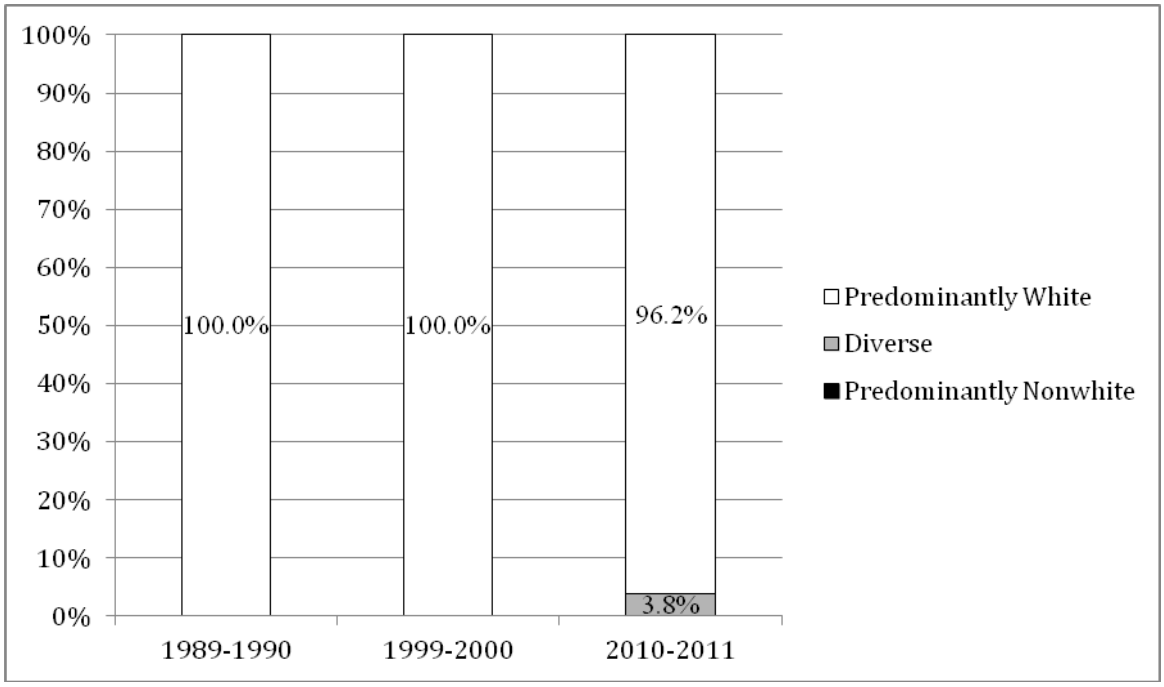
Figure 23 – Exposure to Low-Income Students by Socioeconomic Status, Manchester-Nashua Region



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

Prior to 2010, all the public school districts in the Manchester-Nashua region were predominantly white, but by 2010, 2 of the 53 districts could be classified as diverse (Figure 24).

Figure 24 – Racial Transition by District, Manchester-Nashua Region



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly nonwhite districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. *N* = 53 districts for 1989, 1999, and 2010.

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

Of the 10 largest districts opened in all three time periods in the Manchester-Nashua region, eight of the 10 remained predominantly white in 2010, but in all of the districts, the white share of enrollment decreased over the last two decades (Table 14). Two districts—Manchester and Nashua—transitioned from being predominantly white to diverse between 1999 and 2010.

Table 14 – White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts, Manchester-Nashua Region

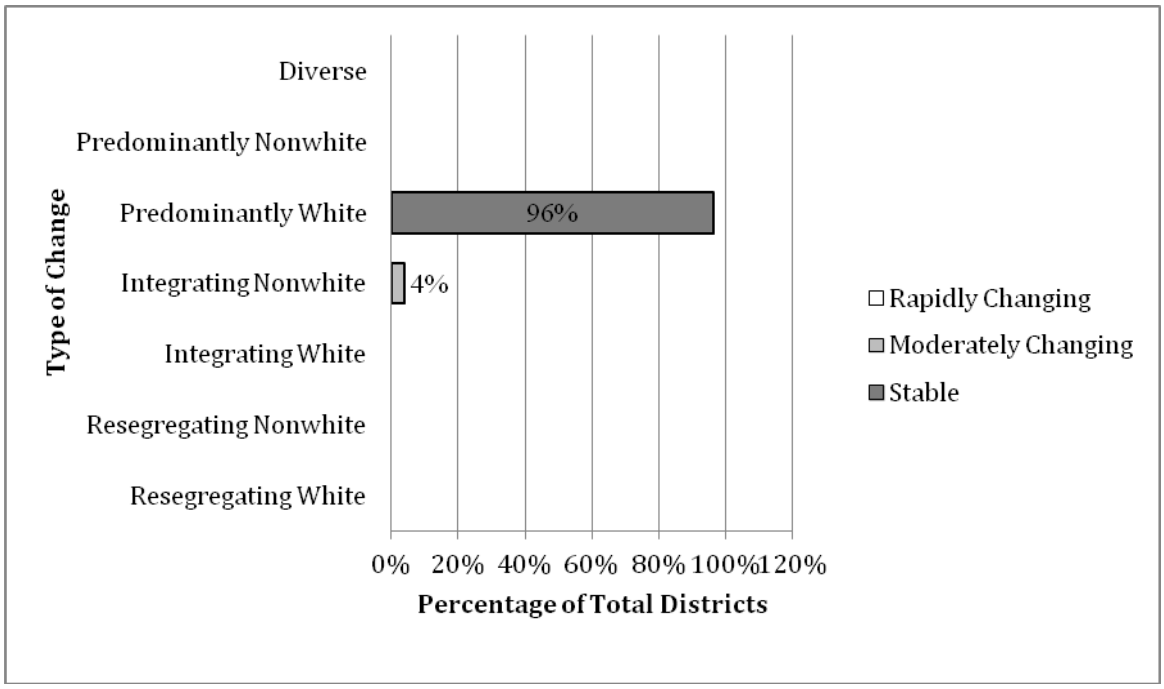
	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Manchester-Nashua Region	96.1%	95.1%	87.5%	PW	PW	PW
MANCHESTER SCH DIST	94.1%	89.0%	69.0%	PW	PW	D
NASHUA SCH DIST	92.4%	84.9%	70.5%	PW	PW	D
LONDONDERRY SCH DIST	98.2%	97.6%	95.5%	PW	PW	PW
SALEM SCH DIST	95.3%	95.2%	89.5%	PW	PW	PW
ROCHESTER SCH DIST	98.1%	96.4%	92.3%	PW	PW	PW
BEDFORD SCH DIST	97.7%	97.2%	91.5%	PW	PW	PW
MERRIMACK SCH DIST	95.3%	95.6%	92.5%	PW	PW	PW
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCH DIST	98.3%	98.7%	96.5%	PW	PW	PW
HUDSON SCH DIST	97.4%	95.3%	90.5%	PW	PW	PW
DOVER SCH DIST	95.5%	95.1%	85.1%	PW	PW	PW

Note: D = Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW = Predominantly nonwhite area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW = Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. *N* = 53 districts for 1989, 1999, and 2010.

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

Using a different set of criteria to measure racial transition in the region, from 1999 to 2010, 96% of the 53 total districts in the Manchester-Nashua region remained stably predominantly white and 4%, or two, districts were moderately changing and integrating nonwhite, indicating a change from being predominantly white to diverse at a moderate pace (Figure 25).

Figure 25 – Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Manchester-Nashua Region, 1999 to 2010

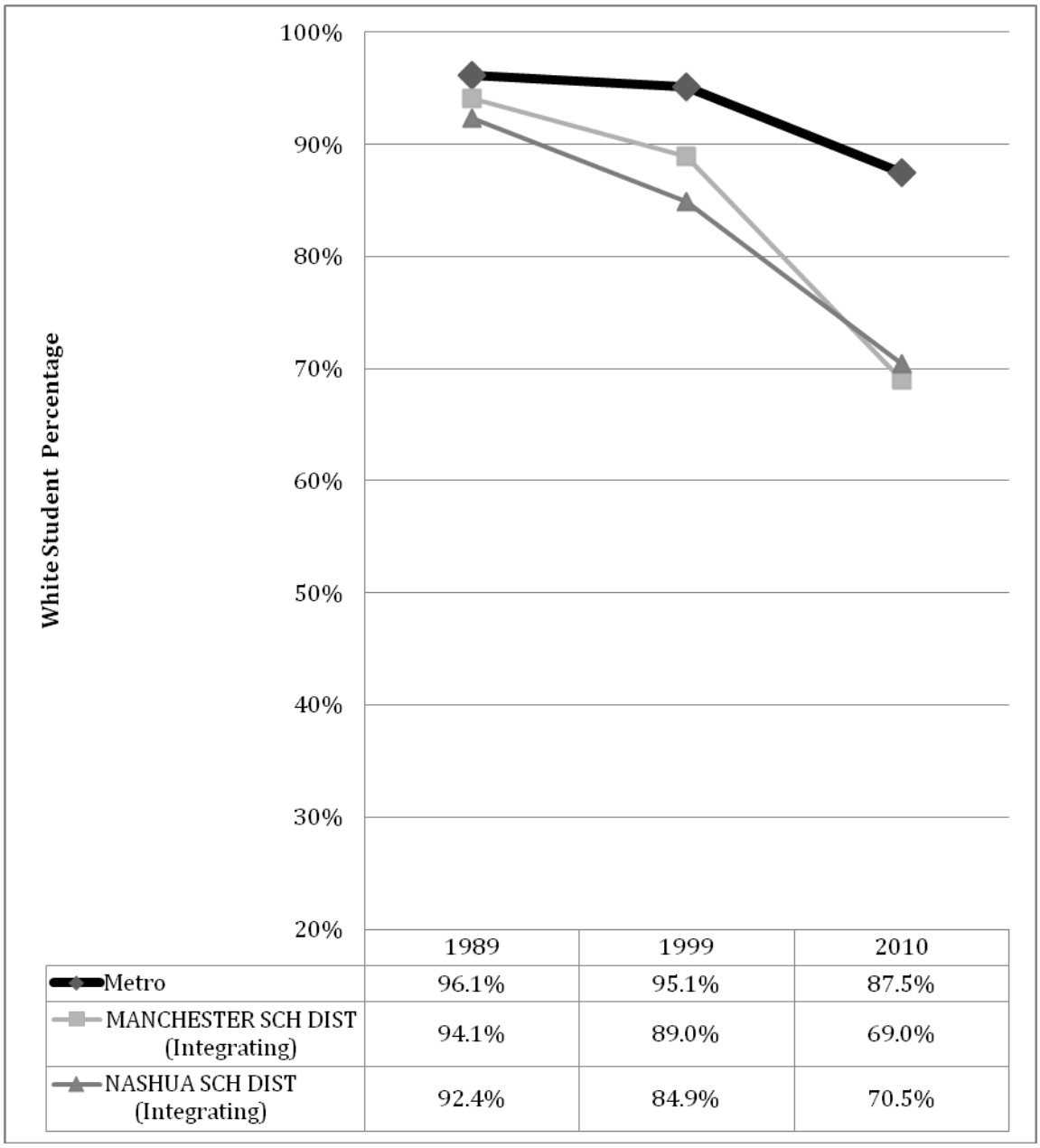


Note: *N* = 53 districts. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the latter period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominant type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Predominantly white or nonwhite 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

The white share of enrollment decreased more in Manchester School District and Nashua School District than in the overall region (Figure 26). The decline was more accelerated from 1999 to 2010 than in the previous decade. Both districts are located in Hillsborough County in the southeastern corner of the state, bordering Massachusetts. Manchester School District is an urban district that operated 21 schools with 15,731 students in 2010 (Table A-41). The district's enrollment was 69% white, 8% black, 13% Latino, and 4% Asian (Table A-40). In 2010, 47% of the district's students were low income (Table A-50). Nashua School District is an urban district that had 18 schools and 12,163 students in 2010 (Table A-41). Nashua's enrollment was 71% white, 4% black, 17% Latino, and 7% Asian (Table A-40). In 2010, 37% of the district's students were low income (Table A-50).

Figure 26 – Rapid or Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Manchester-Nashua Region



	1989	1999	2010
Metro	96.1%	95.1%	87.5%
MANCHESTER SCH DIST (Integrating)	94.1%	89.0%	69.0%
NASHUA SCH DIST (Integrating)	92.4%	84.9%	70.5%

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

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

State- and metro-level trends reveal the increasingly diverse and multiracial student enrollment in New Hampshire. As the black and Latino shares of enrollment have increased, the white share has decreased, though white students still comprise around 90% of the total enrollment. In the Manchester-Nashua region, the classification of some school districts has shifted from predominantly white to diverse. The state has some multiracial and majority minority schools but does not yet have any intensely segregated or apartheid schools. The distribution of low-income students in New Hampshire's public schools is disparate with black and Latino students attending schools with disproportionately high levels of low-income students, suggesting a double segregation of those students by both race and class. Although levels of segregation are low, of all racial groups, New Hampshire's typical Latino student attends a school with the smallest share of white students and the largest share of low-income students, indicating that the typical Latino student in New Hampshire is the most segregated of all the state's students.

Part Three: Vermont

Background and Context

At a glance, there appears to be little opportunity for segregation in Vermont's school's because its demographic composition reveals low racial diversity within the state. In 2011, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that Vermont's total population was approximately 96% white, with approximately 20% under the age of 18.[120] This figure has remained relatively stable throughout the history of the state. Vermont's public school system is no different; as a whole, in 2010, approximately 93% of students enrolled in public school were white. In fact, Vermont has the fifth lowest black public school enrollment and the third lowest Latino public school enrollment of all 50 states.[121]

With a total of 311 schools in 284 school districts, Vermont's school system is a fusion of public and private schools.[122] These schools comprise the state's entire education system, since Vermont is one of eight states that do not authorize public charter schools. Students are assigned to schools based on the location of their residences. However, because many school districts lack either a particular primary or secondary school, their students are given a choice through the state's voucher system called town tuitioning, which began in 1869 and is similar to Maine's program. In this system, a student's home district provides the necessary funds for its students to attend a public or private, though not parochial, school in a different district. The town tuitioning system is Vermont's method of providing school choice to parents, and, similar to Maine, this voucher system does not include any civil rights standards that would guide schools in avoiding racial or socioeconomic segregation. However, choices remain limited, as Vermont lacks specialized schools such as charter schools. Until 2009, there were no magnet schools either. Further, the only way in which parents can access school choice is if they reside in districts that do not already provide a specific primary or secondary school for their children. In 2000, 39% of towns in Vermont tuitioned out all or some of their students and 20% of Vermont's secondary

[120] U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). *State and county quick facts: Vermont*, Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/50000.html
[121] Orfield, Kucsera, & Siegel-Hawley, 44, 48.
[122] Cate, R. (2006). *The governance of education in Vermont – 1777 to 2006*. Montpelier, VT: Vermont Department of Education.

students had a choice regarding which high schools they would attend; both of these figures are slightly higher than Maine's comparable figures.[123]

Some fear that town tuitioning will cause competition among schools, resulting in movement out of traditionally low-performing public schools into high-performing private schools.[124] This may result in segregation based on socioeconomic factors, if students who are more competitive and who enjoy more educational resources choose to attend high-performing schools, while the less affluent do not. A 2002 study revealed that among the secondary students in the town tuitioning program, 53% chose to attend a public high school, 41% chose a private school, and fewer than 6% went out of state.[125]

Aside from cases of town tuitioning, students are bound to schools within their residential districts. Thus, there is a strong correlation between student residence and demographic composition of schools in Vermont. In the non-metro areas, or generally rural areas, 27% of the population has a bachelor's degree, compared to 34.8% in metro areas.[126] Thus, since geographic location of housing determines school placement, there is some evidence of disparities in educational attainment between metro area schools and those in non-metro areas.

In 2012, the Vermont Housing Finance Agency (VHFA) analyzed housing trends and pinpointed various factors that affect fair housing choice in the state.[127] In a report for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the VHFA identified "any actions, omissions, or decisions that restrict, or have the effect of restricting, the availability of housing choices, based on a person's membership in a category protected by law, which in Vermont are race, color, religion, sex, disability, familial status, national origin, sexual orientation, age, marital status, and being a recipient of public assistance."[128] The report found that low-income families often were unable to acquire homes, and additional rental units need to be built to increase affordable housing for these individuals.[129] Further, people of minority races were more often discriminated against than non-minorities in the housing search process through lack of information and a degree of questioning to which they were subjected.[130] These inequalities reveal housing segregation along racial and socioeconomic lines, which are closely correlated with school assignments and consequently the demographic composition of schools in Vermont.[131]

Burlington. Among the most racially diverse regions in Vermont, Burlington County faces issues of education inequalities for students of different racial groups. To address

---

[123] Hammons, 9-10.
[124] McClaughry, J. (2012, February 22). The school choice plot. *The Rutland Herald.* Retrieved from http://www.rutlandherald.com/article/20120222/OPINION03/702229960/1039/OPINION03
[125] Hammons, 24.
[126] Rural Policy Research Institute. (2006). *Demographic and economic profile: Vermont* (p. 5). Columbia, MO: Author.
[127] Mullin & Lonergan Associates, Inc. (2012). *Analysis of impediments to fair housing choice in Vermont* (p. 1). Montpelier, VT: Vermont Agency of Commerce and Community Development.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid., 12-14.
[130] Ibid., 21.
[131] Rothwell, J. (2012). *Housing costs, zoning, and access to high scoring schools*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

increasing racial diversity, the Burlington School Board commissioned a task force in 2010 to identify issues of inequality in its schools and to address them over a period of five years through district policy and programmatic changes.[132] Some issues the task force identified concerned the lack of access to postsecondary education opportunities for minority students, as well as an achievement gap between white students and minority students. It cited the federal Civil Rights Data Collection, which revealed that Asian, Black, Latino, Native American, and multiracial students comprise 27% of the district, but only 13% of students taking and passing Algebra I belong to those racial groups.[133] Additionally, students of color who are LEP were 25% less likely to take the SAT/ACT,[134] without which they cannot pursue a four-year degree.

The task force pinpointed four areas of change to be implemented in the schools: leadership, climate, curriculum, and human resources. To increase the effectiveness of teachers and staff with diverse student populations, it was recommended that all school and classroom leaders be required to receive regular diversity training as well as LEP training.[135] Additionally, the school district should conduct annual climate surveys to measure the level of inclusion in its schools.[136] Curriculum should shift to include multiple cultural, ethnic, racial, and religious perspectives.[137] Finally, the district should strive to increase the diversity of its staff to reflect that of the student population.[138] The Burlington School District is working to implement these recommendations in order to serve minority students more effectively and encourage integration between white students and students of color.

The school district has also made progress in its attempts to integrate students of different socioeconomic status. In 2009, the Burlington School District opened the first two magnet schools in the state, when two existing high-poverty K-5 schools, H.O. Wheeler and Lawrence Barnes, were converted to magnet schools.[139] At Barnes, students focus on project-based learning, in which they engage in hands-on activities that incorporate academic subjects.[140] H.O. Wheeler's program focuses on the arts, including kinetic, visual, and musical arts.[141] Since then, there has been great demand for the two schools from wealthy families. This situation has resulted in a pending decision to consider socioeconomic status as an enrollment criterion for the magnet schools.[142] In 2011, the Burlington School Board voted 12-2 to distinguish enrollment criteria between neighborhood schools and magnet schools, making it possible for the district to consider the socioeconomic status of its magnet school applicants. The goal was to "formulate and implement staff and student assignment procedures that ensure excellence, equity and

[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid., 1.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid., 7.
[136] Ibid., 9.
[137] Ibid., 10.
[138] Ibid., 12.
[139] Harsha, K. (2008, October 31). Burlington set to open magnet schools. *WCAX News.* Retrieved from http://www.wcax.com/story/9275368/burlington-set-to-open-magnet-schools
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Bromage, A. (2011, June 1). Burlington's choice: Will a school board vote make socioeconomic integration official? *Seven Days.* Retrieved from http://7dvt.com/2011burlingtons-choice-will-school-board-vote-make-socioeconomic-integration-official

inclusion and encourage balanced demographics at every school in the District."[143] In response to this new policy, residents have turned their attention to addressing issues of support for students who are English Learners (ELs) and students who are living in poverty.

Vermont Trends

Similar to the Northeast and the nation, Vermont's student enrollment grew from 1989 to 1999 (Table 15). During the next decade, Vermont's enrollment trend was unique in that it decreased to a level below what it was in 1989, reaching a low of 85,131 students in 2010. From 1999 to 2010, the rest of the Northeast also experienced a more modest decrease in student enrollment while student enrollment levels across the nation continued to increase. In 2010, Vermont's student enrollment was less than half the size of the enrollment in both Maine and New Hampshire.

Table 15 – Public School Enrollment, Vermont, Northeast, and the Nation

	Total Enrollment
Vermont	
1989-1990	93,134
1999-2000	103,019
2010-2011	85,131
Northeast	
1989-1990	6,940,135
1999-2000	8,007,804
2010-2011	7,780,729
Nation	
1989-1990	39,937,135
1999-2000	46,737,341
2010-2011	48,782,384

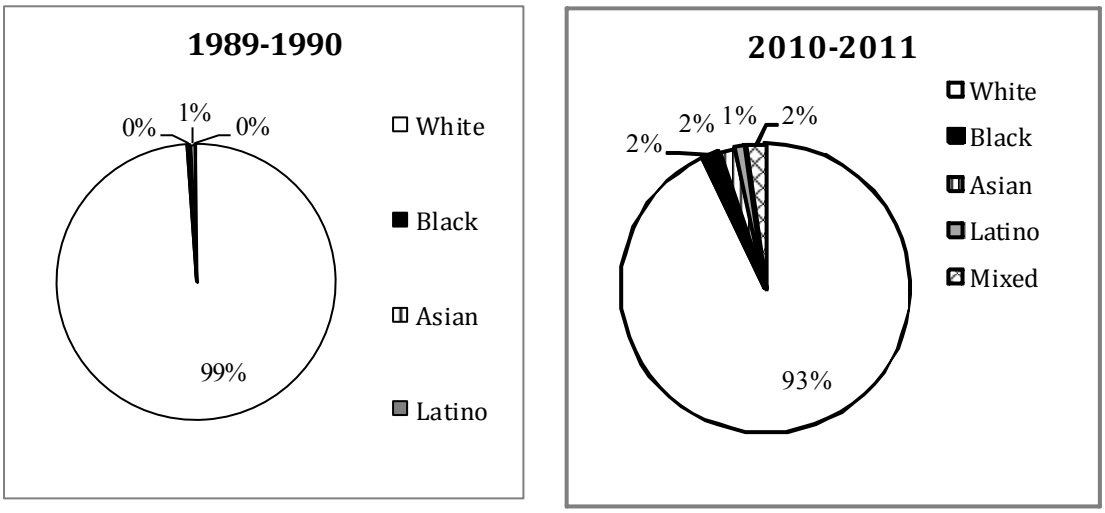
Note: Northeast region includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

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

[143] Ibid.

From 1989 to 2010, public school enrollment in Vermont became slightly more diverse (Figure 27). The share of white student enrollment decreased from 98.4% in 1989 to 92.6% in 2010 while the share of enrollment of all other racial groups increased. The black share of enrollment had the most substantial increase from 0.4% in 1989 to 1.9% in 2010.

Figure 27 – Public School Enrollment by Race, Vermont



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

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

There are four different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students—multiracial, majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools. Unlike Maine and New Hampshire, there are no majority minority schools in Vermont (Table 16). In 1989, there were also no multiracial schools in the state. By 2010, a very small share, 1.3% of total schools, were multiracial. Multiracial schools can offer many different kinds of opportunities and should not be equated with integration. These four multiracial schools are all located in the Burlington metro; therefore, Vermont's multiracial schools are discussed in more detail in the section of this report that focuses on metro Burlington. None of Vermont's schools are classified as intensely segregated or apartheid schools.

Table 16 – Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Vermont

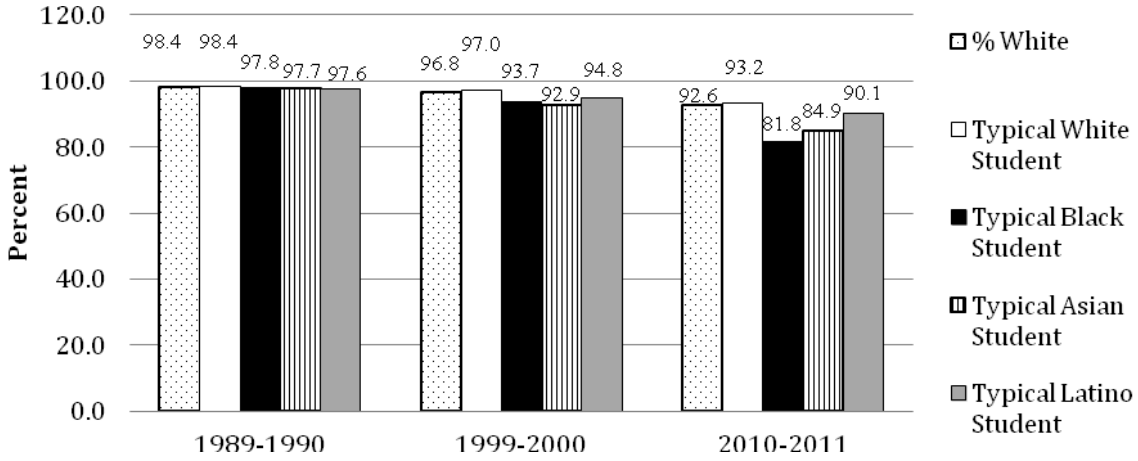
	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Vermont					
1989-1990	335	NS	NS	NS	NS
1999-2000	321	0.3%	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	304	1.3%	NS	NS	NS

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

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

In 1989 and 1999, black and Latino students were exposed to only slightly smaller shares of white students than the white share of enrollment (Figure 28). However, in 2010, this pattern changed for black students, such that the typical black student attended a school with only 81.8% white classmates despite the overall white enrollment of 92.6%; this gap in exposure is relatively large. Vermont is similar to Maine in that the typical black student was the least exposed to white students.

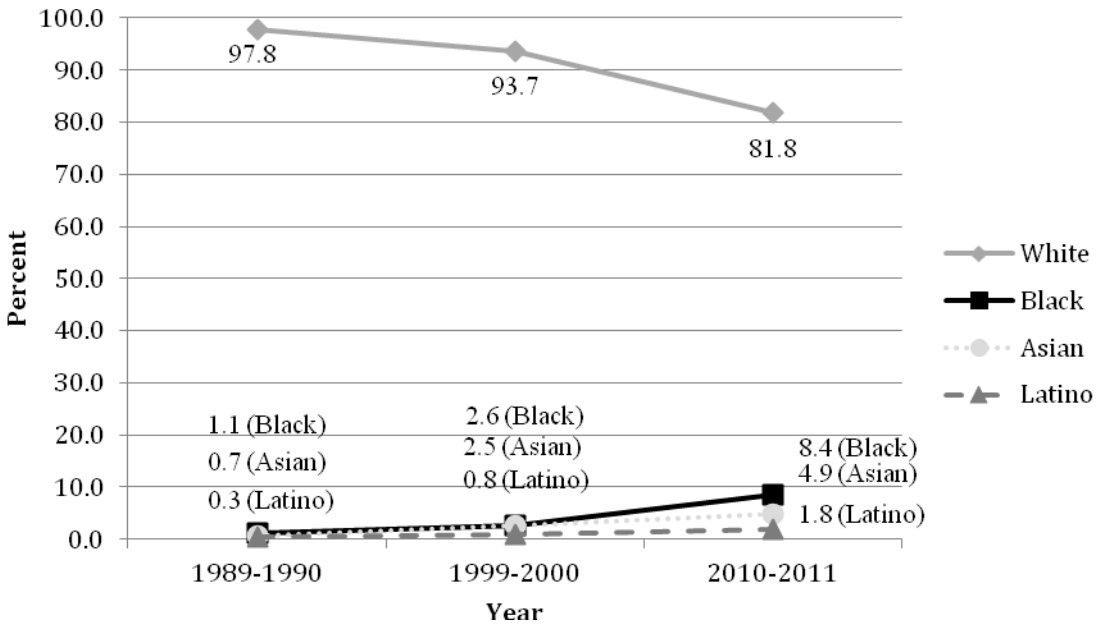
Figure 28 – White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Vermont



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

The typical black student attends a school in which whites are still the clear majority, but over the last two decades the typical black student's school has become less white and more black, Asian, and Latino (Figure 29). In 2010, the typical black student attended a school that is more diverse and less white than the typical Latino student. The typical black student in Vermont attended a school with more white classmates than the typical black student in either Maine or New Hampshire, which is not surprising because the share of white students in Vermont is also slightly higher than in Maine or New Hampshire.

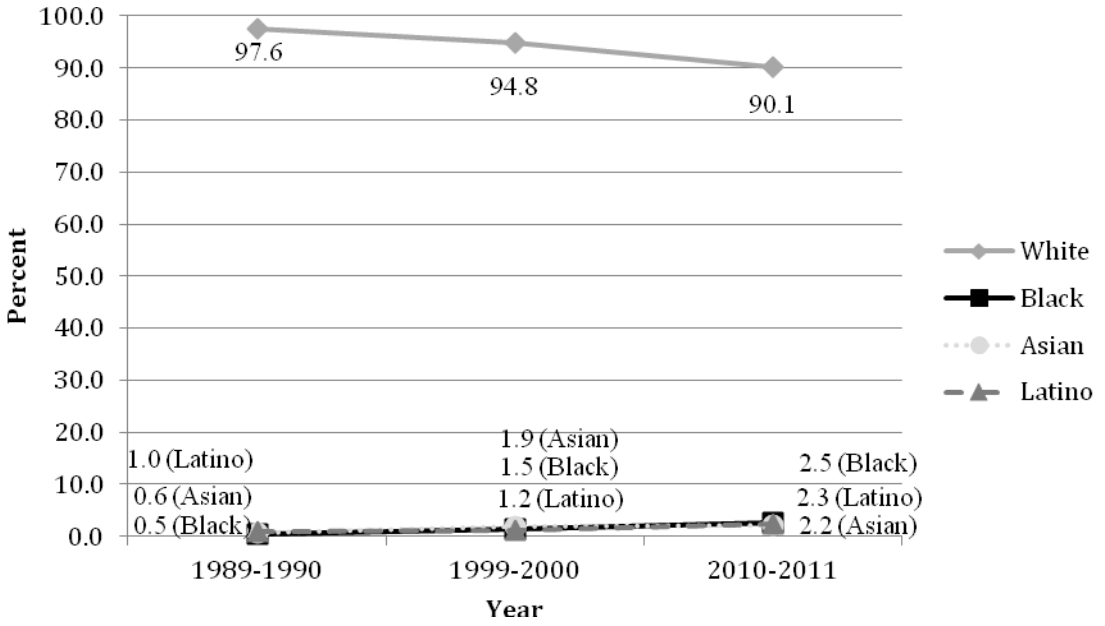
Figure 29 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Vermont



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

Similar to the typical black student, the typical Latino student in Vermont attends a school that has become less white and more black, Asian, and Latino, but again, whites were still the clear majority in these schools through 2010 (Figure 30). The typical Latino student in Vermont also attended a school with more white classmates than the typical Latino student in either Maine or New Hampshire in 2010. Again, this could be expected since the share of white students in Vermont is also slightly higher than in Maine or New Hampshire.

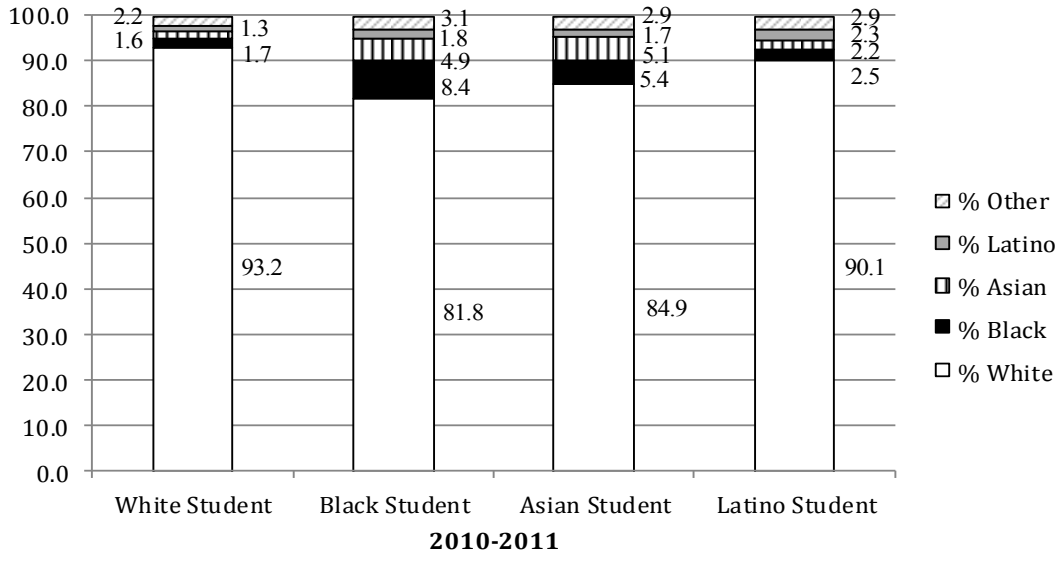
Figure 30 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, Vermont



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

In 2010, the typical white student in Vermont attended a school in which the racial composition most closely reflected the overall student population of the state (Figure 31). The typical black student attended a school that was the least reflective of the overall state enrollment. The typical student of each race attended a school with a disproportionately large share of same-race peers.

Figure 31 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Vermont

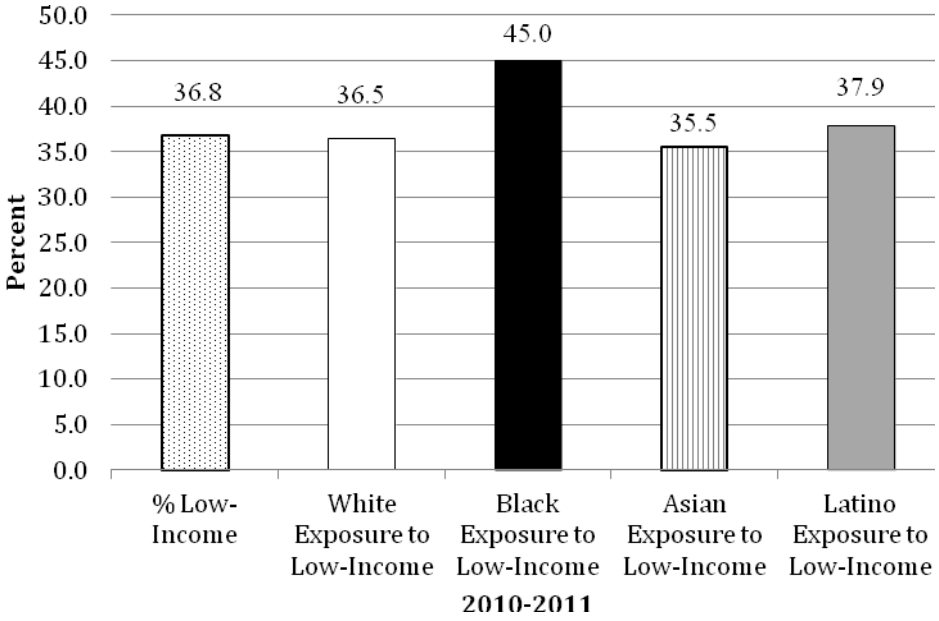


Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races.

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

In Vermont, 36.8% of students were low income in 2010 (Figure 32). The typical white student in Vermont attended a school where 36.5% of his/her classmates were low income, closely matching the overall share of low-income students in the state. The share of low-income students in the typical Latino student's school, 37.9%, also closely reflected the overall share of low-income students in the state. However, the typical black student in Vermont attended a school with 45.0% low-income students, which is a larger share than is present in the schools attended by the typical white, the typical Asian, the typical Latino, and the overall share of student enrollment that is low income in the state. This pattern suggests that black students are experiencing double segregation by race and class.

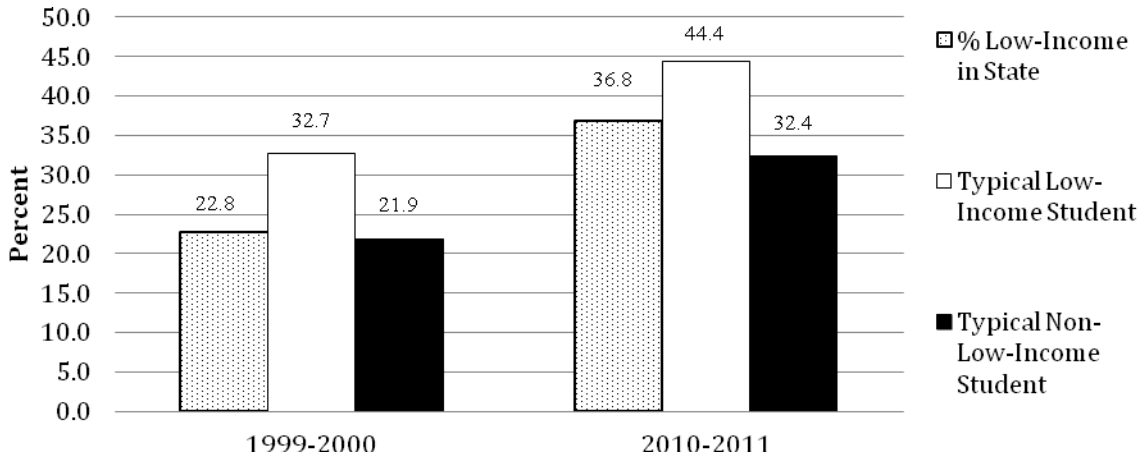
Figure 32 – Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Vermont



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

The share of low-income students in Vermont increased from 23% in 1999 to 37% in 2010; correspondingly, exposure to low-income students by both low-income and middle-class students also increased (Figure 33). In 2010, the typical low-income student attended a school with about 44% low-income students while the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about 32% low income. Similar to New Hampshire (Figure 21), this gap has grown slightly larger over the last decade.

Figure 33 – Exposure to Low-Income Students by Socioeconomic Status, Vermont



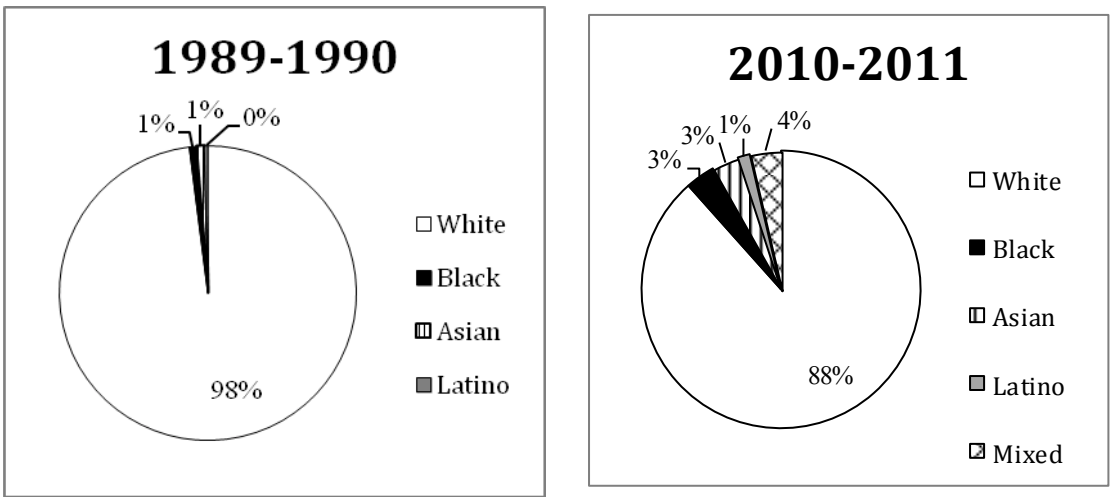
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Burlington Metropolitan Area Trends[144, 145]

In 2010, the student enrollment in the Burlington metro was more diverse than that of the state as a whole (Figure 34). Similar to the state, the black enrollment increased the most from 0.7% in 1989 to 3.4% in 2010 while the white share of enrollment decreased from 97.9% to 88%. The Latino and Asian shares of enrollment also increased during these two decades.

[144] We used the Census Reference Bureau's 1999 Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as the unit of metropolitan analysis for all years. A MSA must contain at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more inhabitants. See Appendix B for further details.
[145] The 1999 MSA boundaries for Burlington MSA included Chittenden County, Franklin County, and Grand Isle County.

Figure 34 – Public School Enrollment by Race, Burlington Metro



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 17,322. In 2010, total enrollment was 30,598.

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

In both urban and suburban schools across the metro, the white share of enrollment decreased while the black, Asian, and Latino shares of enrollment increased (Table 17). In 2010, the white share of enrollment was considerably larger in suburban schools (87.6%) than in urban schools (76.7%), but all other racial groups had a larger share of enrollment in urban schools. In urban schools, the black and Asian shares of enrollment increased the most, from 1.6% to 9.1% for black students and from 0.8% to 8.2% for Asian students. The same is true in suburban schools where the black share of enrollment increased from 0.8% in 1989 to 4.1% in 2010 and the Asian share increased from 1.2% to 3.8%.

Table 17 – Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Burlington Metro

	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools				
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Other**
Burlington Metro										
1989-1990	97.0%	1.6%	0.8%	0.5%	0.1%	97.3%	0.8%	1.2%	0.5%	0.2%
1999-2000	86.6%	5.4%	6.2%	1.4%	0.4%	95.4%	1.0%	2.2%	0.7%	0.7%
2010-2011	76.7%	9.1%	8.2%	2.1%	3.9%	87.6%	4.1%	3.8%	1.4%	3.1%

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

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

There are four different types of schools with varying levels of concentration of minority students—multiracial, majority minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools. As is true with the rest of the state, in 2010, there were no majority minority schools in the Burlington metro (Table 18). The share of multiracial schools, though still small, has increased over the last two decades. All four of the state's multiracial schools are in metro Burlington. Again, multiracial schools can offer many different kinds of opportunities and should not be equated with integration. None of the metro's schools were classified as intensely segregated or apartheid schools.

Table 18 – Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Burlington Metro

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Burlington Metro					
1989-1990	44	NS	NS	NS	NS
1999-2000	72	1.4%	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	73	5.5%	NS	NS	NS

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

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

In 2010, 64.5% of students in multiracial schools were low income, which is more than double the 30.2% of students in the metro who were low income (Table 19).

Table 19 – Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Burlington Metro

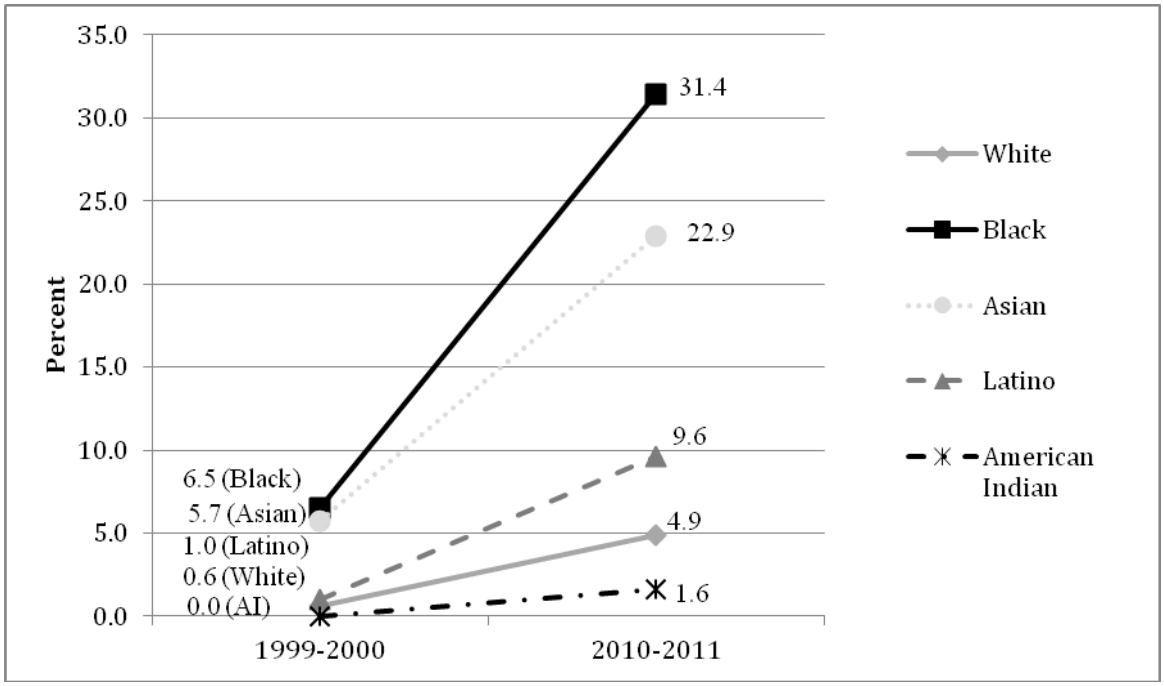
	Overall % Low-Income in Metro	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Burlington Metro					
1999-2000	17.8%	*	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	30.2%	64.5%	NS	NS	NS

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

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

In 2010, 31.4% of black students and 22.9% of Asian students attended multiracial schools (Figure 35). It is important to note that in these schools, almost two-thirds of the students are low income (Table 19). Only 4.9% of white students attended multiracial schools in 2010; therefore, the uneven distribution of low-income students to multiracial schools had a limited effect on white students.

Figure 35 – Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Burlington Metro

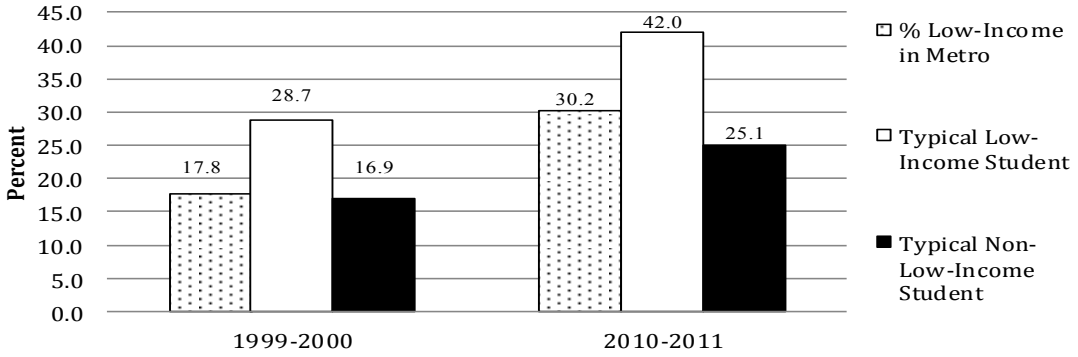


Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

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

The share of low-income students in metro Burlington increased from 18% in 1999 to 30% in 2010 and therefore exposure to low-income students by both low-income and middle-class students also increased (Figure 36). In 2010, the typical low-income student attended a school with about 42% low-income students and the typical middle-class student attended a school that was about 25% low income; this disparity has become slightly larger over the last decade. While the trends in metro Burlington are similar to the state (Figure 33), all of the percentages are lower in the metro than the state, suggesting that rural poverty might be an issue in Vermont.

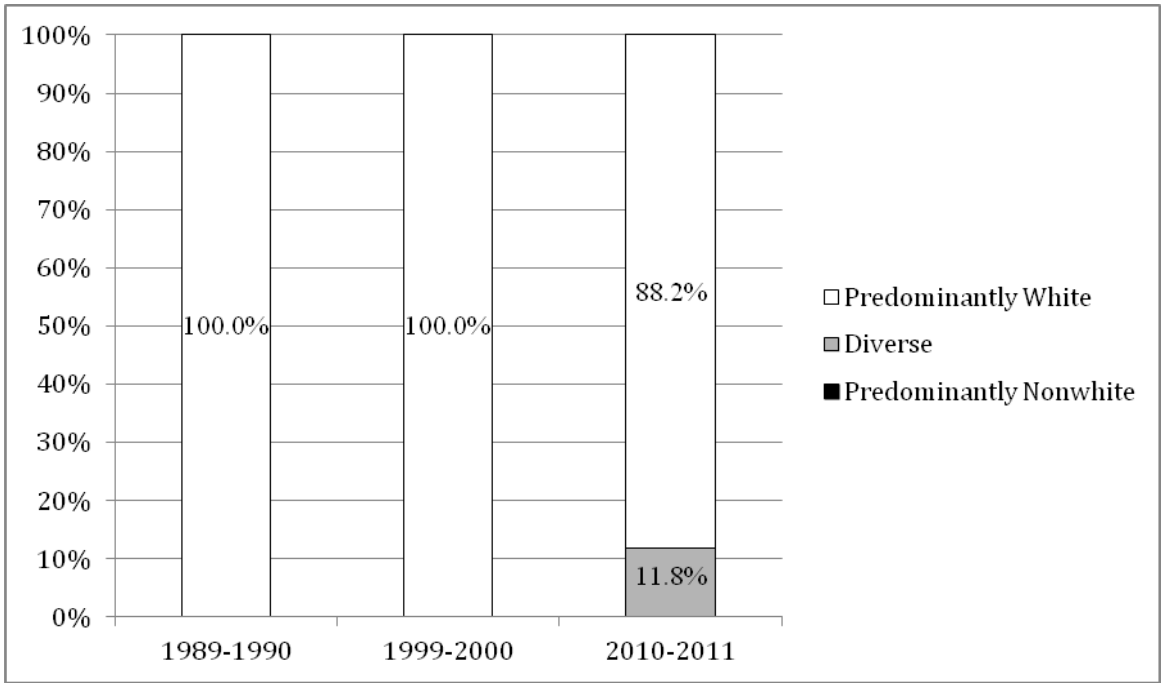
Figure 36 – Exposure to Low-Income Students by Socioeconomic Status, Burlington Metro



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 and 1999, all 17 districts in metro Burlington remained predominantly white, but by 2010, two of the 17 districts—or 11.8% of the metro's districts—were classified as diverse (Figure 37).

Figure 37 – Racial Transition by District, Burlington Metro



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly nonwhite districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. *N* = 17 districts for 1989, 1999, and 2010.

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

Thus, of the 17 districts in metro Burlington that were open in all three time periods, 15 of them remained predominantly white at all three time points and two of the districts—Burlington and Winooski—transitioned from being predominantly white in 1989 and 1999 to being diverse in 2010 (Table 20). In all 17 districts, the white proportion of the district decreased from 1989 to 2010.

Table 20 – White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts, Burlington Metro

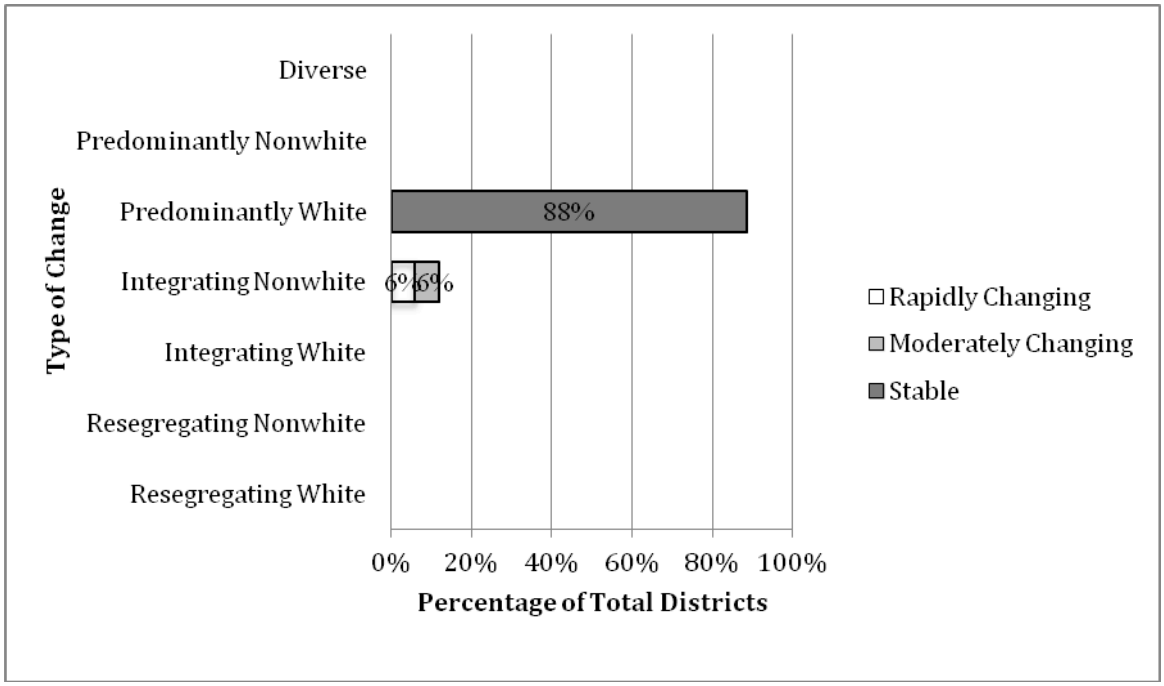
	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Burlington Metro	97.9%	94.8%	88.0%	PW	PW	PW
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	97.0%	86.6%	72.0%	PW	PW	D
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST	96.8%	94.9%	83.8%	PW	PW	PW
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	98.0%	97.0%	93.6%	PW	PW	PW
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17	98.2%	98.2%	96.6%	PW	PW	PW
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	98.8%	98.3%	96.8%	PW	PW	PW
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15	97.6%	97.0%	94.1%	PW	PW	PW
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	97.7%	94.1%	91.6%	PW	PW	PW
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	99.9%	97.8%	90.8%	PW	PW	PW
WINOOSKI SCHOOL DISTRICT	97.3%	89.0%	60.3%	PW	PW	D
SHELBURNE SCHOOL DISTRICT	99.3%	97.8%	93.3%	PW	PW	PW
HINESBURG SCHOOL DISTRICT	99.4%	98.1%	94.2%	PW	PW	PW
CHARLOTTE SCHOOL DISTRICT	98.2%	99.1%	96.8%	PW	PW	PW
RICHMOND SCHOOL DISTRICT	99.3%	98.0%	96.9%	PW	PW	PW
JERICHO SCHOOL DISTRICT	96.9%	97.2%	93.7%	PW	PW	PW
UNDERHILL TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	99.0%	98.8%	95.9%	PW	PW	PW
HUNTINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	100.0%	100.0%	97.1%	PW	PW	PW
UNDERHILL ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	97.0%	96.9%	91.6%	PW	PW	PW

Note: D = Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW = Predominantly nonwhite area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW = Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. *N* = 17 districts for 1989, 1999, and 2010.

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

From 1999 to 2010, 88%, or 15 districts, in metro Burlington remained stably predominantly white; 6%, or one district, was rapidly integrating nonwhite; and 6%, or one district, was moderately integrating nonwhite (Figure 38). Both of the integrating districts were transitioning from predominantly white to diverse but one was doing so at a rapid pace and the other at a moderate pace.

Figure 38 – Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Burlington Metro, 1999 to 2010



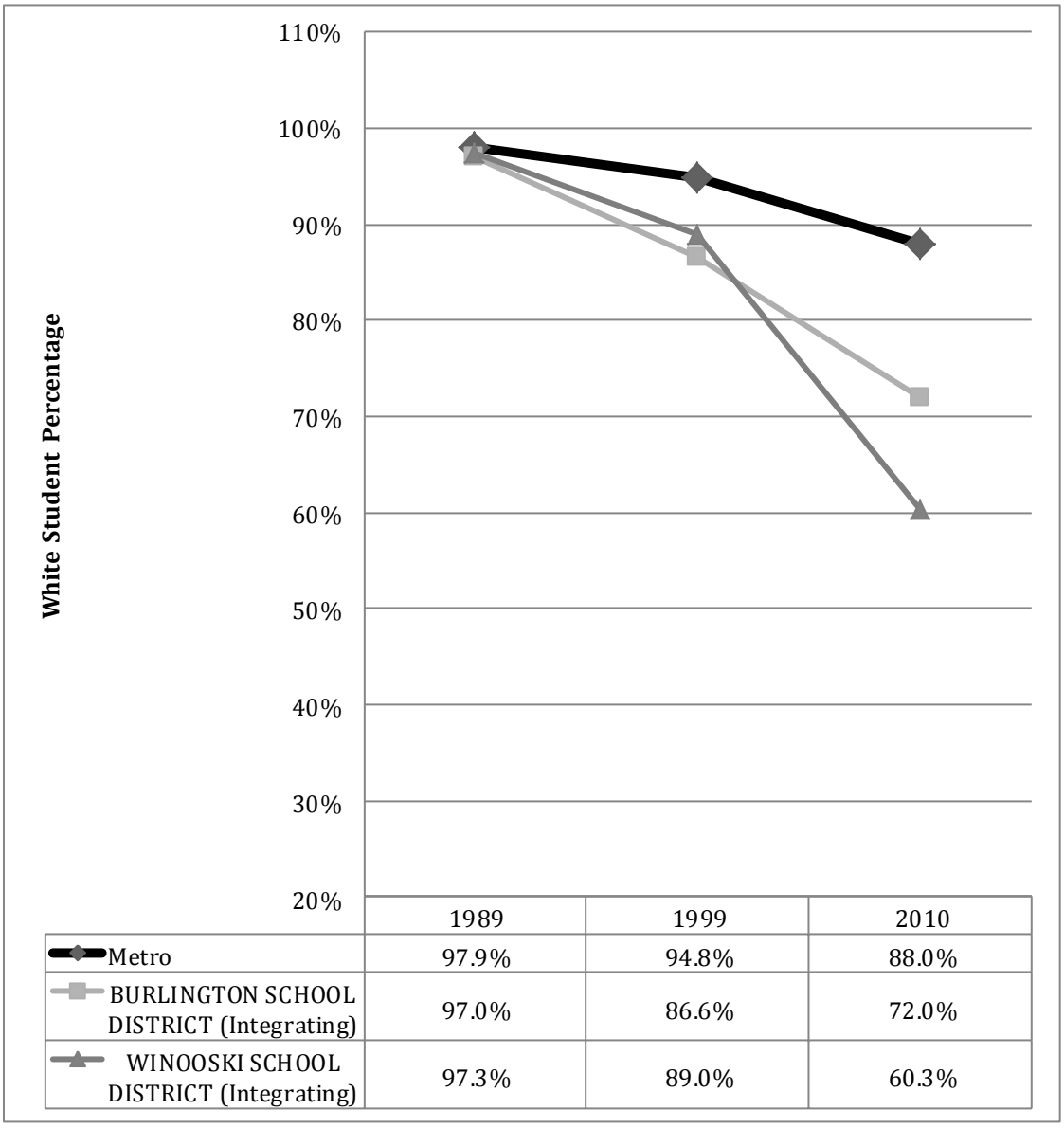
Note: *N* = 17 districts. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the latter period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominant type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Predominantly white or nonwhite 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

The white share of enrollment in Burlington School District and Winooski School District decreased more than that of the metro from 1989 to 2010 (Figure 39). The decline was more accelerated from 1999 to 2010 than in the previous decade. Both districts were integrating to become more diverse, Burlington at a moderate pace and Winooski at a rapid pace. Both districts are located in Chittenden County in the northwestern part of the state. Burlington is an urban district that operated nine schools with 3,621 students in 2010 (Table A-64). The district's enrollment was 72% white, 13% black, 3% Latino, and 8% Asian (Table A-63). In 2010, 50% of the district's students were low income (Table A-73). Winooski is a suburban district that had

three schools with 838 students in 2010. The district's enrollment was 60% white, 22% black, 1% Latino, and 9% Asian. In 2010, 76% of the district's students were low income.

Figure 39 – Rapid or Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Burlington Metro



	1989	1999	2010
Metro	97.9%	94.8%	88.0%
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT (Integrating)	97.0%	86.6%	72.0%
WINOOSKI SCHOOL DISTRICT (Integrating)	97.3%	89.0%	60.3%

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

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

Trends at both the state and metro levels in Vermont indicate that the public school enrollment is becoming increasingly diverse and multiracial. There has been a decrease in the white share of public school enrollment and an increase in both the black and the Latino shares of enrollment. The classification of some of metro Burlington's school districts has shifted from predominantly white to diverse. There are some multiracial schools in the state but no minority segregated schools. Low-income students are disproportionately distributed to multiracial schools where there are higher concentrations of students of color. Although segregation is not yet a major concern in Vermont, it is important to note that the state's typical black student is least exposed to white students and most exposed to low-income students, indicating that of all racial groups, the typical black student is the most segregated in Vermont.

Discussion of Cross-State Comparisons

In all three northern New England states, unlike the rest of the country, public school enrollment has decreased. The number of students enrolled in Maine's schools decreased over both of the last two decades. In both New Hampshire and Vermont, enrollment increased from 1989 to 1999 but then decreased in the following decade from 1999 to 2010. In fact, Vermont's enrollment in 2010 reached a level below what it had been 20 years earlier.

In 2010, the racial composition of schools in each of these northern New England states was slightly more diverse than it had been 20 years prior. White students still comprise the great majority of student enrollment in all three states, accounting for 93% of the student population in Maine and Vermont and 90% in New Hampshire. Black students account for the next largest share of students in Maine and Vermont, and Latino students in New Hampshire.

In all three states, the typical white student attends a school that most closely reflects the overall racial composition of the state's student enrollment. In Maine and Vermont, the typical black student is least exposed to white students, but in New Hampshire the typical Latino student is least exposed to white students.

The share of low-income students in each state varies. New Hampshire has the smallest share of low-income students at 25.2%, 36.8% of Vermont's students are low income, and Maine has the largest share of low-income students at 43.0%. Students' exposure to low-income students varies across the three states. In Maine and Vermont, the typical black student is exposed to the largest share of low-income students. In New Hampshire, the typical Latino student has the highest exposure rate to low-income students.

In all three states and main metro areas, the share of low-income students has increased and therefore both the typical low-income student and the typical middle-class student attend schools with a larger share of low-income students. However, in all three states and main metro areas, the share of low-income students in the school attended by the typical low-income student is greater than the share of low-income students in the school attended by the typical middle-class student. In Maine and metro Portland, this gap has slightly decreased; in New Hampshire, the Manchester-Nashua region, Vermont, and metro Burlington, the gap between exposure to low-income students of the typical low-income student and the typical middle-class student has slightly increased over the last decade.

Schools in the major metropolitan areas of Portland, Manchester-Nashua, and Burlington were slightly more diverse than each of their respective states' student enrollment in 2010. However, in all three metropolitan areas, as is true with each state, student enrollment is still overwhelmingly white, with approximately 90% of the total enrollment comprised of white students.

In the urban schools of all three major metropolitan areas, white student enrollment decreased from over 90% in 1989 to around 70-75% by 2010, black student enrollment increased (though it is lower in Manchester-Nashua than in the other two metros), Asian enrollment increased, and Latino enrollment increased (though it is higher in Manchester-Nashua than in the other two metros). Similarly, in all three metros' suburban schools, the white share of enrollment decreased less than it did in urban schools while the black and Latino shares of enrollment increased slightly. There are differences in enrollment trends between urban and suburban schools, but the pattern for each type of school was similar across the three major metropolitan areas.

Within the three major metropolitan areas of Portland, Manchester-Nashua, and Burlington, in 1989, all of the districts in each metro were predominantly white; however, by 2010, this was no longer the case in any of the three metros. In 2010, of the nine public school districts in metro Portland, one was classified as diverse; of the 53 public school districts in the Manchester-Nashua region, two were categorized as diverse; and 2 of the 17 public school districts in metro Burlington were diverse. There were no predominantly nonwhite districts in any of the three metros.

Accordingly, most schools in these three metro areas are also still predominantly white. In both metro Portland and the Manchester-Nashua region, approximately 4% of the schools were categorized as multiracial in 2010, indicating that any three races represent 10% or more of the total student enrollment, and approximately 2% of each metro's schools were majority minority, meaning their enrollments are 50-100% minority. Metro Burlington is slightly different in that 5.5% of its schools were multiracial and none were majority minority in 2010. In metro Portland and metro Burlington, the racial groups with the most significant share of students enrolled in multiracial schools in 2010 were blacks and Asians, both of which enrolled about one-fourth of their students in the metro's multiracial schools. In the Manchester-Nashua region, the racial groups with the largest shares of students attending multiracial schools in 2010 were black students, of whom 16% attended multiracial schools, and Latinos, of whom 12% attended multiracial schools. None of the three metro areas has any schools that could be categorized as intensely segregated (90-100% minority) or apartheid (99-100% minority) schools.

In all three metropolitan areas, the share of low-income students in multiracial schools was higher than the overall share of low-income students in the metro. In Portland and Burlington, about one-third of all students were low income and in Manchester-Nashua about one-fifth of students were low income in 2010. In the two metros that have majority minority schools, Portland and Manchester-Nashua, the share of low-income students in these schools was even greater, reaching 75% low income in metro Portland's majority minority schools and 85% low income in Manchester-Nashua's majority minority schools. These patterns indicate a double segregation of students by race and class in these metro areas.

Recommendations[146]

Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont have the opportunity to plan proactively for how to respond to racial change, which is just beginning in northern New England. A variety of policies can be implemented by people in different roles across the region. Without the strategic implementation of some of the policies described below, it is likely that schools across northern New England will become segregated in the future.

State Level

Many steps can be taken at the state level to create and maintain integrated schools. State-level policies should provide guidance about how districts can create student assignment policies that foster diverse schools. It is also important for state-level policies to provide a framework for developing and supporting inter-district programs in the form of city-suburban transfers and regional magnet schools, and states should play a role in setting up such schools. Additionally, states should require that districts report to the state on diversity-related matters for both public and charter schools. Ohio recently developed an updated version of policies that could provide direction for states. Ohio's policy, which applies to both regular public schools and charter schools, provides guidance to school districts concerning the development of student assignment policies that foster diverse schools and reduce concentrated poverty. The policy encourages inter-district transfer programs and regional magnet schools. Ohio's policy promotes the recruitment of a diverse group of teachers and also requires districts to report to the Ohio state superintendent of public instruction on diversity-related matters. Massachusetts's Racial Imbalance Act, which requires districts to improve the racial balance of schools and funds magnet schools and interdistrict transfers, is another example of state policy that could guide other states.

In Maine and Vermont, town tuitioning policies should include civil rights standards, such as providing transportation to all students, having no admissions requirements, making information accessible to parents, and including diversity goals. With these policies, town tuitioning could be used as a form of interdistrict transfer to develop schools with racial and socioeconomic compositions that reflect each state's overall student population and would continue to be so as the states become more diverse into the future, particularly given the differences in socioeconomic status and educational background between populations in the metro and non-metro areas.

In Maine and New Hampshire, state and local officials should work to promote diversity in charter school enrollments, in part by encouraging extensive outreach to diverse communities, interdistrict enrollment, and the provision of free transportation. Charter schools should be authorized only if they adopt civil rights standards. Maine should carefully consider the laws governing charter schools before expanding the number of such schools allowed in the state. Although in New Hampshire, charter schools enroll only a small share of the state's students, they are gaining in popularity, enrollment numbers, and state funding. Therefore, charter schools in New Hampshire must be monitored closely as it is already evident that they enroll higher proportions of students of color than comparable public schools. Officials in both states should

[146] 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.

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 not reflective of the racial composition of the larger community as well as charter schools that provide no free lunch program, making it impossible to serve students who need these subsidies in order to eat and thereby excluding a large share of low-income students.

Policies should also consider how to recruit a diverse teaching staff, and states should set credentialing standards for training a more diverse teaching force. Young teachers in northern New England should be prepared through training and professional development for working with more diverse student populations as racial change is on the horizon in this region. In particular, New Hampshire's Department of Education has cited teacher training and support as an important aspect of working effectively with the state's growing population of English Learners; therefore, professional development, funding, and staff resource positions should be put in place to support this effort.

Fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets, particularly in and around areas with diverse school districts. The same groups should bring significant prosecutions for violations. As Vermont Housing Finance Agency's 2012 report reveals discrimination in housing, which is directly tied to school assignment and thus contributes to increased school segregation, monitoring and enforcement of fair housing laws is critical. 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.

Local Level

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

Many steps can be taken in terms of advocacy as well. Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions and advocate for low-income housing to be set aside in new communities that are attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County, Maryland, just outside Washington, D.C. New schools—both public and charter—should not be built or opened in racially isolated areas of the district unless they are part of a magnet strategy and hold promise to result in diverse student bodies. Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn. Communities need to provide consistent and vocal support for promoting school diversity and recognize the power of local school boards to either advocate for integration

or work against it. Efforts should be made to foster the development of suburban coalitions to influence state-level policy-making around issues of school diversity and equity.

School district policy-makers also have control over student assignment policies and thus can directly influence the levels of diversity within each school. To avoid segregation, 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. New Hampshire, which opened its first magnet schools in 2012, should build diversity goals into magnet school policies. Vermont's Burlington School District, which opened its first two magnet schools in 2009 and included diversity goals, should expand upon this early success.

The enforcement of laws guiding school segregation is essential. Many districts never had a desegregation order because they were virtually all white during the civil rights era. However, some of them are now becoming more 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 U.S. Department of Education.

Educational Organizations and Universities

Professional associations, teachers' organizations, and colleges of education need to make educators and communities fully aware of the nature and costs of existing segregation. Foundations should fund research dedicated to exploring the continued harms of segregation and the benefits of integration. It is essential to gather data about the experiences of students who are attending increasingly diverse schools and their schools' climate, as is underway in Portland, Maine; this information should be used to inform appropriate policies at the school and district levels. Education opinion leaders must not continue to reinforce the notion that separate schools are equal schools, or that school reform efforts can make them equal while largely ignoring the politically sensitive issues of increasing racial and economic segregation. Researchers and advocates need to analyze and publicize the racial patterns and practices of public charter schools. Nonprofits and foundations funding charter schools should not incentivize the development of racially and economically isolated programs but instead they should promote civil rights by supporting academic institutions that are 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 later at diverse institutions of higher education. Admission staffs of colleges and universities should also consider the skills and experiences that students from diverse high schools will bring to their campuses when reviewing college applications and making admissions decisions.

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

Maine, has developed non-discrimination and affirmative action policies, particularly as they relate to English Learners and faculty diversity, they have not been enforced; thus, monitoring and enforcement of such policies by civil rights organizations is essential.

The Courts

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

Federal Level

At the federal level, our country needs leadership that expresses the value of diverse learning environments and encourages local action to achieve school desegregation. The federal government should establish a joint planning process between the Department of Education, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to review programs and regulations that will result in successful, lasting community and school integration. Federal equity centers should support effective desegregation planning, which was their original goal when they were created under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Federal choice policies should include civil rights standards. Without such requirements, choice policies, particularly those guiding charter schools, often foster increased racial segregation.

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix A: Additional Data Tables

Maine

State-Level Data

Table A - 1 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated Schools

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks
Maine						
1989-1990	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
1999-2000	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	2.8%	15.0%	NS	NS	NS	NS

Note: NS= 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 - 2 – 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
Maine					
1989-1990	97.6%	97.9%	94.4%	93.5%	95.2%
1999-2000	97.0%	97.1%	92.2%	91.6%	93.2%
2010-2011	92.5%	93.3%	77.1%	83.6%	87.6%
Northeast					
1989-1990	73.9%	89.0%	26.6%	58.7%	28.4%
1999-2000	68.5%	86.5%	25.0%	50.5%	26.4%
2010-2011	61.1%	80.7%	24.2%	45.7%	27.0%
Nation					
1989-1990	68.4%	83.2%	35.4%	49.4%	32.5%
1999-2000	61.2%	80.2%	31.4%	44.8%	26.7%
2010-2011	52.1%	73.1%	27.8%	39.6%	25.1%

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

Table A - 3 – 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
Maine					
1989-1990	0.7%	0.7%	2.3%	1.8%	1.4%
1999-2000	1.0%	1.0%	3.5%	2.9%	2.0%
2010-2011	1.8%	1.5%	13.7%	7.9%	3.8%
Northeast					
1989-1990	14.6%	5.3%	55.4%	14.1%	26.0%
1999-2000	15.2%	5.5%	53.0%	13.6%	22.9%
2010-2011	14.6%	5.8%	47.3%	11.8%	19.4%
Nation					
1989-1990	16.5%	8.6%	54.6%	11.0%	11.5%
1999-2000	16.8%	8.6%	54.5%	11.7%	10.9%
2010-2011	15.7%	8.4%	49.4%	10.8%	10.9%

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

Table A - 4 – 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
Maine					
1989-1990	0.8%	0.7%	2.1%	3.5%	1.5%
1999-2000	1.0%	0.9%	2.8%	4.0%	2.0%
2010-2011	1.1%	1.0%	4.9%	4.6%	2.0%
Northeast					
1989-1990	3.0%	2.4%	2.9%	13.6%	4.8%
1999-2000	4.3%	3.1%	3.8%	18.3%	6.3%
2010-2011	6.2%	4.7%	5.0%	23.0%	6.8%
Nation					
1989-1990	3.3%	2.4%	2.2%	23.8%	4.6%
1999-2000	4.1%	3.0%	2.9%	24.4%	4.6%
2010-2011	5.0%	3.8%	3.5%	24.2%	4.6%

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

Table A - 5 – 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
Maine					
1989-1990	0.4%	0.4%	0.8%	0.7%	1.5%
1999-2000	0.5%	0.5%	1.1%	1.1%	2.1%
2010-2011	1.5%	1.4%	3.1%	2.6%	2.8%
Northeast					
1989-1990	8.4%	3.2%	15.0%	13.4%	40.6%
1999-2000	11.8%	4.6%	17.8%	17.4%	44.1%
2010-2011	16.6%	7.3%	22.0%	18.2%	45.6%
Nation					
1989-1990	10.8%	5.2%	7.5%	15.2%	50.8%
1999-2000	16.6%	7.2%	10.8%	18.4%	57.1%
2010-2011	23.6%	11.4%	16.5%	21.7%	56.9%

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

Table A - 6 – 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
Maine			
1989-1990	98.4%	96.5%	-1.8%
1999-2000	98.0%	95.1%	-2.9%
2010-2011	93.6%	85.4%	-8.2%
Northeast			
1989-1990	76.9%	30.7%	-46.1%
1999-2000	72.7%	30.5%	-42.2%
2010-2011	67.3%	31.6%	-35.7%
Nation			
1989-1990	71.7%	37.7%	-34.0%
1999-2000	65.4%	32.8%	-32.6%
2010-2011	57.1%	30.3%	-26.8%

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

Table A - 7 – 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
Maine					
1999-2000	29.9%	29.8%	27.4%	27.0%	26.5%
2010-2011	43.0%	42.6%	36.3%	31.1%	33.6%
Northeast					
1999-2000	32.2%	20.4%	59.8%	37.4%	63.3%
2010-2011	39.5%	26.8%	64.5%	39.9%	64.4%
Nation					
1999-2000	36.9%	26.3%	55.1%	35.7%	57.9%
2010-2011	48.3%	37.7%	64.5%	39.9%	62.2%

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

Table A - 8 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students Across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness Within and Between School Districts

	H	HW	HB
Maine			
1989-1990	.12	.03	.09
1999-2000	.11	.02	.09
2010-2011	.09	NA	.15
Northeast			
1989-1990	.45	.10	.36
1999-2000	.46	.09	.36
2010-2011	.40	.07	.33
Nation			
1989-1990	.44	.07	.38
1999-2000	.46	.08	.39
2010-2011	.41	.07	.34

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

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

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

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	**White Asian**	**White Latino**	**Black Asian**	**Black Latino**	**Asian Latino**
Maine						
1989-1990	.46	.49	.54	.45	.52	.56
1999-2000	.41	.46	.50	.39	.47	.52
2010-2011	.55	.54	.35	.36	.51	.48
Northeast						
1989-1990	.76	.58	.77	.69	.56	.62
1999-2000	.76	.61	.76	.68	.55	.60
2010-2011	.73	.59	.71	.66	.51	.60
Nation						
1989-1990	.67	.63	.74	.74	.75	.65
1999-2000	.69	.63	.73	.73	.73	.66
2010-2011	.67	.61	.68	.70	.66	.63

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

Portland Metro

Table A - 10 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated Schools

	50-100% Minority School		**90-100% Minority School**		**99-100% Minority School**	
	% of Latino	**% of Black**	**% of Latinos**	**% of Blacks**	**% of Latinos**	**% of Blacks**
Portland Metro						
1989-1990	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
1999-2000	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	5.6%	20.9%	NS	NS	NS	NS

Note: NS= 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 - 11 – Enrollment in Urban, Suburban, and Other Schools, Portland Metro

	Total Enrollment	**Urban Schools**	**Suburban Schools**	**Other Schools**
Portland Metro				
1989-1990	30,285	7,921	6,322	16,042
1999-2000	72,178	7,975	21,273	42,930
2010-2011	71,189	11,767	16,871	42,551

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

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

Table A - 12 – Racial Transition by District, Portland Metro, 1989-1999

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Predominantly white	0(0%)	0(0%)	9(100%)	9(100%)
Total	0(0%)	0(0%)	9(100%)	9(100%)

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

Table A - 13 – Racial Transition by District, Portland Metro, 1999-2010

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Predominantly white	0(0%)	1(11%)	8(89%)	9(100%)
Total	0(0%)	1(11%)	8(89%)	9(100%)

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

Table A - 14 – Racial Transition by District, Portland Metro, 1989-2010

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Predominantly white	0(0%)	1(11%)	8(89%)	9(100%)
Total	0(0%)	1(11%)	8(89%)	9(100%)

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

Top 10 Highest Enrolling Districts in Portland Metro

Table A - 15 – *Public School Enrollment, 2010-2011*

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	Percentage					
			White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Portland Metro								
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	urban	7,037	64.8%	21.7%	8.7%	4.3%	0.4%	0.1%
RSU 06/MSAD 06		3,997	95.2%	0.7%	1.0%	0.7%	0.6%	1.8%
RSU 57/MSAD 57		3,429	96.5%	1.2%	0.9%	0.6%	0.4%	0.4%
RSU 14		3,318	95.5%	1.5%	1.1%	1.1%	0.5%	0.4%
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT		3,315	93.7%	1.5%	2.7%	1.4%	0.4%	0.4%
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	suburban	3,310	94.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	4.7%
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	urban	3,118	84.6%	3.3%	3.7%	4.5%	0.2%	3.7%
RSU 60/MSAD 60		3,104	95.4%	1.4%	1.6%	1.4%	0.1%	0.1%
RSU 23	suburban	2,962	93.5%	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	4.7%

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), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A - 16 – Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Portland Metro					
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	16	37.5%	18.8%		
RSU 06/MSAD 06	8				
RSU 57/MSAD 57	7				
RSU 14	6				
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	7				
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	6				
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	8				
RSU 60/MSAD 60	6				
RSU 23	8				

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

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

Table A - 17 – Percentage of Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Portland Metro				
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	54.2%	75.8%		
RSU 06/MSAD 06				
RSU 57/MSAD 57				
RSU 14				
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT				
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT				
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT				
RSU 60/MSAD 60				
RSU 23				

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority segregated school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment respectively.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A - 18 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks
Portland Metro						
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	22.7%	32.5%				
RSU 06/MSAD 06						
RSU 57/MSAD 57						
RSU 14						
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT						
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT						
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT						
RSU 60/MSAD 60						
RSU 23						

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

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

Table A - 19 – Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools, 2010-2011

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Portland Metro					
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	43.7%	44.9%	62.0%	45.4%	39.3%
RSU 06/MSAD 06					
RSU 57/MSAD 57					
RSU 14					
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT					
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT					
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT					
RSU 60/MSAD 60					
RSU 23					

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

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

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

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Portland Metro					
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	64.8%	67.3%	59.0%	62.7%	
RSU 06/MSAD 06	95.2%	95.2%			
RSU 57/MSAD 57	96.5%	96.5%			
RSU 14	95.5%	95.5%			
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	93.7%	93.7%			
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	94.7%	94.7%			
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	84.6%	84.9%			
RSU 60/MSAD 60	95.4%	95.4%			
RSU 23	93.5%	93.6%			

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

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

Table A - 21 – Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Portland Metro					
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	21.7%	19.7%	26.8%	22.3%	
RSU 06/MSAD 06	0.7%				
RSU 57/MSAD 57	1.2%				
RSU 14	1.5%				
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	1.5%				
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	0.0%				
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	3.3%				
RSU 60/MSAD 60	1.4%				
RSU 23	0.0%				

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

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

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

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Portland Metro					
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	8.7%	8.4%	8.9%	10.2%	
RSU 06/MSAD 06	1.0%				
RSU 57/MSAD 57	0.9%				
RSU 14	1.1%				
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	2.7%				
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	0.0%				
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	3.7%				
RSU 60/MSAD 60	1.6%				
RSU 23	0.0%				

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 - 23 – Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Portland Metro					
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	4.3%				
RSU 06/MSAD 06	0.7%				
RSU 57/MSAD 57	0.6%				
RSU 14	1.1%				
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	1.4%				
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	0.7%				
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	4.5%				
RSU 60/MSAD 60	1.4%				
RSU 23	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 - 24 – 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
Portland Metro			
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	73.5%	68.3%	-5.2%
RSU 06/MSAD 06	96.2%	96.1%	-0.2%
RSU 57/MSAD 57	97.4%	97.1%	-0.3%
RSU 14	96.6%	96.4%	-0.2%
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	96.3%	96.0%	-0.4%
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	94.7%	94.5%	-0.2%
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	88.3%	87.2%	-1.1%
RSU 60/MSAD 60	97.0%	96.8%	-0.2%
RSU 23	93.6%	93.0%	-0.5%

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

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

Table A - 25 – Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low-Income Students	Black Exposure to Low-Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low-Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students
Portland Metro					
PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS	51.6%	48.7%	58.7%	53.6%	
RSU 06/MSAD 06	41.0%	40.9%			
RSU 57/MSAD 57	40.0%	39.9%			
RSU 14	27.9%	27.8%			
SANFORD SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	54.5%	54.4%			
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	16.3%	16.3%			
SOUTH PORTLAND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT	34.2%	33.9%			
RSU 60/MSAD 60	29.9%	29.9%			
RSU 23	40.7%	40.8%			

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

New Hampshire

State-Level Data

Table A - 26 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated Schools

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks
New Hampshire						
1989-1990	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
1999-2000	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	9.1%	7.8%	NS	NS	NS	NS

Note: NS= 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 - 27 – 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
New Hampshire					
1989-1990	97.0%	97.1%	93.0%	94.7%	92.6%
1999-2000	95.9%	96.2%	91.1%	92.5%	86.3%
2010-2011	89.7%	90.8%	78.9%	84.4%	75.9%
Northeast					
1989-1990	73.9%	89.0%	26.6%	58.7%	28.4%
1999-2000	68.5%	86.5%	25.0%	50.5%	26.4%
2010-2011	61.1%	80.7%	24.2%	45.7%	27.0%
Nation					
1989-1990	68.4%	83.2%	35.4%	49.4%	32.5%
1999-2000	61.2%	80.2%	31.4%	44.8%	26.7%
2010-2011	52.1%	73.1%	27.8%	39.6%	25.1%

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

Table A - 28 – 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
New Hampshire					
1989-1990	0.9%	0.8%	3.0%	1.5%	2.0%
1999-2000	1.1%	1.0%	2.6%	1.7%	2.7%
2010-2011	2.0%	1.7%	5.3%	2.8%	4.7%
Northeast					
1989-1990	14.6%	5.3%	55.4%	14.1%	26.0%
1999-2000	15.2%	5.5%	53.0%	13.6%	22.9%
2010-2011	14.6%	5.8%	47.3%	11.8%	19.4%
Nation					
1989-1990	16.5%	8.6%	54.6%	11.0%	11.5%
1999-2000	16.8%	8.6%	54.5%	11.7%	10.9%
2010-2011	15.7%	8.4%	49.4%	10.8%	10.9%

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

Table A - 29 – 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
New Hampshire					
1989-1990	1.0%	1.0%	1.7%	2.2%	1.5%
1999-2000	1.2%	1.2%	1.9%	2.6%	2.3%
2010-2011	2.8%	2.6%	4.0%	5.8%	3.8%
Northeast					
1989-1990	3.0%	2.4%	2.9%	13.6%	4.8%
1999-2000	4.3%	3.1%	3.8%	18.3%	6.3%
2010-2011	6.2%	4.7%	5.0%	23.0%	6.8%
Nation					
1989-1990	3.3%	2.4%	2.2%	23.8%	4.6%
1999-2000	4.1%	3.0%	2.9%	24.4%	4.6%
2010-2011	5.0%	3.8%	3.5%	24.2%	4.6%

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

Table A - 30 – 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
New Hampshire					
1989-1990	0.9%	0.8%	2.0%	1.3%	3.7%
1999-2000	1.6%	1.4%	4.1%	3.1%	8.3%
2010-2011	3.7%	3.1%	8.9%	5.2%	12.7%
Northeast					
1989-1990	8.4%	3.2%	15.0%	13.4%	40.6%
1999-2000	11.8%	4.6%	17.8%	17.4%	44.1%
2010-2011	16.6%	7.3%	22.0%	18.2%	45.6%
Nation					
1989-1990	10.8%	5.2%	7.5%	15.2%	50.8%
1999-2000	16.6%	7.2%	10.8%	18.4%	57.1%
2010-2011	23.6%	11.4%	16.5%	21.7%	56.9%

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

Table A - 31 – 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
New Hampshire			
1989-1990	98.0%	89.9%	-8.1%
1999-2000	97.1%	90.4%	-6.7%
2010-2011	92.5%	80.8%	-11.7%
Northeast			
1989-1990	76.9%	30.7%	-46.1%
1999-2000	72.7%	30.5%	-42.2%
2010-2011	67.3%	31.6%	-35.7%
Nation			
1989-1990	71.7%	37.7%	-34.0%
1999-2000	65.4%	32.8%	-32.6%
2010-2011	57.1%	30.3%	-26.8%

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

Table A - 32 – 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
New Hampshire					
1999-2000	15.9%	15.6%	22.3%	16.9%	27.2%
2010-2011	25.2%	24.2%	37.0%	24.7%	39.0%
Northeast					
1999-2000	32.2%	20.4%	59.8%	37.4%	63.3%
2010-2011	39.5%	26.8%	64.5%	39.9%	64.4%
Nation					
1999-2000	36.9%	26.3%	55.1%	35.7%	57.9%
2010-2011	48.3%	37.7%	64.5%	39.9%	62.2%

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

Table A - 33 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students Across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness Within and Between School Districts

	H	HW	HB
New Hampshire			
1989-1990	NA	NA	NA
1999-2000	.14	.03	.10
2010-2011	.12	.00	.11
Northeast			
1989-1990	.45	.10	.36
1999-2000	.46	.09	.36
2010-2011	.40	.07	.33
Nation			
1989-1990	.44	.07	.38
1999-2000	.46	.08	.39
2010-2011	.41	.07	.34

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

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

Table A - 34 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups Across Public Schools

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	**White Asian**	**White Latino**	**Black Asian**	**Black Latino**	**Asian Latino**
New Hampshire						
1989-1990	.34	.29	.34	.30	.31	.33
1999-2000	.42	.38	.55	.36	.38	.43
2010-2011	.45	.36	.50	.38	.31	.44
Northeast						
1989-1990	.76	.58	.77	.69	.56	.62
1999-2000	.76	.61	.76	.68	.55	.60
2010-2011	.73	.59	.71	.66	.51	.60
Nation						
1989-1990	.67	.63	.74	.74	.75	.65
1999-2000	.69	.63	.73	.73	.73	.66
2010-2011	.67	.61	.68	.70	.66	.63

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

Manchester-Nashua Region

Table A - 35 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated Schools

	50-100% Minority School		**90-100% Minority School**		**99-100% Minority School**	
	% of Latinos	**% of Blacks**	**% of Latinos**	**% of Blacks**	**% of Latinos**	**% of Blacks**
Manchester-Nashua Region						
1989-1990	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
1999-2000	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
2010-2011	10.6%	10.0%	NS	NS	NS	NS

Note: NS= 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 - 36 – Enrollment in Urban, Suburban, and Other Schools, Manchester-Nashua Region

	Total Enrollment	Urban Schools	Suburban Schools	Other Schools
Manchester-Nashua Region				
1989-1990	109,505	38,447	7,091	63,967
1999-2000	151,532	37,900	46,053	67,579
2010-2011	124,765	27,894	60,172	36,699

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

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

Table A - 37 – Racial Transition by District, Manchester-Nashua Region, 1989-1999

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Predominantly white	0(0%)	0(0%)	53(100%)	53(100%)
Total	0(0%)	0(0%)	53(100%)	53(100%)

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

Table A - 38 – Racial Transition by District, Manchester-Nashua Region, 1999-2010

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Predominantly white	0(0%)	2(4%)	51(96%)	53(100%)
Total	0(0%)	2(4%)	51(96%)	53(100%)

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

Table A - 39 – Racial Transition by District, Manchester-Nashua Region, 1989-2010

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Predominantly white	0(0%)	2(4%)	51(96%)	53(100%)
Total	0(0%)	2(4%)	51(96%)	53(100%)

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

Top 10 Highest Enrolling Districts in Manchester-Nashua Region

Table A - 40 – Public School Enrollment, 2010-2011

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	Percentage					
			White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Manchester-Nashua Region								
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	urban	15,731	69.0%	8.1%	4.3%	13.4%	0.5%	4.6%
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	urban	12,163	70.5%	3.7%	7.3%	17.2%	0.4%	1.0%
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	4,973	95.5%	0.9%	2.3%	1.2%	0.1%	0.0%
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	4,612	89.5%	1.3%	3.4%	5.4%	0.0%	0.3%
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	4,486	92.3%	1.7%	1.6%	2.7%	0.4%	1.2%
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	4,428	91.5%	0.7%	3.6%	1.3%	0.2%	2.8%
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	4,313	92.5%	1.6%	2.6%	2.8%	0.4%	0.0%
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	4,251	96.5%	1.0%	1.1%	1.4%	0.1%	0.0%
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	4,114	90.5%	2.2%	3.2%	3.4%	0.7%	0.0%
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	4,101	85.1%	3.0%	6.2%	2.1%	0.1%	3.5%

Note: 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 - 41 – Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Manchester-Nashua Region					
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	21	28.6%	14.3%		
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	18	5.6%	5.6%		
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT	6				
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	8	12.5%			
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	11				
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT	6				
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT	6				
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT	7				
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT	5				
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT	5				

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

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

Table A - 42 – Percentage of Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Manchester-Nashua Region				
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	69.5%	87.9%		
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	24.4%	76.8%		
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT				
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	23.6%			
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT				
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT				
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT				
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT				
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT				
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT				

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

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

Table A - 43 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks
Manchester-Nashua Region						
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	20.6%	20.4%				
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	10.6%	7.9%				
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT						
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT						
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT						
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT						
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT						
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT						
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT						
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT						

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

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

Table A - 44 – Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools, 2010-2011

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Manchester-Nashua Region					
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	15.6%	35.4%	20.9%	32.6%	16.9%
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	4.1%	3.6%	6.5%	2.9%	2.3%
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT					
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	4.0%	8.1%	15.2%	16.0%	
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT					
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT					
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT					
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT					
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT					
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT					

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

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

Table A - 45 – Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Manchester-Nashua Region					
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	69.0%	71.0%	63.6%		63.5%
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	70.5%	71.7%		70.6%	66.4%
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT	95.5%	95.5%			
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	89.5%	89.8%			86.8%
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	92.3%	92.4%			
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT	91.5%	91.5%			
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT	92.5%	92.6%			
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT	96.5%	96.5%			
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT	90.5%	90.5%			
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT	85.1%	85.3%		84.8%	

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 - 46 – Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Manchester-Nashua Region					
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	8.1%	7.5%	10.3%		9.7%
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	3.7%				
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT	0.9%				
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.3%				
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.7%				
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT	0.7%				
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.6%				
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.0%				
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT	2.2%				
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT	3.0%				

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 - 47 – Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Manchester-Nashua Region					
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	4.3%				
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	7.3%	7.3%	6.1%	13.8%	4.9%
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT	2.3%				
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	3.4%				
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.6%				
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT	3.6%				
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT	2.6%				
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.1%				
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT	3.2%				
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT	6.2%	6.2%	6.4%	6.5%	

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

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

Table A - 48 – Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Manchester-Nashua Region					
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	13.4%	12.4%	16.1%		16.7%
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	17.2%	16.2%		11.7%	22.5%
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.2%				
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	5.4%	5.3%			7.1%
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	2.7%				
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.3%				
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT	2.8%				
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.4%				
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT	3.4%				
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT	2.1%				

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 - 49 – 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
Manchester-Nashua Region			
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	73.3%	67.9%	-5.4%
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	77.8%	71.8%	-6.0%
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT	97.8%	97.4%	-0.4%
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	93.0%	91.2%	-1.7%
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	93.9%	92.9%	-1.0%
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT	95.1%	94.9%	-0.2%
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT	95.2%	95.1%	-0.1%
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT	97.6%	97.3%	-0.3%
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT	93.7%	93.5%	-0.2%
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT	91.3%	90.3%	-1.0%

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

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

Table A - 50 – Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low-Income Students	Black Exposure to Low-Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low-Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students
Manchester-Nashua Region					
MANCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	46.5%	43.7%	53.7%		54.2%
NASHUA SCHOOL DISTRICT	37.4%	35.7%		25.7%	47.2%
LONDONDERRY SCHOOL DISTRICT	6.4%	6.4%			
SALEM SCHOOL DISTRICT	15.7%	15.6%			17.2%
ROCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	45.3%	45.2%			
BEDFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT	5.0%	5.0%			
MERRIMACK SCHOOL DISTRICT	8.8%	8.8%			
TIMBERLANE REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT	13.6%	13.6%			
HUDSON SCHOOL DISTRICT	14.1%	14.1%			
DOVER SCHOOL DISTRICT	27.0%	26.6%		27.9%	

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

Vermont

State-Level Data

Table A - 51 – 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
Vermont					
1989-1990	98.4%	98.4%	97.8%	97.7%	97.6%
1999-2000	96.8%	97.0%	93.7%	92.9%	94.8%
2010-2011	92.6%	93.2%	81.8%	84.9%	90.1%
Northeast					
1989-1990	73.9%	89.0%	26.6%	58.7%	28.4%
1999-2000	68.5%	86.5%	25.0%	50.5%	26.4%
2010-2011	61.1%	80.7%	24.2%	45.7%	27.0%
Nation					
1989-1990	68.4%	83.2%	35.4%	49.4%	32.5%
1999-2000	61.2%	80.2%	31.4%	44.8%	26.7%
2010-2011	52.1%	73.1%	27.8%	39.6%	25.1%

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

Table A - 52 – 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
Vermont					
1989-1990	0.4%	0.4%	1.1%	0.6%	0.5%
1999-2000	1.0%	0.9%	2.6%	2.1%	1.5%
2010-2011	1.9%	1.7%	8.4%	5.4%	2.5%
Northeast					
1989-1990	14.6%	5.3%	55.4%	14.1%	26.0%
1999-2000	15.2%	5.5%	53.0%	13.6%	22.9%
2010-2011	14.6%	5.8%	47.3%	11.8%	19.4%
Nation					
1989-1990	16.5%	8.6%	54.6%	11.0%	11.5%
1999-2000	16.8%	8.6%	54.5%	11.7%	10.9%
2010-2011	15.7%	8.4%	49.4%	10.8%	10.9%

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

Table A - 53 – 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
Vermont					
1989-1990	0.5%	0.5%	0.7%	1.2%	0.6%
1999-2000	1.1%	1.1%	2.5%	3.9%	1.9%
2010-2011	1.7%	1.6%	4.9%	5.1%	2.2%
Northeast					
1989-1990	3.0%	2.4%	2.9%	13.6%	4.8%
1999-2000	4.3%	3.1%	3.8%	18.3%	6.3%
2010-2011	6.2%	4.7%	5.0%	23.0%	6.8%
Nation					
1989-1990	3.3%	2.4%	2.2%	23.8%	4.6%
1999-2000	4.1%	3.0%	2.9%	24.4%	4.6%
2010-2011	5.0%	3.8%	3.5%	24.2%	4.6%

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

Table A - 54 – 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
Vermont					
1989-1990	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.3%	1.0%
1999-2000	0.5%	0.5%	0.8%	0.8%	1.2%
2010-2011	1.3%	1.3%	1.8%	1.7%	2.3%
Northeast					
1989-1990	8.4%	3.2%	15.0%	13.4%	40.6%
1999-2000	11.8%	4.6%	17.8%	17.4%	44.1%
2010-2011	16.6%	7.3%	22.0%	18.2%	45.6%
Nation					
1989-1990	10.8%	5.2%	7.5%	15.2%	50.8%
1999-2000	16.6%	7.2%	10.8%	18.4%	57.1%
2010-2011	23.6%	11.4%	16.5%	21.7%	56.9%

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

Table A - 55 – 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
Vermont			
1989-1990	98.9%	87.7%	-11.2%
1999-2000	98.0%	96.3%	-1.6%
2010-2011	94.3%	89.0%	-5.4%
Northeast			
1989-1990	76.9%	30.7%	-46.1%
1999-2000	72.7%	30.5%	-42.2%
2010-2011	67.3%	31.6%	-35.7%
Nation			
1989-1990	71.7%	37.7%	-34.0%
1999-2000	65.4%	32.8%	-32.6%
2010-2011	57.1%	30.3%	-26.8%

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

Table A - 56 – 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
Vermont					
1999-2000	22.8%	22.8%	24.7%	21.4%	22.6%
2010-2011	36.8%	36.5%	45.0%	35.5%	37.9%
Northeast					
1999-2000	32.2%	20.4%	59.8%	37.4%	63.3%
2010-2011	39.5%	26.8%	64.5%	39.9%	64.4%
Nation					
1999-2000	36.9%	26.3%	55.1%	35.7%	57.9%
2010-2011	48.3%	37.7%	64.5%	39.9%	62.2%

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

Table A - 57 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students Across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness Within and Between School Districts

	H	HW	HB
Vermont			
1989-1990	*	*	*
1999-2000	*	*	*
2010-2011	*	*	*
Northeast			
1989-1990	.45	.10	.36
1999-2000	.46	.09	.36
2010-2011	.40	.07	.33
Nation			
1989-1990	.44	.07	.38
1999-2000	.46	.08	.39
2010-2011	.41	.07	.34

Note: * Small 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 - 58 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups Across Public Schools

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	**White Asian**	**White Latino**	**Black Asian**	**Black Latino**	**Asian Latino**
Vermont						
1989-1990	.28	.29	.33	.25	.16	.21
1999-2000	.39	.47	.45	.40	.42	.47
2010-2011	.45	.48	.34	.34	.47	.45
Northeast						
1989-1990	.76	.58	.77	.69	.56	.62
1999-2000	.76	.61	.76	.68	.55	.60
2010-2011	.73	.59	.71	.66	.51	.60
Nation						
1989-1990	.67	.63	.74	.74	.75	.65
1999-2000	.69	.63	.73	.73	.73	.66
2010-2011	.67	.61	.68	.70	.66	.63

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

Burlington Metro

Table A - 59 – Enrollment in Urban, Suburban, and Other Schools, Burlington Metro

	Total Enrollment	**Urban Schools**	**Suburban Schools**	**Other Schools**
Burlington Metro				
1989-1990	17,322	3,377	751	13,194
1999-2000	33,176	3,602	13,102	16,472
2010-2011	30,598	6,017	7,596	16,985

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

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

Table A - 60 – Racial Transition by District, Burlington Metro, 1989-1999

	1999 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Predominantly white	0(0%)	0(0%)	17(100%)	17(100%)
Total	0(0%)	0(0%)	17(100%)	17(100%)

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

Table A - 61 – Racial Transition by District, Burlington Metro, 1999-2010

	2010 Classification			
1999 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Predominantly white	0(0%)	2(12%)	15(88%)	17(100%)
Total	0(0%)	2(12%)	15(88%)	17(100%)

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

Table A - 62 – Racial Transition by District, Burlington Metro, 1989-2010

	2010 Classification			
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total
Predominantly Nonwhite	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Diverse	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Predominantly white	0(0%)	2(12%)	15(88%)	17(100%)
Total	0(0%)	2(12%)	15(88%)	17(100%)

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

Top 10 Highest Enrolling Districts in Burlington Metro

Table A - 63 – *Public School Enrollment, 2010-2011*

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	Percentage					
			White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Burlington Metro								
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	urban	3,621	72.0%	13.4%	8.2%	2.7%	0.2%	3.5%
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST	urban	2,396	83.8%	2.7%	8.2%	1.3%	0.1%	4.0%
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT		2,177	93.6%	1.8%	2.3%	1.1%	0.4%	0.8%
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17		1,756	96.6%	1.0%	0.7%	0.5%	0.0%	1.1%
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	1,752	96.8%	1.0%	0.5%	0.3%	0.0%	1.4%
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15		1,345	94.1%	1.8%	1.9%	1.6%	0.1%	0.4%
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR	suburban	1,329	88.9%	2.3%	4.2%	1.8%	0.5%	2.3%
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	1,239	91.6%	2.0%	3.1%	1.8%	0.1%	1.4%
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	suburban	1,133	90.8%	1.9%	3.0%	1.9%	0.2%	2.3%
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48		1,089	92.4%	1.1%	0.6%	0.5%	1.3%	4.1%

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), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A - 64 – Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Burlington Metro					
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	9	33.3%			
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST	5				
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	5				
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17	3				
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	3				
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15	1				
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR	1				
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	3				
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	1				
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48	1				

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

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

Table A - 65 – Percentage of Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Burlington Metro				
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	59.7%			
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST				
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT				
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17				
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT				
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15				
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR				
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT				
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT				
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48				

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

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

Table A - 66 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks
Burlington Metro						
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT						
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST						
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT						
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17						
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT						
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15						
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR						
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT						
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT						
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48						

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

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

Table A - 67 – Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools, 2010-2011

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Burlington Metro					
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	40.0%	51.1%	59.1%	34.7%	33.3%
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST					
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT					
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17					
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT					
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15					
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR					
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT					
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT					
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48					

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

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

Table A - 68 – Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Burlington Metro					
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	72.0%	72.7%	69.4%	69.4%	
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST	83.8%	83.9%		83.6%	
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	93.6%	93.6%			
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17	96.6%	96.6%			
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	96.8%	96.8%			
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15	94.1%				
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR	88.9%				
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	91.6%	91.6%			
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	90.8%				
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48	92.4%				

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 - 69 – Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Burlington Metro					
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	13.4%	12.9%	15.2%	15.0%	
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST	2.7%				
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.8%				
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17	1.0%				
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.0%				
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15	1.8%				
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR	2.3%				
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	2.0%				
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.9%				
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48	1.1%				

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 - 70 – Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Burlington Metro					
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	8.2%	7.9%	9.1%	9.8%	
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST	8.2%	8.2%	8.2%	8.3%	
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	2.3%				
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17	0.7%				
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	0.5%				
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15	1.9%				
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR	4.2%				
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	3.1%				
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	3.0%				
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48	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 - 71 – Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Burlington Metro					
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	2.7%				
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST	1.3%				
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.1%				
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17	0.5%				
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	0.3%				
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15	1.6%				
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR	1.8%				
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.8%				
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	1.9%				
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48	0.5%				

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

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

Table A - 72 – 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
Burlington Metro			
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	80.1%	78.9%	-1.3%
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST	92.0%		
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	95.8%		
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17	97.3%		
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	97.3%		
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15	96.0%		
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR	93.1%		
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	94.8%		
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	93.8%		
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48	93.0%		

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 - 73 – Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low-Income Students	Black Exposure to Low-Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low-Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students
Burlington Metro					
BURLINGTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	50.2%	48.5%	56.4%	55.4%	
SOUTH BURLINGTON SCHOOL DIST	18.2%	18.1%		17.9%	
COLCHESTER SCHOOL DISTRICT	26.4%	26.4%			
MOUNT MANSFIELD USD 17	14.8%	14.9%			
MILTON ID SCHOOL DISTRICT	26.2%	26.2%			
CHAMPLAIN VALLEY UHSD 15	9.7%				
ESSEX COMMUNITY EDUCATION CTR	17.1%				
ESSEX TOWN SCHOOL DISTRICT	19.7%	19.7%			
WILLISTON SCHOOL DISTRICT	14.2%				
BELLOWS FREE ACADEMY UNION HIGH SCHOOL #48	32.7%				

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

Appendix B: Data Sources and Methodology

Data

The data in this study consisted of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Using this data, we explored demographic and segregation patterns at the national, regional, state, metropolitan, and district levels. We also explored district racial stability patterns for each *main* metropolitan area in each state—those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 1989.

Geography

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

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

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

Data Analysis

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

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

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

groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution or more integration. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes: above .60 indicating high segregation (above .80 is extreme), .30 to .60 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .30 indicating low segregation.[147]

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).[148] In addition, *H* can be statistically decomposed into between and within-unit components, allowing us, for example, to identify how much the total segregation depends on the segregation between or within districts. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes: above .25 indicating high segregation (above .40 is extreme), between .10 and .25 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .10 indicating low segregation.

To explore district stability patterns for key metropolitan areas, we restricted our analysis to districts open across all three data periods (1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011), districts with 100 or greater students in 1989, and districts in metropolitan areas that experienced a white enrollment change greater than 1%. With this data, we categorized districts, as well as their metropolitan area, into predominantly white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominantly nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.[149] We then identified the degree to which district white enrollment has changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area. This analysis resulted in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable.[150] We classified rapidly changing districts as those with a white percentage change three times greater than the metro white percentage change. For moderately changing districts, the white student percentage changed two times but less than three times greater than the metropolitan white percentage change. Also included in the category of moderate change were those districts that experienced a white percentage change less than two times the metropolitan white percentage change but were classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. We identified stable

[147] Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
[148] Reardon, S. F., & Firebaugh, G. (2002). Measures of multigroup segregation. *Sociological Methodology, 32*, 33-67.
[149] 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.
[150] Similar typography has been used in Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation: A typology of suburban districts. In E. Frankenberg and G. Orfield (Eds.), *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

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

Next, we explored the type and direction of change in school districts, which resulted in the following categories: resegregating white or nonwhite, integrating white or nonwhite, or predominantly white, 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. Predominantly white or nonwhite 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
1999-2000: • States missing FRL and racial enrollment: o Arizona o Idaho o Illinois o Tennessee o Washington	**1998-1999:** • Tennessee: racial enrollment only **2000-2001:** • Arizona: racial enrollment only • Idaho: FRL and racial enrollment **2001-2002:** • Illinois: FRL and racial enrollment • Washington: FRL and racial enrollment
1989-1999: • Many states missing FRL enrollment for this year • States missing racial enrollment: o Georgia o Maine o Missouri o Montana o South Dakota o Virginia o Wyoming	**1990-1991:** • Montana**:** racial enrollment only • Wyoming**:** racial enrollment only **1991-1992:** • Missouri: racial enrollment only **1992-1993:** • South Dakota: racial enrollment only • Virginia: racial enrollment only **1993-1994:** • Georgia: racial enrollment only • Maine: racial enrollment only **Other:** • Idaho is missing racial composition data from 1989 to 1999 and thus excluded from this year

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