Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter now, including display on the World Wide Web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis.

Noah Cole April 10, 2017

Examining the Social and Political Conditions that Allow for the Adoption of Modern School Desegregation Plans

by

Noah Cole

Dr. Michael Rich

Adviser

Department of Political Science

Dr. Michael Rich

Adviser

Dr. Michael Owens

Committee Member

Dr. Vanessa Siddle-Walker

Committee Member

2017

Examining the Social and Political Conditions that Allow for the Adoption of Modern School Desegregation Plans

By

Noah Cole

Dr. Michael Rich

Adviser

An abstract of

a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences

of Emory University in partial fulfillment

of the requirements of the degree of

Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Department of Political Science

2017

Abstract

Examining the Social and Political Conditions that

Allow for the Adoption of Modern School Desegregation Plans

By Noah Cole

As school districts in the 21st century adopt desegregation plans, some of which employ the tools of the modern educational reform movement (i.e. school choice, magnet and charter schools), it is important to examine the social and political characteristics of districts that prioritize racial and socioeconomic integration in their schools (Potter, Quick, & Davies 2016). This research will attempt to identify and analyze the specific political factors that contribute to the adoption of modern desegregation plans by school districts in the US. Part I of the paper discusses a brief history of segregation in US Public schools, including an assessment of modern desegregation plans. Part II provides a theoretical framework for the social and political characteristics that may explain why certain districts adopt desegregation policies while others do not. Part III explains the data sources and operationalization of the independent and dependent variables. Part IV offers an analysis and interpretation of the findings from a logistic regression analysis of the determinants of the adoption of modern school desegregation plans based on analysis of 172 school districts. The study will conclude with a deeper analysis of the statistically significant factors of civic capacity and on-cycle elections and a list of recommendations for further studies.

Examining the Social and Political Conditions that Allow for the Adoption of Modern School Desegregation Plans

By

Noah Cole

Dr. Michael Rich

Adviser

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences

of Emory University in partial fulfillment

of the requirements of the degree of

Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Department of Political Science

2017

Table of Contents

Introduction

The impetus behind this research comes from an interest in the intersection between two distinct phenomena affecting the US public education system: school segregation and the modern educational reform movement. The term "education reform" is inclusive of a broad swath of methods and initiatives undertaken by community organizations, politicians, parents, and businesses alike that work to influence the education system. The focus within this study will be more narrowly defined as reforms related to the admissions process in magnet schools, charter schools, and school choice[1].

School segregation, a more naturally narrowly defined topic, has arguably been on the rise since the 1990s, a trend that will be more closely analyzed in the coming subsection (G. Orfield & Lee 2007; M. Orfield 2015; Stroub & Richards 2013). In a recent June 2016 *New York Times Magazine* article, "Choosing a School for my Daughter in a Segregated City" civil rights journalist Nikole Hannah-Jones documented her and her husband's struggle in selecting a school for their four-year-old daughter in the "rapidly gentrifying" Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York (2016, 1). The article unveiled the personal, political, and community dynamics in their community that confronted segregation in its education system (2016, 1). Hannah-Jones' experience in New York is just one example of the many communities nationwide that grapple with issues of segregation within their schools (Smith et al. 2008; Paige et al. 2004). To better understand why educational segregation persists and how education reforms such as charter and magnet schools are being used to stem it, a more comprehensive history of segregation in US public schools places these contemporary efforts in the larger context of race, schools, and communities.

[1] The reasoning behind selecting these specific reforms will be further explained in the "Closer Look" subsection

Segregation in US Public Schools

The groundbreaking 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision set the precedent that "separate but equal" facilities were inherently unequal and unconstitutional as applied to the US education system. As is the case with many Supreme Court cases, the *Brown* decision took some time to implement (Reardon & Owens 2014). The term "token integration" became common as a way of describing the initial desegregation plans that southern states implemented. This included tactics such as pupil placement plans and school closings which employed different tactics to integrate schools on a marginal level (Morland 1963). In a 1963 report on "Token Desegregation and Beyond", Sociology Professor J. Kenneth Morland acknowledged that the policies that immediately followed *Brown* had the same goal of massive resistance to "preserve...the establishment pattern of segregation" (vi).

It was not until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, specifically Title VI which withheld federal funds to schools that did not have viable desegregation plans, that strong enforcement against these weaker integration plans commenced (M. Orfield 2015, 373). The 1968 *Green v. County School Board* decision saw the burden of school desegregation shift from parents to school districts, which greatly contributed to the path toward more substantive integration (M. Orfield 2015). The *Green* decision was powerful because it called for the "integration and equality in faculty, staff, transportation, extracurricular activities, and facilities" (M. Orfield 2015, 376). Furthermore, the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* decision upheld the use of busing as a means of integration and validated the link between residential and school segregation (M. Orfield 2015). The spate of supreme court decisions in the late 1960s and early 1970s indicated a period of opportunity for advocates of integration, due in part to the ability to move the policymaking venue to the national level, as opposed to the more racialized state and

local level.

The 1968 election saw Richard Nixon ride a wave of white backlash to "civil rights laws, urban riots, crime, social permissiveness, and the Vietnam War" to the presidency (Orfield 2015, 308). The resulting policies and several appointments from his administration marked the beginning of a period of oppression and hostility toward desegregation. Because of his first two supreme court appointees upholding *Swann*, Nixon's subsequent appointments of Justice Rehnquist and Justice Powell were contingent on their commitment to the opposition of busing as a desegregation policy (M. Orfield 2015). The 1974 *Milliken v. Bradley* decision thus dealt a serious blow to desegregation plans when the court established that between-district plans were permissible only if the multiple districts involved could prove they previously "committed deliberate segregation", which was a difficult burden to prove (Stroub & Richards, 2013, 500). Still, the US experienced gains in integration from the 1970s into the early 1990s despite a culture that was shifting toward "anti-busing" in the 1980s (Potter et al. 2016; Orfield 2015).

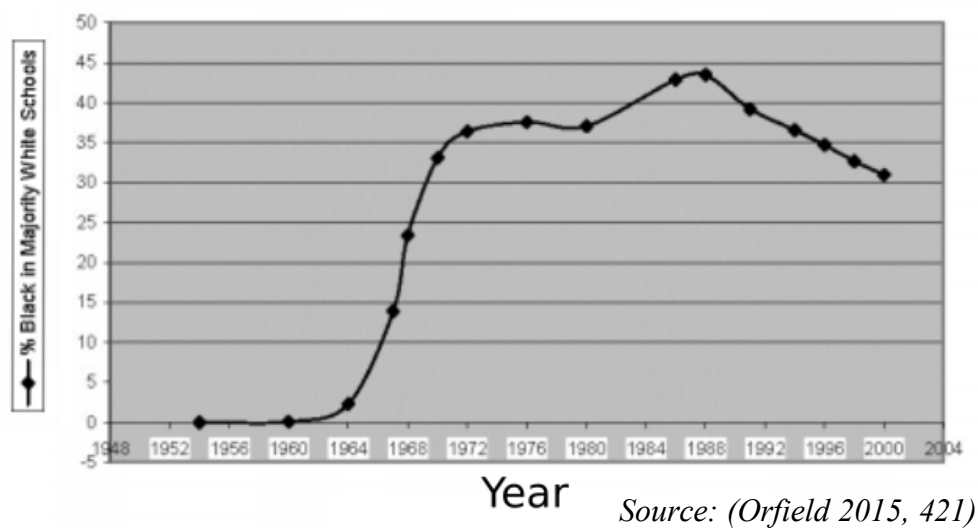
The 1990s have been branded an era of resegregation (G. Orfield & Lee 2007; M. Orfield 2015; Stroub & Richards 2013). This is in large part a consequence of the court decisions passed down from the *Board of Education of Oklahoma v. Dowell* (1991) and *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992); both cases released school districts from court-ordered desegregation because they had unitary status, meaning that neighborhood schools within these districts were interpreted as not being unequal because they existed in the same school districts. (Donnor & Dixson 2013). Law Professor and researcher Myron Orfield highlighted the loss of the progress from preceding decades and how it affected segregation in across several regions in his report on "Milliken, Meredith, and Metropolitan Segregation":

"In the South, the percentage of blacks in majority white schools rose from roughly 2

percent in 1964 to roughly 36 percent in 1972, reaching a high of almost 44 percent in 1988. In 2005, after *Dowell* and *Freeman*, only 27 percent of blacks remained in majority white schools. Between 1968 and 1988, the percentage of Southern blacks in schools over 90 percent nonwhite declined from 78 percent to 24 percent. In 2005, it had climbed back to 32 percent. In the Northeast from 1968 to 1980, the percentage of blacks in majority white schools declined from 33 percent to 20 percent, where it remains today. The percentage of blacks in schools more than 90 percent nonwhite has steadily grown throughout the period from 43 percent to 51 percent. In the Midwest from 1968 to 1980, the percentage of blacks in majority white schools increased from 23 percent to 30 percent, where it remains today. The Midwest had 58 percent of blacks in intensely segregated schools in 1968; that number went down to 42 percent in 1988, but has returned to 46 percent in 2005." (Orfield 2015, 422)

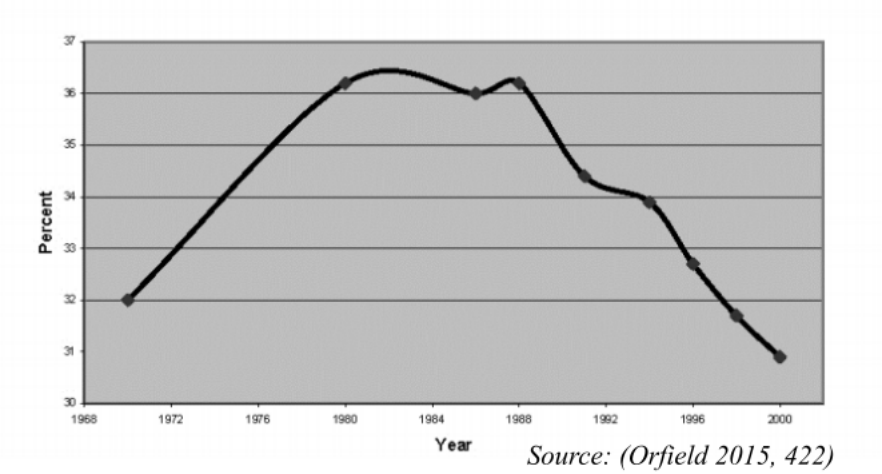
Figure 1, which shows the percentage of Black students in majority white schools in the South between 1954 and 2000, indicates the gains that were made from the mid 1960s until the late 1980s when the level of integration peaked and then began to decline in the 1990s.

FIGURE 1. Change in Black Integration in the South (1954-2000)



Source: (Orfield 2015, 421)

FIGURE 2. Percentage of White Students in Schools Attended by the Average Black Student (1968-2000)



Source: (Orfield 2015, 422)

Figure 2 reinforces this trend of resegregation, indicating that the percentage of white students in schools attended by the average black student increased between 1968 and 1980, plateaued, and then began declining in the early 1990s. After the mid 1990s, the percentage of white students in schools attended by the average black student declined to a level below the percentage documented in 1968 (Orfield 2015).

The Supreme Court's treatment of segregation on the K-12 level in the 21st century does not offer promising prospects. The *Parent Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007) decision effectively prohibited the use of race-based admissions plans in schools as a tool for integration. While the long-term effects of this decision are not yet observable, an April 2016 U.S. Government Accountability Office report indicated an increasing rate of segregation for "poor and mostly Black or Hispanic students" between the 2000-01 and 2013-14 school years. This, along with the findings of Distinguished Research Professor Gary Orfield, suggests that the resegregation trend is reemerging (Nowicki et al. 2016) (Orfield 2007). Dr. Orfield's 2007 report on the "Historic Reversals, Accelerating Resegregation, and the Need

for New Integration Strategies" for the UCLA Civil Rights Project highlights the "increasing isolation and profound inequality" apparent in the resegregation trends during the 2005-06 school year (Orfield 2007, 3). Some of the significant findings from this report are demonstrated in the tables below. Table 1 indicates once again that the South experienced gains in black-white integration after the mid 1960s which reversed in the 1990s and continued to decline in the early 2000s.

Table 1
Change in Black Segregation in South, 1954-2005

Year	Percent of Black Students in Majority White Schools	
1954	0.001	(one in 100,000)
1960	0.1	(one in 1,000)
1964	2.3	
1967	13.9	
1968	23.4	
1970	33.1	(330 in 1,000)
1972	36.4	
1976	37.6	
1980	37.1	
1986	42.9	
1988	43.5	(435 in 1,000)
1991	39.2	
1994	36.6	
1996	34.7	
1998	32.7	
2000	31.0	
2001	30.2	
2005	27.0	(270 in 1,000)

Source: (Orfield 2007, 23)

Table 2
Percentage of Black Students in Predominantly (>50%) Minority Schools by Region, 1968-2007

Region	1968	1980	1988	1991	2005
South	81	57	57	60	72
Border	72	59	60	59	70
Northeast	67	80	77	75	78
Midwest	77	70	70	70	72
West	72	67	67	69	77
US Total	**77**	**63**	**63**	**66**	**73**

Source: (Orfield 2007, 28)

Table 2 indicates that while there has been substantial progress in reducing school segregation between 1968 and 1990, most regions have seen school segregation in 2005 return to levels near or above the levels recorded in 1968. Schools are currently becoming more segregated by class and race, and the *Parent Involved* decision makes most school district interested in integration focus on it as a socioeconomic issue. Dr. Orfield acknowledges this trend in his report:

> "In summary, these national trends show that despite increasing diversity, students are still segregated by race and class, though class segregation for whites is dropping because of the growth over poverty among all groups of school age children, including whites" (Orfield 2007, 21)

As the US enters a new era of federal governance under the Trump administration, the future of federal intervention over school segregation is uncertain but bleak (Edsall 2017). The appointment of Education Secretary Betsy DeVos signals that desegregation will not be a serious priority for the Trump Administration as she has been an advocate for school voucher and charter school policies, which breed inequality and inaccessibility rather than confronting

segregation[2] (Hale 2017). The attitude of the federal government towards segregation along with the ongoing trend of resegregation is indicative of a need for more creative and local-based approaches to integration.

The final component to understanding the importance of modern desegregation comes in being aware of the benefits of integration. A February 2009 report on "The Benefits of Racial and Economic Integration" by Ohio State University's Kirwan Institute revealed that students in integrated schools experience lifelong social and academic benefits because of their time in integrated school. Some of the standout facts and figures from the report include:

- "desegregation has been positively linked to increases in black student achievement levels, generating gains on average of .57 of a grade year at the kindergarten level, and on average of .3 of a grade year in student performance at the elementary/secondary school level" (13)
- "black students who experience decreases in the percentage of classmates who are black over time, demonstrate increased achievement" (13)
- "70% of those who excelled academically in elite colleges and universities had attended desegregated schools" (14)
- "Students in integrated schools have: higher level parental involvement; higher graduation rates; 80 complete more years of education; earn higher degrees and major in more varied disciplines;81 gain greater access to professional jobs; and have higher incomes, even when controlling for a number of other background characteristics." (14).

This report is corroborated by years of research on the benefits of integration which demonstrates that all students benefit from being actively engaged in integrated spaces (Potter et

[2] More on these policies and how they affect segregation will be discussed in the "Closer Look" section

al. 2016; Kamenetz 2015).

Innovation and Integration

Despite the ongoing trends of resegregation and the weakening of federal pressures for desegregation through recent court orders, some communities have successfully pursued remedies to segregation on their own.

Since 1980, Cambridge Public School District in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has had a "controlled choice" plan in place which initially worked to integrate schools by race but was revised in 2001 to focus on socioeconomic status (SES) given anticipated legal challenges ("Case Studies of School Choice" 2011). The plan gives parents the option to rank their most preferred schools within the district, then the district administratively places students by considering these preferences while balancing schools by SES. A school is considered "balanced" when the percentage of students who do and do not qualify for free or reduced priced lunch is consistent with the average percentage in the entire district ("About Controlled Choice"). Adoption of the plan in 1980 came about because of the public-school administration "developing a partnership between school staff, parents, and community members", which has been sustained over time to continue the implementation of the SES plan that is currently in place (Tan 1990).

Similarly, school board members for Jefferson County Public Schools in Louisville, Kentucky had to develop a creative method of integration when their ongoing controlled choice plan from 1974 was struck down by the 2007 *Parents Involved* decision (Bridges 2016). The school board thus created a system of integration in which a diversity index score of 1, 2, or 3 is assigned to each student, and the school must aim to keep an average balanced score anywhere between 1.4 and 2.5 points (see Table 3) (Bridges 2016). This tactic, combined with elements of

controlled choice, increased transportation, and magnet school programs, has resulted in a complex modern desegregation plan that has a high level of community support (see Figure 3) and student success. From 2011 to 2015 the percentage of students deemed "college and career ready" increased from 32% to 63% of students enrolled in Jefferson County Public Schools (Bridges 2016).

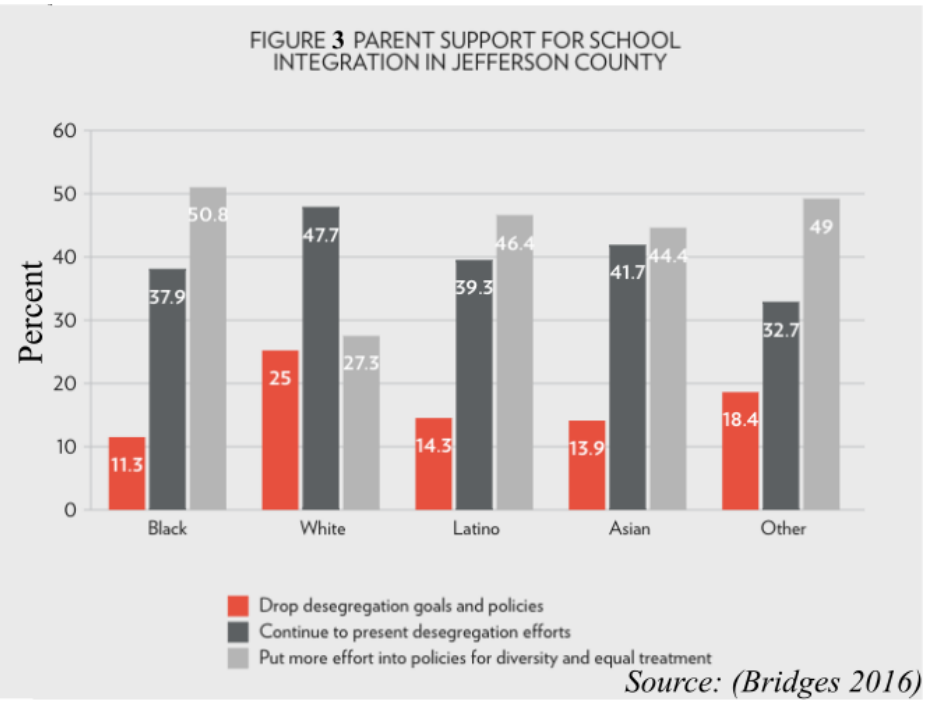
Table 3

Jefferson County Public Schools Diversity Index

	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
Income	Less than $42,000	$42,000-$62,000	More than $62,000
Percent White	Less than 73%	73-88%	More than 88%
Education Attainment (6 point scale)	Up to an associate's degree (Less than 3.5)	College courses beyond an associate's degree (3.5-3.7)	College courses up to a bachelor's degree and beyond (More than 3.7)

Note: Each student is classified as a category 1,2, or 3, based on the category of the block group in which the student resides. A School's diversity index is calculated as a weighted average of the number of students who attend from each diversity category. The district's goal is for each school's diversity index to fall within the range of 1.4 to 2.5.

Source: (Bridges 2016)



Source: (Bridges 2016)

Lastly, a pilot program to achieve economic integration in seven elementary schools within the highly segregated New York City Public School system was initiated in 2015 (Potter et al. 2016). The advocacy of community organizations such as "Integrate4NYC" and "NY Appleseed" was a contributing factor to the decision by the NYC City Schools Chancellor Carmen Fariña and Mayor Bill De Blasio to implement the program (Potter et al. 2016; Saxena 2016). The pilot program allows for a specific percentage of seats in the seven elementary schools to be reserved for students who are english language learners, qualify for free or reduced prices lunch, or are on the child welfare system (Saxena 2016). There are also some elementary schools in New York City Public Schools that are zoned to enroll students from diverse economic backgrounds and several districts that are developing a controlled choice program for integration (Saxena 2016).

The school districts in Cambridge, Louisville, and New York City are each referenced in the February 2016 report on "A New Wave of School Integration" by Halley Potter, Kimberly Quick, and Elizabeth Davies. The report, conducted on behalf of The Century Foundation[3], highlights school districts across the US that adopted and currently implement[4] desegregation policies based on socioeconomic integration (2016). Most these school districts adopted desegregation plans in the last two decades (Potter et al. 2016).

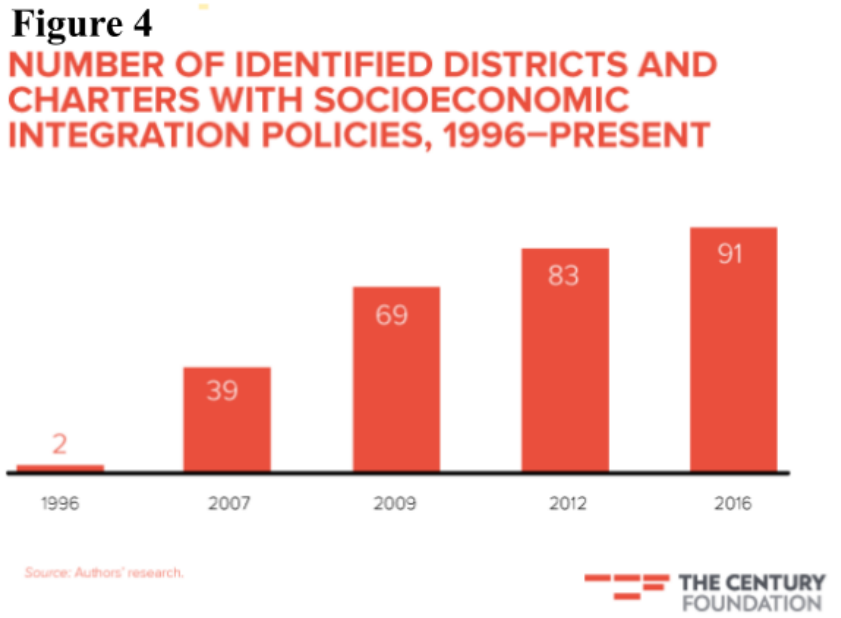
All the school districts identified in the report have plans in place that are categorized under five different policies: district-wide choice policies, attendance zone boundaries, magnet school admissions, charter school admissions, and transfer policies. Each of the policies have their own merits and flaws which will be more thoroughly discussed in the "Closer Look"

[3] The Century Foundation is a "progressive, nonpartisan think tank" based in Washington, DC ("About the Century Foundation", 2017).
[4] As of February 2016 (Potter et al. 2016)

section. The two standout plans involve adjusting attendance zone boundaries and implementing district-wide choice policies, as they are cited in the report as having "the greatest potential to create integration in all or most schools across a district" (Potter et al. 2016, 1).

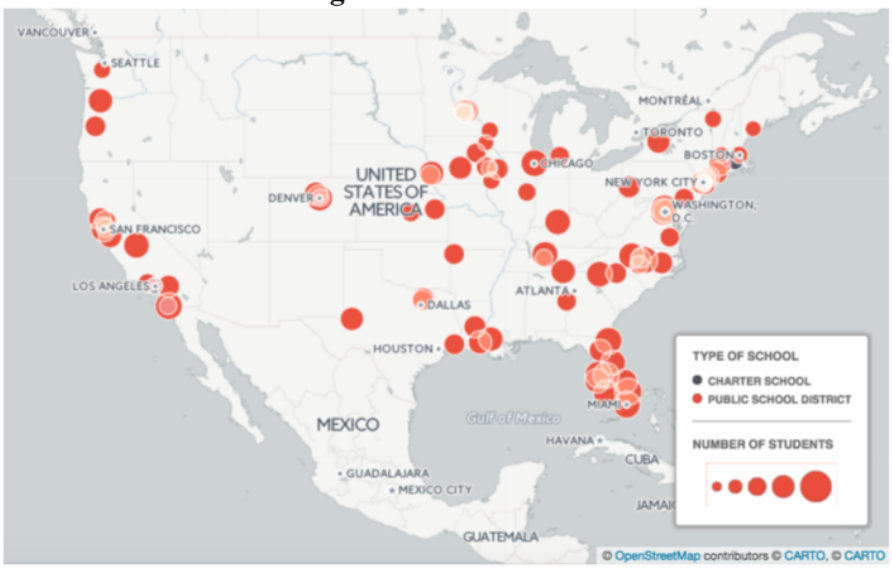
It is apparent that the school districts identified by Potter et al. encapsulate a variety of regions, states, and localities. In the original report, 91 school districts in 32 states were listed as employing socioeconomic integration plans in 2016, which is more than twice as many districts that the organization identified in 2007 (Figure 4). As recently as October 2016, The Century Foundation identified 100 school districts that used socioeconomic integration policies in their "Updated Inventory of Socioeconomic Integration Policies" (Potter 2016). These school districts reside in urban, rural, and suburban communities and were implemented at any time ranging from 1979 to 2016 (see Figure 5).

Figure 4



Source: (Potter et al. 2016)

Figure 5-Locations of Identified Districts and Charters with Socioeconomic Integration Policies



Source: (Potter et al. 2016)

From a political perspective, the observation that these policies were diffused across the US in a variety of regions encourages further research into how school districts came to adopt these policies. A cursory overview of the adoption of plans in New York, Louisville, and Cambridge reveal that political factors such as advocacy and community engagement are important to the adoption of desegregation plans in the 21st century. Could the adoption of all modern desegregation plans be a result of certain political and social features within each community?

Research Question and Outline

If the realization of an integrated school system has not fully come to fruition in the United States of 2017, yet several school districts across the US have adopted modern desegregation plans, the question must be asked: why is the US in this reality more than 60 years after *Brown*? Why, out of the 14,000+ school districts in the US, have such a small fraction taken actions to promote desegregation (Nowicki et al. 2016)? Why is it that "roughly 8 percent" of all

students enrolled in public schools attend schools with desegregation plans in place (Potter et al. 2016)? What is special about the districts that do adopt these rare policies?

The following question is of utmost importance for moving this conversation forward:

What are the key determinants of the adoption of modern desegregation plans?

In other words, what are the social and political characteristics of school districts that account for the successful adoption of modern desegregation plans? In the current era of school reform, it is important to focus on factors within school districts that allow for innovative desegregation plans to be adopted and enacted.

There is great value in seeking how and why school districts have adopted contemporary desegregation plans given their relative lack of national exposure. The findings of this study should inform policymakers, school board members, and citizens interested in the eradication of school segregation on the determinants that may lead to adoption of desegregation plans. If a consistent factor or multiple factors are noticeably present or absent in school districts that are more likely to adopt these policies, it may be possible to identify the conditions and factors necessary for the adoption of integration policies. This research may also identify factors that serve as potential roadblocks to school desegregation that impede progress. The end goal is for this research to inform those in power of the factors most strongly associated with the adoption of desegregation policies to facilitate more strategic approaches to adopting modern desegregation plans. The empirical analysis is based on an assessment of those districts that have adopted a modern desegregation policy and on a comparison set of school districts drawn from the same states as the adopting districts.

The key factors used in this study include the social and political characteristics of the community, including variables related to school board structure (representation by district or at-

large; elections held on cycle with presidential elections or off cycle), civic engagement, and political ideology. There will also be a set of control variables that include both measures of the racial and economic composition of the community and of enrolled students.

Logistic regression is used to assess the independent effects each of the social and political variables have on the adoption of modern desegregation plans, controlling for differences in the levels of the other characteristics included in the model. A logistic regression analysis was chosen because of the nature of the binary dependent variable of adoption versus non-adoption was best to apply to the multivariate method. This method also allows for a more comprehensive analysis within a greater geographical area and larger sample than a method such as an event history design would have allowed.

Before delving more deeply into this framework and how precisely the variables of interest were identified, it is important to get a better understanding of the desegregation methods and school districts documented in The Century Foundation report that served as a catalyst for this research.

A Closer Look at the "New Wave of Integration"

A brief overview of the school districts listed in The Century Foundation report allows us to deduce the following[5]:

- The states with the most school districts employing desegregation plans include "California (12), Florida (10), Iowa (7), New York (6), Minnesota (6), and North Carolina (5)" (Potter et al. 2016)
- The two most popularly adopted plans were attendance zone boundaries (38 school districts) and magnet school admissions (25 school districts)

[5] This data is based off the 91 school districts listed in the original "A New Wave of Integration" report, not the 100 in the "Updated Inventory" article

- The list focuses on school districts that take steps toward socioeconomic, not racial, integration given the 2007 *Parents Involved* decision
- Most school districts are engaged in intradistrict rather than interdistrict integration
- Integration tactics are not employed in every single school within the school district of interest
- As of October 2016, all the school districts listed had plans in place that were currently being enacted
- School districts are subject to both court ordered and voluntary desegregation plans
- The school districts appear to have high need for desegregation, as "Fifty-nine percent of all students enrolled in the districts and charter schools in [the] inventory were eligible for free or reduced price lunch" (Potter et al. 2016, 1)

The Five Methods

The following section provides a more detailed report of the five types of plans, ranked in order from the most popularly adopted plan to the least popularly adopted plan (broken down in Figure 6), per The Century Foundation report:

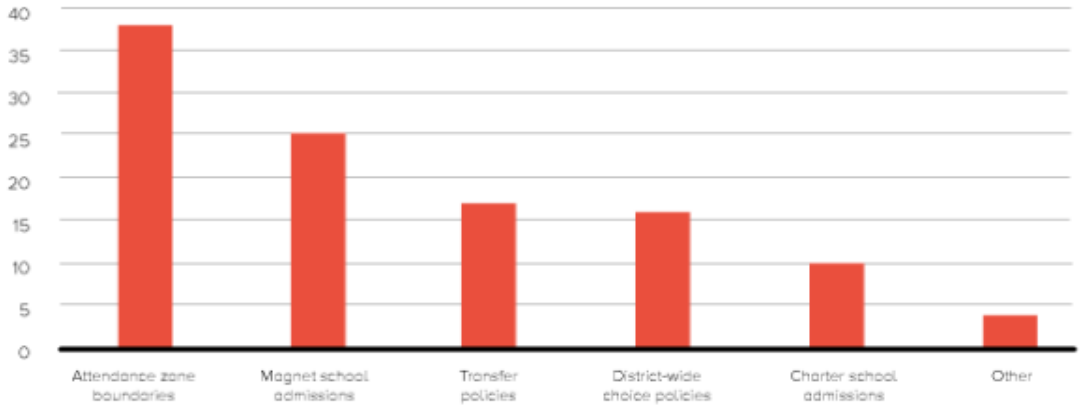
1) **Attendance-Zone Boundaries**
    a) Number of School Districts adopted: 38
    b) Tactic: Attendance zone boundary policies redraw the boundaries for school enrollment to reflect a more racially or socioeconomically diverse school setting (Potter et al. 2016).
    c) Advantages: Is listed as having the "greatest potential" in successfully integrating schools along with choice policies, is the easiest to enact given current enrollment protocols, all schools within school districts can be affected by it (Potter et al.

2016).

d) Disadvantages: Not the most sustainable method, as housing patterns change.

Figure 6

NUMBER OF IDENTIFIED DISTRICTS AND CHARTERS USING SELECTED SOCIOECONOMIC INTEGRATION STRATEGIES



Source: Authors' research.

THE CENTURY FOUNDATION

Source: (Potter et al. 2016)

2) Magnet School admissions

a) Number of School Districts adopted: 25

b) Tactic: Some magnet schools, which offer distinct pedagogical themes to attract a broad array of interested students and parents, prioritize diversity in their admissions lottery process to reach integration goals (Potter et al. 2016)

c) Advantages: Students who are integrated into magnet schools can expect "strong academic outcomes" (Potter et al. 2016, 2) Does not promote integration in all schools within district (Potter et al. 2016)

3) Transfer policies

a) Number of School Districts adopted: 17

b) Tactic: Considers socioeconomic diversity in admissions process; gives priority to students who would make school or district more diverse (Potter et al. 2016).

c) Disadvantages: Does not promote integration in all schools within district (Potter et al. 2016)

4) District-wide choice policies

a) Number of School Districts adopted: 16

b) Tactic: District-wide choice policies, also labeled "controlled choice" policies, give parents the option to rank their preferred schools within a district while the district administratively works to balance the demographics of a school on a racial or socioeconomic basis (Davis 2012).

c) Advantages: Is listed as having the "greatest potential" in successfully integrating schools along with adjusting attendance zone boundaries, gives parents an element of choice

d) Disadvantages: There is a sense of uncertainty for where students will be placed when incorporating the element of choice

5) Charter School Admissions

a) Number of School Districts adopted: 10

b) Tactic: Some charter schools, which are privately run but publicly funded schools, incorporate diversity into their admissions process by "directly considering socioeconomic diversity" (Potter et al. 2016)

c) Disadvantages: Does not promote integration in all schools within district (Potter et al. 2016)

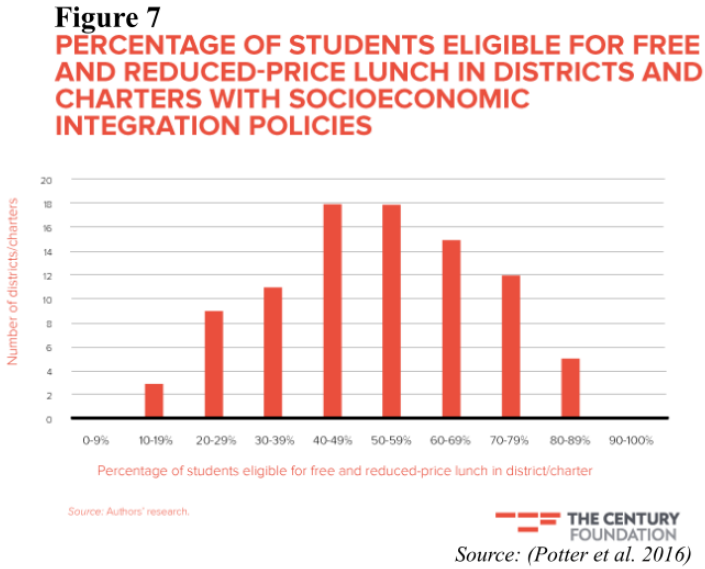
A critique of modern desegregation plans

In studying educational policy innovation, these policies must be distinguished from other educational reforms that bear similar titles but have exacerbated school segregation. School districts that employ open-enrollment school choice plans have detrimental effects on desegregation, despite the advent of policies like controlled choice (Holme & Richards 2009). Charter Schools that do not prioritize diversity in their admission plans also have had the effect of creating more segregated schools because of their lack of accessibility to lower income students (Potter et al. 2016). All the tactics employed independent of diversity or equity in mind would produce highly segregated and inaccessible schools (Holme & Richards 2009).

Although a central focus of this research is educational innovation, not all policies in the report focus on education reform. Attendance zone boundaries and transfer policies are not typically associated with being forms of "educational innovation" as they are basic policies present in most school districts; the difference is that the school in The Century Foundation report prioritize diversity while using these common tactics. Magnet school admissions, charter school admissions, and school choice are typically more associated with educational innovation but as mentioned above, when they are not implemented with integration in mind, they have serious detrimental effects on desegregation. Furthermore, these policies do not necessarily serve as the "be all end all" solutions for school segregation in the US. A more diverse school district in and of itself does not guarantee the erasure of pervasive educational injustice such as discriminatory ability-grouping within classrooms or segregation between school districts. The merit in these policies comes in the fact that they are acting, some in the most marginal way possible, while most school districts in the US do nothing to address racial or socioeconomic integration (Nowicki et al. 2016).

There is good reason to believe that many these plans are somewhat effective as The Century Foundation Report highlights that "the majority of districts and charters on the list have racially and socioeconomically diverse enrollments"[6] (Potter et al. 2016). The school districts adopting these plans appear to have a high need for socioeconomic integration, as 59% of the students enrolled in the school districts qualified for free or reduced price lunch (Figure 7)

Figure 7



Source: (Potter et al. 2016)

(Potter et al. 2016). However, there is a strong emphasis on the main goal of the report, which is to identify school districts that have taken any substantive step towards integration, not to evaluate the efficacy of the plans.

Theoretical Framework

The primary theory that guides this study is the theory that local governance is more responsive to policy innovation when its citizens are more politically and civically engaged. Specifically, school boards are more responsive to policy demands for modern desegregation plans when they are in communities where citizens are highly engaged with political and civic

[6] 81 of 91 districts in the original report have school enrollment in which less than 70% of students are low income or in same racial group (Potter et al. 2016, 1)

life.

One method of assessing the political engagement within a community is examining voter turnout in the community. While this is a factor that is directly related to some of the independent variables in the research design, this study is focused on tangible political variables related to school board structure which have an influence on turnout.

This theory is complemented by Stephen Samuel Smith and colleagues' theory on the "new politics of school desegregation" which suggests that the adoption of modern desegregation plans is heavily dependent on the initiatives taken up by local communities due to the recent hostility of the federal government, specifically the Supreme Court, toward desegregation plans (Smith et al. 2008). Because of the power that local governments (school districts and general purpose local governments) have in influencing desegregation policies, the theories and hypotheses for this study is focused on the conditions of local school boards and communities, not federal institutions or the national community at large. The districts of interest cover the US broadly, though the Southern region will be used as a control in the analysis because of the South's sordid history with the enforcement of desegregation plan. The hypotheses and theories for the explanatory variables for this project fall under the political and social characteristics of the community.

In a 2011 *Public Opinion Quarterly* report on the trends on school integration polls, researchers Dr. Erica Frankenberg and Rebecca Jacsobsen revealed that there is strong public support for integration which has increased substantially over time, finding that:

> "While only one-third of white respondents believed that black and white students should go to the same schools in 1942...95% of all respondents did in 2007 (1)"

However, the report also shows that preferences on the ideal method of integration are

less clear. If such strong public support for integration exist, then communities in which the voices of constituents are well represented, valued, and uplifted by their representatives should produce support for desegregation.

The variables of interest in this study will involve the political and social characteristics within communities that have been determined to engage community involvement and participation rather than suppress it.

Political Engagement- Timing of elections

The most relevant political entity that influences desegregation policy is the school board. Historically, voter turnout tends to be higher during on-cycle elections (when other state and national offices are on the ballot) as compared to off-cycle or special elections, when "fewer than a quarter of eligible voters decide school board races" (Diem et al. 2015, 718). Elections in which voter turnout is high and the electorate is well represented should indicate a stronger favorability for desegregation policies given public sentiment toward the issue.

Further studies on the effect of off-cycle elections suggests that interest groups gain influence on policy because of the low turnout in off-cycle elections (Anzia 2011). This further suggests that the policy demands of the electorate may be undermined by off-cycle elections, which serves to increase the influence of special interests and reduce the influence of the general electorate. Therefore, I hypothesize that school districts in which school board members are elected during on-cycle elections are more likely to adopt modern desegregation policies than districts with off-cycle elections.

Political Engagement- Level of Representation

The second political variable of interest related to the school board structure is the level of representation that school board members hold in each school district. While this is not as

precise a measurement of political engagement, it is relevant to our findings and is indirectly related to voter turnout and political engagement. Typically, school boards are comprised of geographical district representatives, at-large representatives, or a combination of both district and at-large seats. At-Large elections have historically stifled minority voices because they perpetuate a system in which the majority is strongly favored (Trebbi et al. 2008; Diem et al. 2015; Berkman & Plutzer 2005). Trebbi and colleagues' 2008 study on minority representation and electoral rules found that white majorities in US cities reacted to the Voting Rights act "by changing electoral rules to minimize expected minority influence" (Trebbi et al. 2008, 351).[7] In instances where minorities succeed in At-Large elections on school boards, it came at the cost of "moving away from issues more likely to appeal to minority constituents", which is likely to include the cause of desegregation (Meier et al. 2005,767)

Similarly, Berkman and Plutzer's 2005 study on policy responsiveness in relation to electoral systems found that "ward-based elections enhance black representation whereas at-large elections retard it" (88). In communities across the US, including those in Illinois, New Jersey, and Mississippi, school boards that have switched from at-large to district representation have seen an increase in Black representatives on school boards (Berkman & Plutzer 2005). In the case of the Rock Hill School District in York County, South Carolina, a switch to single member district elections is cited as one of the primary factors that led to the adoption of attendance zone boundary desegregation policies, in part because it increased black representation on the school board (Smith et al. 2008, p. 995).

In theory, district-based elections should produce candidates and representatives for offices who are more representative of the predominant race or ethnicity of their community.

[7] Specifically, Trebbi et al. found that when a black minority was small, white majorities adopted at-large elections and when the black minority was larger, they were placed into their own districts for less competition (326)

(Trebbi et al. 2008) Professor of political science at the University of South Carolina Dr. Kenny J. Whitby's 2007 research on descriptive representation and black electoral turnout found that the two were positively associated with one another (Whitby 2007). District-based school board elections should encourage higher turnout and more political engagement as in theory they produce candidates who are more representative of the needs of a specific geographic regions which galvanizes support, participation, and voter turnout. I hypothesize that school districts in which school board members serve as district representatives are more likely to adopt modern desegregation plans than districts in which school board members are appointed, serve as at-large representatives, or have mixed representation.

Political Engagement- Ideology

The next social and political factor of interest is the political partisanship within the community. The partisanship of a community may be an important indicator of whether a district is likely to pass a modern desegregation plan. Democrats have been more supportive of government intervention for social issues, which has historically included the cause for desegregation (Schickler 2013). There has also been a positive correlation between economic liberalism and support for desegregation (Schickler 2013). Racial liberalism among school board members has also shown to be positively correlated to support for desegregation in previous studies (Rossell & Crain 1973, p. 25-26; Crain 1968). In Diem's study of Wake County Public Schools in North Carolina suggests that Republicans elected to the school board were responsible for dismantling a key diversity policy (2015). While this variable is not as consistent with the theory on political engagement, it is an important factor that is worth further analysis should it be statistically signicant. I hypothesize that predominantly liberal communities (as measured by the percentage of the electorate supporting Democratic presidential candidates) are

more likely to adopt desegregation policies than districts within predominantly conservative communities.

Civic Engagement-Civic Capacity

The civic capacity within a community is representative of the institutions that bind community members into coalitions oriented toward education reform within their communities (Stone et al. 2001). Dr. Ann Allen and colleagues discuss the importance of the synergistic capital of civic organizations, or "the power and influence [to] provide the resources and support for citizens to make the changes that will better meet their needs" in passing school policy (2011, 343). In a similar respect, the theory of interest convergence, which is "the political outcome of struggles between the political power bloc and politically marginalized groups attempting to gain greater, more equitable access to legal, political, and social institutions" provides a useful framework for the value of coalitions within communities that can affect change (Chapman & Anterop-Gonzales 2005, 791).

In relation to desegregation, countless previous cases suggest that successful advocacy for desegregation policies is contingent on a community coalition formed by the convergence of interests between whites and blacks. Several of these studies, including the case of Rock Hill in South Carolina, have revealed the importance of civic organizations such as neighborhood committees and civil rights organizations in getting desegregation plans passed. (Smith et al. 2008; Diem et al. 2015, 726; Chapman & Anterop-Gonzales 2005, 807; Crain et. al 1968). I hypothesize that school districts with a stronger degree of civic capacity, which are districts with a high level of social capital within the community, will be more likely to adopt desegregation policies than school districts with a weaker degree of civic capacity.

If this theory on political and civic engagement is correct, the findings should suggest the following: School districts with On Cycle elections, district-based representation, a higher percentage of Democratic votes in Presidential elections, and a higher density of civic organizations will be more likely to adopt modern desegregation plans.

Data, Sources, and Measures

Units of Analysis

The units of analysis for this study are school districts that do or do not have modern desegregation plans in place. The sample population includes the 78 local school districts that adopted a modern desegregation plan between 1995 and 2016 with 92 comparison school districts that did not adopt a modern desegregation plan, but are similar in their characteristics to the district(s) in their state that did adopt a plan.

A) Dependent Variables

The primary dependent variable is the school district's decision to adopt a modern desegregation plan or not, coded as "0" or "1" where 1 is equal to local school districts that adopted a modern desegregation plan and 0 is equal to school districts that did not. The source for coding the dependent variable was The Century Foundation "Updated Inventory of Socioeconomic Integration Policies: Fall 2016" report, which contains a public portfolio of the 100 school districts in the US that have adopted one or more modern desegregation policies (Potter 2016). The portfolio includes the source for enrollment data, policy information, the year of implementation for each plan, and other information pertinent to understanding the adoption and implementation of the plans. The data for the study was collected using "a combination of Internet and news searches, leads from integration advocates and other researchers, and past inquiries from districts seeking information to establish or sustain their own programs" (Potter et

al. 2016, 1).

Of the 100 school districts available from The Century Foundation report, 14 are individual charter school networks that do not reside within a school district, so they are excluded from our sample of desegregated districts. The dataset also consolidates five New York City Community School Districts into one, but this study will examine these districts separately. Most of the plans were implemented within the past two decades, with the one clear outlier being La Crosse School District in 1979, which will also be excluded from the study for this reason. After excluding school districts that were missing data on key explanatory variables, the sample size for the treatment dataset is 78 school districts that adopted plans between 1995-2016. All the districts were still actively adhering to their desegregation plans as of February 2016 (Potter et al).

One primary issue with The Century Foundation dataset is that the list contains districts with plans that arose both voluntarily and through court order. This provides a challenge to the study because of the clear impact that being under a court order has on a school board's urgency to adopt a desegregation plan. A *ProPublica* report about access to desegregation court orders notes that "many school districts 'do not know the status of their desegregation orders, have never read them, or erroneously believe that orders have ended'" (Hannah-Jones 2014, 1). The Century Foundation report highlights data collection on school districts under court-orders as a major issue because the information is not centrally located and there is a lack of "good sources" (Potter et al. 2016, 2). In this study, there will be no control for school districts under court ordered desegregation mandates, though the distinction between school districts under court orders and school districts with voluntary plans is an important and recommended distinction to make in future studies. Most of the districts in the sample adopted their plans after the 2007

Parents Involved decision, so it is reasonable that most districts in the sample are the product of voluntary and not court-ordered desegregation plans.

Districts without desegregation plans

A complementary set of school districts without desegregation plans was assembled to use as a base of comparison for the 78 school districts with modern desegregation plans included in the sample. The comparison dataset of school districts is comprised of 94 school districts that do not have current modern desegregation plans in place. A stratified match of school districts that did not adopt modern desegregation plans was made, constrained by comparisons made within the same state as the adopting school district and by the year of implementation, based on the following characteristics:

- **Type of school district** (large city, medium city, small city, large suburb, medium suburb, small suburb, rural-fringe, rural-remote, rural-large, town-distant, town-fringe, and town-remote)
- **School Characteristics (Student enrollment demographics)**
    - Total number of students enrolled
    - Percentage of nonwhite students
    - Percentage of Black students
    - Percentage of students eligible for free or reduced priced lunch
    - Total expenditures per student
    - Total local revenues per student
    - Pupil to teacher ratio
- **Community Characteristics**
    - Percentage of children below poverty in the school district's geographic area

Comparing Treatment and Comparison School Districts

Tables 5-7 provide descriptive statistics on the treatment and comparison school districts by the year of implementation, state where the school district is located, and the geographic type of the school district. Table 5 shows that most of the school districts with modern desegregation plans included in the analysis were adopted sometime in the last two decades, specifically 48 of the 78 (62%) districts with desegregation plans adopted their plans in 2007 or later. Table 6 indicates that most of the school districts in our analysis that adopted a modern desegregation plan are in the states of Florida (10), California (9), North Carolina (6), and Minnesota (6), Texas (5), and Iowa (5). Table 7 indicates that most of the school districts in our analysis come from cities (53) and large suburbs (15). Three additional tables that indicate the breakdown of school districts including school districts that were dropped from the analysis due to missing data are available in the appendix (Tables 12-14) . Figure 8 is a map of all the school districts in the sample, which indicates how closely matched the comparison school districts were by geography.

Table 5. **Year Breakdown for Treatment and Comparison School Districts in Analysis (based on year of implementation)**

year	Comparison	Treatment	Total
1990	0	1	1
1995	2	1	3
1996	2	2	4
1997	2	2	4
1998	1	1	2
1999	4	2	6
2000	1	3	4
2001	6	4	10
2002	3	2	5
2003	1	1	2
2004	7	4	11
2005	2	2	4
2006	5	5	10
2007	7	7	14
2008	8	6	14
2009	11	7	18
2010	12	8	20
2011	5	3	8
2012	2	3	5
2013	5	6	11
2014	4	4	8
2015	1	1	2
2016	3	3	6
Total	94	78	172

Table 6. **State Breakdown of Treatment and Comparison School Districts in Analysis**

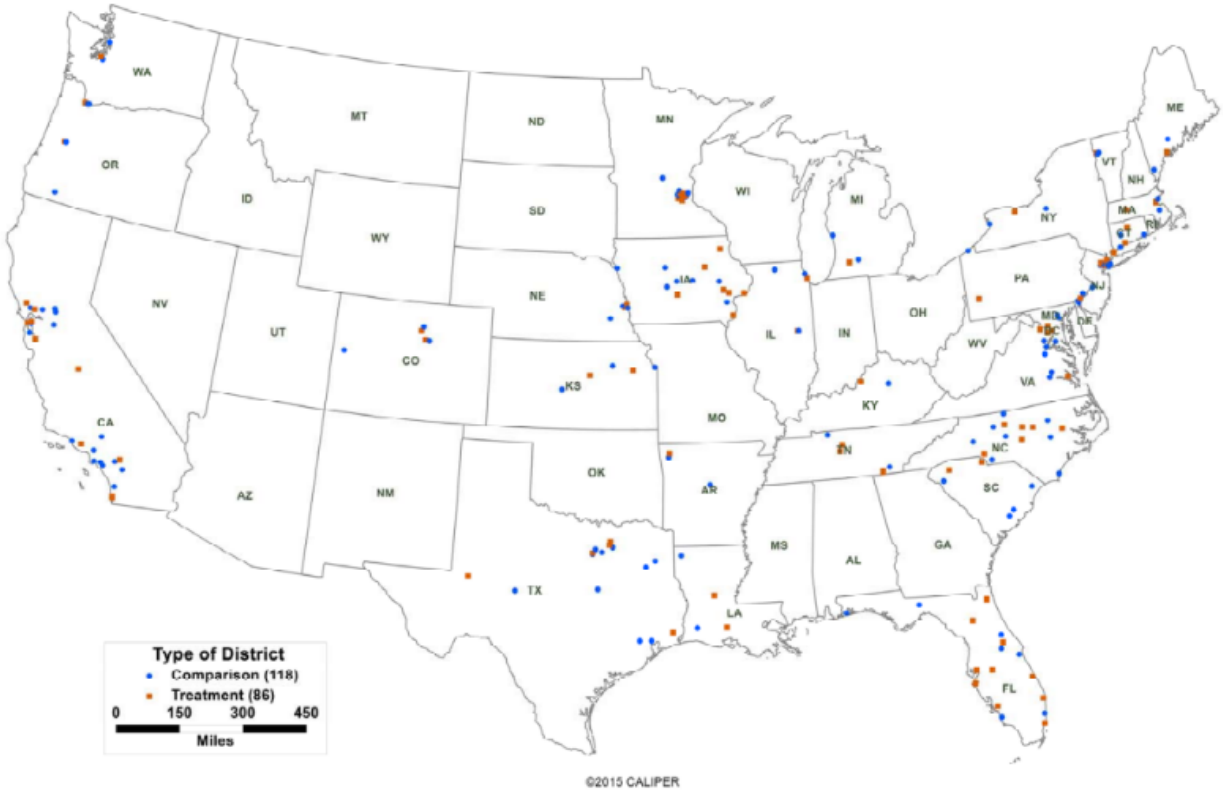
State	Comparison	Treatment	Total
Arkansas	2	1	3
California	14	9	23
Colorado	3	2	5
Connecticut	2	3	5
Delaware	1	1	2
District of Columbia	0	1	1
Florida	6	10	16
Illinois	3	2	5
Iowa	5	5	10
Kansas	3	2	5
Kentucky	0	1	1
Louisiana	1	2	3
Maine	2	1	3
Maryland	2	1	3
Massachusetts	2	1	3
Michigan	2	1	3
Minnesota	5	6	11
Nebraska	3	2	5
New Jersey	2	2	4
New York	4	3	7
North Carolina	7	6	13
Oregon	3	2	5
Pennsylvania	2	1	3
South Carolina	3	2	5
Tennessee	2	2	4
Texas	10	5	15
Vermont	1	1	2
Virginia	2	2	4
Washington	2	1	3
Total	94	78	172

Table 7. **Geographic Breakdown of School Districts in Analysis**

Geographic Type	Comparison	Treatment	Total
City-large	16	20	36
City-medium	13	16	29
City-small	22	17	39
Rural-fringe	7	5	12
Suburb-large	21	15	36
Suburb-medium	3	2	5
Suburb-small	3	0	3
Town-distant	5	1	6
Town-remote	4	2	6

Figure 8

Location of School Districts in Sample



B) Independent Variables

Two sets of independent variables are included in the analysis: those pertaining to social and political characteristics and control variables. Each variable included in the analysis is briefly defined along with its data source below:

Social and Political Characteristics

a. **Social capital index**; Penn State College of Agricultural Sciences county-level measures of social capital (tracked the level of social capital as a combined measurement of population, voter turnout, census response rate, and number of nonprofit organizations in US counties during the years 1997, 2005, and 2009.

Data was used for year closest to the year of implementation)[8]

(Rupasingha,Goetz, & Freshwater, D, 2006).

b. **Percent of votes for Democratic presidential candidate**[9]; Voting and Elections Collection within the CQ Electronic Library database and the Census Bureau's USA Counties data

c. **School board election date (On/Off Cycle)**[10]; Ballotpedia.org[11]

d. **School board level of representation (At-Large/District and Mixed)**; Ballotpedia.org

Control Variables

1. **School Characteristics Control Variables**[12]
    - Total number of enrolled students
    - Total expenditures per student
    - Total local revenues per student
    - Pupil to teacher ratio
    - Percent of students eligible for free or reduced priced lunch

[8] While this was not initially the ideal measurement for civic capacity, the added characteristics do a good job of capture aspects of political and civic engagement relevant to the theory

[9] Percentage vote in school district's county for Democratic Presidential candidate in the election preceding adoption of school desegregation plan. County-level data on presidential election returns was used as a proxy for partisanship of communities.

[10] For the sake of this study, "on cycle" will be considered as elections that occurred on the same day as even-year national elections (coterminous with Presidential elections). variable is coded as 1 for school districts with district-based representation or a combination of district-based and at-large representation; 0 for districts with only at-large representation or appointed school board members.

[11] In the event that this information was not available on Ballotpedia (which was common for smaller to medium sized districts), a search of the official school district website, the names of school board members, and election results on local news websites was conducted.

[12] Each time sensitive characteristic was selected during or as close to the year of implementation for each plan, the source for each of these variables is the National Center for Education Statistics; U.S. Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics, Common Core Database

- Percentage of students by race (nonwhite, Black, Hispanic)

2. Community Characteristics Control Variables

- Children below poverty by districts geography, percent; U.S. Bureau of the Census
- City and metropolitan population, percent of population by race (e.g. percent nonwhite, percent black, and percent Hispanic); Brown University American Communities Project, U.S. Bureau of the Census
- Difference of student population and community population, percent by race (e.g. percent nonwhite, percent black, and percent Hispanic); Brown University American Communities Project, U.S. Bureau of the Census
- Residential desegregation scores (index of dissimilarity[13]) for city and metropolitan areas (white/black and white/Hispanic); Brown University American Communities Project, U.S. Bureau of the Census

3. Other Control Variables[14]

- Year of implementation; The Century Foundation "Updated Inventory of Socioeconomic Integration Policies: Fall 2016"
- Number of districts in state with adopted modern voluntary desegregation plans prior to implementation

Data Analysis

[13] Diversity Index scores measure "whether one particular group is distributed across census tracts in the metropolitan area in the same way as another group" (Logan, 1) The American Communities Project provides DI scores for the years 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2009.
[14]These were used to control for time

Table 8 presents the results of a logistic regression of the determinants of the adoption of modern school desegregation plans by local school districts. The dependent variable is a binary outcome, coded as 1 for those school districts that adopted a modern desegregation plan and 0 for those that did not adopt. The estimates of the effects of the independent variables on this outcome are presented as odds ratios, which measure how the chances of an event occurring change under different circumstances, holding all other variables included in the model constant. Note that odds ratios are multiplicative coefficients, which means that 1 indicates no effect (no difference in the odds of adoption for that factor), values greater than 1 indicate a positive effect (adoption is more likely to occur), and values less than 1 represent a negative effect (adoption is less likely to occur). The findings are summarized for each block of variables and then conclude

Table 8-Determinants of School District Adoption of Modern Desegregation Plans

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
Any desegregation plan	*Odds Ratio*	*Std. Err.*	*P>z*	*Odds Ratio*	*Std. Err.*	*P>z*	*Odds Ratio*	*Std. Err.*	*P>z*
School Characteristics									
Total enrolled students	1.000011	0.000004	0.006	1.000010	0.000004	0.026	1.000010	0.000004	0.030
Total expenditures per student	1.000100	0.000061	0.105	1.000092	0.000063	0.144	1.000103	0.000075	0.172
Pupil-teacher ratio	0.901726	0.064121	0.146	0.929756	0.069780	0.332	0.963839	0.083588	0.671
Pct of students free-reduced	0.983080	0.014089	0.234	0.958331	0.020249	0.044	0.942484	0.022680	0.014
Pct of students nonwhite	1.025718	0.030753	0.397	1.040285	0.034599	0.235	1.047941	0.037773	0.194
Pct of students black	0.972739	0.030513	0.378	0.946827	0.034621	0.135	0.953420	0.037083	0.220
Pct of students Hispanic	0.960694	0.030951	0.213	0.937936	0.034507	0.082	0.957312	0.039624	0.292
Community Characteristics									
Pct children below poverty				1.061364	0.044809	0.158	1.079397	0.051473	0.109
School-community difference nonwhite				0.948987	0.233737	0.832	0.900904	0.242979	0.699
White-black segregation				1.022291	0.016578	0.174	1.030649	0.018598	0.094
White-Hispanic segregation				1.011791	0.019237	0.538	0.998162	0.020748	0.929
Social and Political Characteristics									
Social capital index							2.153888	0.710102	0.020
Pct vote for Democratic president							0.976182	0.020721	0.256
School board elections on cycle							2.224005	0.959426	0.064
School board district based							0.855767	0.363879	0.714
Control variables									
Year	0.956231	0.044788	0.339	0.997729	0.051289	0.965	1.025462	0.055664	0.643
Prior desegration plan in state	1.101620	0.113807	0.349	1.053292	0.113131	0.629	0.994240	0.110729	0.959
City school district	3.016542	1.166356	0.004	2.635543	1.041770	0.014	2.578179	1.098281	0.026
_cons	1.16E+39	1.08E+41	0.337	37.680930	3880.123000	0.972	7.757E-39	8.24E-21	0.640
Number of observations	165			165			165		
LR chi2	26.79			31.47			41.36		
Prob > chi2	0.0028			0.0048			0.0014		
Pseduo R2	0.1175			0.1380			0.1814		
Log likelihood	-100.61			-98.27			-93.32		

with some observations on the magnitude of the effects of the variables found to be the strongest predictors.

The results are presented in three models, with each model adding an additional block of explanatory variables. Model 1 includes the base block of school characteristics. Model 2 adds to this base a set of variables that encompass community characteristics, predominantly those pertaining to poverty, race, and residential segregation. Model 3 adds the final set of explanatory variables, which includes measures of the social and political characteristics of the school district community. Two of these measures are derived at the county level (social capital index and percentage vote for the Democratic presidential candidate in the election prior to the school district's adoption of a modern desegregation plan) and two based on school district characteristics (whether school board elections are held on cycle and whether school district board seats are based on district boundaries or at-large). By adding the explanatory variables to the model in blocks it is apparent how, if at all, the effects change when additional explanatory and control variables are added to the model. Table 15 in the appendix indicates this same model, but with an additional variable, "South", to control for school districts in the Southern region. This control variable did not attain statistical significance in any of the three models nor did its inclusion dramatically change the direction, magnitude, or statistical significance of the predictor variables.

Model 1--School Characteristics Only

As shown in Table 8, only two of the seven school characteristic measures—total number of enrolled students and total expenditure of students-- included in the model attain statistical significance. For each additional student enrolled in a school district, the odds of the district adopting a modern desegregation plan increase by 1.000011, holding all other variables in the

model constant. Total expenditures per student also shows a positive effect on the adoption of modern school desegregation plans, though it is just beyond the bounds of statistical significance at (p=.105). Additionally, the control variable of whether the school district is a city district shows a positive effect on the adoption of modern school desegregation plans. These findings suggest that larger school districts and those that spend more per student are more likely to adopt a school desegregation plan.

Model 2—School and Community Characteristics

Model 2 adds several explanatory variables tapping characteristics of the community. These include the percentage of children below poverty in the geography of the school district; the percentage of the population that is nonwhite, black, and Hispanic in the primary city in the school district and measures of the difference in the percentage of the city's nonwhite, black, and Hispanic population and the percentage of the school district's student enrollment that is nonwhite, black, and Hispanic; and city segregation scores (dissimilarity index) for white-black and white-Hispanic. None of the community characteristics attain statistical significance, but three of the school characteristics do. The total number of enrolled students remains statistically significant, for as each additional student enrolled in a school district, the odds of the district adopting a modern desegregation plan increase by 1.000010, holding all other variables in the model constant as shown in Table 8. The percentage of students who qualify for free or reduced lunch is also significant. Examination of the odds ratio for that variable shows that each additional percentage point change in free and reduced price lunch students reduces the odds of adoption of a school desegregation plan by .958331. Thus, as the percentage of free and reduced price lunch students increases, the odds of adoption decrease. The percentage of Hispanic students enrolled in the districts also becomes statistically significant. For each additional

percentage increase of Hispanic students, the odds of a school district adopting a modern desegregation plan decrease by .937936, holding all other variables in the model constant. The city school district control variable remains statistically significant and positive (city school districts are more likely to adopt modern desegregation plans than districts in suburban or rural areas).

Model 3 – School, Community, and Social and Political Characteristics

Model 3 adds the final block of variables, social and political characteristics. The social characteristic includes the social capital index for the county in which the school district is located, based on measures of political organizations, professional organizations, business associations, civic and social organizations, labor organizations, and the like. Values for this measure for the study districts range from -2.5 to 3.6. Political measures include a proxy for political ideology (percentage vote for the Democratic presidential candidate in the school district's county) and two structural features of the local school board (whether school board elections are held at the same time as the presidential election) and type of representation (are school board members elected by subareas of the school district or at-large). With the full set of variables included, there are two statistically significant variables in each block.

The total number of enrolled students and the percentage of students eligible for free or reduced price lunch are the only school characteristics that attain statistical significance. As the total number of enrolled students increases the odds of adoption increases. As the percentage of free and reduced price lunch students increases, the odds of adoption decrease.

The two community characteristics variables that are statistically significant are the percentage of children below poverty and the white-black segregation score. As the percentage of children below poverty increases, the odds of adoption increases by 1.079397. The second

variable of the black-white segregation score shows that a point increase in the city dissimilarity index for white-black segregation increases the odds of adoption by 1.030649 .

Two social and political characteristics also attain statistical significance in Model 3. The odds ratio for the social capital index indicates that a one point increase in the social capital index increases the odds of the adoption of a modern school desegregation plan by 2.153888, holding all other variables constant. School districts with higher social capital are thus more likely to adopt a school desegregation plan than are districts with lower social capital. The findings also indicate that the timing of elections can influence the adoption of a school desegregation plan. The odds of adoption are 2.224005 larger for school districts that hold their elections at the same time as the presidential election than are school districts that hold off cycle elections, holding all other variables constant. The city school district control variable remains statistically significant.

Predicted Probabilities of School Desegregation Plan Adoption

While odds ratios are helpful for interpreting the effects of the individual variables included in a logistic regression, they do not provide any direct information on the magnitude of the variable's effect on the change in probability of the outcome of interest. Table 9 reports the predicted probability of adoption of a school desegregation plan for different combinations of school, community, and social and political characteristics to more clearly illustrate how desegregation plan outcomes change when values of a specific independent variable change, holding all other variables constant at specific values. Unless otherwise specified, the values of the other variables included in the probability estimates are held at their mean values or in the case of discrete variables, held to the value closest to the mean.

The two most significant findings from Table 9 come in the predicted probability for school

board election date and the social capital index. For the social capital index, school districts in the top half of the distribution were more likely to adopt a modern desegregation plan than those at the bottom of the distribution. For example, school districts at the 90th percentile (.69) of the social capital index were twice as likely to adopt a modern desegregation plan as those at the 25th percentile (.34), on average and holding all of the other factors at their average values. The

Table 9. Predicted Probabilities of the Adoption of School Desegregation Plans by Selected School District

Characteristic	Probability of Adoption
All values at their means	.46
School district type	
City / Suburban or rural	.56/.33
School board election date	
On cycle / Off Cycle	.57/.37
School board composition	
District / At-large representation	.44/.48
Total students enrolled	
25th percentile (10,076)	.39
50th percentile (19,067)	.41
75th percentile (38,186)	.45
90th percentile (84,976)	.57
Percent of students Free or Reduced Lunch	
25th percentile (32.5)	.66
50th percentile (44.3)	.49
75th percentile (59.7)	.28
90th percentile (72.4)	.15
Percent of children in district below poverty	
25th percentile (11.8)	.34
50th percentile (16.0)	.41
75th percentile (23.3)	.55
90th percentile (31.0)	.69
White-Black Segregation (Dissimilarity Index)	
25th percentile (33.0)	.37
50th percentile (47.0)	.47
75th percentile (60.0)	.57
90th percentile (68.7)	.63
Social Capital Index	
25th percentile (-1.07)	.34
50th percentile (-.40)	.47
75th percentile (.11)	.57
90th percentile (.54)	.65

Note: all other variables in logistic regression held at their mean values.

n = 165

predicted probability of adopting a modern desegregation plan in a school districts with on cycle elections (.57) was much greater than adopting a plan in a school district with off cycle elections (.37)), on average, and holding all other factors at their mean values.

Average Marginal Effect of School Desegregation Plan Adoption.

While examination of the predicted probabilities reported in Table 3 provides some insight into how the probability of desegregation plan adoption varies by selected school, community, and social and political characteristics, it does not help us determine the relative magnitude of the change in probabilities that can be attributed to individual variables. A commonly used measure of change is the average marginal effect (AME), which computes the marginal effect of a change for a specific variable for each observation at its observed values for all variables included in the logistic regression, and then computes the average of these effects. For example, on average, a one unit increase in school board election date (from off cycle to on cycle elections) increases the probability of desegregation plan adoption by 19.8 percentage points, holding other variables at their observed values. Thus, the variables with the strongest effects on the probability of adopting a desegregation plan are those with the largest average marginal effects. In this case, they are city school district (.235), school board election on cycle (.198), and social capital (.191). Note, however, that these effects are somewhat dependent on the measurement scale of the independent variable. Dummy variables (0/1) typically have larger effects than continuous variable with a large range (see Table 10 for all AMEs calculated).

Table 10. Average Marginal Effect of Variables

Variable	dy/dx	Std. Error	P>|z|
Total Enrolled Students	0.000	0.0000	0.030
Total Expenditures per student	0.000	0.0000	0.172
Pupil-teacher ratio	-0.009	0.0215	0.671
Pct of students free-reduced	-0.015	0.0060	0.014
Pct of students nonwhite	0.012	0.0090	0.194
Pct of students Black	-0.012	0.0097	0.220
Pct of students Hispanic	-0.011	0.0103	0.292
Pct children below poverty	0.019	0.0118	0.109
School-community difference nonwhite	-0.026	0.0670	0.699
White-black segregation	0.007	0.0045	0.094
White-Hispanic segregation	0.000	0.0052	0.929
Social capital index	0.191	0.0819	0.020
Pct vote for Democratic president	-0.006	0.0053	0.256
School board elections on cycle	0.198	0.1071	0.064
School board district based	-0.039	0.1056	0.714
Year	0.006	0.0135	0.643
Prior desegrgation plan in state	-0.001	0.0277	0.959
City school district	0.235	0.1057	0.026

Analysis and Interpretation

Based on the results of the analysis, the political characteristic of on-cycle elections and the social characteristic of civic capacity had the most positive impact on the odds of adopting modern desegregation plans. The significance of high social capital suggests that communities interested in adopting modern desegregation plans should focus on increasing the civic capacity of their communities through fostering greater involvement in the political organizations, professional organizations, business associations, civic and social organizations, and labor organizations in their communities. The significance of on-cycle elections may give weight to the theory that communities with higher voter turnout are more likely to be supportive of desegregation policies. Table 11 documents the findings from the study, demonstrating a ten-point disparity between non-adopted districts that hold off cycle elections (64%) and adopted

district that do hold on cycle elections (54%). The next section will serve as a more thorough analysis of our four political and social characteristics of interest.

Table 11. Adoption of Modern Desegregation Plans by Political and Social Characteristics

	Number Adopted (N)	Percent Adopted (%)	Number Not Adopted (N)	Percent Not Adopted (%)
School board representation				
-At-Large	34	44%	41	44%
-District or Mixed	44	56%	53	56%
Timing of Elections				
-Off Cycle	39	50%	60	64%
-On Cycle	39	50%	34	36%
Social Capital Score				
-0-25th percentile	13	17%	30	32%
-26th 50th percentile	21	27%	23	24%
-51st-75th percentile	21	27%	20	21%
-76th-100th percentile	23	29%	21	22%
Democratic Vote				
-0-25th percentile	20	26%	27	29%
-26th 50th percentile	17	22%	24	26%
-51st-75th percentile	20	26%	24	26%
-76th-100th percentile	21	27%	19	20%

District Representation

The hypothesis that school districts with district-based representation would be more likely to adopt modern desegregation plans was not supported by the analysis. There are several possible reasons that this variable did not attain statistical significance.

This hypothesis posited that community members would be more politically engaged in

district-based regions because of the greater opportunity for descriptive representation which would have galvanized strong political participation. This opportunity for more distinct representation for majority-minority districts would then lead to the adoption of modern desegregation plans. The central problem in the assumption of this argument lies in the complexities surrounding how district lines are drawn. As is the case with the complications that arise from drawing attendance zone boundaries which attempt to encapsulate diverse portions of the community, a focus on district boundaries is only substantive when the boundaries are drawn in a manner that works to distribute power equally (Siegel-Hawley 2014). It is apparent through America's history with gerrymandering that those in power who influence the drawing of election districts have a substantial impact on the overall makeup and resulting policy outputs of districts whether they be on a federal, state, or local level (O'loughlin 1982). Approaching this variable from a "one size fits all" angle may not have been the best approach given the amount of variation in district-based geographical regions in our sample.

It is also clear that, in comparison to the other electoral variable of *election timing*, the connection between the *level of representation* and the overarching theory on political engagement is more abstract and less direct which ultimately had an impact on the stability of the hypothesis. In attempting to find more conditions related to the structure of a political entity as important as the school board, the selection of representation was motivated by its significance to adoption in previous studies (Smith et al. 2008). While it was a worthwhile inquiry for this study, it may not have been the most appropriate fit given the central theoretical focus on political engagement.

On Cycle Elections

The hypothesis that school districts with on-cycle elections would be more likely to adopt

modern desegregation policies was confirmed by the logistic regression analysis. Such strong statistical significance suggests that the connection between political engagement, voter turnout, and on-cycle elections were closely connected elements of school districts that adopted desegregation plans that were valuable to hone in on.

What is less apparent from this study is the potential influence of interest groups during off-cycle elections in suppressing political engagement. It is certainly possible that there are several confounding variables related to factors that are present during on cycle elections (besides turnout) but not during off cycle elections and vice versa. The prevalence of interest groups is one of these confounding variables of interest, and an additional factor of interest would be the national discussion on education reform during a general presidential election, which could have a strong influence on voter behavior and schoolboard decision making depending on how issues are framed.

Ideology

The political ideology of the community was not found to be statistically significant. Nonetheless, the finding is important as it shows that political ideology as measured by party affiliation in national elections does not have a strong bearing on the decision making of local school boards. Given that school boards are primarily nonpartisan entities, this does not come as a great surprise.

Civic Capacity

The hypothesis that school districts with a stronger degree of civic capacity would be more likely to adopt desegregation policies was confirmed. Like the factor of on-cycle elections, a high degree of social capital had a substantial impact on the likelihood of a school district adopting a modern desegregation plan and was statistically significant.

Stone et al.'s *Building Civic Capacity: The Politics of Reforming Urban Schools* provides a useful framework for analyzing this finding (2001). The book contains field research of how politics and civic capacity influence education reform and eleven cities[15] across the US. One section outlines the selected actors central to civic mobilization in the eleven cities in the study, which includes business, parents, teachers, superintendents, and an "other" category which include nonprofits, foundations and U.S. Congress (Stone et al. 2001, 78). An overview of the civic organizations that contributed to the adoption of desegregation plans in certain school district reveals a similar variation in the actors who helped bring about change in their communities. The next section will bring forth several cases that demonstrate this variation in civic capacity mobilization and how it had an impact on adoption.

Case Studies in Civic Capacity

There are several cases that highlighted the range in different types of social capital, community organizations, partnerships, and civic capacity that made it possible for different school districts to adopt modern desegregation plans. The criteria for selecting these cases was that they each have well documented and accessible reports on how their plans were adopted and they each discuss some form of community partnership in the inception of their plans.

Civic Capacity in Hamilton County, TN

Hamilton County Public Schools in Tennessee were identified as an ideal example of "Creating Successful Magnet School Programs" in a report by the U.S. Department of Education and Improvement in September 2004. The magnet program in Hamilton County was employed as a means of integration, and a strong emphasis on community partnerships was identified as an important factor that helped sustain the magnet schools. Specifically, school principals were

[15] Pittsburgh, Boston, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Houston, Washington, D.C., Detroit, Atlanta, Denver, St. Louis, and San Francisco

charged with "forg[ing] community partnerships" that would "provide funding and other support" to the schools so that the magnet programs could last (Paige et al. 2004 ,43). While the report does not specify what community partnerships existed, its close relation to the civic capacity within the community along with the emphasis on leadership from the principals suggests a high level of social capital in Hamilton County that increased the likelihood of adoption.

Civic Capacity in Eden Prairie, MN

The case of Eden Prairie Schools in Minnesota highlights the potential for parental advocacy to promote change as an outgrowth of civic capacity. The segregation issue in Eden Prairie was centered around an influx of Somali refugees who were heavily segregated from the white population in local elementary and middle schools. Ahmed Jama, a Somali parent himself, energized a group of parents to support the redrawing of attendance zone boundaries so that the schools in the suburb of Minnesota were more equitable for minority and low-income students (Toppo & Overberg 2015). When the superintendent proposed a plan to better reflect the needs of the Somali students in 2010, controversy ensued as other parents in the community disputed the changes which resulted in contentious community meetings over the proposal. Nonetheless, the proposal was narrowly passed by the school board and the revised attendance zone boundaries are still in place today (Toppo & Overberg 2015). Eden Praire shows the positive effects of high social capital when parental advocacy, in this case led by Ahmed Jama, attempts to influence the school board.

Civic Capacity in East Baton Rouge Parish Schools, LA

In the case of East Baton Rouge Parish Schools, the preservation of a diverse district may have been attributed to the high level of social capital and activism in the community. When "St.

George" residents proposed creating a separate community and school district that would have been much more white and affluent than the rest of East Baton Rouge, they were met with the opposition of the "One Community, One School District" organization led by Louisiana State University Professor Belinda Davis. After narrowly missing the number of signatures required for the petition to pass, the plan for a St. George community was effectively quashed (Runnels 2016). East Baton Rouge provides a prime example of how active community groups can engage in meaningful resistance to plans or policies that inhibit diversity. A high level of social capital appears to not solely have an influence on the adoption of plans, but on the greater cause for preserving diverse communities and school districts.

Conclusion

Civic and political engagement is essential for the practice of democracy in the United States. The African American community has historically demonstrated how effective civic engagement can be used to challenge the status quo and promote equality in issues areas spanning from housing to health care and from economic empowerment to education. This value for civic and political engagement was especially present in the lawyers for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) whose litigation propelled the topic of desegregation from the local level to the highest court in 1954. The NAACP was a highly organized entity which was a quality shared by many black organizations and educational networks such as the Georgia Teachers and Education Association (GTEA). The GTEA, which worked alongside the NAACP, successfully engaged for black schools, students, and teachers since 1878 (Siddle-Walker 2009). The finding that local governments are responsive to high levels of civic capacity is consistent with the history of Black advocacy in the US.

It is possible to interpret the two primary findings on election timing and civic capacity

from this research as being at odds with each other to a certain degree. While both adhere to the theory that political and civic engagement on the local level are positively associated with the adoption of desegregation plans, they have distinct implications.

The finding on political engagement implies that on-cycle school board elections are likely to increase voter turnout which should result in greater policy responsiveness to community preferences. This finding cannot be divorced from the inaccessibility that low-income and minority citizens have in engaging with the political process due to discriminatory voter identification laws which were reinforced by the 2013 *Shelby County v. Holder* decision which "weakened federal oversight over state and county election laws" (Newkirk 2017). While the finding is significant, action toward increasing turnout must also take access into account for on cycle elections to have value in this context. It is nonsensical to advocate for citizens to change their conditions by becoming more active in a system that they do not have equal access to.

The finding on civic engagement encourages a degree of conflict with local political systems in place that, as previously mentioned, is more consistent with the tactics used by Black organizations in the past and slightly contradicts the political engagement finding. While this analysis has primarily focused on the Black community because of their well-documented history and struggle with integration in the US, our cases have demonstrated that tactics for successfully wielding a high degree of civic capacity is not exclusive to Black Americans[16].

This study provides a significant contribution to research on the two concurrent phenomena of educational segregation and education reform in the creation of the treatment dataset used to complement the 100 school districts with modern desegregation plans from The

[16] Eden Prairie case focused on Somali immigrants, and most cases in The Century Foundation inventory focused on economic integration, not racial

Century Foundation report which can be built on. The findings show that school districts that use on-cycle elections and have a high level of social capital are more likely to adopt modern desegregation plans, which indicates that school boards are responsive to policy demands when there is a high level of political and civic engagement within the community.

Next steps

With more time and resources, there are several steps that could have been take to add more substance to this study. The following is a list of recommendations for researchers interested in building on the topic:

- It would have been helpful to distinguish which plans were court ordered and which plans were voluntary to assess, if any, the difference in determinants. This was not possible because of the noted difficulty in identifying what school districts are under court orders.
- Stratifying interdistrict from intradistrict plans would be recommended given the trend toward an increasing rate of between district segregation.
- Given the findings, a more in depth focus on civic organizations and their impact on school policy, especially on the adoption of modern desegregation plans, would be worthwhile. The shear span of community coalitions, civil rights groups, civic elites and other actors and institutions that act as educational stakeholders leave the door open for closer case studies examining the issue of modern educational segregation.
- A study that examines the determinants of the five different plans could be helpful for identifying what factors are most important for the adoption of complex but substantive plans like the ones in place in Jackson County Public Schools and Cambridge Public Schools
- Assessment is also needed as to the overall efficacy of these plans and how they have an

impact on student achievement and diversity

- More precise measurements for political and civic engagement could increase the validity of findings. A more intentional focus on political participation (and what type of political participation may have the greatest impact) specifically could reveal interesting findings
- More in depth case studies at the adoption stage could be helpful for providing more clarity as to how these plans come about
- Attempt to identify school districts beyond The Century Foundation Dataset that may employ desegregation plans. The dataset appears to be comprehensive, but it is possible that they did not capture every single school district that prioritizes integration

Works Cited

"About The Century Foundation." *The Century Foundation*. https://tcf.org/about/ (January 16, 2017).

"About Controlled Choice - Cambridge Public Schools." *Cambridge Public Schools*. http://www.cpsd.us/departments/frc/making_your_choices/about_controlled_choice (April 6, 2017).

Allen, A., M. Glassman, L. Riegel, and H. Dawson. 2011. "Investigating Constituent Values and School Policy." *Education and Urban Society* 45(3): 340–61.

Anzia, Sarah F. 2011. "Election Timing and the Electoral Influence of Interest Groups." *Journal of Politics* 73(2): 412–27. (December 12, 2016).

Berkman, MB, & Plutzer, E 2005, *Ten Thousand Democracies : Politics and Public Opinion in America's School Districts*, Georgetown University Press, Washington, US

Bridges, Kim. 2016. "Jefferson County Public Schools: From Legal Enforcement to Ongoing Commitment." *The Century Foundation*. https://tcf.org/content/report/jefferson-county-public-schools/ (April 6, 2017).

Bullock, Charles S., and Harrell R. Rodgers. 1976. "Coercion to Compliance: Southern School Districts and School Desegregation Guidelines." *The Journal of Politics* 38(4): 987–1011.

"Case studies on school choice and open enrollment in four cities." 2011. *Tulane University*. http://www.coweninstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Case-Studies-on-Choice-and-Enrollment-11-2011.pdf (April 6, 2017).

Chapman, Thandeka K., and Rene Antrop-Gonzalez. 2011. "A Critical Look at Choice Options as Solutions to Milwaukee's Schooling Inequities." *Teachers College Record* 113, no. 4:

787-810. *ERIC*, EBSCO*host*

Crain, Robert L. 1968. *The Politics of School Desegregation; Comparative Case Studies of Community Structure and Policy-Making*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co.

Davis, T. M. 2012. “School Choice and Segregation: "Tracking" Racial Equity in Magnet Schools.” *Education and Urban Society, 46*(4), 399-433. doi:10.1177/0013124512448672

Diem, S, Frankenberg, E, & Cleary, C. 2015. 'Factors That Influence School Board Policy Making: The Political Context of Student Diversity in Urban-Suburban Districts', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 51, 5, pp. 712-752

Donnor, Jamel K., and Adrienne D. Dixson. 2013. *The Resegregation of Schools: Education and Race in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Routledge.

Edsall, Thomas B. 2017. “Integration Works. Can It Survive the Trump Era?” *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/09/opinion/integration-works-can-it-survive-the-trump-era.html?_r=0 (February 27, 2017).

Frankenberg, E. & Jacobsen. R. 2011. "The Polls-trends trends: School integration polls", *Public opinion quarterly,* vol. 75, no. 4, pp. 788-811.

Frankenberg, E., Lee, C., & Orfield, G. 2003. “A Multiracial Society with Segregated Schools: Are We Losing the Dream?” (Rep.). *Civil Rights Project UCLA* (December 12, 2016) https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/a-multiracial-society-with-segregated-schools-are-we-losing-the-dream/frankenberg-multiracial-society-losing-the-dream.pdf

Hale, Jon N. 2017. “The African American Roots of Betsy DeVos's Education Platform.” *The Atlantic*. https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/01/black-roots-school-choice/513569/ (February 27, 2017).

Hannah-Jones, Nikole. 2014. “Lack of Order: The Erosion of a Once-Great Force for Integration.” *ProPublica*. https://www.propublica.org/article/lack-of-order-the-erosion-of-a-once-great-force-for-integration (March 27, 2017).

Hannah-Jones, Nikole. 2016. “Choosing a School for My Daughter in a Segregated City.” *The New York Times Magazine*.

Hart-Nibbrig, Nand E. 1979a. “The Politics of School Desegregation in Los Angeles.” *Equity & Excellence in Education* 17(5-6): 17–26.

Hart-Nibbrig, Nand. 1979b. “Policies of School Desegregation in Seattle.” *Equity & Excellence in Education* 17(1-2): 27–36.

Holme, J. J., & Richards, M. P. 2009. “School Choice and Stratification in a Regional Context: Examining the Role of Inter-District Choice.” *Peabody Journal of Education, 84*(2), 150-171. doi:10.1080/01619560902810120

Kamenetz, Anya. 2015. “The Evidence That White Children Benefit From Integrated Schools.” *NPR*. http://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2015/10/19/446085513/the-evidence-that-white-children-benefit-from-integrated-schools (April 7, 2017).

Kirk, Mimi. 2017. “The Birmingham Suburb That Wants to Segregate Its Schools.” *CityLab*. http://www.citylab.com/politics/2017/01/the-birmingham-suburb-that-wants-to-segregate-its-schools/512912/ (February 27, 2017).

Logan, J.R. & Stults, B. 2011. “The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census” Census Brief prepared for Project US2010.

Meier, Kenneth J., Eric Gonzalez Juenke, Robert D. Wrinkle, and J. L. Polinard. 2005. “Structural Choices and Representational Biases: The Post-Election Color of Representation.” *American Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 758.

Morland, J. K. 1963. “Token Desegregation and Beyond.” Southern Regional Council, A. G., & B'nai B'rith, N. L.

Newkirk, Vann R. 2017. “How Voter ID Laws Discriminate.” *The Atlantic*. https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/02/how-voter-id-laws-discriminate-study/517218/ (April 7, 2017).

Nowicki, Jacqueline M. et al. 2016. K-12 EDUCATION: Better Use of Information Could Help Agencies Identify Disparities and Address Racial Discrimination *K-12 EDUCATION: Better Use of Information Could Help Agencies Identify Disparities and Address Racial Discrimination*. United States Government Accountability Office. rep. http://www.gao.gov/assets/680/676745.pdf.

O'loughlin, John. 1982. “The Identification and Evaluation of Racial Gerrymandering.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 72(2): 165–84.

Orfield, G., & Lee, C. 2007.August. “Historic Reversals, Accelerating Resegregation, and the …” *The Civil Rights Project UCLA* (November 6, 2016) http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/historic-reversals-accelerating-resegregation-and-the-need-for-new-integration-strategies-1/orfield-historic-reversals-accelerating.pdf

Orfield, M. 2015. “Milliken, Meredith, and Metropolitan Segregation.” *UCLA Law Review, 62*(364), 364-462.

Paige, R., Rees, N.S., Petrilli, M.J., Fiegel, J., Brockhouse, S. 2004. “Creating Successful Magnet Schools Programs” *U.S. Department of Education, Office of Innovation and Improvement, Innovations in Education*, 1-57

Potter, H. 2016. “Updated Inventory of Socioeconomic Integration Policies: Fall 2016”

(Rep.) *The Century Foundation.* (December 12, 2016) https://tcf.org/content/commentary/updated-inventory-socioeconomic-integration-policies-fall-2016/

Potter, H., Quick, K., & Davies, E. 2016. "A New Wave of School Integration Districts and Charters Pursuing Socioeconomic Diversity" (Rep.) *The Century Foundation*. (December 12, 2016) https://tcf.org/content/report/a-new-wave-of-school-integration/

Qiu, Yue, and Nikole Hannah-Jones. 2014. "A National Survey of School Desegregation Orders." *ProPublica*. A National Survey of School Desegregation Orders (December 12, 2016).

Reardon, Sean F., Elena Grewal, Demetra Kalogrides, and Erica Greenberg. 2012. "'Brown' Fades: The End of Court-Ordered School Desegregation and the Resegregation of American Public Schools." *Grantee Submission ERIC*, EBSCO*host*

Reardon, S. F., & Owens, A. 2014. "60 Years After Brown: Trends and Consequences of School Segregation." *Annual Review of Sociology, 40*(1), 199-218. doi:10.1146/annurev-soc-071913-043152

Rossell, C, & Crain, R. 1973. "The Political and Social Determinants of School Desegregation Policy", ERIC, EBSCO*host*, viewed 12 December 2016.

Rossell, C. H. 1995. "Controlled-Choice Desegregation Plans: Not Enough Choice, Too Much Control?" *Urban Affairs Review* 31(1): 43–76.

Runnels, Gabriella. 2016. "Breaking Apart: Confronting Race in East Baton Rouge Parish." *Women Leading Change: Case Studies on Women, Gender, and Feminism* 1(2).

Rupasingha, A., Goetz, S. J., & Freshwater, D. 2006. "The Production of Social Capital in US counties", *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 35, 83–101.

Saxena, Suchi. 2016. "New York City Public Schools: Small Steps in the Biggest

District." *The Century Foundation*. https://tcf.org/content/report/new-york-city-public-schools/ (April 6, 2017).

Schickler, Eric. 2013. "New Deal Liberalism and Racial Liberalism in the Mass Public, 1937–1968." *Perspectives on Politics* 11(01): 75–98.

Siddle-Walker, Vanessa. 2009. "Second-Class Integration: A Historical Perspective for a Contemporary Agenda." *Harvard Educational Review* 79(2): 269–84.

Siegel-Hawley, G 2013. "'City Lines, County Lines, Color Lines: The Relationship between School and Housing Segregation in Four Southern Metro Areas", *Teachers College Record*, 115, 6, ERIC, EBSCO*host*, (December 12, 2016)

Siegel-Hawley, Genevieve. 2014. "Mitigating Milliken? School District Boundary Lines and Desegregation Policy in Four Southern Metropolitan Areas, 1990–2010." *American Journal of Education* 120(3): 391–433.

Smith, Angela G. 1996. "Public School Choice and Open Enrollment: Implications for Education, Desegregation, and Equity." *Nebraska Law Review* 74(2): 255–303.

Smith, S, Kedrowski, K, Ellis, J, & Longshaw, J. 2008. '"Your Father Works for My Father": Race, Class and the Politics of Voluntarily Mandated Desegregation', *Teachers College Record*, 110, 5, pp. 986-1032 (December 12, 2016)

Spencer, Maurguerite L., and Rebecca Reno. 2009. "The Benefits of Racial and Economic Integration in Our Education System: Why This Matters For Our Democracy." *The Ohio State University Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity*. http://www.kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/reports/2009/02_2009_EducationIntegrationBenefitsReport.pdf.

Stone, Clarence N., Jeffrey R. Henig, Bryan D. Jones, and Carol Pierannunzi.

2001. *Building civic capacity: the politics of reforming urban schools*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas.

Stroub, K. J., & Richards, M. P. 2013. “From Resegregation to Reintegration.” 1993-2009. *American Educational Research Journal, 50*(3), 497-531. doi:10.3102/0002831213478462

Tan, Norma, and New York, NY. Center for Educational Innovation. Manhattan Inst. for Policy Research. 1990. "The Cambridge Controlled Choice Program: Improving Educational Equity and Integration. Education Policy Paper Number 4." *ERIC*, EBSCO*host* (accessed April 6, 2017).

Toppo, Greg, and Paul Overberg. 2015. “Diversity in the classroom.” *USA Today*. https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2014/11/25/minnesota-school-race-diversity/18919391/ (April 7, 2017).

Trebbi, Francesco, Philippe Aghion, and Alberto Alesina. 2008. “Electoral Rules and Minority Representation in U.S. Cities.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(1): 325–57.

Whitby, Kenny J. 2007. “The Effect of Black Descriptive Representation on Black Electoral Turnout in the 2004 Elections.” *Social Science Quarterly* 88(4): 1010–23.

Appendix

Table 12. Year Breakdown of School Districts (entire sample)

Year	Comparison	Treatment	Total
1990	0	1	1
1995	2	1	3
1996	2	2	4
1997	2	2	4
1998	1	1	2
1999	4	2	6
2000	2	3	5
2001	8	4	12
2002	3	2	5
2003	2	1	3
2004	7	4	11
2005	3	2	5
2006	6	5	11
2007	9	7	16
2008	11	8	19
2009	13	8	21
2010	14	8	22
2011	6	3	9
2012	2	3	5
2013	10	10	20
2014	5	4	9
2015	1	1	2
2016	5	4	9
Total	118	86	204

Table 13. State Breakdown of School Districts (entire sample)

State	Comparison	Treatment	Total
Arkansas	2	1	3
California	16	9	25
Colorado	3	2	5
Connecticut	3	3	6
Delaware	2	1	3
District of Columbia	0	1	1
Florida	7	10	17
Illinois	3	2	5
Iowa	7	7	14
Kansas	3	2	5
Kentucky	1	1	2
Louisiana	2	2	4
Maine	2	1	3
Maryland	3	1	4
Massachusetts	3	2	5
Michigan	2	1	3
Minnesota	6	6	12
Nebraska	3	2	5
New Jersey	3	2	5
New York	8	6	14
North Carolina	8	6	14
Oregon	4	2	6
Pennsylvania	2	1	3
South Carolina	4	2	6
Tennessee	2	3	5
Texas	10	5	15
Vermont	2	1	3
Virginia	5	3	8
Washington	2	1	3
Total	118	86	204

Table 14. State Breakdown of School Districts (entire sample)

Geographic Type	Comparison	Treatment	Total
City-large	21	24	45
City-medium	14	16	30
City-small	24	17	41
Rural-fringe	9	5	14
Rural-remote	1	1	2
Suburb-large	28	16	44
Suburb-medium	5	2	7
Suburb-small	4	0	4
Town-distant	6	2	8
Town-fringe	2	1	3
Town-remote	4	2	6
Total	118	86	204

Table 15. Determinants of School District Adoption of Modern Desegregation Plan (Southern Control Included)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
Any desegregation plan	*Odds Ratio*	*Std. Err.*	*P>z*	*Odds Ratio*	*Std. Err.*	*P>z*	*Odds Ratio*	*Std. Err.*	*P>z*
School Characteristics									
Total enrolled students	1.00001	0.000004	0.013	1.00001	0.000004	0.040	1.00001	0.000004	0.051
Total expenditures per student	1.00012	0.000067	0.064	1.00013	0.000070	0.073	1.00014	0.000081	0.092
Pupil-teacher ratio	0.91488	0.066900	0.224	0.94569	0.072773	0.468	0.98192	0.086912	0.837
Pct of students free-reduced lunch	0.98578	0.014447	0.329	0.95957	0.020412	0.052	0.94493	0.022909	0.019
Pct of students nonwhite	1.03614	0.033798	0.276	1.05309	0.038073	0.153	1.06319	0.042562	0.126
Pct of students black	0.95960	0.033748	0.241	0.93075	0.037934	0.078	0.93401	0.041338	0.123
Pct of students Hispanic	0.95008	0.033372	0.145	0.92363	0.037311	0.049	0.94439	0.042470	0.203
Community Characteristics									
Pct children below poverty				1.06707	0.045273	0.126	1.08384	0.051315	0.089
School-community difference nonwhite				1.00189	0.249243	0.994	0.95387	0.255154	0.860
White-black segregation				1.01842	0.016860	0.270	1.02749	0.018761	0.137
White-Hispanic segregation				1.01730	0.019881	0.380	1.00227	0.020975	0.914
Social and Political Characteristics									
Social capital index							2.40177	0.842042	0.012
Pct vote for Democratic president							0.98243	0.021497	0.418
School board elections on cycle							2.29232	0.994712	0.056
School board district based							0.74254	0.328090	0.500
Control variables									
Year	0.94988	0.045279	0.281	0.98791	0.052166	0.818	1.01205	0.056449	0.830
Prior desegration plan in state	1.08721	0.113164	0.422	1.04070	0.112361	0.712	0.97359	0.110465	0.814
City school district	3.18869	1.252043	0.003	2.83165	1.139526	0.010	2.72523	1.173932	0.020
South	1.61308	0.750042	0.304	1.84922	0.930001	0.222	2.40506	1.430312	0.140
_cons	3.43E+44	3.26E+46	0.281	5.37E+09	5.67E+11	0.832	5.21E-12	5.82E-10	0.816
Number of observations	165			165			165		
LR chi2	27.86			32.99			43.62		
Prob > chi2	0.0034			0.0047			0.0011		
Pseduo R2	0.1222			0.1447			0.1913		
Log likelihood	-100.07			-97.51			-92.19		

Table 16. Correlation Matrix of all Variables

	vdp_any	Tstudd~t	totale~p	Ptratio	pFRPL	pnonwh~e	pblack	phispa~c	ppovch~d	pnonwh~f	c_dwb	c_dwh	soccap
vdp_any	1.0000												
Tstuddist	0.1711	1.0000											
totalexppp	0.1669	-0.0538	1.0000										
Ptratio	-0.1157	0.1777	-0.3654	1.0000									
pFRPL	-0.0250	0.1980	0.2453	-0.0756	1.0000								
pnonwhite	0.0449	0.3918	0.2370	0.1115	0.6914	1.0000							
pblack	0.1083	0.1892	0.2343	-0.3554	0.4504	0.4882	1.0000						
phispanic	-0.0798	0.3086	-0.0243	0.3612	0.4454	0.6886	-0.2144	1.0000					
ppovchild	0.0105	0.1121	0.1116	-0.1679	0.8301	0.6149	0.5003	0.3694	1.0000				
pnonwhitedif	-0.0094	-0.1430	0.0860	-0.0666	0.0106	-0.0593	-0.0941	-0.0470	0.0024	1.0000			
c_dwb	0.2092	0.4241	0.0640	-0.1505	0.3602	0.3652	0.4988	0.0775	0.3108	-0.0400	1.0000		
c_dwh	0.1092	0.2844	0.1093	0.0646	0.5129	0.5892	0.2828	0.4606	0.4457	-0.0268	0.5371	1.0000	
soccap	0.2056	-0.2531	0.2601	-0.3937	-0.0485	-0.3288	0.0998	-0.5034	-0.0729	0.1698	-0.0564	-0.0443	1.0000
pdemvote	0.1167	0.1423	0.6000	-0.0070	0.1842	0.2710	0.2414	-0.0383	0.0133	0.0377	0.0941	0.1276	0.2813
electdate	0.1323	0.1579	-0.0351	0.2455	-0.0638	0.0106	-0.0194	-0.0380	-0.1864	-0.1440	0.1344	-0.0030	-0.1455
sboard	0.0164	0.2610	-0.1741	-0.0040	0.0331	0.0570	0.0676	0.0677	-0.0052	-0.1898	0.2173	-0.0456	-0.0772
year	0.0200	0.0635	0.5015	-0.0383	0.2080	0.1457	-0.1411	0.1885	-0.0075	0.0870	-0.2099	0.0211	0.0454
prior_vdp	0.0445	0.2374	-0.0202	0.2926	0.0837	0.2256	-0.1953	0.3391	-0.0108	-0.0239	0.0392	0.1274	-0.2213
citytype	0.1662	-0.0543	0.0892	0.0830	0.3145	0.2781	0.1533	0.1763	0.3150	-0.0068	0.1778	0.2954	0.1205
south	0.0559	0.2811	-0.3486	-0.1371	-0.0974	-0.0422	0.1809	-0.0620	-0.0414	-0.2382	0.2567	-0.1074	-0.2230

	pdemvote	electd~e	sboard	year	prior_~p	citytype	south
pdemvote	1.0000						
electdate	-0.0390	1.0000					
sboard	-0.1145	0.0877	1.0000				
year	0.3280	-0.0122	-0.1652	1.0000			
prior_vdp	0.0408	0.2585	0.0764	0.4268	1.0000		
citytype	0.1384	-0.1571	-0.0710	-0.0191	-0.0118	1.0000	
south	-0.3882	0.1074	0.3948	-0.1410	0.0934	-0.1995	1.0000