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Fight or Flight? Immigration, Status Competition, and Language Assistance Resources in Metropolitan Atlanta

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Fight or Flight? Immigration, Status Competition, and Language Assistance Resources in Metropolitan Atlanta

By

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Master of Arts

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An abstract of
a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology.

2009

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ABSTRACT
Historically, immigration patterns have provoked a great deal of anti-immigrant backlash and resistance within the U.S. education system. Research suggests that as societies become more ethnically and racially diverse, native-born citizens use the educational system as a way of maintaining their privilege. As Atlanta's Latino and Asian immigrant populations continue to increase, it is not surprising to find heightened perceptions of threat from established groups. Working from a status competition theoretical perspective, I investigate how both Black and White groups respond to these new educational contestants through examination of racial and ethnic segregation patterns and the implementation of language assistance resources in Atlanta-area high schools. Drawing on secondary data from the Georgia Department of Education and the 2000 Census Bureau, as well as primary data on language assistance curriculum offerings, English-only referenda, and attendance boundaries for metro-Atlanta public high schools, I address the following questions: To what degree do racial and ethnic segregation patterns in public secondary schools reflect those in residential catchment areas? How does the number of Limited-English-Proficient students affect White and/or Black enrollments in public secondary schools? Finally, how do status competition factors influence the supply of language assistance resources implemented in public secondary schools, above and beyond demand for such programs? I find that in areas with the greatest racial heterogeneity and the greatest potential for diversity in the public schools, the public schools least reflect the racial composition of the neighborhoods. Furthermore, although primarily driven by demand factors, the probability that a public high school offers language assistance courses is also modestly affected by status competition factors. The findings from this study help inform policy makers and administrators on neighborhood and school-level competition factors which have implications for minimizing ethno-racial differences in education.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I complete my graduate work at Emory University, I realize that I am indebted to many individuals, institutions, and foundations. I am extremely fortunate to be part of the Emory community, which exceeded my expectations as a graduate student in many ways, from excellent resources provided by the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences to the solid educational opportunities that were afforded to me.

I would like to first thank my committee members, each of whom guided my research with patience and helpful feedback. My chair, Dr. Regina Werum, has been a constant source of support and encouragement. Draft after draft, she offered advice and constantly pushed me to think and write critically. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Dennis Condron. I would not have been able to undertake my doctoral work, let alone this dissertation, without his commitment to his students' academic and professional success. I have immensely benefited from coursework under Dr. Richard Rubinson who sparked my interest in the sociology of education. Additionally, Dr. Rebecca Callahan's helpful suggestions and esteemed expertise on the education of immigrant linguistic minority students brought perspectives that I would not have considered on my own and strengthened this project immeasurably.

I am extremely honored to be recognized by the Spencer Foundation, who supported this research with a dissertation fellowship. My graduate studies at Emory would not have been the same without the professional, intellectual, and financial support that I received from the Office of University-Community Partnerships (OUCP) which provided me with multiple graduate assistantships. I would also like to acknowledge the research expertise of Dr. Moshe Haspel, Dr. Sascha Vitzthum, and Sammie Carson of the Atlanta Regional Commission for their assistance throughout this project.

Finally, I cannot sufficiently thank my mother, whose love and support is unconditional and unparalleled.

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Chapter I: Introduction

In the *Souls of Black Folk,* W.E.B. Dubois characterized Atlanta as follows: "South of the North, yet north of the South, lies the City of a Hundred Hills, peering out from the shadows of the past into the promise of the future" (DuBois, 1903, p. 76). There are many signs of change in Atlanta and the status of African Americans has greatly improved over time. African American mayors have held office since 1973, forty percent of Atlanta's city business is done with minority contractors, over half of the city's police force is African American, and the Black middleclass is one of the most vibrant in the country (Orfield & Ashkinaze 1991). Additionally, Atlanta's employment opportunities have fueled domestic migration as well as attracted a growing number of foreign-born workers in the last three decades which significantly changed the racial landscape (Gozdziak 2005). However, metro-Atlanta public schools, secondary institutions in particular, have actually become more segregated in the last thirty years, by both race and income (Orfield & Ashkinaze 1991). Metro-Atlanta has experienced a rise in Black-White resegregation and a steady increase in Latino-White segregation, and high dropout rates and low achievement scores continue to be prominent in the inner-city schools (Frankenberg & Lee 2002; Orfield & Ashkinaze 1991). Despite clear civil rights gains in Atlanta, public officials, school administrators, and teachers must scramble to meet No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 (NCLB) requirements, attempt to integrate a rapidly growing Limited-English-Proficient (LEP) population not seen before in the region, and are expected to promote educational achievement of all students.

As elsewhere, recent immigrants are often greeted with hostility from more established groups in Atlanta. Concern about immigrants can be seen in political rhetoric, social movements, and social control mechanisms aimed at immigrants. Additionally, as societies diversify, native-born citizens use educational institutions as a means to maintain their privilege (Shavit 1990; Ralph and Rubinson 1980; Collins 1979). Dominant groups react in numerous ways, such as fleeing public schools experiencing racial or ethnic turnover (Renzulli and Evans 2005; Frankenberg and Lee 2002; Olzak and Shanahan 1994) and limiting or channeling educational resources devoted to immigrants (Wainer 2006).

This dissertation focuses on the dynamics involving a racially diverse set of status groups in a key area of new immigrant settlement in more detail to offer a more comprehensive understanding of how status competition plays out. This project examines the ecological context in which status competition takes place by exploring three educational areas where racial and ethnic competition dynamics manifest: segregation across neighborhoods and schools, segregation within and between schools, and the allocation of language assistance resources for LEP students. A local-level approach helps illuminate the realities of status competition dynamics in a number of ways. This perspective brings into focus the complex spatial relationship between schools and race, which are at their clearest at the local level. By restricting the scope of this dissertation to a specific time and setting, I can discuss issues of segregation and resource allocation in a more meaningful way (Kruse 2005). These analyses allow me to address the broader issues of: How does the increasing number of Limit-English-Proficient immigrant students fosters acceptance by or resistance from Whites (who

historically held power) *and/or* African Americans (who relatively recently acquired power)?

The overarching goal of this work is to contribute to a sociological understanding of the racial competition dynamics in public schools. I argue that, while Atlanta likes to be known as the city "too busy to hate," there is much evidence to the contrary. As Atlanta's immigrant population continues to increase, research on school segregation remains just as important now as it was during the Civil Rights era. Racial conflict, historically understood in terms of Black and White in the US South, has clearly expanded to include new contestants in metro-Atlanta public schools. This dissertation shows that in a city experiencing recent ethnic migration, school demographic patterns and educational resource allocation continue to reveal contemporary manifestations of ethnic conflict.

Background

Social status is often associated with the neighborhoods people live in as well as the quality of the schools their children attend (Holme 2002). Similarly, contemporary research on White flight finds that residentially mobile families and students who transfer schools tend to be White and affluent (Renzulli and Evans 2005; Levin 1999). Many researchers suggest residential segregation patterns are now the defining practice promoting school segregation across US cities (Massey and Denton 1993). Additionally, recent work on Black-White-Latino neighborhood dynamics finds when residents perceive an influx of an "outgroup" presents a threat to their neighborhood, they chose to exit or by join forces with their neighbors to resist the change (Wilson 1996).

The painful history of segregation and exclusion of African Americans in public schools is intimately tied to contemporary educational debates in the South. Although, the South had more integrated schools than any other region in the US following major 1970's court mandated desegregation efforts, in the last couple of decades this pattern has begun to reverse itself again (Orfield and Gordon 2001). Southern public schools have experienced a rise in Black-White resegregation in recent years, as well as a steady increase in the segregation of Latinos from Whites (Frankenberg and Lee 2002).

Unlike traditional immigrant settlement areas, public schools in the American South only recently have begun addressing the language obstacles of immigrant children. These schools make programmatic decisions with a backdrop of national struggles of immigrant integration in public schools (Kochlar et al. 2005). Recent research on immigrant students in Atlanta shows several areas of concern. Ethnographic research finds that stereotyping, poor facilities, and inadequate teacher training are characteristic of immigrant education in the South (Wortham et al. 2002). The special needs of LEP students may add to the educational challenges in schools, particularly inner-city urban schools, while the pre-conditions of these schools may complicate the educational opportunities for LEP students (Cosentino de Cohen et al. 2005). Cosentino de Cohen et al. (2005) also caution that schools serving LEP students, who often fall into multiple NCLB categories, could face difficulties addressing multiple disadvantages (i.e. poverty and language learner) that could require different types of assistance.

National statistics on LEP students show troublesome trends: Educational achievement remains far below average and dropout rates much higher than for native-born students (Cosentino de Cohen et al. 2005; Valenzuela 1999; Olsen 1997). While

debates over language instruction used to be limited to the East and West coasts and the Southwest (traditional immigration hubs), recent settlement centers, especially in the Southeast, are just now experiencing political mobilization around these issues. These concerns are exacerbated by the fact that many schools do not house teachers who are prepared for working with Latino immigrant children. Additionally, classes designed to aid English Language Learners often occupy the most marginal spaces in public schools (Wortham et al. 2002). To date, limited research has examined the incorporation of immigrant children in the South, and Wainer (2006) found signs of growing tensions between Latinos and African Americans in metro Atlanta public schools. Furthermore, programmatic decisions about resource allocation for English Language Learners are affected by these larger social dynamics.

OVERVIEW

Chapter 2 provides a literature review and summarizes the analytic strategy for the dissertation. Drawing from the status competition tradition, I suggest that patterns of racial segregation in neighborhoods, schools, and the allocation of educational resources reveal ways contemporary forms of competition arise when a new status group enters the public school system. Competition theory predicts that by examining racial mismatch measures between neighborhoods and schools, measures of racial exposure, and the allocation of language assistance resources, the increase in LEP students complicates our historical binary understanding of racial conflict in metropolitan Atlanta.

Chapter 3 describes the broad secondary enrollment changes in metro-Atlanta from 1994/95-2007/08. Here, I also use measures of isolation (Orfield et al. 1997) to

demonstrate that Atlanta-area public high schools mirror national patterns, where schools are experiencing sizable racial shifts but Blacks and Latinos are experiencing increased isolation.

The first potential manifestation of status competition is examined in Chapter 4 by comparing the racial make-up of neighborhoods to their respective public high school. Some scholars argue residential hyper-segregation patterns are now the defining reason for school segregation in the US (Kruse 2005; Massey and Denton 1993). Others suggest that schools are an additional site upholding segregation. Studies on segregation patterns across the US reveal racial and economic segregation in public schools is higher than the residential racial and poverty rates across neighborhoods (Saporito and Sohoni 2007, 2006). We know relatively little about how segregation patterns across schools might differ in metropolitan areas. In this chapter I ask: *To what degree do racial and ethnic segregation patterns in public secondary schools reflect those in residential catchment areas?* Findings from this chapter suggest the public schools more or less reflect their neighborhoods in outer suburbs with high levels of residential segregation. In contrast, inner suburban and city-center schools with the greatest racial heterogeneity least reflect the racial composition of the neighborhoods. Additionally, the presence of both Blacks and Latinos in neighborhood catchments has a negative effect on the number of Whites enrolled in public high schools. Black enrollments were also negatively affected by the number of Whites, but not the number of Latinos in the neighborhood catchments.

Next, I look at schools themselves to examine changes in racial segregation over time within and across schools. Chapter 5 asks: *Are school-level segregation and interracial contact increasing or decreasing for African Americans? Are school-level*

segregation and interracial contact increasing or decreasing for Latinos? This chapter describes the changes in school-level racial composition between 1994/05-2007/08 by employing exposure indices. The findings from this analysis show exposure rates are increasing across the metro-area, but there is significant variation within and across districts. Finally, I ask: *How does the number of LEP students affect White and/or Black enrollments in public schools*? I find White enrollments in public high schools are negatively affected by Black and LEP enrollments. Black enrollments were negatively affected by White and LEP enrollments, but only significantly by the number of White students.

Finally, the findings from Chapters 4 and 5 suggest neighborhood and school-level competition factors could affect school policies related to LEP students, which raises my final and most important research question in Chapter 6: *How do status competition dynamics influence the supply of language assistance resources above and beyond demand for such programs?* The analyses in this chapter seek to determine how language assistance implementation (in terms of number of instructors and type of language assistance program) is influenced by school, resource competition, and political factors, above market predictions. The findings from this chapter suggest programmatic decisions about language assistance are predominately driven by supply-demand factors. But racial competition within neighborhoods and schools does modestly influence the availability of language assistance for English Language Learners, particularly in terms of on-site language assistance instruction. In Chapter 7, I conclude by offering final thoughts and offer suggestions for future research.

Fight or Flight? Immigration, Status Competition, and Language Assistance Resources in Metropolitan Atlanta

Chapter II: Literature Review & Analytic Strategy

Much like European immigrants before them, today's immigrants left their Latin, Asian, and African countries in search of occupational opportunity and political refuge in the United States. Also similar to earlier immigrant waves, recent demographic changes have provoked anti-immigrant sentiment that is voiced in debate over socially valued resources. The education system remains a contested terrain for status groups competing for access to valued resources, including those promoting educational achievement. Research contends that as societies diversify, dominant groups (i.e. Whites) use education as a means to maintain their privilege (Werum 2001; Shavit 1990; Ralph and Rubinson 1980; Collins 1979). Reaction by dominant groups includes leaving public schools that experience increases in their minority populations (Renzulli and Evans 2005; Frankenberg and Lee 2002; Olzak and Shanahan 1994), limiting or channeling educational resources devoted to minorities (Wainer 2006; Werum 2001), and offering minorities less desirable curricula (Hallinan 1996; Oakes 1985; Rosenbaum 1980). Working from a status competition theoretical perspective, this dissertation investigates how the increasing number of Latino and Asian Limited-English-Proficient (LEP) immigrant students in a metropolitan area fosters acceptance by, or resistance from, those groups that historically held power as well as those groups which only recently acquired educational opportunities.

Immigration and Atlanta

Since the late 19th century, large waves of European immigrants have come to the United States. Prior to 1860, the vast majority of immigrants were Irish and Germans, followed by Italians and East Europeans with nearly 18 million new citizens between 1890 and 1920. Most of these newcomers settled in major port cities (New York, Boston, and Chicago). By the early 1900s, the majority of immigrants were located in the Eastern seaboard or upper Midwest working in urban factories (Bump et al.2005). These immigration patterns were guided by U.S. policy and restrictions that related to historical economic labor supply demands, native and ideological sentiments, and international political interests (LeMay 1986; Dinnerstein and Reimers 1977). Today's immigrants are mostly from Asia and Latin America (particularly Mexico, Central American countries, Philippines, Korea, and Southeast Asia).

During the 1990's, record numbers of immigrants entered the United States, the majority of whom continued to settle in just six states: California, New York, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, and Illinois. That decade saw a 58% growth in the foreign-born population, totaling 11 million people (Bump et al. 2005). Specific industries such as meat processing, agriculture, and construction companies recruit immigrants for low-wage labor. The Latinization of workers picking apples in the orchards of Washington, oranges in the groves of Florida, grapes in the crops of California and mushrooms in the sheds of New England all reflect contemporary immigration patterns (Gozdiak and Martin 2005). Government has also brought newcomers to areas with growing

economies through refugee[1] resettlement programs. Prior to the 1990s, Latino and Asian immigrants settled near a handful of geographic centers along the West and East coasts and the Southwest of the U.S., but in recent decades immigrants have increasingly gravitated toward other rural and urban areas known as "new settlement" destinations.

Potential employment opportunities fueled migration to southern cities as well as attracted a growing number of foreign-born workers. Unlike most regions of the country that experienced deindustrialization and increasing unemployment trends over the last thirty years, the South has seen more economic prosperity than other U.S. regions (Owens and Rich 2002).

At the heart of the region's economic growth is the Atlanta metropolitan area, which saw its overall population double and the number of jobs more than triple between 1980 and 2000. Some scholars suggest the crucial characteristic of Atlanta's economy is its diversity of industries, with no single sector dominating the employment market (Owens and Rich 2002). Atlanta's location in the heart of the southeastern U.S., its reputation as a business center, and its role as a transportation hub (interstate highways, railroads, and the busiest national airport) are additional factors driving economic growth (Hansen 2005). Economic motivations have influenced domestic migration as well as attracted immigrants to the area.

[1] Refugees represent another significant population and account for a growing number of foreign-born. After the 1980 Refugee Act, Georgia began its state-level refugee resettlement program. Official statistics estimate that forty-nine thousand refugees reside in Georgia, representing 11.7% of the international immigrant population in the state (Hansen 2005). Vietnamese represent close to 40% of Georgia's refugees, but refugees from Bosnia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Sierra Leone comprise contemporary refugee waves.

Georgia has the third fastest growing foreign-born population rate in the country and the state's Asian and Latino populations more than doubled in the last decade (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000). Occupational opportunities in construction, food processing, and textile industries are attracting increasing numbers of immigrants (Giacomini 2000). By 2006 the foreign-born population was 9.2% in Georgia and one in ten for Metro-Atlanta (Gonzales 2008). On the county level, some of the most significant increases in Latino growth occurred in northern metropolitan Atlanta between 1990-2000, including Gwinnett County (up 215%) and Cobb County (up 159%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000).

The changing faces in public schools

The immigrant population growth nationally, as well as in Georgia, has prompted significant cultural, linguistic, and ethnic demographic changes. Contemporary debates on immigration often center on the issue of political integration and the role of governmental policies. Apart from political issues is the concern of how schools should address the language obstacles immigrant and refugee children face in public schools. As of 2006, one in ten students in the US is considered an English Learner or Limited-English-Proficient (NCELA 2007). Furthermore, the language minority population is increasing at a much faster rate than their native-born peers, and LEP students are no longer contained to only a handful of states.

Substantial research exists on immigrant students' integration in traditional immigrant settlement areas such as California, Texas and New York (Mace-Matluck et al.1998; Walqui 2000). Educational policies affecting language minority students have been preoccupied with the ongoing research for a "single best method" to teach non-

native English speaking students. This debate has focused almost exclusively in regions of the country with long-established immigrant communities, and researchers tend to neglect how these educational models might apply in areas such as the Southeast with limited teachers who have experience or training in working with LEP students (Wortham et al. 2002). Furthermore, little research has examined the racial context in which curricular and programmatic decisions are embedded.

LEP students are a relatively new group in the South and much of the research on language assistance policies in immigrant communities is qualitative and exploratory in nature (Wainer 2006; Gozdziak and Martin 2005). These studies point to several areas of concern. In these new communities, native citizens have welcomed immigrants to perform work in industries that need cheap labor, but they have not supported the allocation of more educational resources for immigrants. Research finds stereotyping, poor facilities, and inadequate teacher training the hallmarks of immigrant education in the South (Wortham et al. 2002). These findings prompt this study's broad research question: How does the increasing number of Limited-English-Proficient immigrant students foster acceptance by or resistance from Whites (who historically held power) *and/or* African Americans (who only recently acquired power)?

Local Responses to the Growing Immigrant Population

As Atlanta's Latino and Asian immigrant populations continue to increase, it is not surprising to find heightened perceptions of threat from established groups. Anxiety about immigrants in the Atlanta area can be seen in social movements, political rhetoric, and social control mechanisms aimed at recent immigrants. Anti-immigrant hostility can be conveyed violently and other times symbolically. For example, Georgia is one of 22

states that have passed laws/propositions declaring English as the official language of the state. Furthermore, recent research found national press (Santa Ana 2002) and Atlanta's largest newspaper, *Atlanta Journal Constitution,* framed bilingual education and language assistance programs in a negative light (Tarasawa 2008). Additionally, dominant groups can promote segregation by fleeing schools that experience increases in their minority populations (Frankenberg and Lee 2002) or limiting access to language assistance programs (Oakes 1985; Rosenbaum 1980; Wainer 2006; Hallinan 1996). But limited research examines inter-ethnic conflict, particularly how African Americans may or may not align with their White counterparts' reactions to educational programs for LEP student populations.

Status competition approach

Unlike most countries, the U.S. has a formally open secondary school system. Cross-national research on systems of education points to three interconnected factors that explain the continual expansion of the education system in the US: the lack of centralized political authority over education, the loose rules of allocation between education streams and occupational placement, and the centrality of status competition (Rubinson and Hurst 1997). The openness of the U.S. system, coupled with a relatively weak Department of Education at the federal level, promotes a demand-driven system where status groups have the ability to pressure local-level school officials to expand and differentiate the education system (Hage et al. 1988).

Previous research on race-specific outcomes ranging from hate crimes over unemployment to housing segregation finds that economic and political competition between racial groups fosters social closure responses by dominant groups (Tomaskovic-

Devey and Roscigno 1996; Massey and Denton 1993; Beck and Tolnay 1992). In the effort to maintain or legitimate their status, groups use social closure mechanisms to limit or restrict other groups' access to valued resources. In his discussion of employment practices, Tomaskovic-Devey (1993) defines social closure as exclusionary processes where status groups create and reserve the best positions and most coveted opportunities for their own members. Schooling is another domain to study processes of racial competition.

Broadly conceptualized, explanations grounded in the conflict perspective are frequently used to examine the relationship between education and the reproduction of stratification systems. Conflict theories generally see education as a valuable resource for group mobility (Ralph and Rubinson 1980) and scholars espousing this view describe education as a zero-sum game in which the players are status groups who compete for dominance in the schooling system (Collins 1979; Weber 1946). Status conflict/competition theorists assert that elites use the educational system as a way of limiting the access of low-status individuals to their privileged position in the occupational hierarchy (Ralph and Rubinson 1980). Status competition models differ from class conflict theories in that groups can differ in ways beyond their economic interests (Weber 1946). In addition to economic lines, status groups can have gender, ethnic, racial, cultural, or citizenship distinctions.

For example, some researchers contend that the country is the midst of a national language panic, where language has become a proxy for class and racial markers (McCarty 2004). A growing literature examines opposition to language assistance programs as an extension of anti-immigrant prejudice or as a measure of perceived threat

(Huddy and Sears 1995; Bobo and Kluegel 1993). Previous work explore the enforcement of English-Only laws and propositions opposing bilingual education as forms of social control aimed at a specific immigrant group, and opposition to bilingual education has been viewed as a type of anti-immigrant (specifically Latino and Asian) discrimination (Houvouras 2001; Bobo and Kluegel 1993). This form of status competition suggests that opposition to minority groups or policy aimed at aiding racial/ethnic minority groups emerges from the perception of a threat to one's own group's occupational opportunities, standard of living, or access to other resources.

While educational and linguistic communities remain divided on the effectiveness of language assistance programs, opposition to language assistance programs has less to do with pedagogical interests than with social and ethnic concerns (Stewart 1993). This suggests that the protection of dominant educational interests underlies opposition to language assistance and bilingual education. More specifically, language assistance programs are frequently understood as taking resources from English-speaking students in a zero-sum game (Huddy and Sears 1995). Language assistance program selection is often framed as an issue of "effectiveness," but it is generally politicized and has little to do with program merit.

In sum, research has demonstrated two-way racial (Black-White), religious (Catholic-Protestant), and class (rich-poor) competition dynamics exist within education (Werum 2001; Shavit 1990; James 1989; Reese 1986; Ralph and Rubinson 1980). But few studies have examined how similar competition could arise between Whites and Latinos, Whites and Blacks, Blacks and Latinos, or between other ethnic groups (Wainer 2006). The goal of this study is to examine how status competition between these

groups plays out in segregation and curricular access. My project builds the classic assumption that schools are a site for status competition. In other words, I assume status competition is present but can take a variety of forms and can have multiple contestants. Thus, I explore three potential manifestations of status competition: 1) mismatches between school racial composition and neighborhood composition, 2) racial and ethnic segregation within and between schools, and 3) the availability of language assistance programs in schools.

Racial and Ethnic Segregation

Social status is often associated with the neighborhoods people live in as well as the quality of the schools their children attend (Holme 2002; Massey and Denton 1993). Historically, Whites have avoided integration by moving to all-White or mostly White neighborhoods or enrolling their children in predominately White schools. Contemporary research on White flight finds similar patterns, as residentially mobile families and students who transfer schools tend to be White and affluent (Renzulli and Evans 2005; Levin 1999). White flight has not been understood extensively under the status competition framework, increasing nonWhite student enrollments lower the desirability and status of schools and cause Whites to flee (Saporito and Sohoni 2007, 2006; Renzulli and Evans 2005).

Atlanta public schools saw a massive exodus of White students between 1967 and 1986. The city's decline in White enrollment was one of the most rapid of all major school districts in the country, with White enrollment dropping 41 percent over the two decades (Orfield and Ashkinaze 1991). But White students were not the only ones who abandoned the city system; middle-class Black students also left as schools became

Blacker and poorer. In many cities, a traditional split between wealthy White suburban and inner-city poor Black schools exists. Atlanta fits this pattern at the extremes: the majority of poor schools are Black and the wealthiest schools are predominately White (Orfield and Ashkinaze 1991). But given the rising Black middle-class of Atlanta, in between these extremes researchers find that not every suburban school is wealthy or White. Instead, contemporary racial disparities in the metro-Atlanta area are rooted in the context of extreme hypersegregation in housing. The poorest inner-city schools are predominately Black, the wealthiest public schools are located in White suburbs, and in between these areas are Black suburbanites, who live in areas of racial change, whose children attend integrated schools with increasing numbers of Latino and Asian students (Orfield and Ashkinaze 1991).

Racial and Ethnic Segregation Across Neighborhoods and Schools

Two decades after the Supreme Court's unanimous 1954 decision on *Brown v. Board of Education* during the height of the Civil Rights Movement, there have been limited extensions to the desegregation efforts and some argue the Supreme Court is leading American schools in the opposite direction (Orfield and Eaton 1996). Some researchers suggest residential segregation patterns are now the defining practice promoting school segregation across US cities (Massey and Denton 1993). Studies on segregation patterns across large U.S. school districts reveal that racial and economic segregation in public schools is higher than the residential racial and poverty rates across neighborhoods (Saporito and Sohoni 2007, 2006). Nationally, White-Black segregation is greater than White-Hispanic segregation in schools and neighborhoods, but "the gap in segregation

between neighborhoods and schools is more prominent between White and Hispanic students" (Saporito and Sohoni, 2006, p. 98), meaning that the discrepancy between schools and their neighborhoods is greatest between Latinos and Whites. Similar international research on German and English education systems find large mismatches between school composition and catchment areas in locales with the most racial and/or class diversity (Noreisch 2007; Parsons et al. 2000). My study builds on this extant research by investigating: *To what degree do racial and ethnic segregation patterns in public secondary schools reflect those in residential catchment areas?*

Racial and Ethnic Segregation Between Schools

The American school system reflects differential preparation for the realities of many minority and low-income students (Kozol 2005; Orfield and Eaton 1996). Following the Coleman Report (1966) that showed small positive influences of integrated schools on academic performance for minorities, racial contextual effects have received ample attention in the literature. Some research suggests that younger minority students received more of the benefits of desegregated context (Scofield 1988). But surprisingly, several studies have found negative findings for Blacks and Hispanics in integrated settings and some African American students do fare better both psychologically and academically in predominantly Black institutions (Murrell 1999; Fleming 1984; Jencks 1972; Rosenberg and Simmons 1971). Evidence also suggests that desegregation does not lower the achievement levels of White children (Scofield 1988). Although school integration does not eliminate racial inequality, research suggests it gives racial

minorities greater access to competitive schools, additional college preparation courses, and more occupational opportunities (Orfield and Ashkinaze 1991).

The long history of segregation and exclusion of African Americans in public schools is closely tied to contemporary educational debates in the South. Many scholars argue that prior to the civil rights movement the most oppressive feature of Black secondary education was local and state governments' refusal to provide equitable public high school facilities for African American children (Werum 2001; Anderson 1988; Holley 1955; Vaughn 1974). But following major 1970's court mandated desegregation efforts, the South had more integrated schools than any other region in the US (Orfield and Gordon 2001). However, in the last couple of decades this pattern has begun to reverse itself again. Southern public schools have experienced a rise in Black-White resegregation in recent years, as well as a steady increase in the segregation of Latinos from Whites (Frankenberg and Lee 2002). These findings raise my second set of research questions: *Are school-level segregation and interracial contact increasing or decreasing for African Americans? Are school-level segregation and interracial contact increasing or decreasing for Latinos?* And *How does the increase in Limited-English-Proficient students affect White and/or Black enrollments in public secondary schools?*

Allocation of Language Assistance Programs

LEP students continue to lag behind their classmates when it comes to academic achievement, high school graduation, and degree attainment (Cosentino de Cohen et al. 2005; Valenzuela 1999; Romo and Falbo 1996). But scholars, politicians, and educators remain divided on how to best address language proficiency for LEP students. Access to educational resources for LEP students, or lack thereof, suggests researchers need to

examine how status competition emerges between and within schools, and how community-level and school-level organizational factors shape individual-level outcomes. This relationship between structural conditions and the educational opportunities of LEP students highlights the potential ways that resource competition between groups could affect individuals' life chances.

A wealth of research on the effectiveness of language assistance programs and bilingual education exists, but results remain somewhat inconclusive (Stewart 1993). Most studies find these programs help build academic knowledge while also raising English proficiency (Fitzgerald 1995; Ramirez 1992; Hakuta 1986; Willig 1985), with better-designed and implemented programs having more positive effects (Ramirez 1992; Willig 1985). But others find that even some of the most successful models have limited success at increasing English proficiency (Mora 1997; Samaniego and Eubank 1991). However, the implementation of comparable language assistance programs varies dramatically by school (Legarreta 1977), leading researchers to caution that the overall effectiveness of programs should not be judged based solely on a limited number of examples (Berliner and Biddle 1995).

Language assistance programs can take a variety of forms, and these programs are shaped by state and district policies addressing the needs of LEP students (Cosentino de Cohen et al. 2005). Some schools offer floating specialists who translate and instruct in multiple classrooms. Sheltered programs remove limited English-speaking students from their home classrooms to provide tutoring in solely English. Students who speak a variety of native languages often make up these classes, but English is the predominant language of instruction (Valverde and Armendáriz 1999). Other schools opt for dual-

language instruction that develops dual-language proficiency by instructing students in their native language, as well as in English. Classes consist of native English speakers and non-English speaking students (Crawford 1991). Finally, some schools employ multiple forms of these language assistance programs.

In Georgia, LEP students have a 37.7% high school graduation rate, by far the lowest completion rate of any subgroup other than students with disabilities (Georgia Governor's Office of Student Achievement 2005). Given the financial barriers to additional education and the availability of income from manual labor jobs, many Atlanta-area LEP immigrant students do not finish their high school degrees and opt for work in low-skill jobs (Wainer 2006). Local school systems are now mandated to offer programs for LEP populations in order to comply with state and federal laws. For example, Georgia's Department of Education funds the English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) instructional program for English Language Learners for grades K-12. This umbrella program exceeds $50 million per fiscal year and is concentrated in districts with many English Language Learners (ELL). Yet, the state's ESOL program encompasses a vast array of instructional models that differ across and within districts. ESOL models range from floating translators to pull-out instruction to full emersion. However, it remains unclear which local factors influence the form of ESOL program or the number of ESOL instructors within schools.

Recent research suggests that school district and parental characteristics influence the probability that a school district will institute or maintain Spanish-English dual-language programs nationally (Linton 2004). But beyond dual-language models, little research has systematically taken into account local social, economic, and political

factors that could influence the *amount* of language assistance or *form* of program schools implement. My research builds on Linton (2004) by investigating *How do status competition factors influence the supply of language assistance resources implemented in public secondary schools, above and beyond demand for such programs?*

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

To address my research questions, the next four chapters draw from several data sources and employ multiple research methods. Using secondary data from the Georgia Department of Education and the 2000 Census Bureau and primary data on language assistance curriculum offerings, English-only referenda, and attendance boundaries for metro-Atlanta public high schools, I examine several forms of racial and ethnic competition in the Atlanta-area from 1994/95-2007/08. This time period represents the greatest growth in the immigrant student population, particularly enrollment rates of high school age children, in Georgia (Wainer 2006).

Table 2.1 presents the 20-county sample in this study, which encompass 27 school districts and 152 public high schools in 2007/08. The Atlanta Regional Commission (ARC) defines these 20 counties as the Atlanta Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) in accordance with the published standards applied to U.S. Census Bureau data. MSAs are regions that describe considerable core areas of population with bordering communities that have a high degree of economic and social integration, illustrated by high rates of commuting from the bordering areas to job locations in the city center (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000). Map 2.1 presents a visual representation of the 20-county region and also depicts the subregions (Atlanta and inner suburbs, northern outer suburbs, and

southern outer suburbs) discussed in later chapters. Finally, Table 2.2 presents the data and methodology employed in each substantive chapter.

[Insert Table 2.1 here]

[Insert Map 2.1 here]

[Insert Table 2.2 here]

Chapter Three: Demographic Trends in Metro Atlanta

Data

Before exploring potential manifestations of status competition outlined above, Chapter Three describes the broader enrollment changes in metropolitan Atlanta public secondary schools.

The chapter uses yearly demographic data collected by the Georgia Department of Education from 1994/95-2007/08 to examine longitudinal enrollment and racial composition patterns in all 152 Atlanta metropolitan public high schools.

Methodology

This section chronicles the enrollment growth from 1994/95-2007/08 by district, area (city center vs. suburbs), and by racial/ethnic group. Next, I calculate measures of racial isolation for Blacks and Latinos in all 27 districts in the 1994/95 and 2007/08 school years to examine patterns of segregation. *Racial isolation* is a district-level measure of segregation and represents the number of students in a particular racial group experiencing isolation in schools with more than 50% minority[2] enrollments across school districts (Orfield et al. 1997). This measure is particularly useful when examining

[2] Minority population includes all non-White students.

patterns of racial and ethnic isolation over time (Orfield et al. 1997) and helps gauge the level of segregation for multiple minority groups. Schools are coded as predominately minority or majority, then the percentage of Latinos and African Americans attending predominately minority institutions within each district is tabulated.

Chapter Four: Mapping Segregation: Cross-Sectional Analysis of School Catchment Areas in Metro Atlanta High Schools

Data

This cross-sectional chapter investigates the first potential form of status competition by comparing the racial demographics of neighborhoods to their respective public high school. Here, I ask: *To what degree do racial and ethnic segregation patterns in public secondary schools reflect those in residential catchment areas?* In collaboration with the ARC, I obtained catchment maps that depict all public high schools from the 27 school districts in the 20-county metro-Atlanta area. These maps were in a variety of formats (JPEG, TIF, ArcView Shapefiles, PDFs). In all cases, I was able to construct attendance boundary maps, using Maptitude (Window's Geographic Information Systems). Subsequently, I integrated GIS-based maps of school catchment areas with 2000 block-level census data[3] (the most recent data available) by overlaying the digital maps of catchment areas on top of maps of census blocks. Overlays allowed me to identify the school that served every block in each district. Thus, I was able to determine the number of high-school aged children, by race and ethnicity, who live in each catchment area.

[3] The grade-level organization of a typical high school does not neatly correspond with the Census Bureau's block-level age categories. For instance, some children may enter high school early or stay after 18-years of age. Thus, the age category 15-17 does not match the grade structure perfectly, but serves as best available approximation.

These residential catchment areas reflect a baseline hypothetical situation if all students attended the local public school of their catchment area in the 2000/01 academic year[4] (Saporito & Sohoni 2006). To examine how these hypothetical racial and ethnic compositions compared to actual racial demographics, I compared my baseline measures to the enrollments reported by the Georgia Department of Education in 2000/01.

Methodology

My first calculation was to examine the 'mismatch' or discrepancy between the number of children by racial/ethnic group living in a school's catchment zone to the number of children by racial/ethnic group attending the respective secondary school in the 2000/01 school year (Noreisch 2007). A positive mismatch means that a greater percentage of students from the specified group are attending the high school than are resident in the respective area. A negative mismatch means that a smaller proportion of children of a particular racial group are attending the high school than are resident in the catchment area.

Second, I created scatterplots that allowed me to visually compare the percent of students by racial group with the percentage of their respective racial group in each school's catchment area. By comparing schools with their neighborhoods, I was able to determine if there were lower or higher percentages of White, Black or Latino[5] students in schools than in their corresponding catchment areas. These analyses allowed me to

[4] In the 2000/2001 school year, 110 public high schools were in operation in the 20-county metro-Atlanta region. Thus, my sample size shifts in this analysis (n=110).
[5] Due to small sample size, Asian and Other non-White students were not included in this analysis.

observe, for each school, whether racial segregation in schools was greater than in the corresponding catchment areas (Saporito and Sohoni 2006).

Finally, I ran regression analyses to determine if the number of White students in a school is affected by the number of Black or Latino children in their attendance zones. I also ran regression analyses for Black and Latino children to examine if the number of the respective racial group is affected by the number of White, Black, or Latino children in their attendance zones.

Chapter Five: Pooled Time Series Analysis of Segregation in Metro Atlanta High Schools

Data

This chapter looks within schools to examine a second potential manifestation of status competition. More specifically, *Are school-level segregation and interracial contact increasing or decreasing for African Americans? Are school-level segregation and interracial contact increasing or decreasing for Latinos?* Finally, *How does the number of Limited-English-Proficient student enrollment affect White and/or Black enrollments in public secondary schools*? The first analysis uses yearly demographic data collected by the Georgia Department of Education from 1994/95-2007/08 to examine longitudinal enrollment and racial composition patterns in Atlanta-area public secondary schools. This analysis includes 108[6] of the 152 Atlanta metropolitan public high schools. The second section draws on enrollment data collected by the Georgia Department of

[6] Although exposure indices were calculated for all 152 schools in 2007/08 for subsequent analyses in Chapter Six, this chapter looks at changes in exposure between 1994/95-2007/08, therefore, the 108 schools in operation in 1994/95 are included in this analysis.

Education for the 2007-2008 academic year. Here, all 152 public high schools in the 20-county metro area are included.

Methodology

I use an exposure index to examine changes in school-level racial composition between 1994/95 and 2007/08 to explore the dynamic patterns of segregation in more detail. Similar to national studies, I employ exposure indices to examine racial segregation across school districts (Frankenberg & Lee 2002). "Exposure measures the degree of potential contact, or possibility of interaction, between minority and majority group members" (Massey & Denton, 1988, p. 287). Exposure thus depends on the extent to which two groups share common areas, in this instance, a public school. These data reflect the share of a particular group in the school of the average student of another racial group. I compute the exposure indices in 1994/95 and 2007/08 to identify trends across schools within districts and across districts over time (see Massy & Denton 1988). The comparison of exposure indices can reveal patterns of White flight documented by previous researchers (Clotfelter 2001). Finally, I employ ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions to determine how the number of LEP students affects Black and White enrollments in metro-Atlanta public high schools.

Chapter Six: Allocation of Language Assistance Programs in Metro Atlanta High Schools

Data

Findings from the previous chapters suggest neighborhood and school-level competition factors could affect school policies related to LEP immigrant students, raising my final research question: *How do status competition factors influence the supply of language*

assistance resources implemented in public secondary schools, above and beyond demand for such programs? This cross-sectional analysis draws from a variety of data sources and examines all 152 public high schools in 20-county metro-Atlanta area in 2007/08. Variables on the presence of language assistance on site and number of instructors come from formal program descriptions, curriculum information published in 2007/08 course catalogues and through contact with ESOL coordinators. I derived school demographic and financial data from the Georgia Department of Education. The presence of local English-only referenda comes from Crawford's (1998) report, governmental records, and newspaper reports (e.g. Associated Press 2000, *Atlanta Journal Constitution* 1998-2008). Neighborhood mismatch variables and racial exposure measures were calculated in previous analyses, in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

Methodology

I use three types of statistical analyses to address my final research question, including Pearson's correlations, OLS regression, and logistic regression. First, each bivarate relationship between the dependent variables and all independent variables was investigated using Pearson's correlation coefficients. Second, I use an ordinary least squares regression for the first dependent variable: number of ESOL teachers. Finally, I use a logistic regression to assess the odds that language assistance courses are offered on site.

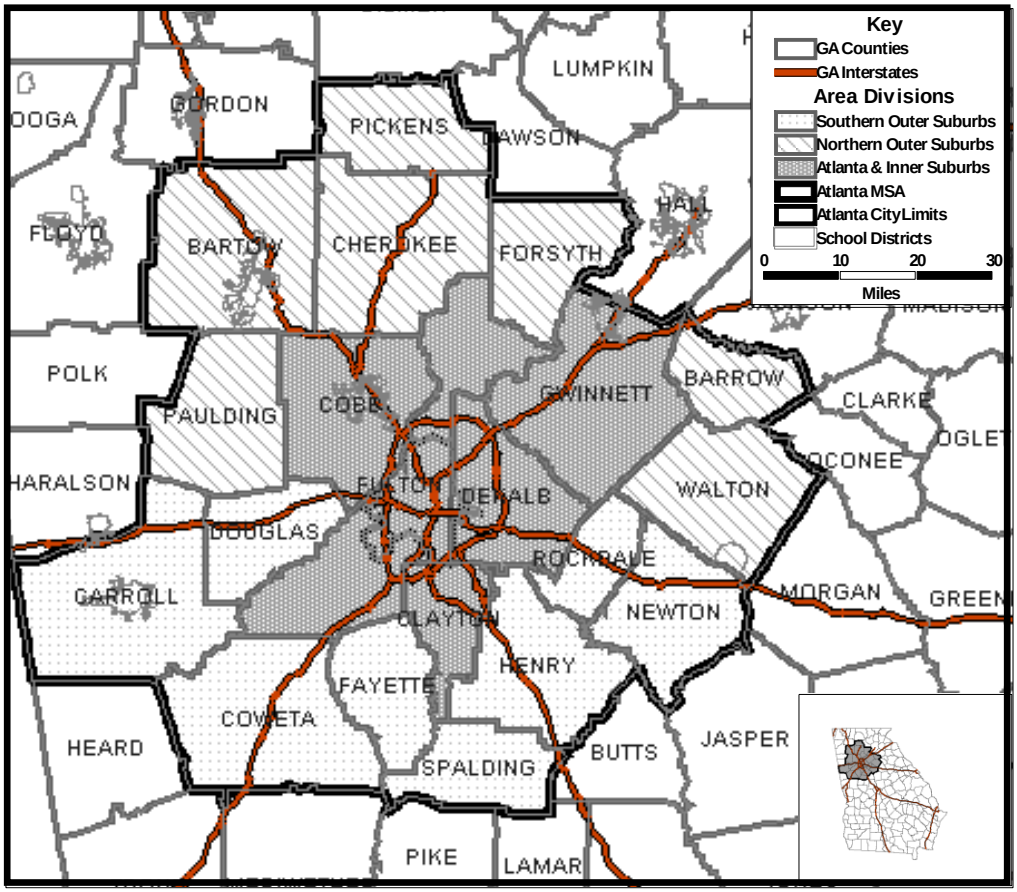
Table 2.1 School district breakdown by county

County:	Name of District(s):	# Districts	# High Schools
Atlanta and Inner Suburbs			
Clayton	Clayton County	1	8
Cobb	Cobb County, Marietta City	2	17
DeKalb	DeKalb County, Decatur City	2	27
Fulton	Atlanta Public Schools, Fulton County	2	27
Gwinnett	Buford city, Gwinnett County	2	18
Northern Suburbs			
Barrow	Barrow County	1	2
Bartow	Bartow County, Cartersville City	2	4
Cherokee	Cherokee County	1	5
Forsyth	Forsyth County	1	4
Paulding	Paulding County	1	3
Southern Suburbs			
Carroll	Carroll County, Carrollton City	2	7
Coweta	Coweta County	1	3
Douglas	Douglas County	1	4
Fayette	Fayette County	1	6
Henry	Henry County	1	7
Newton	Newton County	1	2
Pickens	Pickens County	1	1
Rockdale	Rockdale County	1	3
Spalding	Spalding County	1	2
Walton	Social Circle City, Walton County	2	2
20 Counties	**27 Districts**		**152 Schools**

Table 2.2 Data and methodology chapter breakdown

	# of Counties	# of Districts	# of Schools	Methodology	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
Chapter 3						
Enrollment Trends	20	27	152	Descriptives	n/a	n/a
Cross-sectional Racial Isolation	20	27	152	Isolation	n/a	n/a
Longitudinal Isolation	20	27	108	Isolation	n/a	n/a
Chapter 4						
Neighborhood-School Mismatch	20	27	110	GIS	n/a	n/a
Regional Mismatch Comparison	20	27	110	ANOVA	n/a	n/a
Racial Scatterplots	20	27	110	Descriptive	n/a	n/a
Regression Analyses	20	27	110	OLS Regression	Neighborhood Characteristics	School Racial Composition
Chapter 5						
Cross-sectional Racial Exposure	20	27	152	Exposure Indices	n/a	n/a
Longitudinal Exposure	20	27	108	Exposure Indices	n/a	n/a
Regression Analyses	20	27	152	OLS Regression	School Racial Characteristics	School Racial Composition
Chapter 6						
Regression Analyses	20	27	152	OLS Regression/ Logistic Regression	School Characteristics Resource Competition Racial Competition in Neighborhood Racial Competition in School	Number of ESOL Instructors Language Assistance on-site

Map 2.1 The 20-county metro-Atlanta sample



Fight or Flight? Immigration, Status Competition, and Language Assistance Resources in Metropolitan Atlanta

Chapter III: Demographic Trends in Metro Atlanta

Many Atlanta-area public schools are seeing sizeable increases in immigrant students where non-African American minorities were a sparse presence just a decade ago. Recent Latino immigrants who have settled in the American South find themselves in a unique situation because racial boundaries have long been defined in dichotomous terms (Black and White). The majority of these newcomers, who are primarily first-generation Latino students, face educational challenges that are only recently being addressed in public high schools (Hamann et al. 2002).

Before exploring potential manifestations of status competition in metro-Atlanta public high schools in the following three substantive chapters, here I examine the broader secondary enrollment changes and patterns in metropolitan Atlanta. This dissertation focuses on secondary institutions for two reasons. First, high schools are much more racially and ethnically diverse than elementary or middle schools (Stearns and Lippmann 2003) and thus offer the greatest potential for interethnic contact. Second, curriculum and language assistance programs are rigidly defined and categorized at the high school level.

Data

This chapter uses Georgia Department of Education enrollment data from 1994/95-2007/08 to examine the racial and ethnic demographics of 152 high schools, whose catchment zones encompass 27 districts in 20 Atlanta metropolitan counties (refer to Table 2.1). These 20 counties form the Atlanta Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).

MSAs are regions where core areas of population and bordering communities that have a high degree of economic and social integration (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000).

I subdivide the Atlanta metropolitan area in two additional ways in this chapter. Orfield and Eaton (1996) found that suburbs are much less segregated than the central city, and students of color who live in suburbs are the most likely to experience integrated education. Additionally, district size has also been tied to severity of racial segregation in schools (Orfield and Eaton 1996). Drawing from these findings, I first examine how the largest school districts compare and contrast with the remaining 21 smaller school districts in the sample. Second, given the vast differences in enrollment patterns across the 20-county region, I examine how measures of racial isolation differ among city-center counties, northern outer suburbs, and southern outers suburbs.

Methodology

I first describe general longitudinal enrollment and racial composition patterns in all 152 Atlanta metropolitan public high schools. Next, I calculate measures of racial isolation for Blacks and Latinos in all 27 districts in the 1994/95 and 2007/08 school years to examine patterns of segregation. *Racial isolation* is a district-level measure of segregation and is calculated by the number of students in a particular racial group experiencing isolation in schools with more than 50% minority enrollments across school districts (Orfield et al.1997). This measure is particularly useful when examining patterns of racial and ethnic isolation over time (Orfield et al.1997) and helps gauge the level of segregation for multiple minority groups. Schools are first coded as predominately minority or majority. I then tabulate the percentage of Latinos and African Americans attending predominately minority institutions within each district.

For example, I calculate the number of Latinos attending schools with more than 50% minority enrollments in district X divided by the total number of Latinos in school district X. This ratio represents the percentage of Latinos attending predominately minority schools in a single school district (X). I compute measures of isolation for Blacks and Latinos in all 27 districts.

RESULTS

From 1994/95-2007/08, public high school enrollments in the 20-county Metro-Atlanta area grew by 109,688 students, an 83.0% increase (see Graph 3.1). Graph 3.2 shows enrollment by racial group and reveals sizable increases in African American enrollments, modest White growth with recent declines, and steady increases in Latino and other nonWhite student enrollments between 1994/95-2007/08.

[Insert Graph 3.1 here]

[Insert Graph 3.2 here]

Clear differences in growth exist by racial group and by district. Enrollments in the six largest Metro-Atlanta school districts grew by nearly 65,000 students (a 69.9% increase) since 1994/95. However, the remaining 21 outer suburban districts saw their enrollments more than double from just over 39,000 to more than 84,000 (a 114.2% increase) between 1994/95-2007/08. As shown in Table 3.1, between 1994/95-2007/08 the number of Whites in the six largest metro Atlanta public school districts increased minimally. In the 1994/95 school year, Whites narrowly formed the majority (53%) of public high schools in the six major Atlanta-area public school districts. However, by 2007/08 Whites made up less than a third (32%) of the students population in these districts. Black enrollment grew by 40,607 students, and African Americans now

comprise just under 50% of total enrollments. Latino student enrollment grew by 13,717 raising the Latino population from 2% to 10%, and the number of other non-White[7] students comprised 9.0% of total enrollments. The continual increase in Black enrollment and the surge in Latino enrollment have led to a non-White majority in the six largest Atlanta districts. Although the remaining 21 smaller Atlanta-metro school districts also saw significant African American and Latino growth, White growth continued in these areas. Table 3.2 shows that in the 1994/95 school year, Whites were the overwhelming majority (83.6%). By 2007/08, Whites still represent 61.2% of the enrollments in the outer suburban districts.

[Insert Table 3.1 here]

[Insert Table 3.2 here]

Between 1994/95-2007/08 there were vast differences in enrollment trends by race among the six largest school districts. Atlanta Public Schools and DeKalb County districts continue to have high levels of Black enrollment with few White, Latino, or other non-Black minority students. The northern districts of Cobb County and Gwinnett County have maintained high levels of White enrollment but are both experiencing increases in Black, Latino, and other non-White high school student enrollment. Fulton County schools have seen recent increases in both Black and White enrollments, and are beginning to see small increases in Latino and other non-White student enrollment. Clayton County high schools have witnessed a dramatic change, where Black enrollment

[7] Other non-Whites include students identified as Asian and Pacific Islander, Native American and Alaskan Native, or Multi-racial.

has sharply increased and Whites have virtually completely fled the district. Few Latino or other non-White minority students are enrolled in Clayton schools.

The enrollment growth in the remaining 21 small outer metro districts also saw variation in enrollment patterns by racial groups between 1994/95-2007/08. The four northernmost counties (Bartow, Cherokee, Forsyth, Pickens) maintain an almost exclusively White student body. These districts had minimal Black and Latino growth. In contrast, Barrow County, Buford City, Carroll County, Carrollton City, Cowetta County, Cartersville City, Fayette County, Paulding County, Social Circle, and Walton County districts maintained a White majority but are seeing an increase in both Black and Latino enrollments. The majority of the southern counties have seen the most dramatic demographic changes. Douglas County, Henry, Newton County, Rockdale County, and Spalding County public high schools have seen an increasing number of Blacks, a limited number of Latinos, and very recent decreases in the number of White students. Finally, Decatur City and Marietta City high schools have relatively high African American populations, with small but growing numbers of Latino and other non-White students.

Given the recent growth in immigrant enrollment, coupled with the ongoing suburbanization in metro-Atlanta, it is not surprising that the student population in large public school districts is becoming increasingly non-White with the potential for interethnic competition dynamics. The outer northern suburbs maintained high levels of White enrollment but are seeing an increase in both Black and Latino enrollments (potentially White/Latino two-way competition and Black/White/Latino three-way competition). The majority of the outer southern suburban school districts are seeing dramatic increases in African Americans and sizeable losses in White enrollment over the

past 14 years (potentially Black/White two-way competition). I now turn to measures of isolation to provide a descriptive spatial measure of segregation to make more sense of these patterns.

Racial Isolation

In the 1994/95 school year, 36 of the 108[8] Atlanta-area public schools (33%) were predominately minority. All 36 were in Atlanta or nearby suburbs: all Atlanta Public, Decatur City, and DeKalb County public high schools, five of the nine Fulton County public schools, and one Clayton County high school were predominately minority (see Table 3.3). The remaining 22 districts continued to be predominately White. By 2007/08, 90 of 152 Atlanta-area schools (59%) were predominately minority. Seventy-four of those schools resided in Atlanta or nearby suburbs. Sixteen high schools that had predominately minority enrollment were located in the outer southern suburbs.

[Insert Table 3.3 here]

District-level measures of racial isolation show that the proportion of African Americans (see Map 3.1) and Latinos (see Map 3.2) facing isolation has risen for both groups in the Atlanta-metro area. In 1994/95, 70.1% of African Americans living in the Atlanta-metro area were enrolled in a school that was predominately minority. By 2007/08, 81.1% of Blacks attended predominately minority schools. In contrast, 73.3 % of Latinos attended predominately White institutions in 1994/95. This trend dramatically shifted and by 2007/08 the number of Latinos enrolled in predominately White schools dropped to 37.8%.

[8] 108 of the 152 high schools were in existence in 1994/95.

[Insert Map 3.1 here]

[Insert Map 3.2 here]

There is significant variation of racial isolation across the metropolitan area. In Atlanta and nearby suburbs with high levels of African American enrollment, Atlanta Public, Decatur City, DeKalb County, and Marietta City school districts remained predominately minority from 1994/95-2007/08. Fulton County is the only school district in the sample to see a decline in racial isolation for African Americans as well as for Latinos (88.8% to 79.3% and 56.3% to 33.6% respectively). Cobb and Gwinnett counties saw rises in isolation for both minority groups.

Additionally, in Gwinnett County, where the largest numbers of Latinos in the metro-area reside, Latino isolation actually surpassed African Americans. Gwinnett County was the only county with this trend, and this is particularly interesting given that African Americans still represent a much greater proportion of the enrollment in the district but are *less* isolated. The ten northern suburbs (Barrow County, Bartow County, Buford City, Cartersville City, Cherokee County, Forsyth County, Paulding County, Pickens County, Social Circle City and Walton County) remained White-majority from 1994/95-2007/08. In 1994/95, Black and Latino students in the remaining nine southern districts attended White-majority schools. But, by 2007/08, Blacks and Latinos attended majority-White schools in only three counties: Carroll County, Carollton City and Cowetta County. Black students in Douglas County, Fayette County, Henry County, Newton County, Rockdale County, and Spalding County attended predominately minority schools. For Latinos, this pattern is virtually identical with the exception of Fayette County.

DISCUSSION

Isolation patterns suggest most Atlanta-area public high schools are following national trends. Schools are experiencing significant racial shifts but are becoming more segregated for both Latinos and Blacks. While African Americans remain slightly more isolated than Latinos in many Atlanta-area school districts, isolation rates have increased for both groups over the past 15 years. Atlanta-area public schools are catching up with other cities in troubling ways. By 2007/08, eight out of ten African Americans attended predominately minority schools in metro-Atlanta, compared to seven out of ten in 1994/95. Even more striking, six of every ten Latinos attended predominately minority schools in metro-Atlanta in 2007/08, compared to 3 in every ten just 13 years prior.

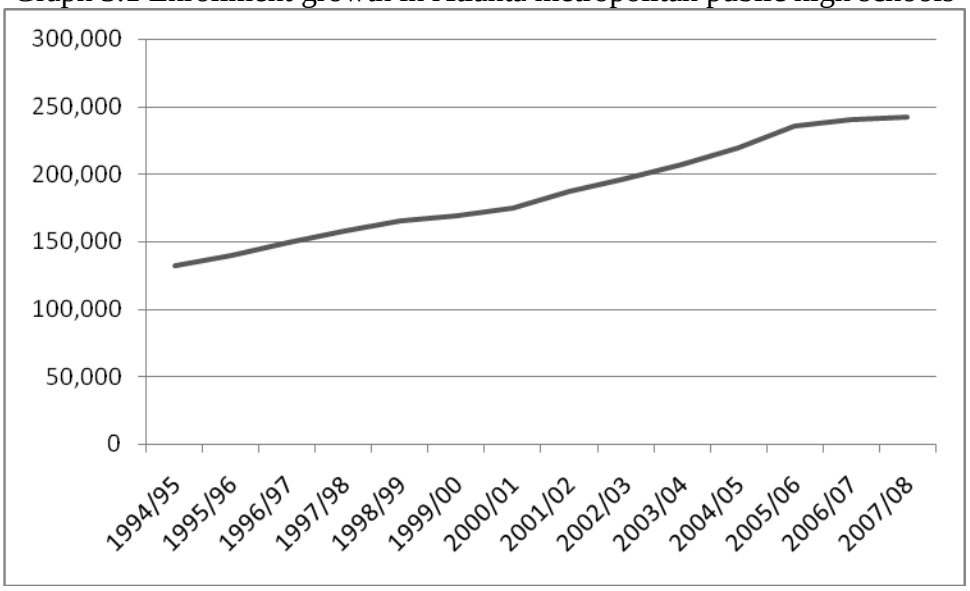
Previous research suggests observed segregation can be attributed to disparities in racial composition among school districts as opposed to segregation within districts (Clotfelter 2001). In 1994/95, this was generally the case in Atlanta where the predominately minority schools were all located in Atlanta or nearby suburbs with high proportions of African Americans. But by 2007/08, 90 of 152 Atlanta-area schools were predominately minority. Seventy-four of those schools are in Atlanta or nearby suburbs with high levels of racial diversity (both Black and Latino). Additionally, sixteen high schools that had predominately minority enrollment were located in the outer southern suburbs. In line with national research on resegregation (Orfield et al. 1997), the findings from this chapter highlight the recent expansion of segregation to the suburbs.

Beyond the demographic changes chronicled in this chapter, the implications for segregation across schools, interracial exposure in schools, and the access to resources are by no means obvious. The following chapters examine potential manifestations of

educational conflict in more detail by investigating how the increasing number of immigrant students in metropolitan Atlanta leads to competition dynamics in local schools.

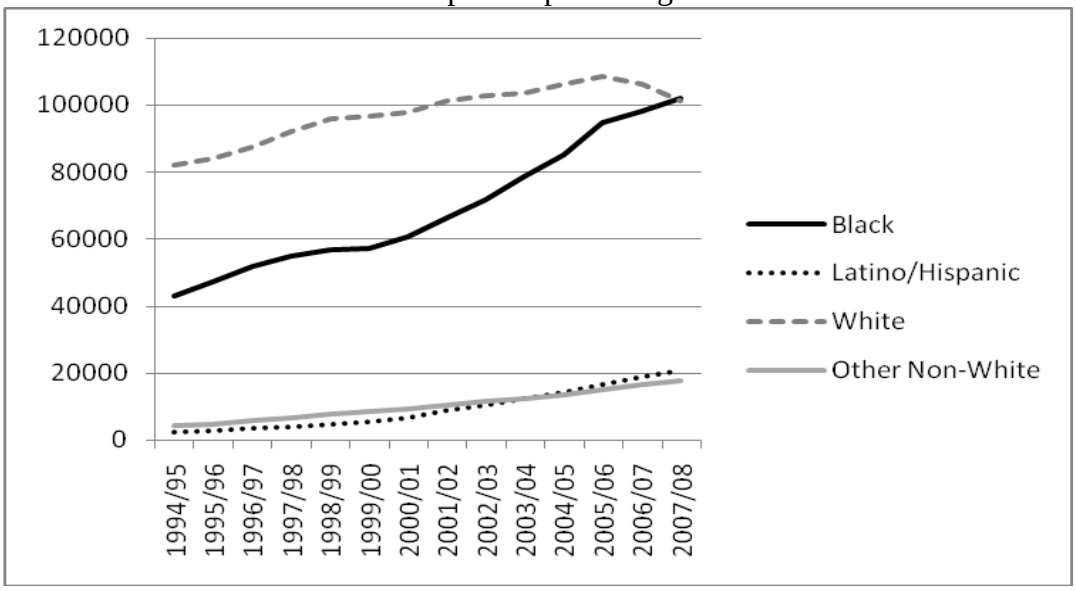
In the next three chapters, I examine how changing demographics foster acceptance by or resistance from Whites (who historically held power) and Blacks (who recently acquired it). Specifically, my major research questions are: To what degree do racial and ethnic segregation patterns in public secondary schools reflect those in residential catchment areas? And how does the increase in Limited-English-Proficient students affect White and/or Black enrollments in public secondary schools? Finally, a sociological conflict approach leads to the third analytical question: How do status competition factors influence the supply of language assistance resources implemented in public secondary schools, above and beyond demand for such programs? Schooling is an arena where racial and ethnic tensions remain alive and well, and the public high schools featured in this dissertation highlight how this contemporary battle continues.

Graph 3.1 Enrollment growth in Atlanta metropolitan public high schools



Source: Georgia Department of Education

Graph 3.2 Enrollment growth by race/ethnicity in Atlanta metropolitan public high schools



Source: Georgia Department of Education

Table 3.1 Racial & ethnic composition and growth in six largest metro-Atlanta public school districts^

	Racial Composition (%) 1994/95	2007/08	Enrollment Growth
White	53.2%	31.6%	+ 462
Black	40.4%	49.5%	+40,607
Latino/Hispanic	02.0%	09.9%	+13,717
Other Non-White	04.4%	09.0%	+10,084
Total	100.0%	100.0%	
Total Enrollment:	92,829	157,699	+64,870

Source: Georgia Department of Education

^ Atlanta Public, Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton, and Gwinnett Districts

Table 3.2 Racial & ethnic composition and growth in 21 smaller metro-Atlanta public school districts^

	Racial Composition (%) 1994/95	2007/08	Enrollment Growth
White	83.6%	61.2%	+18,594
Black	14.5%	28.3%	+18,118
Latino/Hispanic	00.9%	06.1%	+4,762
Other Non-White	01.0%	04.4%	+3,344
Total	100.0%	100.0%	
Total Enrollment:	39,257	84,075	+44,818

Source: Georgia Department of Education

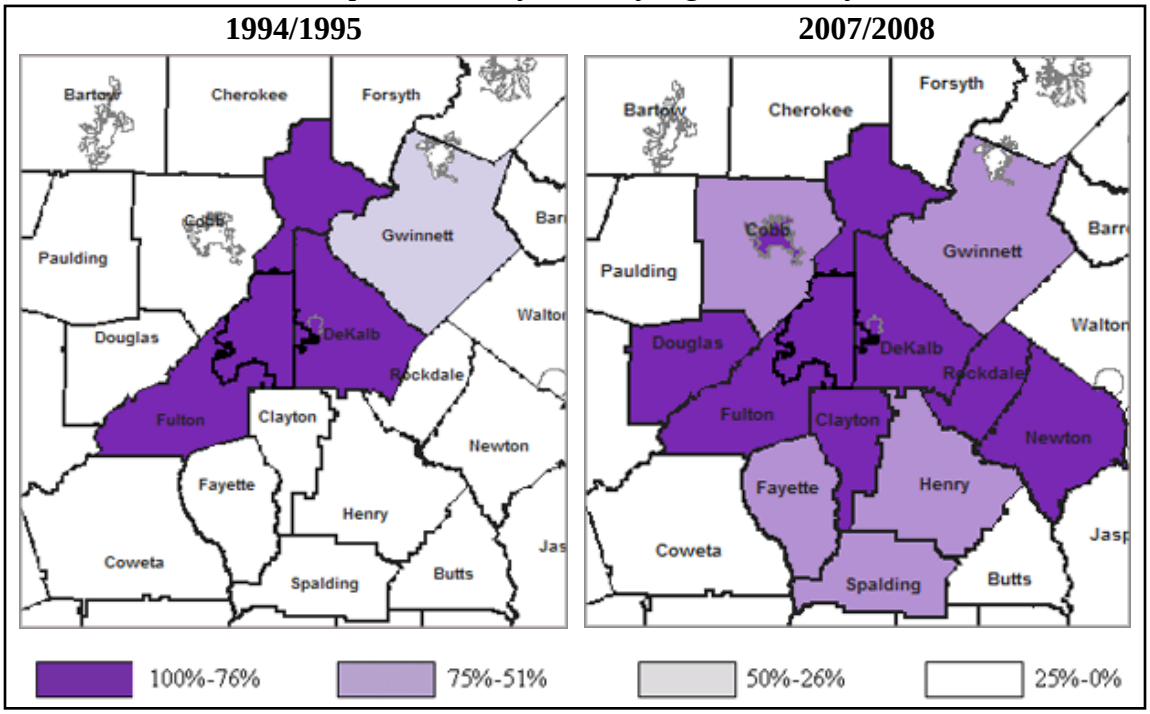
^ Barrow, Bartow, Buford, Carroll, Carrollton City, Cartersville City, Cherokee, Coweta, Decatur City, Douglas, Fayette, Forsyth, Henry, Marietta City, Newton, Paulding, Pickens, Rockdale, Social Circle City, Spalding, and Walton Districts

Table 3.3 Racial isolation in Atlanta-area public high schools: percentage of schools that were predominately minority by district 1994/95, 2007/08

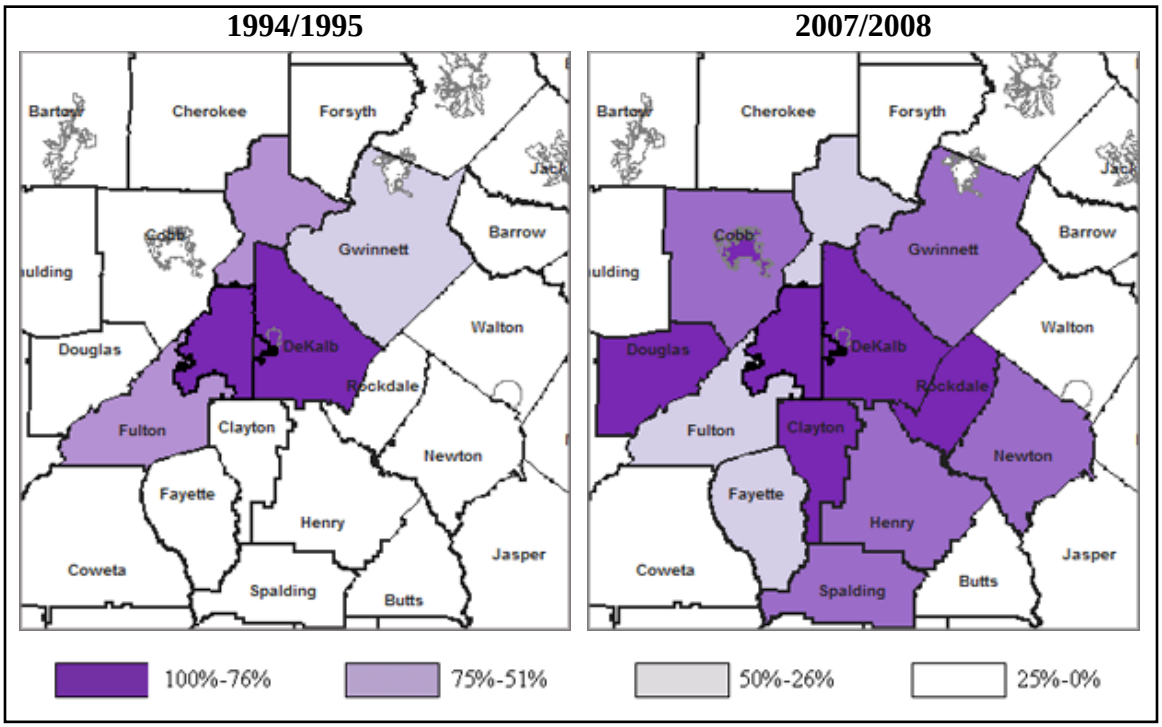
	District	1994/95	2007/08
Atlanta and Inner Suburbs	APS	100.0%	100.0%
	Clayton	14.3%	100.0%
	Cobb	0.0%	50.0%
	Decatur City	100.0%	100.0%
	DeKalb	100.0%	100.0%
	Fulton	56.0%	46.0%
	Gwinnett	15.0%	58.8%
	Marietta City	---	100.0%
Southern Suburbs	Carroll	0.0%	0.0%
	Carrollton City	0.0%	0.0%
	Coweta	0.0%	0.0%
	Douglas	0.0%	75.0%
	Fayette	0.0%	66.7%
	Henry	0.0%	85.7%
	Newton	0.0%	50.0%
	Rockdale	0.0%	100.0%
	Spalding	0.0%	50.0%
Northern Suburbs	Barrow	0.0%	0.0%
	Bartow	0.0%	0.0%
	Buford	0.0%	0.0%
	Cartersville City	0.0%	0.0%
	Cherokee	0.0%	0.0%
	Forsyth	0.0%	0.0%
	Paulding	0.0%	0.0%
	Pickens	---	0.0%
	Social Circle City	---	0.0%
	Walton	---	0.0%
Metro-Atlanta Totals		n=108	n=152

Source: Georgia Department of Education

Map 3.1 African American isolation in metro-Atlanta: percentage of African American students in predominately minority high schools by district



Map 3.2 Latino isolation in metro-Atlanta: percentage of Latino students in predominately minority high schools by district



Fight or Flight? Immigration, Status Competition, and Language Assistance Resources in Metropolitan Atlanta

Chapter IV: Mapping Segregation: Cross-sectional Analysis of School Catchment Areas in Metro Atlanta High Schools

In William Julius Wilson's (2006) recent work, *There Goes the Neighborhood*, he describes how long standing residents consider different racial, ethnic and class groups in Chicago neighborhoods to be undesirable. Three-way ethnic competition dynamics (Black, White, and Latino) are prevalent in many US cities, but the rapid growth of Atlanta's Latino population has added a new dimension to neighborhood ethnic competition, long understood in dichotomous Black and White terms. Limited research has examined the incorporation of Latino immigrant children in the South, and Wainer (2006) found signs of growing tensions between Latino immigrants and African Americans in metro Atlanta public schools. However, we know very little about how inter-ethnic conflict manifests itself in a context where African Americans may choose to align with Whites to support or contest educational programs for Limited-English-Proficient (LEP) student populations.

By examining the dynamics involving a racially diverse set of status groups in this contest, I hope to offer a more comprehensive understanding of how status competition plays out in neighborhood schools. As contemporary battles over educational equality continue, investigating how established groups respond to new contestants for educational resources allows for a better understanding of the complexity of resource competition. This chapter investigates one potential manifestation of status competition by comparing the racial make-up of neighborhoods to their respective schools. As Andrew Grant-Thomas (2009) suggests, "School and residential segregation

are deeply linked, both because parents with housing options typically weigh school quality heavily in making their decisions and because most children attend neighborhood schools….The racial makeup of neighborhoods thus becomes the main determinant of the racial makeup of the schools within them" (9). Thus, I ask: *To what degree do racial and ethnic segregation patterns in public secondary schools reflect those in residential catchment areas?* I examine this issue by comparing the actual racial composition of schools with the racial composition of high school-age children living in the corresponding catchment areas in 2000. Figure 4.1 presents the various status competition hypotheses examined by this research question.

[Insert Figure 4.1 here]

In a variety of ways, the legacy of housing discrimination continues to shape neighborhoods, and therefore, the public schools. Orfield (1996) argues the history of housing discrimination and real estate practices in the US reinforces a self-perpetuating pattern of segregation. Most people look for homes in areas where they have knowledge of the neighborhood or acquaintances, thus offering Whites and Blacks familiarity with separate communities. White realtors seldom look for housing in "minority communities" and real estate steering practices frequently organized along racial lines. Additionally, the fears of violence and intimidation in some White communities still pose serious obstacles to housing choice for African Americans.

Research on neighborhood choice finds that Whites prefer to live in neighborhoods with high proportions of other Whites and seek out schools that are also majority White (Alba and Logan 1993). But attitudinal survey data consistently find non-Whites have a greater tolerance for integration (Massey and Denton 1993; Bobo 1983).

Social status is often associated with the neighborhoods people live in as well as the quality of the schools their children attend (Holme 2002). Within the context of schools, growing minority enrollment can be perceived as a threat to the dominant racial or ethnic group (Olzak and Shanahan 1994). Whites have avoided integration by moving to all-White or mostly White neighborhoods, enrolling their children in mostly-White schools, or sending them to private schools. Contemporary work on White flight finds that residentially mobile families and students who transfer schools tend to be White and affluent (Renzulli and Evans 2005; Levin 1999). Additionally, White students are more likely to enroll in private and magnet schools as the percentages of nonWhites in their neighborhoods increases (Lankford and Wyckoff 2001).

National research on segregation patterns across large U.S. school districts also reveals that racial and economic segregation in public schools exceeds residential segregation and neighborhood poverty rates (Saporito & Sohoni 2007, 2006). Blacks continue to be segregated from Whites in both schools and neighborhood, but the mismatch between the demographic composition of neighborhoods and schools is most pronounced when the neighborhood is comprised of Whites and Latinos (Saporito & Sohoni 2006). In other words, the discrepancy between schools and their neighborhoods is greatest between Latinos and Whites. However, Reardon and Yun (2003) found between 1990 and 2000, southern states saw a decrease in residential segregation but an increase in school segregation. Thus, it is important to understand how localized residential segregation affects school-level enrollment patterns.

I build on Saporito and Sohoni's (2007, 2006) earlier work, but with a focus on the metro-Atlanta area. Figure 4.1 illustrates my competing hypotheses regarding the

relationship between residential and school segregation, assuming the status competition perspective. Massey and Denton (1993) found in the hypersegregated neighborhoods of Chicago, schools reflected the same hypersegregated racial patterns. Thus, if residential segregation forms the core of status competition, then schools should mirror neighborhood demographics. However, if the segregation in schools exceeds residential patterns, schools magnify status competition dynamics. In other words, a significant negative mismatch between school and neighborhood racial composition signals that status competition takes the form of White and/or Black flight from the local public school, but not necessarily flight from the neighborhood. For Latinos, a negative mismatch is less likely to signal flight to private, charter, or magnet schools. Negative mismatches would parallel previous findings that high school-age Latinos are not enrolled at the rates of their White and Black peers and are more likely to leave before degree completion (Valenzuela 1999; Secada et al. 1998). Another possibility is a positive mismatch, in other words, a school has a higher proportion of a particular racial minority group than what the catchment zone would predict. Overrepresentation could be a product of school choice or voucher program (Parsons et al. 2000). Thus, the direction of the mismatch is also important in understanding the form of status competition.

DATA & METHODS

Data

This cross-sectional analysis of the 110 schools in the 20-county metro-Atlanta area explores how racial and ethnic segregation patterns differ between Atlanta metropolitan public secondary schools and the residential catchment areas they serve. In collaboration

with the ARC, I obtained catchment maps that depict all public high schools from the 27 school districts in the 20-county metro-Atlanta area. These maps existed in a variety of formats (JPEG, TIF, ArcView Shapefiles, PDFs). In all cases, I constructed attendance boundary maps using Maptitude (Window's Geographic Information Systems). Subsequently, I integrated GIS-based maps of school catchment areas with 2000 block-level census data[9] (the most recent data available) by overlaying the digital maps of catchment areas on top of maps of census blocks. Overlays allowed me to identify the school that served every block in each district. Thus, I was able to determine the number of high-school aged children, by race and ethnicity, who live in each catchment area. These residential catchment areas reflect a baseline hypothetical situation if all students attended the local public school of their catchment area in the 2000/01 academic year[10] (Saporito & Sohoni 2006). To examine how these hypothetical racial and ethnic compositions compared to actual racial demographics, I compared my baseline measures to the enrollments reported by the Georgia Department of Education in 2000/01.

Methodology

I first calculated the 'mismatch' or discrepancy between the number of children by racial/ethnic group living in a school's catchment zone to the number of children by racial/ethnic group attending the respective secondary school in the 2000/01 school year (Noreisch 2007). A positive mismatch means that a greater percentage of students from the specified group are attending the high school than are resident in the respective area.

[9] The grade-level organization of a typical high school does not neatly correspond with the Census Bureau's block-level age categories. For instance, some children may enter high school early or stay after 18-years of age. Thus, the age category 15-17 does not match the grade structure perfectly, but serves as best available approximation.

[10] In the 2000/2001 school year, 110 public high schools were in operation in the 20-county metro-Atlanta region. Thus, my sample size shifts in this analysis (n=110).

A negative mismatch means that a smaller proportion of children of a particular racial group are attending the high school than are residents in the catchment area.

Second, I created scatterplots that allowed me to visually compare the percent of students by racial group with the percentage of their respective racial group in each school's catchment area. By comparing schools with their neighborhoods, I was able to determine if there were lower or higher percentages of White, Black or Latino[11] students in schools than in their corresponding catchment areas. These analyses allowed me to observe, for each school, whether racial segregation in schools was greater than in the corresponding catchment areas (Saporito and Sohoni 2006).

Finally, I ran regression analyses to determine if the number of White students in a school is affected by the number of Black or Latino children in their attendance zones. I also ran regression analyses for Black and Latino children to examine if the number of the respective racial group is affected by the number of White, Black, or Latino children in their attendance zones.

RESULTS

Mismatch Patterns

Tables 4.1-4.3 show the mismatch figures for all metro-Atlanta high schools in 2000/01, by subarea (Atlanta and inner suburbs, southern suburbs, and northern suburbs). These data reflect the racial and ethnic percentage differences between individual public secondary institutions and their respective catchment areas. Sizeable variation existed across the metro-area where overall, Whites enrolled at lower rates than their catchment areas would predict. African Americans represented higher proportions of the public

[11] Due to small sample size, Asian and Other non-White students were not included in this analysis.

high schools and Latinos represented smaller proportions than their catchment areas suggested. But, significant differences across the metro-area.

Atlanta and the inner suburban schools (Atlanta Public Schools, Clayton County, Cobb County, DeKalb County, Decatur City, Fulton County, and Gwinnett County) are the most ethnically heterogeneous, but they show the greatest disparity between their racial and ethnic percentages and their respective catchment areas. Fulton County and Atlanta Public schools tend to have higher proportions of Black students and lower proportions of White and Latino students than the catchment areas predict, but there was variation across these districts. For example in 2000/01 in Douglas High School (an Atlanta Public school) enrollments are 0.1% White, 99.4% Black, and 0% Latino. These enrollments reflect, within two percentage points, the predominately African American neighborhoods encompassed by the catchment zone. In contrast, North Atlanta High School (also an Atlanta Public school) is 20.5% White, 69.5% Black, and 6.5% Latino. However, the mismatches indicate Whites actually comprise 70% of the neighborhood catchment area (indicated by the -49.5% mismatch in Table 4.1). Blacks are overrepresented comprising 13.2% of the North Atlanta High catchment area, and Latinos are underrepresented comprising 13.9% of the catchment area. Thus, Blacks make up a vastly larger proportion of the public high school than what neighborhood demographics would predict, and Whites and Latinos are sizably underrepresented.

[Insert Table 4.1 here]

Clayton and Cobb Counties have some schools with significantly higher percentages of White students than in their catchments areas, but other schools with significantly lower percentages of White students than in their catchments areas.

However, overall, Black students are represented at higher proportions than their catchment areas would predict for Clayton and Cobb County schools. Gwinnett County schools reflect the racial and ethnic composition of their catchment zones within 10 percentage points, with the exception of Meadowcreek which has 10 percent fewer Latino students than the catchment zone. I examine this outlier is examined in more detail in the discussion section.

With the exception of Walton County, the racial composition in the outer northern suburban schools (Barrow County, Bartow County, Buford, Cartersville City, Cherokee County, Forsyth County, and Pickens County) more or less reflect their catchment zones. High schools in these districts were within 10% of the hypothetical racial breakdown in the catchment boundaries (see Table 4.2). The outer southern suburban schools (Carroll County, Carrollton City, Coweta County, Douglas County, Fayette County, Henry County, Newton County, Rockdale County and Spalding County) also reflect their catchment racial proportions overall (see Table 4.3). However, Carroll, Coweta, and Rockdale Counties all have one high school with a sizably larger proportion of White students than their catchment areas would predict.

[Insert Table 4.2 here]

[Insert Table 4.3 here]

Table 4.4 presents the means and standard deviations of the White, Black, and Latino mismatches by subarea and also illustrates whether there are significant differences between group means. ANOVA[12] results highlight significant subarea

[12] Mismatches were recoded as percentages for the ANOVA. For example, a White mismatch of -20% in Table 4.1 is coded .80 in this analysis. Likewise, a Black mismatch of + 12.7% is now 1.127 for this analysis.

differences on all of the racial mismatches. The greatest discrepancy between neighborhoods and catchment zones exists in Atlanta and the inner suburbs for all racial groups. The southern suburbs have greater Black mismatches than the northern suburbs, but lower Latino mismatches. On average, Whites in Atlanta and the inner suburb public high schools are underrepresented but overrepresented in the outer northern and southern suburbs. In contrast, Blacks are overrepresented in Atlanta and inner suburbs schools, but are slightly underrepresented in the outer suburbs. Latinos are underrepresented across the subarea regions, but to the highest level in Atlanta and the inner suburbs.

[Insert Table 4.4 here]

Scatterplots

Figure 4.2 presents the scatterplot of the percentage of White students in the schools and in the corresponding attendance boundaries. Figure 4.2 shows the hypothetical regression line (gray) that depicts the proportion of White students who would be enrolled in public high schools if all children residing in the school catchment area attended their public neighborhood school. The actual regression line (Black) compared to the hypothetical line reveals several interesting findings. In general, *White students are enrolled in public schools at lower percentages than their catchment zones predict, and they are widely dispersed*. This is especially true for areas where Whites are not the majority in the neighborhoods encompassed by the school catchment boundary as indicated by the dispersion at the middle of the regression lines. Second, where Whites are the clear majority (over 75%), schools reflect their catchment boundaries much more closely. But, the curvilinear regression line also shows that the difference between the percentage of White children in their catchment areas and their schools is greatest in

areas that are more racially balanced. Thus, my findings corroborate Saporito and Sohoni's (2006) work, "where we would expect schools to contain nearly equal proportions of White and nonWhite students is precisely where White children are the most underrepresented in schools relative to their neighborhoods" (90). In other words, in integrated neighborhoods residential segregation is less than school segregation.

[Insert Figure 4.2 here]

Overall, the percentages for African American high schoolers were higher in public schools than in the catchment area boundaries. Figure 4.3 presents the scatterplot of the percentage of Black students in the schools and in the corresponding attendance boundaries. Again the hypothetical regression line (gray) depicts the proportion of Black students who would be enrolled in public high schools if all children residing in the school catchment area attended their public neighborhood school. Comparing the actual regression line (Black) to the hypothetical line (gray) reveals *Black students are enrolled in public schools at higher percentages than their catchment zones predict, and they are widely dispersed*. Additionally, this scatterplot has the greatest number of positive mismatches. In other words, there are several schools where African Americans comprise a modest percentage of the catchment area but comprise the majority of the public high school. Sixteen percent of the schools had 10% or higher Black-mismatches. These schools are all located in the inner suburban and city-center schools.

[Insert Figure 4.3 here]

Latinos represented lower percentages in the public high schools than their catchment zones across the board. Comparing the hypothetical regression line (gray) to observed regression line (Black) in Figure 4.4, I find that in virtually every school,

Latinos are enrolled at lower percentages than their catchment zones would predict, and they are highly clustered. Additionally, this discrepancy increases as the percentage of Latinos in a school increases.

[Insert Figure 4.4 here]

Regressions

The previous analyses showed that the percentage of White children enrolled in public high schools is lower than the percentage of White children living in the corresponding neighborhoods. This pattern is similar for Latino children. However, Black children are enrolled in public high schools at higher percentages than their neighborhood catchment zones predict. I ran regression analyses to examine whether the number of White, Black, and Latino children in a catchment zone has an effect on the number of White, Black, or Latino students in a school. The regression results are shown in Tables 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7.

The first model of Table 4.5 presents the basic relationship between the number of White children in metro-Atlanta public high schools and number of White children in a catchment area. The explained variance for this relationship is 0.634 (adjusted R^2), which as expected, suggests that the White population in schools is largely determined by the White composition of the schools' catchment zones. Model 2 shows the presence of Latino children has a higher effect than the number of Black children, as indicated by the regression coefficients of -0.476 for Latinos compared to -0.278 for Blacks. Both effects are negative, but more significant for Blacks.

[Insert Table 4.5 here]

Table 4.6 presents the regression results for Blacks in metro-Atlanta public high schools. In Model 1, the explained variance for the relationship between the number of

Black children in schools and the number of Black children in a catchment area is 0.666. Again, as expected, the Black population in public high schools is largely determined by the Black composition of the schools' catchment zones. Model 2 shows the presence of White children has a negative and significant effect (-0.233) on the number of Black students in public schools. The presence of Latinos in the catchment zones has a positive but insignificant effect (0.295) on the number of Blacks in metro-Atlanta public high schools.

[Insert Table 4.6 here]

Table 4.7 presents the regression results for Latinos in metro-Atlanta public high schools. For Latinos, the basic relationship between the number of children in schools and the number of children in a catchment area has the greatest explained variance of 0.760; suggesting a tighter coupling between neighborhood catchment zones and schools attendance than for Whites or Blacks. Model 2 shows the presence of White children has a small positive but not significant effect (0.002) on the number of Latino students in public schools. The presence of Blacks in the neighborhood catchment area has a negative but not significant effect (-0.014) on the number of Latinos in metro-Atlanta public high schools.

[Insert Table 4.7 here]

DISCUSSION

The analyses in this chapter show that where residential segregation is "successful", schools are more likely to reflect their attendance zones and play little role in racial competition. However, where residential segregation "fails", schools are less likely to resemble their catchment zones and provide another domain for racial competition. The

spatial mismatch measures capture the differences between actual levels of racial segregation in public high schools and the hypothetical scenario in which all children attended their local neighborhood public high school. The intensity of these patterns varied by the racial composition of the area, and differed by racial group. Thus, my findings show support for both Massey and Denton (1993) and Saporito and Sohoni (2007, 2006). On the one hand, the outer northern and southern suburban high schools, which are hypersegregated, more or less reflected their catchment zones. The majority of high schools in these districts were within 10% of the hypothetical racial breakdown in the catchment boundaries. These patterns lend support to Massey and Denton's research that argues schools merely reflect the patterns of racial hyper-segregation in neighborhoods.

On the other hand, when residential segregation is not as pronounced, public high schools are less likely to reflect their catchment zones. One of the most troubling findings of this chapter is that in Atlanta and the inner suburban schools, where Blacks, Whites and Latinos are more likely to live in proximity, the public schools were the least likely to reflect the racial and ethnic composition. In other words, in areas with the greatest racial heterogeneity and the greatest potential for diversity in the public schools, the public schools *least* reflect the racial composition of the neighborhoods. These findings support Saporito and Sohoni (2007, 2006), where schools are an additional domain for status competition and can exacerbate residential segregation.

The examination of the effects of neighborhood racial composition on public high school enrollments provides important insight and raises policy questions. The regression analyses suggest the presence of both Latinos and Blacks has a negative effect

on the number of Whites enrolled in metro-Atlanta public high schools. Similar to Saporito and Sohoni's (2006) national study of elementary schools and attendance boundaries, my regression analyses find White enrollments in metro-Atlanta public high schools are more sensitive to the neighborhood presence of Latinos than Blacks. However, the results from the regression analyses also suggest that Blacks do not align with their White counterparts in terms of public high school attendance based on Latino presence in neighborhood catchment zones. Although not significant, the presence of Latinos in a catchment area was positively related to Black enrollments in public high schools.

These analyses describe the racial segregation settings in which school policies are embedded. This chapter demonstrates that city-center public high schools have higher levels of racial segregation than across their residential areas. But how does the venue for status competition change in racially integrated schools? How do these patterns affect school-level policy? How do these varied settings affect curricular differentiation? The findings from chapter lead to my final analysis on factors that affect language assistance offerings (Chapter 6). Beyond supply and demand factors, what other status competition factors influence the implementation of language assistance programs? Do language assistance programs vary in high schools with less segregation?

This chapter also raises questions beyond the scope of this project. For example, what other factors account for White, Black, or Latino enrollments in public schools? While this chapter cannot differentiate in- and out- migration to and from particular catchment areas or to private, magnet, or charter schools, research on White racial patterns and enrollment find that White losses are spurred by both interracial contact and

the availability of private alternatives (Clotfelter 2001). Jencks and Phillips (1998) suggest that a tipping point occurs: once minority enrollment in a neighborhood school reaches a critical mass, most White parents are hesitant to move into that neighborhood. However, first-generation Latinos are less likely to have the resources to opt for private, charter, or magnet schools than Whites. Additionally, research on Latino dropout rates suggests in areas with higher populations of Latinos, students are more likely to leave before degree completion (Valenzuela 1999; Secada et al. 1998). The findings from this chapter beg further attention: Are the Latino and White negative mismatch patterns driven by the same factors? Why are Whites, overall, less represented in metro-Atlanta public high schools than their neighborhood composition would predict? Why are Latinos less represented in metro-Atlanta public high schools than their neighborhood composition would predict?

Figure 4.1 Potential status competition hypotheses

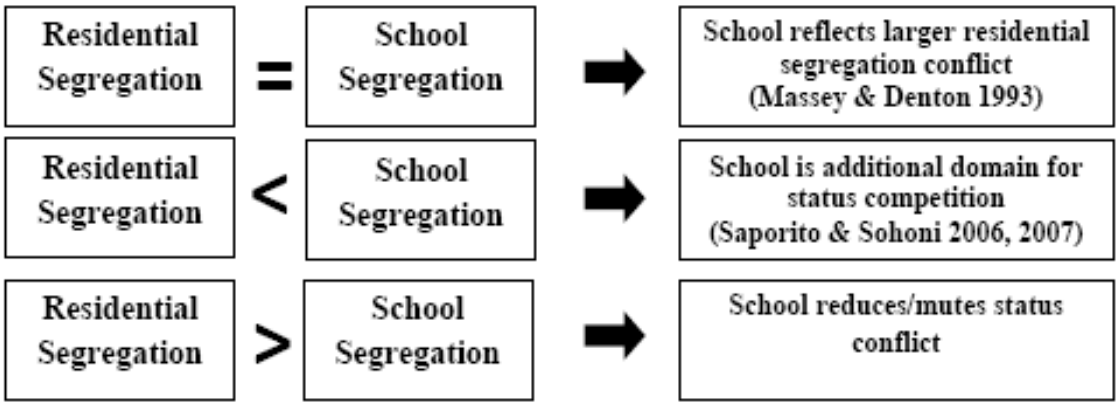


Table 4.1 Mismatch figures for Atlanta and inner suburb public high schools, 2000/01 (n= 66)

		Students in school			Mismatch		
District	School	% White	% Black	% Latino	White	Black	Latino
Atlanta Public	Douglass	0.1%	99.4%	0.0%	-1.2%	1.8%	-1.1%
Atlanta Public	Grady	30.5%	66.6%	0.9%	-8.0%	12.7%	-4.4%
Atlanta Public	Mays	0.1%	99.4%	0.2%	-0.2%	2.1%	-1.9%
Atlanta Public	North Atlanta	20.5%	69.5%	6.5%	-49.5%	56.3%	-7.4%
Atlanta Public	Southside	1.5%	91.7%	5.3%	-1.2%	5.9%	-2.5%
Atlanta Public	Therrell	0.2%	99.3%	0.4%	-0.6%	1.1%	-0.4%
Atlanta Public	Washington	0.1%	98.6%	0.4%	-1.0%	1.6%	-1.2%
Clayton	Forest Park	23.5%	56.8%	7.4%	-5.5%	6.8%	-3.2%
Clayton	Jonesboro	49.1%	43.6%	3.9%	13.6%	-7.1%	-5.4%
Clayton	Lovejoy	36.6%	57.7%	3.0%	-15.9%	16.7%	-1.4%
Clayton	Morrow	26.0%	60.8%	3.6%	-3.9%	8.9%	-5.7%
Clayton	Mount Zion	24.7%	64.2%	5.4%	-14.0%	13.9%	-0.9%
Clayton	North Clayton	1.4%	90.8%	1.7%	-10.5%	27.8%	-16.0%
Clayton	Riverdale	9.3%	80.5%	3.3%	2.0%	-3.7%	0.4%
Cobb	Campbell	37.2%	44.5%	12.0%	-1.2%	10.3%	-12.0%
Cobb	Harrison	93.2%	4.4%	1.5%	0.1%	0.3%	-0.2%
Cobb	Kennesaw Mt.	85.0%	9.4%	3.6%	10.3%	-5.2%	-4.6%
Cobb	Lassiter	89.2%	5.5%	2.5%	-2.0%	1.7%	0.1%
Cobb	McEachern	69.6%	27.1%	2.1%	11.2%	-8.5%	-2.4%
Cobb	North Cobb	76.2%	15.2%	3.7%	-0.5%	0.9%	-2.0%
Cobb	Oakwood	66.7%	28.7%	2.7%	-21.7%	21.9%	-0.3%
Cobb	Osborne	37.3%	46.4%	13.0%	-5.2%	5.6%	-1.7%
Cobb	Pebblebrook	28.6%	61.6%	8.8%	3.8%	1.3%	-5.5%
Cobb	Pope	88.8%	5.7%	2.1%	0.5%	-0.1%	-0.8%
Cobb	South Cobb	54.0%	38.3%	5.3%	-4.5%	5.2%	-1.1%
Cobb	Sprayberry	76.9%	12.6%	4.4%	0.0%	1.2%	-1.9%
Cobb	Walton	87.3%	3.5%	1.6%	-0.6%	-0.4%	-0.7%
Cobb	Wheeler	54.9%	28.7%	8.6%	-3.7%	5.1%	-2.9%
DeKalb	Avondale	6.2%	91.7%	0.9%	-21.6%	26.0%	-4.8%
DeKalb	Cedar Grove	0.2%	99.5%	0.2%	-74.7%	90.5%	-12.1%
DeKalb	Chamblee	36.6%	50.6%	3.4%	-19.0%	30.7%	-15.6%
DeKalb	Clarkston	6.4%	73.4%	3.0%	0.8%	-9.7%	-1.1%
DeKalb	Columbia	0.8%	97.8%	0.5%	0.3%	-0.6%	-0.6%
DeKalb	Cross Keys	8.4%	39.1%	35.6%	-2.3%	24.6%	-24.3%

Table 4.1 *(Continued)* Mismatch figures for Atlanta and inner suburb public high schools, 2000/01 (n= 66)

		Students in school			Mismatch		
District	School	% White	% Black	% Latino	White	Black	Latino
DeKalb	Druid Hills	38.9%	49.0%	3.3%	-23.1%	27.8%	-5.0%
DeKalb	Dunwoody	40.1%	46.3%	6.4%	-23.4%	35.7%	-10.8%
DeKalb	Lakeside	48.1%	34.4%	7.4%	-5.2%	15.1%	-8.7%
DeKalb	McNair	0.1%	99.5%	0.3%	-3.5%	5.1%	-1.6%
DeKalb	Redan	0.6%	97.6%	0.9%	-2.9%	3.2%	-0.5%
DeKalb	Southwest DeKalb	0.9%	98.6%	0.2%	-0.3%	0.8%	-0.7%
DeKalb	Stephenson	1.2%	97.6%	0.6%	-6.6%	9.0%	-2.4%
DeKalb	Stone Mountain	5.0%	85.9%	2.9%	-4.4%	6.3%	-4.1%
DeKalb	Towers	0.9%	96.6%	0.7%	-2.0%	4.3%	-2.0%
DeKalb	Tucker	32.9%	52.8%	3.4%	-14.8%	17.9%	-4.6%
Decatur City	Decatur	45.4%	52.4%	1.0%	5.6%	-3.9%	-0.9%
Fulton	Banneker	0.8%	97.9%	0.5%	-1.7%	4.1%	-2.6%
Fulton	Centennial	75.2%	15.9%	3.6%	-0.3%	5.2%	-5.9%
Fulton	Chattahoochee	73.8%	7.2%	2.6%	-4.0%	0.1%	-0.8%
Fulton	Creekside	19.0%	76.6%	3.4%	-6.0%	8.0%	-2.3%
Fulton	North Springs	55.0%	38.2%	3.2%	-14.2%	19.5%	-5.8%
Fulton	Riverwood	49.9%	20.3%	19.8%	-22.8%	14.2%	0.6%
Fulton	Roswell	79.3%	12.7%	3.1%	2.9%	5.3%	-8.8%
Fulton	Tri-Cities	3.6%	89.0%	4.7%	-5.7%	12.2%	-6.7%
Fulton	Westlake	0.2%	99.5%	0.0%	-2.8%	4.3%	-1.6%
Gwinnett	Berkmar	41.7%	29.4%	15.6%	-7.7%	5.6%	0.0%
Gwinnett	Brookwood	87.8%	4.5%	2.4%	-1.2%	0.4%	-0.6%
Gwinnett	Central Gwinnett	67.8%	18.9%	7.0%	-2.3%	4.7%	-3.8%
Gwinnett	Collins Hill	73.6%	10.5%	5.0%	-4.4%	0.9%	-0.8%
Gwinnett	Dacula	88.4%	6.0%	3.1%	-1.3%	0.7%	0.6%
Gwinnett	Duluth	62.8%	10.7%	8.1%	6.0%	-1.8%	-7.9%
Gwinnett	Grayson	86.9%	6.5%	3.3%	-1.1%	2.0%	-1.4%
Gwinnett	Meadowcreek	21.3%	33.8%	23.1%	-2.2%	6.7%	-10.0%
Gwinnett	North Gwinnett	85.7%	6.0%	3.9%	1.7%	-0.6%	-1.1%
Gwinnett	Parkview	79.1%	5.9%	3.1%	0.6%	-0.9%	-1.8%
Gwinnett	Shiloh	74.0%	19.4%	3.0%	-1.6%	2.6%	-1.3%
Gwinnett	South Gwinnett	85.8%	8.9%	2.5%	2.0%	0.1%	-3.1%

Table 4.2 Mismatch figures for Metro-Atlanta northern suburb public high schools, 2000/01 (n=16)

		Students in school			Mismatch		
District	School	% White	% Black	% Latino	White	Black	Latino
Barrow	Winder-Barrow	79.7%	14.7%	1.5%	-2.8%	3.4%	-1.8%
Bartow	Cass	86.6%	11.5%	1.7%	-7.5%	7.7%	-0.2%
Bartow	Woodland	90.2%	7.4%	1.8%	-1.2%	2.6%	-1.3%
Buford City	Buford	71.0%	18.4%	9.3%	2.7%	-1.2%	-2.7%
Cartersville City	Cartersville City	73.4%	20.9%	4.7%	0.2%	1.1%	1.5%
Cherokee	Cherokee	91.5%	3.7%	4.1%	4.9%	0.8%	-6.3%
Cherokee	Etowah	92.7%	3.2%	3.2%	3.2%	-0.7%	-2.5%
Cherokee	Sequoyah	96.0%	1.2%	1.3%	1.0%	0.2%	-1.8%
Cherokee	Woodstock	90.3%	4.0%	4.1%	3.0%	0.5%	-3.9%
Forsyth	Forsyth Central	95.9%	0.0%	3.8%	6.9%	-0.8%	-5.9%
Forsyth	North Forsyth	98.6%	0.2%	1.0%	1.8%	0.2%	-1.9%
Forsyth	South Forsyth	94.0%	0.7%	4.3%	2.7%	-0.5%	-2.3%
Paulding	East Paulding	93.5%	4.9%	1.3%	4.3%	-3.5%	-0.8%
Paulding	Paulding County	89.8%	8.9%	1.1%	0.4%	0.5%	-0.7%
Pickens	Pickens County	96.9%	1.6%	1.1%	-1.8%	1.0%	0.4%
Walton	Loganville	95.8%	2.3%	1.2%	17.0%	-15.7%	-0.9%

Table 4.3 Mismatch figures for Metro-Atlanta southern suburb public high schools, 2000/01 (n=28)

			Students in school			Mismatch	
District	School	% White	% Black	% Latino	White	Black	Latino
Carroll	Bowdon	81.7%	17.4%	0.5%	-2.5%	3.1%	-0.3%
Carroll	Central	83.1%	15.8%	1.0%	-1.7%	2.2%	-0.4%
Carroll	Mt. Zion	81.0%	15.7%	1.0%	23.0%	-20.1%	-4.9%
Carroll	Temple	86.4%	11.3%	0.6%	-1.2%	0.5%	-0.5%
Carroll	Villa Rica	78.2%	20.4%	1.0%	1.6%	-0.4%	-0.7%
Carrollton City	Carrollton	60.9%	36.7%	1.4%	7.7%	-7.9%	0.2%
Coweta	East Coweta	69.8%	27.3%	2.1%	3.5%	-1.1%	-2.5%
Coweta	Newnan	69.8%	29.5%	0.4%	1.4%	0.8%	-2.2%
Coweta	Northgate	86.7%	12.0%	0.3%	12.8%	-10.5%	-2.0%
Douglas	Alexander	86.6%	11.8%	0.8%	7.9%	-5.0%	-2.4%
Douglas	Chapel Hill	83.8%	13.2%	1.1%	2.5%	-1.7%	-0.4%
Douglas	Douglas County	64.8%	31.5%	2.4%	5.5%	-3.9%	-2.0%
Douglas	Lithia Springs	68.8%	26.4%	2.8%	-1.1%	3.1%	-2.1%
Fayette	Fayette County	79.3%	16.5%	1.3%	3.1%	-1.2%	-1.9%
Fayette	McIntosh	85.5%	7.3%	2.7%	-1.3%	1.6%	-1.5%
Fayette	Sandy Creek	69.0%	27.9%	1.6%	-1.5%	1.8%	-0.9%
Fayette	Starrs Mill	89.4%	6.2%	1.8%	1.3%	0.7%	-1.1%
Henry	Eagles Landing	70.9%	21.2%	2.3%	2.6%	-2.1%	-2.2%
Henry	Henry County	77.4%	20.6%	1.2%	-3.7%	4.0%	-0.4%
Henry	Stockbridge	74.0%	23.1%	2.3%	6.5%	-3.4%	-1.1%
Henry	Union Grove	89.6%	8.1%	1.1%	1.5%	0.3%	-1.7%
Newton	Eastside	68.3%	30.5%	1.0%	4.7%	-3.3%	-1.1%
Newton	Newton	63.1%	34.5%	1.9%	-8.7%	8.7%	-0.2%
Rockdale	Heritage	82.3%	14.8%	1.6%	5.1%	0.5%	-5.2%
Rockdale	Rockdale County	66.7%	29.8%	1.4%	3.6%	6.0%	-9.7%
Rockdale	Salem	71.6%	18.9%	4.1%	-0.5%	-1.8%	0.5%
Spalding	Griffin	51.2%	46.8%	0.6%	-5.6%	6.4%	-1.5%
Spalding	Spalding	67.0%	31.8%	0.7%	-2.5%	3.1%	-0.4%

Table 4.4 Descriptive statistics by metro-Atlanta subarea public high schools, 2000/01ˆ (n=110)

	Atlanta and Inner Suburbs (N = 66)		Northern Suburbs (N = 16)		Southern Suburbs (N = 28)		Subarea Means Different?
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
White Mismatch	0.944	0.129	1.022	0.052	1.023	0.060	A > N = S *
Black Mismatch	1.085	0.153	0.997	0.048	0.993	0.056	A > S > N *
Latino Mismatch	0.962	0.046	0.981	0.021	0.983	0.020	A > N > S +

A = Atlanta/Inner Suburb, N = Northern Suburbs, S = Southern Suburbs
Bonferroni post-hoc tests, * $p \leq .05$, + $p \leq .10$

ˆ Mismatches were recoded as percentages for the ANOVA. For example, a White mismatch of -20% is coded .80 in this analysis. Likewise, a Black mismatch of + 12.7% is now 1.127 for this analysis.

Figure 4.2 Percentage of White children in schools, by the percentage of White children residing in school attendance boundaries

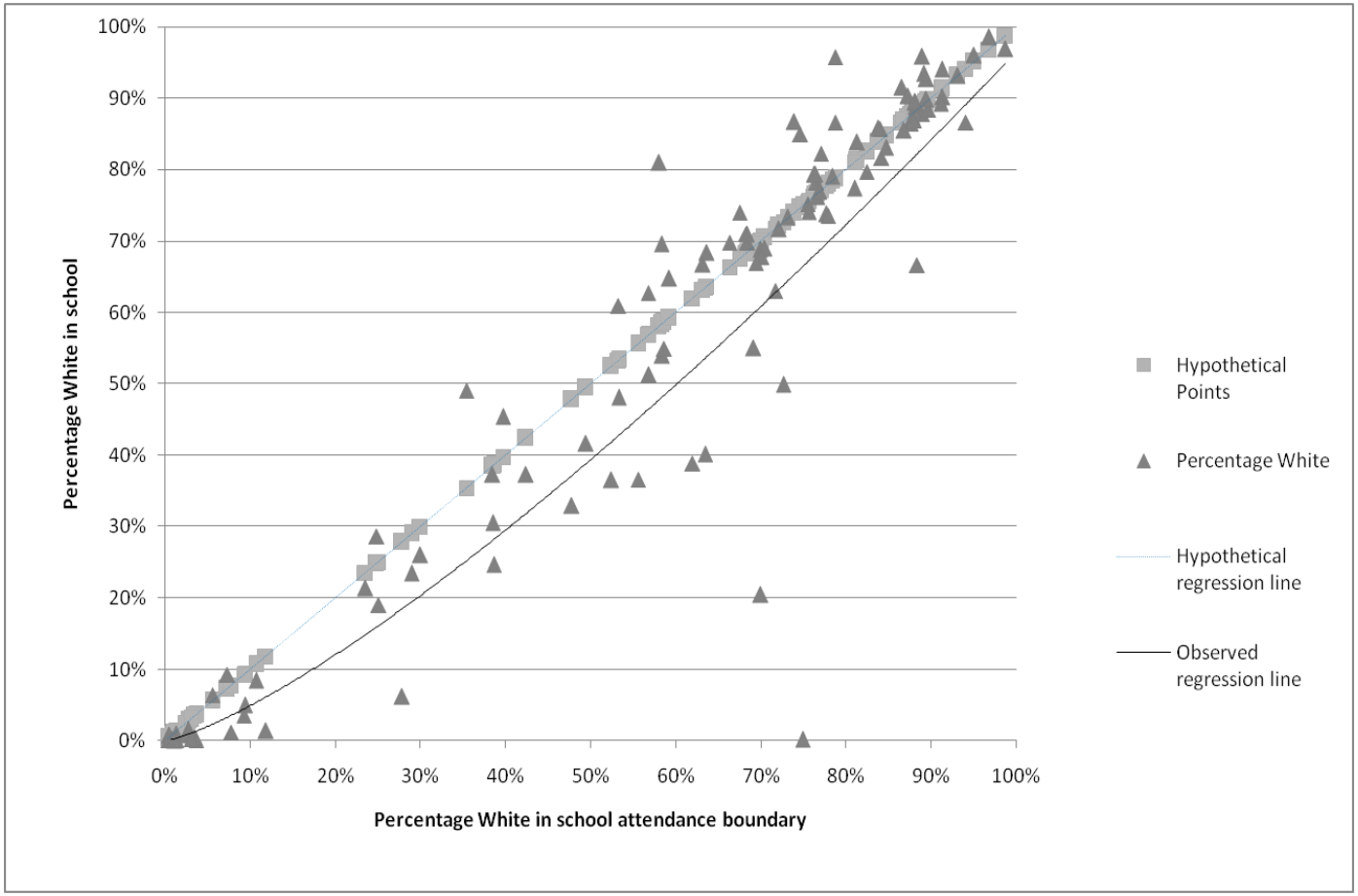


Figure 4.3 Percentage of Black children in schools, by the percentage of Black children residing in school attendance boundaries

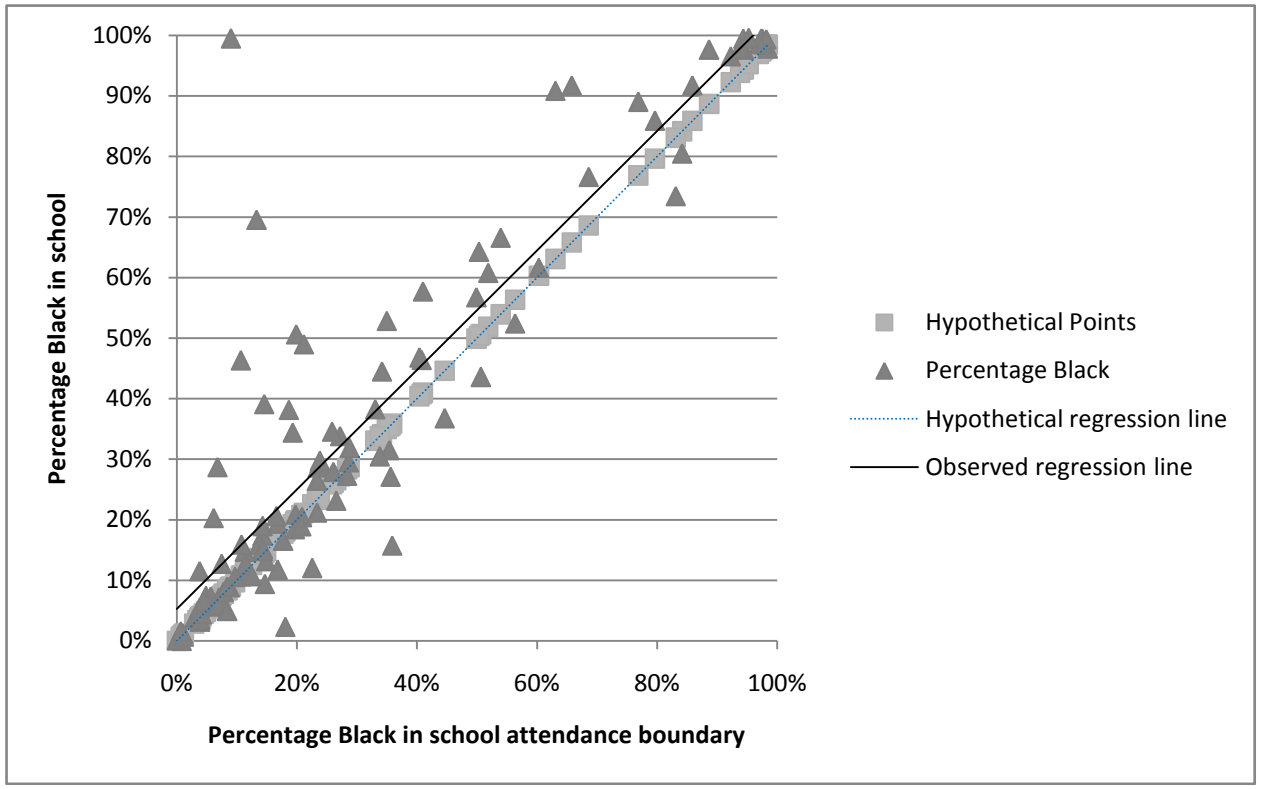


Figure 4.4 Percentage of Latino children in schools, by the percentage of Latino children residing in school attendance boundaries

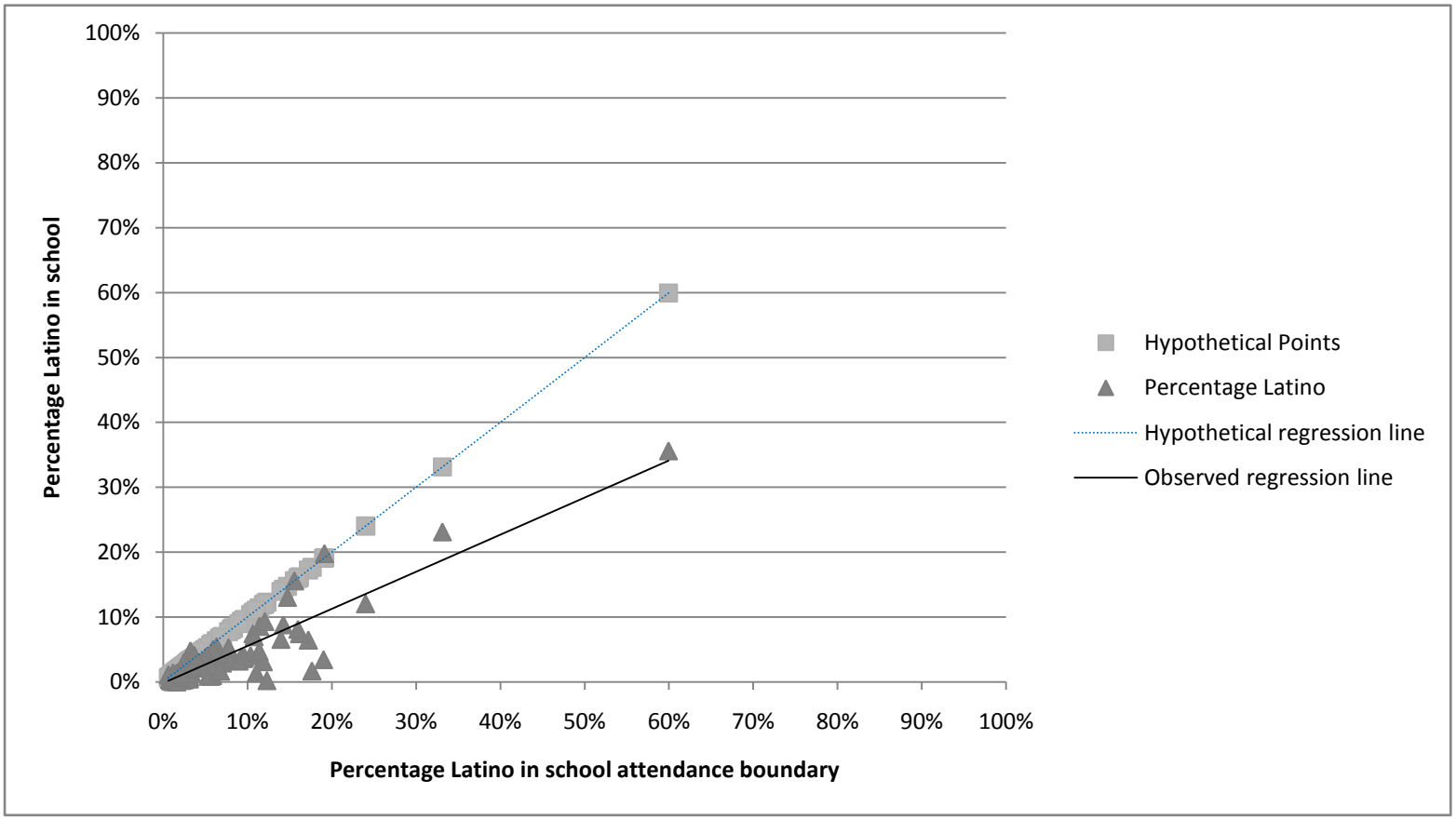


Table 4.5 Regression of the number of students who are White in metro-Atlanta public high schools, by the characteristics of the school catchment areas (n=110)

	Model 1	Model 2
Neighborhood Catchment Characteristics		
Number of Whites in Neighborhood	1.004***	0.864***
Number of Blacks in Neighborhood		-0.278***
Number of Latinos in Neighborhood		-0.476*
Constant	115.765*	390.950***
Adj R^2	0.634	0.674

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$ (two tailed tests)

Table 4.6 Regression of the number of students who are Black in metro-Atlanta public high schools, by the characteristics of the school catchment areas (n=110)

	Model 1	Model 2
Neighborhood Catchment Characteristics		
Number of Whites in Neighborhood		-0.233***
Number of Blacks in Neighborhood	0.783***	0.655***
Number of Latinos in Neighborhood		0.295
Constant	177.625*	384.057***
Adj R^2	0.666	0.709

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$ (two tailed tests)

Table 4.7 Regression of the number of students who are Latino in metro-Atlanta public high schools, by the characteristics of the school catchment areas (n=110)

	Model 1	Model 2
Neighborhood Catchment Characteristics		
Number of Whites in Neighborhood		0.002
Number of Blacks in Neighborhood		-0.014
Number of Latinos in Neighborhood	0.528***	0.529***
Constant	8.286	12.852
Adj R^2	0.760	0.766

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$ (two tailed tests)

Fight or Flight? Immigration, Status Competition, and Language Assistance Resources in Metropolitan Atlanta

Chapter V: Pooled Time Series Analysis of Segregation in Metro Atlanta High Schools

The previous chapter revealed that the rapid growth of the Latino population has added a new dimension to the relationship between neighborhood and school racial composition in metro Atlanta. In this chapter I look within the schools themselves as another site for status competition. Public schools, often more than any other institution, are singled out to respond to local demographic changes spurred by immigration. National studies suggest that segregation is increasing for Blacks, in particular in regions that historically resisted integration decades prior (Orfield et al. 1997). However, within this local context, Latinos who constitute the largest minority group in US public schools, are surpassing African Americans as the most segregated racial or ethnic group. Although this segregation is well documented in states like California, Texas, and Florida with historically high levels of immigration, we know less about how these newcomers are met in nontraditional destination cities.

This chapter investigates how does the rise in Limited-English-Proficient students in metro Atlanta high schools affects patterns of White and/or Black enrollment. Status competition theory posits that as the number of immigrant Latino students increases over time, the number of White students should decrease. However, we know far less about how enrollment patterns for African Americans respond to a rise in immigrant students. Taken together, these areas of inquiry prompted the following research questions: *Are school-level segregation and interracial contact increasing or decreasing for African Americans? Are school-level segregation and interracial contact increasing or*

decreasing for Latinos? Finally, *How does the number of Limited-English-Proficient student enrollment affect White and Black enrollments in public secondary schools*?

By examining rates of racial exposure, this chapter explains how the increasing number of Latino students in a metropolitan area affects school segregation patterns. Using Georgia Department of Education data from 1994/95-2007/08, these analyses compare racial enrollment patterns and racial/ethnic exposure indices across 108 high schools in the 27 Atlanta metropolitan school districts. Second, I use regression analyses to examine the conditions that affect White and/or Black flight and how the distribution of LEP students in secondary schools is associated with the patterns of White and/or Black enrollment (Frankenberg and Lee 2003; Clotfelter 2001; Orfield et al.1997).

DATA & METHODS

Racial Exposure

Data

The pooled time series analysis uses yearly data collected by the Georgia Department of Education from 1994/95-2007/08 to examine enrollment and racial composition patterns over time in Atlanta-area public secondary schools. This time period represents the greatest growth in the immigrant student population, particularly enrollment rates of high school age children, in Georgia (Wainer 2006). This chapter includes 108[13] Atlanta metropolitan public high schools (see Map 1), whose catchment zones encompass 27 districts in 20 metropolitan counties: Barrow, Bartow, Carroll, Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb,

[13] 108 of the 152 high schools were in existence in 1994/95. Thus, the exposure rate changes over time were calculated for these 108 schools. However, exposure rates were calculated for all 152 in 2007/08 for subsequent analyses.

Coweta, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Forsyth, Fulton, Gwinnett, Henry, Newton, Paulding, Pickens, Rockdale, Spalding, and Walton.

Methodology

I use an exposure index to examine changes in school-level racial composition between 1994/95 and 2007/08 to explore the dynamic patterns of segregation in more detail. Similar to national studies, I employ exposure indices to examine racial segregation across school districts (Frankenberg & Lee 2002). "Exposure measures the degree of potential contact, or possibility of interaction, between minority and majority group members" (Massey & Denton 1988, p. 287). Exposure thus depends on the extent to which two groups share common areas, in this instance, a public high school. These data reflect the share of a particular group in the school of the average student of another racial group. For example, a Black-Latino exposure index of 0.098 means that in the average Black student's school, Latinos comprise 9.8% of the student population. I compute the exposure indices in 1994/95 and 2007/08 to identify trends across schools within districts and across districts over the last decade (Massy & Denton 1988).

To capture the levels of interracial contact, previous researchers have calculated exposure rates of Whites to nonWhites. In other words, hypothetically, if a school is racially balanced, each White student would attend a school where the racial composition was equal to the district composition. The difference between this theoretical maximum and the actual rate, expressed as a proportion of the district's racial composition, is one measure of the degree of segregation (Clotfelter 2001). Exposure measures are based on school-level enrollment data, they do not measure racial contact in classrooms or in other concrete situations. Exposure rates in this chapter look at exposure of Whites to each

non-White subgroup[14], and each subgroup to each other: Whites to Blacks, Whites to Latinos, Blacks to Latinos, Whites to Non-Whites[15], and Blacks to Non-Whites. Where W_i , B_i , L_i and N_i are the number of Whites (W_i), Blacks (B_i), Latinos (L_i), and other non-Whites (N_i) in school i, and W,B,L and N are their totals for the district. I then examine how exposure rates in 2007/08 compare to rates in 1994/95. These over-time exposure indices can reveal patterns of White flight documented by previous researchers (Clotfelter 2001). Additionally, this pattern could also be true for African Americans.

- White exposure to Blacks (BWE)
  $BWE = (1/W) \sum_i W_i[B_i/(W_i + B_i)]$
- White exposure to Latinos (LWE)
  $LWE = (1/W) \sum_i W_i[L_i/(W_i + L_i)]$
- Black exposure to Latinos (LBE)
  $LBE = (1/B) \sum_i B_i[L_i/(B_i + L_i)]$
- White exposure to other Non-Whites (NWE)
  $NWE = (1/W) \sum_i W_i[N_i/(W_i + N_i)]$

[14] Although exposure rates were calculated for other non-Whites, due to a small sample size, they are not included in this chapter.

[15] Other non-Whites include students identified as Asian and Pacific Islander, Native American and Alaskan Native, or Multi-racial.

Regression Analysis

Data

This section draws on enrollment data collected by the Georgia Department of Education for the 2007-2008 academic year. The units of analysis are 152 public high schools in 27 districts in the 20-county metro-Atlanta area. The variables reflect the racial/ethnic enrollments and number of LEP students. Table 5.1 provides descriptive statistics for all variables.

[Insert Table 5.1 here]

Methodology

This section examines: *How does the number of Limited-English-Proficient student enrollment affect White and/or Black enrollments in public secondary schools*? To address this question I first look at each bivariate relationships between the dependent variables and all independent variables using Pearson's correlation coefficients. Table 5.2 provides a corresponding correlation matrix.

[Insert Table 5.2 here]

Next, ordinary least squares regressions are used to determine how the number of LEP students affected Black and White enrollments in metro Atlanta public high schools in 2007/08. OLS is ideally suited to address interval-level dependent variables. OLS permits researchers to predict how much each independent variable increases or decreases the dependent variable in the metric of the dependent variable (Gujarati 2003). Regression allows for assessment of how much a unit increase in an independent variable increases or decreases the number of White and Black students in a school.

Independent & Dependent Variables

I ran two regression analyses to examine how the number of White and the number of Black students in metro-Atlanta public high schools is affected by the number of LEP[16] student enrollment. Thus, the first dependent variable is number of White students enrolled in a school. The second analysis, the number of Black students is the dependent variable. The number of LEP, other non-White, and Black or White (depending on the corresponding regression analysis) students were independent variables.

RESULTS

Racial Exposure

Table 5.3 summarizes the changes in racial exposure from 1994/95-2007/08 in Atlanta-area public high schools. In Atlanta and the inner suburbs, the majority of school districts saw a decrease or no change in White-Black exposure. That is, in the typical Black student's school, the percentage of White students decreased or remained the same. However, White-Latino and Black-Latino exposure rates increased in these areas. Some southern suburban districts (Carrollton City, Douglas County, Henry County, Newton County, and Rockdale County) saw increases in White-Black exposure, but others (Coweta County, Fayette County, and Spalding County) had a decrease in exposure. The majority of southern suburban school districts had an increase in White-Latino exposure and all but two districts (Fayette County and Henry County) had the majority of its schools increase in Black-Latino exposure. Most northern suburban schools saw increases in White-Black exposure (except Barrow County and Buford City districts), all

[16] The number of LEP students and number Latino students has a 0.911 correlation. To avoid issues of multicollinearity, the number of Latino students was not included in these regression models.

schools saw an increase in White-Latino exposure, and most schools in these districts saw increases in Black-Latino exposure.

[Insert Table 5.3 here]

Atlanta and Inner Suburbs

In Atlanta and inner suburbs (Atlanta Public Schools, Clayton County, Cobb County, DeKalb, Decatur City, Fulton County, Gwinnett County, Marietta City school districts), racial exposure differed substantially across and within school districts (see Table 5.3). Largely because the majority of Atlanta Public Schools have virtually 100% African American enrollment, little interracial exposure was found across the district (see Table 5.4). In APS, Grady High School was the only school to see an increase in White-Black exposure, the remaining high schools saw no change or a decline in exposure. In other words, Grady High was the only school to see a decrease in segregation. Three schools (Grady, Mays, and North Atlanta) saw an increase in White-Latino exposure and four schools (Crim., Grady, Mays, and North Atlanta) saw an increase in Black-Latino exposure. Thus, these schools saw a decrease in White-Latino and Black-Latino segregation. Similar to but not as extreme as the Atlanta Public system, all DeKalb County public high schools are predominately African American (with the exception of Dunwoody). In DeKalb County (see Table 5.5), 12 high schools saw a decrease or no change in White-Black exposure between 1994/95-2007/08. Eleven schools had an increase in White-Latino exposure, and six schools saw an increase in Black-Latino exposure. Decatur High School saw a decrease in White-Black exposure, but increases in White-Latino and Black-Latino exposure rates.

[Insert Table 5.4 here]

[Insert Table 5.5 here]

The Clayton County School District (see Table 5.6) saw a significant racial composition change in its schools. The large exodus of Whites in Clayton County (an average 45% decline in percent-White enrollment) between 1994/95-2007/08, which increased White-Black and White-Latino exposure rates across all of the high schools. Black-Latino exposure rates also increased between 1994/95-2007/08 in all schools but one (Jonesboro). In Cobb County schools[17] (see Table 5.7), percent-White enrollment dropped by an average of 32%. Ten schools had increases in White-Black exposure rates between 1994/95-2007/08, and all Cobb County schools saw White-Latino exposure increase and in many instances double or triple. Black-Latino exposure also increased in all but four schools (Harrison, Lassiter, Pope and Walton).

[Insert Table 5.6 here]

[Insert Table 5.7 here]

Fulton County schools (see Table 5.8) saw varied rates of percent-White enrollment decreases between 1994/95-2007/08, with a district average decrease of 17%. Only two schools saw an increase in White-Black exposure (Chattahoochee and Roswell) between 1994/95-2007/08, the remaining schools had a decrease or no change in White-Black exposure rates. In contrast, six Fulton County schools saw White-Latino exposure and seven schools saw Black-Latino exposure rates increase. Meaning, both Blacks and Whites had higher rates of exposure to Latinos in the majority of Fulton public high schools.

[17] Marietta High School was founded in 2001. Exposure index is included in Table 5.6 for subsequent analyses; over-time trends are not included in this section.

[Insert Table 5.8 here]

Finally, in Gwinnett County (see Table 5.9) percent-White enrollment varied significantly across the district. Although most schools saw drops in percent-White some schools saw dramatic decreases, such as Gwinnett InterVention Ed. Center (-46.9%), Shiloh (-41.2%), and Berkmar (-40.1%) between 1994/95-2007/08. Other schools saw increases in percent-White enrollment (i.e. North Gwinnett). White-Black exposure increased district-wide and, with the exception of Meadow Creek, saw White-Latino exposure rates sizably increase (double and triple in all but two schools). However, Black-Latino exposure rates actually decreased in five schools.

[Insert Table 5.9 here]

Southern Outer Suburbs

Drastic variation in racial exposure also exists across the nine southern outer suburban school districts (see Table 5.10). Percent-White enrollments dropped throughout the area from an average -05.7% in Coweta County to -52.8% in Henry County. The majority of public high schools in Carrollton City, Douglas County, Henry County, Newton County, and Rockdale County saw their White-Black exposure increase between 1994/95-2007/08. In contrast, Carroll County, Coweta County, Fayette County, and Spalding County schools saw White-Black exposure decrease in the majority of schools. White-Latino exposure rates increased across the southern outer suburban schools (with the exception of Fayette's Evening School) during the same time period. Fayette County and Henry County schools saw a decrease in Black-Latino exposure, but the remaining seven districts saw increases in Black-Latino exposure.

[Insert Table 5.10 here]

Northern Outer Suburbs

In the ten northern outer suburbs, interracial exposure increased virtually throughout the district (see Table 5.11). Percent-White enrollments decreased throughout the suburbs, but to a lesser extent than the rest of the Atlanta-area, ranging from an average -10.7% in Buford City to -22.73% in Paulding County. All but two public high schools (Winder-Barrow High and Buford High) in the northern outer suburbs saw an increase in White-Black exposure. All schools saw an increase in White-Latino exposure and all but three schools (Etowah High, Sequoyah High and South Forsyth) saw an increase in Black-Latino exposure. These findings suggest segregation for Blacks and Latinos decreased in the northern suburbs between 1994/95-2007/08.

[Insert Table 5.11 here]

Regression Analysis

Chapter Four documented that the number of Latinos in a neighborhood catchment area negatively affects the number of White students enrolled in a public high school. In this next section I explore how the increase in LEP students affects White and Black enrollment levels for the 2007/08 school year. The first regression analysis (see Table 5.12) presents the basic relationship between the number of White students enrolled in metro-Atlanta public high schools and the number of Black, LEP, and other non-White students. The explained variance for this relationship is 0.407 (adjusted R^2). This model reveals that White enrollments are negatively affected by the number of Black and number of LEP students enrolled in a school. The presence of LEP students has a higher but less significant effect than the number of Black students, as indicated by the regression coefficients of -2.020 for LEP students compared to -0.455 for Black students.

Interestingly, the number of other non-White students had a positive and significant effect (2.579) on White enrollment.

[Insert Table 5.12 here]

The second regression analysis (see Table 5.13) presents the relationship between the number of Black students enrolled in metro-Atlanta public high schools and the number of White, LEP, and other non-White students. The explained variance for this relationship is much lower (0.185). This regression shows Black enrollments are negatively affected by the number of Whites (-0.442) and the number of LEP students (-0.216), as indicated by the regression coefficients. However, only the number of Whites was significant. The number of other non-White students has a positive and significant effect (0.928) on Black enrollment.

[Insert Table 5.13 here]

The third regression analysis (see Table 5.14) presents the relationship between the number of LEP students enrolled in metro-Atlanta public high schools and the number of White, Black, and other non-White students. This regression shows LEP enrollments are negatively affected by the number of Whites (-0.022) and the number of Black students (-0.002) but only significantly by Whites, as indicated by the regression coefficients. The number of other non-White students has a positive and significant affect (0.262) on Black enrollment. The explained variance of this model is 0.273. LEP enrollments follow similar patterns as Black enrollments but the adjusted R^2 is higher, suggesting racial enrollments explain more of the variance for LEP than Black enrollment patterns.

[Insert Table 5.14 here]

DISCUSSION

Chapter 4 revealed significant racial differences between public high school enrollments and neighborhood composition, particularly in more diverse residential areas. This Chapter looked at within-school dynamics to examine how racial exposure has changed over time. In Atlanta Public, DeKalb County and half of Fulton County high schools (which are virtually 100% African American) White-Black and Black-Latino exposure remained low and saw little change between 1994/95-2007/08. However, the remainder of the Atlanta and inner suburban schools (Cobb, Gwinnett, and Clayton counties) saw increases in White-Black, White-Latino, and Black-Latino exposure. Moving away from the city center, overall, White-Black exposure increases for the majority of the northern suburbs. To the south, the trends are more complicated: White-Black exposure increased in half of the schools and decreased in the other half. These decreases were within as well as between districts. White-Latino and Black-Latino exposure had increased in virtually every public high school across the northern and southern suburbs.

The exposure trends in this chapter are somewhat difficult to interpret. Are these trends a product of White exodus or Black/LEP influx, or both? While these data cannot decipher individual student movement across schools or from year-to-year, I use regression models to examine if White and Black enrollment patterns are sensitive to the racial composition of the public schools. The regression analyses on the White, Black, and LEP enrollments in public schools illuminate other important trends. For instance, White enrollments in public high schools are negatively affected by Black and LEP enrollments, and positively by other non-White minority student enrollments. The presence of Black, LEP, and other non-White student enrollments also accounts for

nearly 40% of the variance in White enrollments. In contrast, Black enrollments were most impacted, and negatively, by White enrollments. Yet, only 18% of the variance in Black enrollments is accounted for in this model. The presence of Blacks and Whites has a negative impact for LEP enrollments.

Status competition models posit that, in schools where racial exposure is low, competition should manifest in the form of school segregation but racial competition within schools should be lower. However, in areas where exposure rates are high or are increasing (particularly for Latinos), status competition may be manifest within schools-potentially over curricula resources. This possibility leads to my final analysis on access to language assistance resources for LEP students. In Chapter Six, I explore how neighborhood and school competition factors affect language assistance implementation above and beyond demand for these programs.

Finally, Chapter 5 also leads to some important issues beyond the scope of this dissertation. For instance, it does not address strategies used by individuals to avoid racial exposure. More specifically, the data in this study do not distinguish between flight from residential locations or flight into private school alternatives. Consequently, more research is needed to explore what factors are associated with Whites choosing to stay in the neighborhood and attend private school. Exposure indices also do not capture actual racial contact within schools. Literature on the tracking of non-White students points to an additional form of conflict within schools. Future studies might consider looking more closely at how Black, White, and Latino students (and their parents) interact in the school setting.

Table 5.1 Summary statistics for variables included in Chapter 5, 2007/8 (n = 152)

	Mean	SD	Range
Variables			
Number of White Students	666	658	0 - 2563
Number of Black Students	671	559	1 - 2236
Number of LEP Students	39	63	0 - 438
Number of Other non-White Students	115	147	0 - 859

Table 5.2 Pearson Correlations for Chapter 5 Variables, 2007/8 (n = 152)

	# White	*# Black*	*#LEP*	*# Other non-White*
Number of White Students	1.00			
Number of Black Students	-0.402**	1.00		
Number of LEP Students	0.072	0.060	1.00	
Number of Other non-White Students	0.488**	-0.022	0.498**	1.00

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$ (two tailed tests)

Table 5.3 Change in racial exposure 1994/95-2007/08 in Atlanta-area public Schools

		White/Black		White/Latino		Black/Latino	
	District	**Increased**	**Decreased/ No change**	**Increased**	**Decreased/ No change**	**Increased**	**Decreased/ No change**
Atlanta and Inner Suburbs	APS (n=9)	11.1%	88.9%	33.3%	66.7%	44.4%	55.6%
	Clayton (n=7)	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%	0.0%	85.7%	14.3%
	Cobb (n=13)	76.9%	23.1%	100.0%	0.0%	69.2%	30.8%
	Decatur City (n=1)	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	DeKalb (n=18)	27.8%	72.2%	61.1%	38.9%	33.3%	66.7%
	Fulton (n=9)	11.1%	88.9%	66.7%	33.3%	77.8%	22.2%
	Gwinnett (n=13)	92.3%	7.7%	92.3%	7.7%	61.5%	38.5%
	Marietta City	---	---	---	---	---	---
Outer Southern Suburbs	Carroll (n=6)	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%	0.0%	83.3%	16.7%
	Carrollton City (n=1)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Coweta (n=2)	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Douglas (n=3)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Fayette (n=3)	33.3%	66.7%	66.7%	33.3%	33.3%	66.7%
	Henry (n=4)	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%	0.0%	25.0%	75.0%
	Newton (n=2)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Rockdale (n=3)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	66.7%	33.3%
	Spalding (n=1)	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Outer Northern Suburbs	Barrow (n=1)	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Bartow (n=1)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Buford (n=1)	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Cartersville City (n=1)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Cherokee (n=4)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%
	Forsyth (n=3)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	66.7%	33.3%
	Paulding (n=2)	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Pickens	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Social Circle City	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Walton	---	---	---	---	---	---

Table 5.4 Changes in exposure in Atlanta public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
	94/95	07/08	94/95-07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08
Carver Arts	---	0.8%	---	---	0.004	---	0.002	---	0.000
Crim High School	0.3%	0.0%	-0.3%	0.005	0.000	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.001
Douglass High School	0.1%	0.1%	-0.1%	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.000
Early College HS at Carver	---	0.0%	---	---	0.000	---	0.000	---	0.001
Grady High School	25.8%	24.9%	-0.9%	0.268	0.464	0.012	0.059	0.001	0.003
Mays High School	0.4%	0.2%	-0.3%	0.009	0.006	0.001	0.005	0.000	0.003
North Atlanta High School	23.3%	12.9%	-10.4%	0.407	0.249	0.095	0.148	0.006	0.012
School of HS&R at Carver	---	0.3%	---	---	0.002	---	0.002	---	0.001
School of Tech. at Carver	---	1.0%	---	---	0.006	---	0.004	---	0.001
Senior Academy at Carver	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Southside High School	2.8%	2.0%	-0.8%	0.060	0.035	0.031	0.025	0.004	0.004
Tech High School	---	3.4%	---	---	0.015	---	0.000	---	0.000
Therrell High School	0.2%	0.0%	-0.2%	0.003	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000
Washington High School	0.3%	0.1%	-0.2%	0.006	0.002	0.003	0.002	0.000	0.000

Table 5.5 Changes in exposure in DeKalb and Decatur public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
	94/95	07/08	94/95-07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08
DeKalb County Schools									
Avondale High School	16.0%	4.6%	-11.4%	0.029	0.013	0.002	0.004	0.001	0.001
Cedar Grove High School	1.0%	0.1%	-0.9%	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000
Chamblee Charter High School	41.8%	29.5%	-12.2%	0.057	0.098	0.007	0.029	0.002	0.004
Clarkston High School	18.4%	2.8%	-15.6%	0.040	0.011	0.004	0.006	0.001	0.001
Columbia High School	4.2%	0.1%	-4.1%	0.013	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.000
Cross Keys High School	18.6%	3.0%	-15.6%	0.035	0.008	0.024	0.009	0.009	0.005
DeKalb Alternative School	---	1.6%	---	---	0.001	---	0.000	---	0.000
DeKalb School of the Arts	---	25.3%	---	---	0.016	---	0.001	---	0.000
DeKalb Transition School	---	0.0%	---	---	0.000	---	0.000	---	0.000
DeKalb/Rockdale PsychoEducation Center	37.9%	4.8%	-33.1%	0.007	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000
Druid Hills High School	42.5%	31.0%	-11.5%	0.049	0.091	0.005	0.028	0.001	0.003
Dunwoody High School	45.8%	45.0%	-0.8%	0.090	0.097	0.005	0.056	0.001	0.006
East DeKalb Special Education Center	---	80.0%	---	---	0.000	---	0.000	---	0.000
Lakeside High School	43.4%	44.1%	0.7%	0.052	0.107	0.007	0.060	0.002	0.006
Lithonia High School	---	0.5%	---	---	0.003	---	0.003	---	0.001
Margaret Harris High School	33.8%	22.6%	-11.2%	0.004	0.003	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000
Martin Luther King, Jr. High School	---	0.1%	---	---	0.001	---	0.001	---	0.001
McNair High School	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000
Miller Grove High School	---	0.4%	---	---	0.003	---	0.002	---	0.001
Open Campus High School	15.6%	2.0%	-13.6%	0.035	0.006	0.004	0.005	0.001	0.002
Redan High School	8.4%	0.5%	-8.0%	0.045	0.003	0.006	0.002	0.002	0.001
Southwest DeKalb High School	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	0.001	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000
Stephenson High School	---	0.5%	---	---	0.004	---	0.002	---	0.000
Stone Mountain High School	29.2%	1.8%	-27.4%	0.086	0.009	0.011	0.006	0.003	0.002
Towers High School	4.5%	0.3%	-4.2%	0.012	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.001
Tucker High School	44.0%	16.3%	-27.7%	0.064	0.077	0.002	0.023	0.001	0.003
Decatur City Schools									
Decatur High School	31.3%	45.7%	14.5%	0.686	0.508	0.000	0.030	0.000	0.029

Table 5.6 Changes in exposure in Clayton public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
	94/95	07/08	94/95-07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08
Forest Park High School	50.8%	7.6%	-43.2%	0.062	0.140	0.005	0.117	0.007	0.022
Jonesboro High School	70.4%	15.7%	-54.6%	0.044	0.263	0.008	0.114	0.010	0.010
Lovejoy High School	70.0%	6.3%	-63.7%	0.060	0.147	0.007	0.088	0.009	0.012
Morrow High School	62.3%	4.7%	-57.6%	0.053	0.124	0.007	0.082	0.009	0.013
Mount Zion High School	61.1%	4.0%	-57.1%	0.056	0.087	0.009	0.066	0.012	0.014
Mundy's Mill High School	---	3.1%	---	---	0.082	---	0.047	---	0.007
North Clayton High School	2.3%	0.5%	-1.8%	0.005	0.010	0.001	0.009	0.001	0.004
Riverdale High School	38.5%	1.7%	-36.8%	0.055	0.041	0.007	0.032	0.010	0.009

Table 5.7 Changes in exposure in Cobb and Marietta public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
	94/95	07/08	94/95-07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08
Cobb County Schools									
Campbell High School	54.9%	22.3%	-32.6%	0.019	0.020	0.003	0.014	0.018	0.034
Harrison High School	94.6%	86.9%	-7.7%	0.004	0.011	0.001	0.003	0.005	0.004
Hillgrove High School	---	55.8%	---	---	0.021	---	0.005	---	0.008
Kell High School	---	69.0%	---	---	0.015	---	0.008	---	0.010
Kennesaw Mountain High School	---	67.0%	---	---	0.024	---	0.013	---	0.017
Lassiter High School	91.6%	83.0%	-8.6%	0.005	0.008	0.002	0.003	0.008	0.004
McEachern High School	82.3%	32.8%	-49.5%	0.015	0.029	0.001	0.009	0.008	0.016
North Cobb High School	88.1%	47.7%	-40.4%	0.007	0.030	0.001	0.014	0.007	0.022
Oakwood High School	68.4%	37.7%	-30.7%	0.003	0.003	0.000	0.002	0.002	0.003
Osborne High School	65.5%	8.1%	-57.4%	0.015	0.007	0.002	0.007	0.012	0.035
Pebblebrook High School	52.3%	11.4%	-40.9%	0.016	0.012	0.002	0.009	0.011	0.030
Pope High School	92.7%	82.7%	-10.0%	0.004	0.006	0.002	0.004	0.007	0.004
South Cobb High School	80.5%	19.6%	-60.9%	0.010	0.019	0.001	0.009	0.007	0.022
Sprayberry High School	86.3%	55.1%	-31.2%	0.008	0.017	0.001	0.008	0.008	0.012
Walton High School	92.2%	76.7%	-15.5%	0.003	0.007	0.001	0.003	0.005	0.004
Wheeler High School	69.2%	42.3%	-26.9%	0.015	0.021	0.003	0.009	0.014	0.015
Marietta City Schools									
Marietta High School	---	26.0%	---	---	0.65061	---	0.42	---	0.28003

Table 5.8 Changes in exposure in Fulton public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
	94/95	07/08	94/95-07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08
Alpharetta High School	---	59.0%	---	---	0.028	---	0.013	---	0.010
Banneker High School	1.1%	0.6%	-0.5%	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.001
Centennial High School	---	59.0%	---	---	0.030	---	0.019	---	0.015
Chattahoochee High School	86.2%	59.6%	-26.6%	0.019	0.022	0.008	0.011	0.006	0.009
Creekside High School	49.3%	3.1%	-46.2%	0.043	0.007	0.003	0.005	0.003	0.012
Independence Altern. School	74.8%	44.3%	-30.4%	0.009	0.006	0.002	0.004	0.002	0.004
Milton High School	---	82.1%	---	---	0.015	---	0.007	---	0.005
North Springs High School	61.5%	35.0%	-26.6%	0.036	0.025	0.003	0.011	0.003	0.012
Northview High School	---	58.4%	---	---	0.017	---	0.006	---	0.005
Riverwood High School	47.2%	54.6%	7.4%	0.042	0.020	0.011	0.016	0.010	0.012
Roswell High School	86.6%	64.4%	-22.2%	0.024	0.031	0.004	0.024	0.003	0.016
Tri-Cities High School	6.8%	2.5%	-4.4%	0.019	0.004	0.005	0.004	0.006	0.019
Westlake High School	0.5%	0.3%	-0.2%	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.001

Table 5.9 Changes in exposure in Gwinnett public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
	94/95	07/08	94/95-07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08
Berkmar High School	50.2%	10.1%	-40.1%	0.010	0.013	0.005	0.013	0.056	0.048
Brookwood High School	62.5%	63.2%	0.7%	0.003	0.022	0.002	0.011	0.017	0.012
Central Gwinnett High School	59.4%	27.2%	-32.2%	0.006	0.025	0.001	0.017	0.018	0.030
Collins Hill High School	60.5%	54.2%	-6.3%	0.003	0.028	0.002	0.022	0.017	0.024
Dacula High School	64.2%	52.7%	-11.5%	0.001	0.022	0.001	0.014	0.008	0.017
Duluth High School	54.9%	32.3%	-22.6%	0.006	0.014	0.003	0.015	0.031	0.018
Grayson High School	---	56.5%	---	---	0.035	---	0.011	---	0.015
Gwinnett InterVention Ed. Center	66.7%	19.8%	-46.9%	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.002
Meadowcreek High School	32.3%	5.3%	-27.0%	0.015	0.006	0.008	0.006	0.098	0.035
Mill Creek High School	---	64.1%	---	---	0.025	---	0.020	---	0.020
Norcross High School	---	29.6%	---	---	0.023	---	0.023	---	0.034
North Gwinnett High School	38.6%	58.6%	20.0%	0.001	0.016	0.001	0.016	0.007	0.015
Parkview High School	61.9%	52.9%	-9.0%	0.002	0.018	0.001	0.010	0.011	0.012
Peachtree Ridge High School	---	43.2%	---	---	0.023	---	0.014	---	0.017
Phoenix High School	62.8%	24.6%	-38.2%	0.001	0.004	0.000	0.004	0.005	0.007
Shiloh High School	62.1%	20.9%	-41.2%	0.006	0.017	0.001	0.006	0.017	0.012
South Gwinnett High School	63.9%	27.4%	-36.5%	0.002	0.029	0.001	0.009	0.013	0.014

Table 5.10 Changes in exposure in outer southern suburb public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
	94/95	07/08	94/95-07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08
Carroll County Schools									
Bowdon High School	82.6%	77.9%	-4.7%	0.023	0.023	0.000	0.003	0.001	0.003
Central High School	83.3%	77.8%	-5.5%	0.056	0.065	0.002	0.012	0.007	0.015
Mount Zion High School	80.2%	79.5%	-0.8%	0.016	0.013	0.000	0.007	0.000	0.007
Open Campus High School	79.7%	81.3%	1.6%	0.007	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.004	0.001
Temple High School	88.3%	75.0%	-13.3%	0.012	0.040	0.000	0.008	0.001	0.010
Villa Rica High School	80.2%	63.2%	-16.9%	0.048	0.111	0.000	0.024	0.001	0.032
Carrollton City Schools									
Carrollton High School	67.2%	54.2%	-13.1%	0.310	0.395	0.019	0.099	0.040	0.144
Coweta County Schools									
East Coweta High School	72.9%	65.6%	-7.3%	0.265	0.096	0.005	0.030	0.015	0.078
Newnan High School	69.9%	65.9%	-4.1%	0.298	0.100	0.007	0.016	0.020	0.043
Northgate High School	---	77.2%	---	---	0.052	---	0.014	---	0.035
Douglas County Schools									
Alexander High School	91.7%	69.5%	-22.3%	0.025	0.101	0.001	0.023	0.009	0.019
Chapel Hill High School	---	36.2%	---	---	0.132	---	0.027	---	0.025
Douglas County High School	83.6%	25.4%	-58.2%	0.051	0.110	0.002	0.033	0.012	0.034
Lithia Springs Comprehensive High School	80.9%	37.1%	-43.8%	0.054	0.119	0.005	0.041	0.032	0.038
Fayette County Schools									
Evening School	88.3%	51.9%	-36.5%	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.006	0.000
Fayette County High School	---	38.6%	---	---	0.057	---	0.014	---	0.040
McIntosh High School	90.8%	77.1%	-13.7%	0.030	0.027	0.013	0.014	0.101	0.029
Sandy Creek High School	83.7%	42.0%	-41.7%	0.051	0.059	0.007	0.013	0.066	0.039
Starrs Mill High School	---	85.0%	---	---	0.022	---	0.010	---	0.020
Whitewater High School	---	79.1%	---	---	0.038	---	0.009	---	0.021

Table 5.10 (cont.) Changes in exposure in outer southern suburb public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
	94/95	07/08	94/95-07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08
Henry County Schools									
Dutchtown High School	---	27.8%	---	---	0.076	---	0.022	---	0.020
Eagle's Landing High School	89.1%	38.4%	-50.7%	0.026	0.062	0.004	0.018	0.026	0.016
Henry County High School	75.8%	17.7%	-58.1%	0.062	0.036	0.003	0.010	0.019	0.010
Luella High School	---	45.5%	---	---	0.127	---	0.025	---	0.021
Patrick Henry High School	82.4%	38.0%	-44.3%	0.001	0.011	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.002
Stockbridge High School	90.4%	32.5%	-57.9%	0.036	0.084	0.003	0.013	0.018	0.012
Union Grove High School	---	68.8%	---	---	0.084	---	0.012	---	0.009
Newton County Schools									
Eastside High School	72.1%	57.5%	-14.7%	0.041	0.231	0.001	0.022	0.003	0.014
Newton High School	67.9%	23.7%	-44.1%	0.268	0.300	0.005	0.057	0.011	0.040
Rockdale County Schools									
Heritage High School	91.1%	45.4%	-45.7%	0.029	0.203	0.003	0.070	0.020	0.046
Rockdale County High School	79.3%	29.9%	-49.4%	0.052	0.192	0.003	0.050	0.023	0.037
Salem High School	84.8%	32.1%	-52.8%	0.035	0.190	0.005	0.026	0.034	0.018
Spalding County Schools									
Griffin High School	63.1%	38.7%	-24.4%	0.362	0.249	0.005	0.025	0.008	0.027
Spalding High School	---	61.7%	---	---	0.210	---	0.014	---	0.015

Table 5.11 Changes in exposure in outer northern suburb public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
	94/95	07/08	94/95-07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08	94/95	07/08
Barrow County Schools									
Apalachee High School	---	65.7%	---	---	0.089	---	0.068	---	0.195
Winder-Barrow High School	82.7%	67.0%	-15.7%	0.153	0.100	0.007	0.047	0.039	0.157
Bartow County Schools									
Adairsville High School	---	88.6%	---	---	0.159	---	0.008	---	0.051
Cass High School	91.1%	74.4%	-16.8%	0.074	0.430	0.008	0.033	0.088	0.198
Woodland High School	---	85.1%	---	---	0.294	---	0.029	---	0.145
Buford City Schools									
Buford High School	72.9%	62.2%	-10.7%	0.236	0.186	0.035	0.220	0.106	0.552
Cartersville City Schools									
2050 Cartersville High School	79.5%	62.9%	-16.7%	0.193	0.277	0.008	0.148	0.034	0.313
Cherokee County Schools									
Cherokee High School	93.4%	78.6%	-14.8%	0.012	0.023	0.006	0.027	0.145	0.148
Etowah High School	94.8%	84.2%	-10.6%	0.011	0.019	0.004	0.020	0.112	0.111
Polaris Evening School	98.1%	75.1%	-23.0%	0.000	0.003	0.000	0.005	0.000	0.021
Sequoyah High School	96.6%	85.6%	-10.9%	0.003	0.011	0.006	0.015	0.079	0.073
Woodstock High School	---	74.7%	---	---	0.030	---	0.032	---	0.188
Forsyth County Schools									
Forsyth Central High School	97.0%	82.0%	-15.0%	0.000	0.003	0.011	0.038	0.000	0.147
Forsyth County Academy	---	93.0%	---	---	0.000	---	0.001	---	0.007
North Forsyth High School	99.4%	90.4%	-9.1%	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.027	0.000	0.082
South Forsyth High School	97.8%	80.4%	-17.4%	0.000	0.015	0.006	0.035	0.923	0.528

Table 5.11 (cont.) Changes in exposure in outer northern suburb public high schools, 1994/95-2007/08

	%White		%White Change	White/Black Exposure		White/Latino Exposure		Black/Latino Exposure	
Paulding County Schools									
East Paulding High School	94.7%	79.0%	-15.7%	0.017	0.098	0.002	0.029	0.043	0.089
Paulding County High School	95.3%	65.5%	-29.7%	0.026	0.112	0.002	0.026	0.036	0.086
Pickens County Schools									
Pickens County High School	---	95.0%	---	---	0.010	---	0.018	---	0.636
Social Circle City Schools									
Social Circle High School	---	68.5%	---	---	0.278	---	0.023	---	0.058
Walton County Schools									
Loganville High School	---	82.8%	---	---	0.072	---	0.028	---	0.067
Monroe Area High School	---	52.8%	---	---	0.135	---	0.012	---	0.036

Table 5.12 Regression of the number of White students in metro-Atlanta public high schools in 2008, by the characteristics of the school racial/ethnic enrollment (n=152)

School Racial/Ethnic Enrollment Characteristics	
Number of Black Students	-0.445***
Number of LEP Students	-2.020**
Number of Other non-White Students	2.579***
Constant	746.227
Adj R^2	0.407

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$ (two tailed tests)

Table 5.13 Regression of the number of Black students in metro-Atlanta public high schools in 2008, by the characteristics of the school racial/ethnic enrollment (n=152)

School Racial/Ethnic Enrollment Characteristics	
Number of White Students	-0.442***
Number of LEP Students	-0.216
Number of Other non-White Students	0.928*
Constant	866.600
Adj R^2	0.186

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$ (two tailed tests)

Table 5.14 Regression of the number of LEP students in metro-Atlanta public high schools in 2008, by the characteristics of the school racial/ethnic enrollment (n=152)

School Racial/Ethnic Enrollment Characteristics	
Number of White Students	-0.022**
Number of Black Students	-0.002
Number of Other non-White Students	0.262***
Constant	25.217
Adj R^2	0.273

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$ (two tailed tests)

Fight or Flight? Immigration, Status Competition, and Language Assistance Resources in Metropolitan Atlanta

Chapter VI: Allocation of Language Assistance Programs in Metro Atlanta High Schools

While residential and school segregation has long captured the attention of researchers interested in status competition dynamics, battles may be even more pronounced over access to programmatic resources. Around the country, language assistance programs feature prominently in contemporary struggles. Federal and state laws mandate that local school systems offer language assistance to Limited-English-Proficient students, but state and district policies vary widely, leading these programs to take different forms to address the needs of immigrant students (Cosentino de Cohen et al. 2005). Some schools offer floating specialists who translate and instruct in multiple classrooms. Sheltered programs remove Limited-English-Proficient students, who often speak a variety of native languages, from their home classrooms to provide tutoring in predominately English (Ferris & Hedgcock 1998). Others opt for dual-language models which instruct students in their native language and in English. Finally, some schools employ multiple forms of language assistance programs. This raises my final and most important research question: *How do status competition factors influence the supply of language assistance resources implemented in public secondary schools, above and beyond demand (student demographics) for such programs?*

Georgia's Department of Education funds the English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) instructional program for English Language Learners for grades K-12. The state's ESOL program encompasses a vast array of instructional models that differ across and within districts. ESOL models range from floating translators to sheltered content courses. It remains unclear, however, how status competition dynamics

influence the number of ESOL instructors or the probability that ESOL courses are offered in a school.

Findings from the previous chapters suggest neighborhood and school-level competition factors could affect school policies related to LEP immigrant students. Whites are less likely to attend the public school in their neighborhood where more Latinos live and White enrollments are negatively sensitive to the number of LEP students in a school. Thus, White avoidance of Latino students in neighborhood schools is apparent. Recent research suggests that school district and parental characteristics influence the probability that a school district will institute or maintain Spanish-English dual-language programs nationally (Linton 2004). But beyond dual-language models, little research has systematically taken into account local social, economic, and political factors that could influence the *amount* of language assistance or *form* of program schools implement. This chapter builds on Linton's (2004) research by investigating how status competition factors influence the supply of language assistance resources implemented in public secondary schools above and beyond demand for such programs.

Figures 6.1a and 6.1b outline the two competing theoretical models I use to examine what shapes the provision of language assistance programs at the school level. According to the baseline supply-demand model, the presence and type program offered reflects the size of the immigrant or Limited-English-Student population and school resources (Figure 6.1a). State administrators echo this rationale, as Georgia Superintendent of Schools Cathy Cox stated that ESOL instruction appears to be a function of enrollments, funding, and teacher preparation (Georgia Department of Education Strategic Subcommittee 2006 Report). Beginning with the supply-demand

model permits me to examine the demographic and fiscal conditions that affect language assistance program provision. Figure 6.1b presents a more complex picture, testing for the impact of *competition* over available resources and the presence of political resistance to immigrants at large. This analysis seeks to determine the number of ESOL instructors and the probability language assistance program is on site reflect district- and school-level demographic composition and levels of political mobilization by different ethnic groups.

[Insert Figure 6.1 here]

Empirical Expectations:

Number of LEP students and financial means

Under the supply-demand model, schools with higher percentages of LEP students have greater educational needs, increasing the likelihood of more comprehensive assistance (i.e. dual-language or fully structured programs). Thus, as the demand for language assistance increases, schools will supply more ESOL teachers in what should be a linear relationship. Additionally, programs should exist on school site with higher numbers of LEP students. Schools with greater fiscal means are more able to support ESOL teachers and courses.

Resource competition

Previous research finds that student achievement is related to spending aimed at improving the quality of instruction (Condron and Roscigno 2003). Resource allocation could also be effected by differential school resources. Schools where many children come from disadvantaged families or that do not meet the No Child Left Behind

Adequately Yearly Progress (AYP) requirements have additional supplemental service programs to fund and would be less likely to devote resources to ESOL teachers or comprehensive language assistance.

Racial competition

The previous two chapters illustrate some important changes in the racial composition of Atlanta-area public high schools over the past 15 years. ESOL allocation could vary in schools that have experienced significant racial shifts, or in schools that more closely match the neighborhood demographics.

Political Resistance

English-only local referenda that discourage the use of languages other than English (signs, billboards, legislature, etc.) may reflect the degree to which people value non-English languages in a particular area and may affect school program choice (Crawford 2000).

DATA & METHODS

Data

This section draws on enrollment data collected by the Georgia Department of Education for the 2007-2008 academic year. Table 6.1 presents the concepts, variables, and data sources. The units of analysis are 152 public high schools in 20 Atlanta metropolitan counties. I derived school demographic and financial data from the Georgia Department of Education. I coded district and school-level data regarding the number of ESOL teachers and the existence of ESOL courses on school site by examining formal program descriptions, curriculum information published in 2007/08 course catalogues, and through contact with ESOL coordinators. I obtained information regarding local English-

only referenda through Crawford's (1998) report, governmental records, and newspaper reports (e.g. Associated Press 2000, *Atlanta Journal Constitution* 1998-2008). Neighborhood mismatch variables and racial exposure measures were calculated in previous analyses, in chapters 4 and 5 respectively. Table 6.2 lists the variables and their respective coding schemas. Next, I discuss the variables' relevance in terms of the propositions outlined above.

[Insert Table 6.1 here]

[Insert Table 6.2 here]

Dependent Variables

Two measures capture the supply of language assistance. The first measure is the number of ESOL teachers in school. Second, the classification of Language Assistance Program (LAP) in school draws from Ferris and Hedgcock's (1998) description of secondary-level ESL program types. On site Language Assistance Programs[18] was coded into a dichotomous variable distinguishing whether any ESOL course(s) were offered on school grounds.

Independent Variables

Market Model

The percentage of students who are categorized as Limited-English-Proficient captures demand of LAP. Additionally, under the supply-demand model, larger and well-funded schools would be advantaged in terms of their ability to initiate more comprehensive

[18] LAPs were initially coded in one of four categories: no assistance offered, pull-out, floating translators, and ESOL courses to perform an ordered logistic regression. However, there was not enough differentiation in the variable. LAP was recoded into the dichotomous variable.

language assistance programs. Thus, per pupil expenditure[19] and total school enrollment are included as other independent variables.

Status Competition Models

Resource Competition

The percentage of students who qualify for free or reduced lunch estimates the number of students who come from disadvantaged families. This measure is reported as a percentage of the total school population. Additionally, a dichotomous variable for passage of No Child Left Behind's Adequately Yearly Progress (AYP) requirements was included.

Racial Competition in Neighborhood

The cross-sectional spatial analysis in Chapter Four revealed mismatches between neighborhood catchment zones and school racial compositions. To examine how these mismatches affect the number of ESOL instructors and allocation of Language Assistance Programs, I include recoded measures[20] for Whites, Blacks, and Latinos. The passage of local English-Only ordinances, Anti-Immigrant, or other Immigrant/English language referenda is a rough gauge for the community's resistant climate toward linguistic diversity and immigrants. I include the political resistance measure as a dichotomous variable.

[19]Previous research suggests diminishing returns to school expenditures (Burtless 1996). I ran the functional form fit to determine which function best captured the expenditure variable. The quadratic form had the best fit (highest r-square), thus, expenditures were squared for the regression analyses.

[20] For easier interpretation, mismatches were recoded as percentages. For example, a White mismatch of -20% in Chapter 4 is coded .80 in this analysis. Likewise, a Black mismatch of + 12.7% is now 1.127 for this analysis.

Racial Competition in School

Because conflict over language resources occurs across ethnic group lines, I examine three school-level exposure rates between ethnic groups[21] in 2007/08 (White-Black, White-Latino, and Latino-Black). I also use a dichotomous variable from chapter 3 which indicates whether the school is predominately minority[22]. Table 6.3 provides the means, standard deviations, and ranges of the variables in the subsequent analyses.

[Insert Table 6.3 here]

Methodology

Three types of statistical analyses are employed to address my research question, including Pearson's correlations, ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, and logistic regression. I will address each of these in turn. First, each bivarate relationship between the dependent variables and all independent variables are investigated using Pearson's correlation coefficients.

Second, ordinary least squares regression is used for the first dependent variable: number of ESOL teachers. OLS is ideally suited to address interval-level dependent variables. OLS permits researchers to predict how much each independent variable increases or decreases the dependent variable in the metric of the dependent variable (Gujarati 2003). In this instance, it allows me to assess how much a unit increase in an independent variable increases or decreases the number of ESOL teachers in a school.

Finally, logistic regression is used to assess the odds that Language Assistance Programs are offered on site. The purpose here is to assess the odds that a school

[21]Other non-White rates were not included due to a small size in 147of the 152 schools.

[22] See Chapter Five for more information on this variable.

implements a language assistance course on school grounds in relation to other factors. In contrast to linear regression, which uses a least-squared deviations criterion for the best fit, logistic regression employs a likelihood method that maximizes the probability of getting the results given the fitted regression coefficients (Press and Wilson 1978). Logistic regression is used to predict a categorical (here dichotomous) variable from a set of predictor variables, especially if the predictor variables are a combination of continuous and categorical variables or are not evenly distributed (Gujarati 2003).

RESULTS

My analyses seek to answer the following questions*: How do status competition dynamics influence the supply of ESOL instructors above and beyond demand for such programs? And, how do status competition dynamics influence the supply of language assistance on site above and beyond demand for such programs?* To begin, each of the independent variables was investigated using Pearson's correlation coefficients. Several variables correlated significantly with the number of ESOL instructors and if a language assistance course was implemented on site. Below is an outline of those variables that reached statistical significance. Table 6.4 provides a full correlation matrix.

[Insert Table 6.4 here]

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients

ESOL Instructors

School. The variables *School Size* and *Percentage of LEP Students* are both positively correlated with the number of *ESOL instructors* and statistically significant at the .01 alpha level. There is a negative relationship between *Spending on Instruction* and *ESOL instructors* but not statistically significant.

Resource Competition. The variable *Percentage of students that qualify for free/reduced lunch* and *AYP Status* are positively correlated with *ESOL instructors* but not statistically significant

Racial Competition in Neighborhood. The variables *White Neighborhood Mismatch* and *Black Neighborhood Mismatch* are positively correlated with the number of *ESOL instructors* but not statistically significant. *Latino Neighborhood Mismatch* is negatively correlated with *ESOL instructors* and statistically significant at the .01 alpha level. *Anti-Immigrant/English-Only referendum/law passed* is positively correlated with *ESOL instructors* and statistically significant at the .05 alpha level.

Racial Competition in School. The variable *White-Black Exposure* is negatively correlated with the number of *ESOL instructors* but not statistically significant. *White-Latino Exposure, Black-Latino Exposure* and *Racial Isolation* are all positively correlated with *ESOL instructors* but not statistically significant.

Language Assistance Program in School

School. The variables *School Size* and *Percentage of LEP Students* are both positively correlated with the number of *LAP* and are statistically significant at the .01 alpha level. There is a negative relationship between *Spending on Instruction* and *LAP* and significant at the .01 alpha level.

Resource Competition. The variables *Percentage of students that qualify for free/reduced lunch* is negatively correlated with *LAP* but not statistically significant. *AYP Status* is positively correlated with *LAP* and significant at the .01 alpha level.

Racial Competition in Neighborhood. The variables *White Neighborhood Mismatch* and is positively correlated *LAP* but not statistically significant. *Black Neighborhood Mismatch* and *Latino Neighborhood Mismatch* are negatively correlated with the *LAP* and not statistically significant. *Anti-Immigrant/English-Only referendum/law passed* is positively correlated with *LAP* and statistically significant at the .05 alpha level.

Racial Competition in School. The variable *White-Black Exposure*, *White-Latino Exposure*, and *Black-Latino Exposure* are positively correlated with *LAP* and statistically significant at the .01, .01, and .05 alpha levels respectively. *Racial Isolation* was negatively correlated with *LAP* but not statistically significant.

The findings from the Pearson's correlation coefficients highlight potentially important factors associated with the number of ESOL instructors in a school and whether a school offers Language Assistance Programs on site. Additionally, the correlation results point to potentially *different* factors (i.e. racial competition in school) influencing the number of ESOL instructors and the existence of language assistance in schools. I turn to regression analyses to help make better sense of these patterns.

OLS Regression: What determines the number of ESOL instructors in a school?

Table 6.5 reports the results of the OLS regression analysis of ESOL instructors among the 152 metro-Atlanta public high schools in 2007/08. Supply-demand factors (Model 1) alone make for a relatively strong model. As expected, schools with higher percentage of Limited-English-Proficient students have greater numbers of ESOL instructors.

Additionally, larger schools have more ESOL instructors. Spending on instruction appears to have little effect on the number of ESOL instructors.

[Insert Table 6.5 here]

Although the percentage of students who qualify for free/reduced lunch has a negative effect on ESOL instruction and AYP status seems to be associated with ESOL instruction, Model 2 suggests that measures of resource competition are not significantly related to the number of ESOL instructors in a school. The addition of resource competition measures does not strengthen the model.

Model 3 adds measures of racial competition in the neighborhood. There appears to be a relationship between White, Black, and Latino racial mismatches and the prevalence of ESOL instructors in a school. The presence of Anti-Immigrant/English-Only referendum has a negative effect on ESOL instructors, but is not significant.

Model 4 shows that racial competition in school, in terms of White-Latino exposure is negative and significant. White-Black and Black-Latino exposure and predominately minority factors are not significantly related to the number of ESOL instructors in a school. Additionally, once school exposure variables are included in the model, the significance of neighborhood mismatch variables and one measure of resource competition (percentage free/reduced lunch) are intensified.

In sum, the market model (Model 1) explains the vast majority of the variance (adjusted R^2 = .740) of ESOL instruction in Atlanta-area public high schools. Taken together, measures of resource competition, racial competition in the neighborhood, and racial competition in the school only explain another 6% of the variance (adjusted R^2 = .801) in Model 4. However, the correlations revealed that language assistance programs

on site appear to have greater association with resource and racial competition than the number of ESOL instructors. My next analysis explores this possibility in greater detail.

Logistic Regression: What determines the presence of language assistance courses offered on site in school?

Table 6.6 reports the results of models that explore the degree to which school, resource competition, and political factors influence the probability that an Atlanta-area public high school will offer language assistance courses on site. Similar to the findings of the OLS regression, the logistic regression analysis reveals supply-demand factors (Model 1) make for a strong model. As expected, larger schools and those with higher percentage of Limited-English-Proficient students are more likely to offer language assistance on site.

[Insert Table 6.6 here]

Model 2 incorporates resource competition factors, where a school's AYP status had a positive effect on the odds that a school will offer language assistance courses. Measures of neighborhood racial competition are added in Model 3. With the exception of Latino mismatch, none of these factors are significantly related to the presence of LAP. Model 4 includes racial competition in school variables. Interestingly, only White-Latino exposure is significantly related to the presence of language assistance on site.

Model 5 is a final and best-fitting model. It reveals that language assistance courses are most likely to exist in larger schools, with higher percentages of LEP students, greater expenditures and with passing AYP marks. Additionally, language assistance on school grounds is more likely to exist in schools that draw from neighborhoods with higher Latino mismatches (Latino proportions) and higher White-Latino exposure rates in schools.

DISCUSSION

Immigration is transforming communities and is testing the capacity of school districts to develop and implement instructional programs to teach English Language Learners. Atlanta-area public high schools have recently offered language assistance for LEP populations in order to comply with state and federal laws. In metro-Atlanta language assistance takes on a variety of forms: from floating translators to pull-out instruction to ESOL courses. This chapter investigated which school, resource competition, and political factors influence the number of ESOL teachers and the presence of language assistance on site. By examining two measures of language assistance, the findings provide a more nuanced exploration of the resources available to metro-Atlanta's LEP students.

On the surface, Georgia Superintendent of Schools Cathy Cox is right: language assistance for LEP students is driven primarily by demand factors. In terms of the number of instructors, school size and percentage of LEP students were the primary factors affecting the number of ESOL teachers in a school. However, racial mismatches between neighborhoods and schools, the percentage of students who come from disadvantaged families, and White-Latino exposure rates in schools also have a modest positive effect on the number of ESOL instructors in a school.

However, beyond the number of ESOL instructors, additional resource and racial competition factors affect the likelihood of language assistance courses being offered on site. In other words, while some schools may offer ESOL instructors in terms of floating translators, there are no language assistance courses on site for LEP students. Again, the supply-demand factors play a significant role in predicting the presence of language

assistance courses. Larger schools with higher percentages of LEP students and higher expenditures are more likely to offer a language assistance program. But language assistance courses are more likely to exist in schools with passing AYP marks, in neighborhoods with higher Latino mismatches, and with higher White-Latino exposure rates in schools. Thus, resource and racial competition factors do play a role in the probability a school will offer language assistance on site.

Figure 6.1a Supply-demand

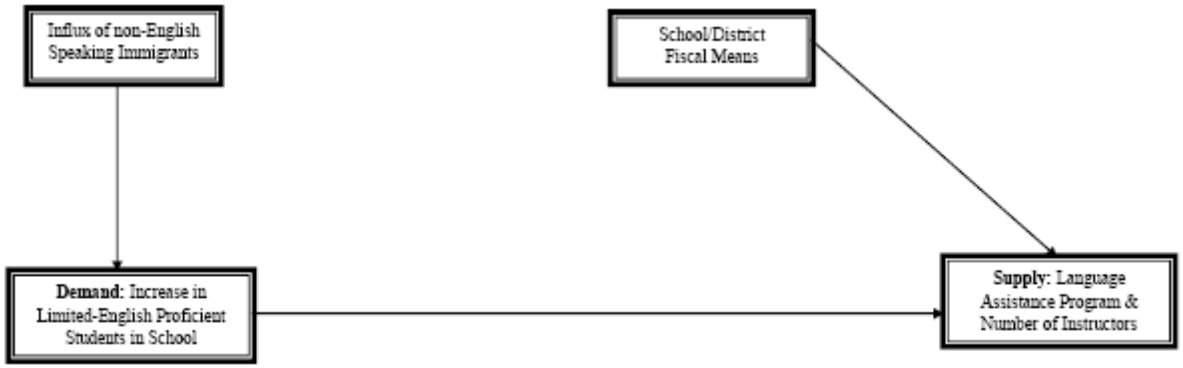


Figure 6.1b Status competition model

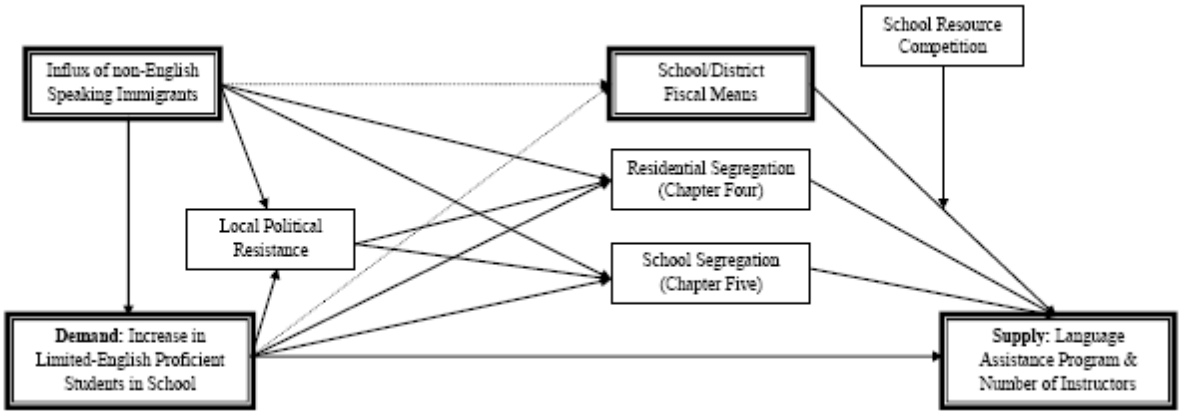


Table 6.1 Concepts, variables, and data sources

Theoretical/ Conceptual Framework	Theoretical/ Conceptual Framework	Level of Analysis	Concepts	Indicators/Measures (Variables)	Data Source
RQ3a: How do demand factors influence the supply of Language Assistance Programs (LAP) implemented in public secondary schools?	Supply/Demand Model	School	Supply D.V.	Language Assistance Program in school	Course Atlas
		School	Supply D.V.	Number of English Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Teachers in school	Course Atlas
		School	Demand I.V.	Number of Limited-English-Proficient students	GA Dept. of Education
		School/ District	Demand I.V.	Fiscal means (instructional expenditures/per-pupil expenditures)	GA Dept. of Education
RQ3b: How do status competition factors influence the supply of Language Assistance Programs implemented in public secondary schools?	Status Competition Model	School	Resource Competition I.V.	Number of children that qualify for reduced/free lunch Made Adequately Yearly Progress	GA Dept. of Education
		Community/ City	Political Resistance I.V.	Local English-only referenda voted/passed Voting records on immigrant measures	*Crawford (1998) and Governmental Records
		School/ Neighborhood	Racial and School Segregation I.V.	Catchment mismatch (Analysis 1) Exposure Indices (Analysis 2)	GA Dept. of Education and Census Data
		School/ District	Control Variables	School and district size, student enrollment, student racial/ethnic breakdown, spending on instruction	GA Dept. of Education

Table 6.2 Variable list and coding schema (n=152)

Variable	Description	Coding	Source
ESOL	Number of ESOL Teachers in school	Range 0 to 27	Course Atlas
LAP	Language Assistance Program implemented in school	0 = No LAP in School	Course Atlas
		1 = ESOL courses offered	
School Size	Total Enrollment	Range 5 - 3997	GA Dept. of Education
Percentage LEP	Percentage Limited-English-Proficient students	Range 0 to .27	GA Dept. of Education
Spending on Instruction*	Instructional per-pupil expenditures*	Range $7,453 to $13,744	GA Dept. of Education
Percentage Lunch	Percentage of children that qualify for reduce/free lunch	Range 0.0 - 1.0	GA Dept. of Education
AYP Status	Passed Adequately Yearly Progress	0 = Failed	GA Dept. of Education
		1 = Passed	
White Mismatch	White neighborhood/school mismatch	Range 0.25 - 1.23	Chapter 4: GA Dept. of Education & Census Data
Black Mismatch	Black neighborhood/school mismatch	Range 0.80 - 1.91	Chapter 4: GA Dept. of Education & Census Data
Latino Mismatch	Latino neighborhood/school mismatch	Range 0.76 - 1.02	Chapter 4: GA Dept. of Education & Census Data
English-Only Referendum	Local English-only/anti-immigration referenda or law passed	0 = No Referenda	Crawford** (1998) & Governmental Records
		1 = Referenda	
White-Black Exposure	White-Black racial exposure 2007/08	Range 0 - .65	Chapter 5: GA Dept. of Education
White-Latino Exposure	White-Latino racial exposure 2007/08	Range 0 - .42	Chapter 5: GA Dept. of Education
Black-Latino Exposure	Black-Latino racial exposure 2007/08	Range 0 - .64	Chapter 5: GA Dept. of Education
Racial Isolation	School is predominately minority	0 = Not Predominately Minority	Chapter 3: GA Dept. of Education
		1 = Predominately Minority	

* Previous research suggests diminishing returns to school expenditures (Burtless 1996). I ran the functional form fit to determine which function best captured the expenditure variable. The quadratic form had the best fit (highest r-square), thus, expenditures were squared for the regression analyses.

Table 6.3 Summary statistics for variables included in this study (n=152)

	Mean	SD	Range
Dependent Variables			
ESOL Instructors	1.8	3.75	0 - 27
Language Assistance Program in School	0.57	0.49	0 - 1
Independent Variables			
School Size	1,588	829	5 - 3997
Percentage of non-Latino White students	39.2%	0.3	0 - 95%
Percentage of non-Latino Black students	47.0%	0.47	0 - 99%
Percentage of Latino Students	7.7%	0.09	0 - 67%
Percentage of Other Racial/Ethnic Group Students	6.0%	0.05	0 - 32%
Percentage of LEP Students	2.2%	3.48	0 - 27%
Spending on instruction	$8,787	1504.9	$7,453 - $13,744
Percentage who qualify for free/reduced lunch	41%	0.26	0% - 100%
AYP Status	0.66	0.475	0 - 1
White Neighborhood Mismatch	0.98	0.11	0.25 - 1.23
Black Neighborhood Mismatch	1.05	0.13	0.80 - 1.91
Latino Neighborhood Mismatch	0.97	0.04	0.76 - 1.02
Anti-Immigrant/English-Only referendum/law passed	0.11	0.31	0 - 1
White-Black Exposure	0.07	0.11	0 - .65
White-Latino Exposure	0.02	0.04	0 - .42
Black-Latino Exposure	0.04	0.09	0 - .64
Racial Isolation	0.59	0.49	0 - 1

Table 6.4 Correlations between variables in this study (n=152)

	ESOL	LAP	Size	% LEP	Spend	% Lunch	AYP	Wht. Mis	Blk. Mis	Lat. Mis	Eng.-Only	WB Exp	WL Exp	BL Exp	Isol
ESOL	1.00														
LAP	0.421**	1.00													
Size	0.282**	0.486**	1.00												
% LEP	0.852**	0.419**	0.171*	1.00											
Spending	-0.118	-0.218**	-0.388**	-0.099	1.00										
% Lunch	0.072	-0.121	-0.279**	0.189*	0.375**	1.00									
AYP	0.051	0.358**	0.485**	-0.048	-0.226**	-0.400**	1.00								
White Mis	0.008	0.047	0.177	-0.039	-0.229*	-0.210*	0.131	1.00							
Black Mis	0.060	-0.017	-0.193*	0.118	0.229*	0.239*	-0.104	-0.591**	1.00						
Latino Mis	-0.414**	-0.169	0.085	-0.516**	-0.070	-0.224*	0.010	0.274**	-0.529	1.00					
English-Only	0.165*	0.166*	0.088	0.116	-0.093	-0.233**	0.124	-0.002	0.048	-0.226*	1.00				
WB Exp	-0.080	0.231**	0.001	-0.005	0.035	-0.010	0.051	0.005	-0.002	0.090	-0.019	1.00			
WL Exp	0.029	0.313**	0.084	0.151	-0.008	0.034	0.061	-0.074	0.096	-0.050	0.172*	0.686**	1.00		
BL Exp	0.003	0.199*	0.065	0.040	-0.113	-0.133	0.185*	0.136	-0.142	0.123	0.253**	0.279**	0.479**	1.00	
Isolation	0.107	-0.095	-0.212**	0.163*	0.347**	0.591**	-0.376**	-0.305**	0.347**	-0.291**	-0.195*	-0.033	0.004	-0.325**	1.00

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

Table 6.5 Coefficients for regression of the number of ESOL instructors in Atlanta-area high schools (n=152)
(Standardized coefficients are in parentheses.)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Supply-Demand				
School Size	0.001***	0.001*	0.001*	0.001**
	(0.149)	(0.130)	(0.115)	(0.098)
Percentage LEP	0.849***	0.914***	0.990***	1.010***
	(0.829)	(0.847)	(1.001)	(1.021)
Spending on Instruction	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.022)	(0.043)	(0.053)	(0.048)
Resource Competition				
Percentage Lunch		-0.894	-1.514	-1.883^
		(-0.063)	(-0.088)	(-0.110)
AYP Status		0.047	0.151	0.119
		(0.014)	(0.038)	(0.030)
Racial Competition in Neighborhood				
White Mismatch			20.206^	25.113*
			(0.595)	(0.740)
Black Mismatch			20.277^	25.304*
			(0.690)	(0.861)
Latino Mismatch			27.308^	33.277*
			(.277)	(0.337)
English-Only Referendum			-0.084	-0.042
			(-0.007)	(-0.003)
Racial Competition in School				
White-Black Exposure				-0.065
				(-0.002)
White-Latino Exposure				-12.877^
				(-0.115)
Black-Latino Exposure				0.349
				(0.09)
Racial Isolation				0.231
				(0.030)
Constant	-1.398*	-1.246^	-69.425^	-84.679*
Adj R^2	0.740	0.740	.795	.801

^p ≤ .10, * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001 (two tailed tests)

Table 6.6 Log odds for logistic regression of presence of language assistance programs in Atlanta-area public high schools (n = 152)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Supply-Demand					
School Size	1.002**	1.002**	1.001**	1.002**	1.002**
Percentage LEP	6.811***	8.382***	23.34***	14.696***	10.839***
Spending on Instruction	1.000	1.000	1.001	1.000ˆ	1.000ˆ
Resource Competition					
Percentage Lunch		1.532	0.130	0.068	
AYP Statusˇ		0.166**	0.317	0.136ˆ	0.115*
Racial Competition in Neighborhood					
White Mismatch			0.022	0.015	
Black Mismatch			0.022	0.015	
Latino Mismatch			0.028ˆ	0.023ˆ	0.090ˆ
English-Only Referendum			1.822	2.716	
Racial Competition in School					
White-Black Exposure				0.045	
White-Latino Exposure				0.025ˆ	0.024*
Black-Latino Exposure				0.034	
Racial Isolation				0.620	
-2 log likelihood	56.109	53.441	61.173	89.331	98.105
chi-square	82.184	84.853	77.120	100.249	109.416

ˆp ≤ .10, * p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001 (two tailed tests)

Fight or Flight? Immigration, Status Competition, and Language Assistance Resources in Metropolitan Atlanta

Chapter VII: Conclusion

"At the dawn of the twenty-first century, white flight had spread from the city through the suburbs to a new exurban frontier, with no signs of slowing down." (Kruse 2005, 264).

Using a status competition perspective, this study has presented evidence that racial competition continues to occur in metro Atlanta public high schools. It documents three contemporary manifestations of status competition: segregation between neighborhoods and schools, segregation within schools, and the allocation of language assistance resources for LEP students. The findings from this dissertation corroborate racial migration patterns documented by Atlanta historians. In particular, Kruse (2005) suggests that suburban Atlanta Whites increasingly abandoned racially diverse schools in the 1990's and that White flight is occurring from inner-ring suburbs to the outer-ring "exurbs." Furthermore, he argues that current migration patterns to Forsyth, Henry, and Paulding counties mirror the 1980's flight and tempo of White exodus from inner-city Atlanta to the suburbs of Gwinnett, Cobb, and Clayton counties. The descriptive racial isolation measures of Chapter 3 support Kruse's (2005) work and reveal Blacks and Latinos are experiencing increased isolation within metro Atlanta public high schools.

However, the findings of the GIS analysis show that racial competition dynamics are at work before students even enter schools. Chapter 4 revealed that where residential segregation is "successful" schools are more likely to reflect the neighborhood racial composition. In contrast, when residential segregation "fails," schools are less likely to resemble the neighborhood racial composition. For metropolitan Atlanta, this means

public high schools more or less reflect their neighborhoods in outer suburbs with high levels of residential segregation. In contrast, inner suburban and city-center schools with the greatest racial heterogeneity least reflect the racial composition of their neighborhoods. Chapter 5 shows exposure rates between Whites and Latinos, and Blacks and Latinos are increasing across the metro-area, but there is significant variation within and across districts in terms of Black and White exposure rates. These findings suggest schools themselves present another domain for status competition and raise questions about where people are fleeing. There are numerous implications for these findings, including Atlanta's thriving private school sector.

The findings from the analyses in Chapter 6 suggest that some programmatic decisions about language assistance, such as the number of ESOL teachers, are predominately driven by supply and demand factors. This market model explained a large proportion of the variance in access to language assistance resources in terms of ESOL instructors. The probability that language assistance courses are available on school grounds is also largely explained by the percentages of LEP students, the size of the school, and schools with higher expenditures. However, language assistance courses are also more likely to exist in schools with passing AYP marks, draw from neighborhoods with higher Latino mismatches, and with higher White-Latino exposure rates in schools.

The limited affect of resource and neighborhood competition factors on the allocation of language assistance resources is not terribly surprising. Chapter 3 suggests Latinos, the bulk of the Atlanta LEP population, are increasingly enrolled in predominately minority institutions. Additionally, Chapter 4 shows that the greater the

presence of Latinos in a neighborhood, the less likely their White neighbors will attend the public high school in the same catchment. Chapter 5 also shows White enrollments are negatively impacted by Latino and Black enrollments. In lieu of the results from Chapters 3, 4 and 5, status competition appears to take place prior to programmatic decisions. This has important consequences: given all the prior status competition mechanisms researchers should expect minimal competition over resources to occur in schools regarding language assistance. However, by examining a specific outcome variable (language assistance), the results from Chapter 6 find there is still additional resource competition over programmatic decisions.

Taken together, how has the project contributed to our sociological understanding of status competition in metro-Atlanta public schools? There are four ways in which I believe this dissertation adds to our understanding of Atlanta's racial dynamics in public education: data, scope, theory, and policy implications. I will discuss each of these in more detail. First, I believe the variety of data I collected (neighborhoods, school, and curriculum allocation) was an innovative way to examine status competition dynamics. I also established a working relationship with the Atlanta Regional Commission and gained access to many school districts' data keepers. Some of the leg work and mapping in this project has also helped some of their research efforts move forward. Additionally, the examination of public high schools as the units of analysis is unique. Few researchers have looked in secondary schools in the last couple decades. The usual assumption is that secondary education is universally accessible and the "game" has shifted to the next level. However, this research shows that competition is, in fact, still at play in public high schools.

Second, I believe the scope of this project lent itself to capturing competition dynamics in public schools. Probably most noteworthy, are the racial mismatches, which reveal the conditional nature of school enrollment patterns on residential racial patterns. While Saporito and Sohoni's (2006, 2007) groundbreaking work looked at mismatches in the largest school districts nationally. I believe this project brought into focus the complex spatial relationship between schools and race- which are at their clearest at the local-level.

Another unique element of this project was the cast of characters. This study looks at a racially diverse set of status groups in a key area of new immigrant settlement. Similar to previous research, my project shows that White enrollments are negatively sensitive to both a Black and Latino presence in the neighborhood and in schools. However, the other nonWhite effect is significant and noteworthy. In the case of Atlanta, the vast majority of this other nonWhite group is Asian. While not always the case in other cities, Atlanta's Asian population (Korean, Indian, and Chinese) arrive with higher levels of education, occupational prestige, than many African American and Latino populations. Thus, the assumption of the model minority reinforces itself more so in Atlanta than cities with Asian populations comprised of more recent immigrants (Vietnamese, Laotian, etc.). For African Americans, a Latino presence in the neighborhood is positively related to Black enrollments, but the number of LEP students has a negative effect on the number of Blacks enrolled in public schools. Neither of these effects is significant, but this paradox begs future investigation. An extension of this finding is, to some degree, we can speculate that Blacks do not align with their White

peers in terms of reactions to Latinos. Whether this trend is tied to limitations in resources or ideology is for further debate.

Finally, those concerned with educational inequality may find many of the findings from this research have policy implications. I find that when neighborhoods are successful at segregation, schools are more likely to reflect their neighborhoods. But when neighborhoods do not succeed, schools provide another domain for racial competition. Within schools, levels of racial exposure show declining White enrollments are sensitive to the number of minorities. Language resources are also modestly affected by racial competition within the school and neighborhood. Recent research on the tracking of non-White students points to an additional form of conflict within schools. Thus, every step of the way, we see ways in which race-dynamics manifest themselves.

The research presented here is one of a long line of studies of racial inequality in education that suggest, left to our own devices- families will promote racial segregation in public schools. The findings from this project reveal how the micro-level qualitative findings about parental decisions around school choice become systemic macro-level patterns. Education is commonly perceived as the route to success and fulfillment of opportunity. However, the fate for our children of different race, ethnic and class backgrounds are structurally unequal at the start. Furthermore, decisions parents and families make about where to send their children perpetuate structured inequality. Holme's (2002) work finds that status ideologies that emphasize race and class and information from other parents in their social networks influence parents' choices about where to send their children. Additionally Renzulli and Evans (2005) find that racial competition over school status contributes to White families decisions to send their

children to charter schools. When parents defend the legitimacy of meritocracy and by narrowly focusing on their own children's life chances, these families continue to disregard the patterns they are perpetuating for a whole new generation. As Johnson describes (2006):

> "The ideology of the American Dream, perhaps strongest around the arena of education, legitimizes race and class inequality by presenting these not as structures but as the inconsequential ramifications of meritocracy. In a context in which education is seen as the key to success and schools are persistently segregated and unequal, school decisions become pivotal for the life chances of a child. The ideology of meritocracy and the reality of the wealth gap operate together, and in the simple act of sending children to school, we contribute to perpetuating inequality" (173).

This research suggests that policy remedies must tackle residential segregation in combination with school desegregation to make any real impact. Uncoordinated housing policies operating in housing markets which continue steering practices often intensify school segregation by destabilizing communities with higher levels of diversity (Orfield and Eaton 1996). Recent gentrification processes where Whites return to the city but often send their children to private schools with low investment in neighborhood public schools adds another layer of complexity to the issue of residential patterns.

Additionally, the continued trend of suburban segregation presents a new can of worms for local officials. Metropolitan-Atlanta points to the need for cross-district desegregation plans. The most stable desegregation efforts have the greatest reach by including the city-center and suburban school districts (Orfield and Eaton 1996). As Clayton County demonstrates, older suburbs can face relatively fast racial resegregation in schools in tandem with dramatic changes in their housing markets. The racial

enrollment patterns presented in this dissertation and Kruse's (2005) projections point to greater levels of African American enrollment in the outer suburbs and growing numbers of Latinos in the northern suburbs. The outer suburbs of Atlanta, like many suburban districts nationally, have little experience and few tools for dealing with the racial transition.

These patterns have major implications for local and national educational policy debates. While some districts across the country operate widespread racial desegregation programs, in the form of magnet schools, or "controlled-choice options," Atlanta is phasing out voluntary (Minority-to-Majority program) desegregation efforts. Furthermore, many Atlanta-area districts are moving toward choice or voucher programs. These free market school choice policy decisions increase the ease of student mobility and may have an unintended effect of exacerbating current race-specific distributions of students in public schools (Saporito and Sohoni 2006). My work suggests that particularly in areas of greater racial heterogeneity, families may activate "choice" to avoid their neighborhood public school.

Lastly, the racial mismatch results of Chapter 4 also show low representation of Latinos in metro-Atlanta area public high schools relative to the neighborhood catchment zones and this discrepancy increases as the percentage of Latinos in a school increases. These findings parallel national studies on Latino dropout rates which suggest in areas with higher populations of Latinos, students are more likely to leave before degree completion (Valenzuela 1999; Secada et al. 1998). While all children are guaranteed access to public education through grade 12 in the US, noncitizens, including undocumented immigrant children, face financial and legal barriers to college education.

Particularly in the state of Georgia, even with a diploma from a local high school, undocumented students pay out-of-state tuition fees. Many states, such as California, Utah, Illinois, New Mexico, and Kansas, have passed laws that permit undocumented students to pay in-state tuition under specified conditions (College Board 2009). However, the incentive of college admission is not actualized for undocumented immigrant students in Georgia without such laws.

EXTENSIONS OF THIS PROJECT

There are multiple extensions of this dissertation. This project could expand by scope as well as over-time comparisons. First, because elementary schools are most likely to reflect their neighborhoods (Saporito & Sohoni 2007), future work might examine all Atlanta-area public schools (including elementary and middle schools) to see if similar trends occur across institutions. Second, in the next three years, the new census data IS publically available. Exploring neighborhood-school racial composition mismatches between 1990, 2000, and 2010 could examine Kruse's (2005) migration argument with more specificity. Finally, the findings within the substantive chapters beg further attention. For example, Chapters 4 and 5 find that White enrollments are affected by neighborhood catchment characteristics (i.e. the number of minorities in the neighborhood) as well the number of minorities in attendance in a school. Future work should examine how private, magnet, or charter schools might spur White enrollment declines. Also, more research should be done on what affects Latino and Black enrollment patterns.

This dissertation has the potential to impact education policy and practice in a number of ways. First, these research questions have implications for existing language

assistance programs designed to reduce disparities in English Learners' educational achievement. By extension, findings from this study may assist in designing more effective, less contentious future language assistance programs. Second, my project relates to issues of educational stratification at large. Policy makers and administrators can use the results to help minimize ethno-racial differences in educational outcomes, thus reducing persistent gaps limiting immigrants' opportunities. This project raises more questions than it has offered answers and thus, the early process of defining an ongoing research agenda. My hope is that extensions of this work will contribute to the literatures in the sociology of education and race and ethnic relations by defining the contexts within which racial groups compete for educational access and resources.

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