

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 117 252

UD 015 653

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 TITLE Trends in School Segregation, 1968-73.
 INSTITUTION Urban Inst., Washington, D.C.
 REPORT NO URI-722-03-01
 PUB DATE Aug 75
 NOTE 150p.
 AVAILABLE FROM Publications Office, The Urban Institute, 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 (\$3.50)

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.76 HC-\$6.97 Plus Postage
 DESCRIPTORS Civil Rights; *Comparative Analysis; Data Analysis; Educational Policy; Elementary Grades; Metropolitan Areas; *National Surveys; Racial Segregation; School Districts; *School Integration; *School Segregation; Secondary Grades; Social Discrimination; Statistical Data; *Trend Analysis

ABSTRACT

This paper reports work in progress concerning student desegregation among elementary and secondary schools in districts regardless of the source of segregation, and between school districts for the period of 1968-73. The data sources, the statistical reports collected by DHEW, are stated to allow for a detailed statistical analysis of the status and trends in school segregation by race throughout the U.S. First, the state of racial integration among schools within a district in 1968 is examined, followed by an examination of the changes that occurred over the period 1968-1973. The differential changes that occurred over that period of time in different kinds of school settings--in different regions of the country, in school districts of different sizes, and in particular large cities--is seen to be of special interest. Data indicate that, by 1968, desegregation of schools was a far from accomplished task in cities and towns of all sizes in the South, but that in the largest cities, it was equally high in many places where dual school systems had never existed: yet the trend for the next four years tends toward desegregation. It is concluded (1) that the emerging problem with regard to school desegregation is the problem of segregation between central city and suburbs, and (2) that current means by which schools are being desegregated are intensifying, rather than reducing the problem. (Author/AM)

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ED117252

Trends in School Segregation, 1968-73

James S. Coleman
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John A. Moore

722-03-01
August, 1975

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ISBN 87766-147-02

UI 722-03-01

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4

INSERT FOR

TRENDS IN SCHOOL SEGREGATION, 1968-73

by James S. Coleman
Sara D. Kelly
John A. Moore

Urban Institute Paper 722-Q3-01

ERRATA AND MODIFIED CALCULATIONS

After this report was printed, we discovered some errors and some places where procedures used may have introduced a bias. We have recalculated results that might have been affected by these, correcting errors and using procedures which should eliminate the bias. The resulting changes affect some numbers in the text and tables, but with one exception, noted below, do not affect the general conclusions of the report. The modifications arise from sources as indicated below, with effects as noted.

1. In the analysis of segregation at elementary and secondary levels, it was originally decided, as explained in footnote 12, page 21, to measure segregation at elementary levels by including all schools containing a sixth grade and to measure segregation at secondary levels by including all schools containing a tenth grade. This was done for reasons described in footnote 12, page 21.

This, as it turned out, was not a wise decision. A number of school systems, particularly those undergoing desegregation of some sort, reorganized their schools to cover different grade spans, or in some cases, to become ungraded where the school had before been a graded school. This reorganization meant that for elementary/secondary analysis, different fractions of the students in the system and different fractions of the schools in the system were included in different years, in general a smaller fraction of the schools in later years because of the conversion from graded to ungraded schools, and the reduction in grade spans. Reorganization was primarily at the elementary level. For example, in 1968 the OCR data show that Dallas had 125 schools containing a sixth grade, 5 graded elementary schools ending below grade six, and 2 ungraded schools. In 1970 this was 123 with a sixth grade, 13 graded

ending below grade six and 1 ungraded. In 1972, the numbers were 109, 29, and 9. Thus in the later years, a larger number of elementary schools was excluded for being ungraded or failing to contain grade six.

In modifying the analysis, it was evident that because of school reorganization, no procedure for including a school in the elementary school sample or in the secondary school sample would be fully satisfactory. The procedure used for the modified calculations contained here was to classify any school as a secondary school if it included a grade 9, 10, 11, or 12. All other schools were classified as elementary. Inspection of a number of systems which had undergone some reorganization indicated that this procedure would give fewest misclassifications that might result in bias and that the amount of misclassification was very small.

The effects of the revised procedure are given below:

- 1a: On page 22, the numbers in Table 5 change as indicated in the attached revised Table 5. The revisions change no substantive conclusions, and lead to only minor rewording on page 21 where the table is described.
- 1b: On pages 34, 35, and 36, Table 9, Figure 3 and Figure 4 change as indicated in the attached. The substantive conclusions on page 34 about change at the two levels are modified slightly. In the U.S. as a whole, the reduction in segregation was greater at the secondary level, rather than equal to that in elementary, as stated there. But as described in the original text, there are opposite differences in different regions, with greater desegregation occurring in the secondary schools than in the elementary in the South, but greater resegregation occurring in secondary schools in the North.

lc: On page 47, Table 12 changes as shown in attached revised Table 12. The conclusions on page 48 are affected somewhat. It is no longer the case that in the 3 regions where within-district segregation was most reduced, between-district segregation increased more at the elementary level. Thus the suggestion cannot be made here that the movement of white families from a district in response to desegregation appears to be greater at the elementary level.

ld: On pages 77 and 78 are described the results of analyses at elementary and secondary levels. This analysis must be deleted, eliminating any conclusions about the relative loss of whites at elementary and secondary levels. This is the one most important change affecting a general conclusion of the report. That is, result number 10 on page 79 must be deleted. A comparable analysis has not yet been carried out for elementary and secondary as redefined, so the question of relative loss raised in that section cannot yet be answered. An attempt was made to get some idea about the answer to this question by examining white losses in the year of desegregation in schools with a grade ten and those without in cities listed on pages 62 as having undergone a drop of more than .1 in segregation in any one year. This gave an average loss of 14% of whites at secondary school and 13% at elementary (with 14% for all schools). There was greater loss in 5 of the 9 instances at secondary school and at 4 of the 9 in elementary school. From this analysis it would appear that the losses were about the same. However, this cannot be inferred because in general, desegregation was greater at secondary levels. In some cities, desegregation occurred primarily at one or

the other level (e.g., in Dallas in 1971, primarily at the secondary level and in San Francisco in 1971, at the elementary level). Thus the question must be left open.

2. Several modifications have been made affecting the analysis of the size of individual segregating responses to desegregation, the section on pages 53-80. In general the effects of these modifications are minor, but the earlier calculations did contain sources of bias or error, so that the recalculations are included here, even when they make little difference in overall interpretation.

The first modification has to do with eliminating schools with no teachers reported: For 1968-72 OCR obtained information on race of teachers, and we included that in basic calculations of segregation though none of those results are included in the report. When a school gave no report of teachers, the school was eliminated from the analysis for that year. (Schools were not identifiable from year to year, so that meant elimination only for that year). This failure to report teachers was very infrequent except in the case of a few districts, such as Los Angeles and Greenville, S.C., which gave no teacher reports in 1969, and thus were eliminated from the analysis for that year. This procedure would not in and of itself affect the analysis except that in 1973 OCR no longer obtained information on race of teachers so that all schools were included in our analysis in 1973. Because this meant we used a slightly different procedure for retrieving information in 1968-72 and in 1973, it could lead to possible biases in the result. Because the difference was very slight, the measures of changes in segregation were essentially unaffected. But the analysis of white loss upon desegregation might be affected so those analyses were recalculated. The effects on the results are indicated below. However, first, two other changes should be noted:

It was learned that the OCR data on Tucson, one of the next 47 cities after the largest 23, showed a combined elementary/secondary district in 1968 and 1969, and separate elementary and secondary districts in subsequent years. (There are in fact two separate districts, but governed under a single school board.) Because of this change in reporting, Tucson was eliminated in the modified calculations. (The "next 46" designation, however, is correct for the modified calculations, because the designation should have been "next 47" with Tucson, since Albuquerque from the first 23 replaced Richmond. See footnotes 22 and 23 on page 56).

An error was made in the lagged equations for 71-73 and 72-73 reported in Table 15. Although this did not affect conclusions drawn from the table, it does, along with the changes discussed above, affect the calculations.

The effects of these changes are given below:

Table 14 is changed as attached. The general effect of the changes is rather small, and will be described in discussion of the text on pages 60-65, which elaborates those tables.

The effects shown in the simple equation, Equation 1 in Table 14, described on pages 60-61, change little, with a very slight increase in estimated white loss with a .2 reduction in segregation for the largest 21 (from 5.5% to 5.6%) and a decrease from 1.8% to 1.1% for the next 46. The greater changes for the next 46 cities in these modified calculations than for the largest 21 is due to the exclusion of Tucson and the inclusion of 1969 data for Greenville, S.C. (the year before desegregation took place).

For Equation 2, discussed on page 63, the changes are slightly greater. For the largest 21, the loss becomes 6.8% for South and 4.0% for North (from 6.8% and 3.9%, only 0.1% in the North). For the next 46, the loss becomes 4.8% for South and no reliable estimate possible for the North, replacing 2.6% for

South and 0.2% for North. The absence of a reliable estimate for the North for the next 46 results from the fact that nearly all desegregation occurred in the South, resulting in a correlation of .98 between R and $R \times \text{South}$. (See again footnote 26 on page 65.)

The fact that the loss for the next 46 (in the South) as estimated by Equation 2 and Equation 3 is so much greater than as estimated by Equation 1 results from the inclusion in Equation 2 and Equation 3 of the between-district segregation. This is especially low in some desegregating districts in the South, thus depressing the white loss in those cities.

On page 64, there are changes of 0.1% in numbers in the tabulation, with no changes in interpretation. On page 64, the revised calculations from Equation 3 (see attached) shows somewhat stronger effects of desegregation on white loss than before for the smaller cities and stronger intensification of the desegregation loss with increase in proportion black and between-district segregation.

Revised calculations for Table 15 are attached with no changes in interpretations resulting. Similarly on page 71 there are numerical changes which do not change interpretation (see attached).

Table 17 on page 72 changes as indicated in the attached. As pointed out in the footnote to the revised table, the estimated gains for Houston and Denver are very likely spurious due to territory annexed during the period of desegregation. Table 17 should, however, be taken with some caution as providing accurate estimates for individual cities because the high degree of multicollinearity creates some instability in estimates as described in footnote 26, page 65.

A strong caveat about the projected long-term effects as estimated on pages 74-75 should be added. These estimates must be regarded as conservative estimates of the effect of desegregation, because of the assumption, based on

7

weak evidence, that the direct effect of desegregation on white loss is a one-time effect which does not continue beyond the year of desegregation. The experience is not sufficient for strong inferences. However, examination of the losses in particular cities where desegregation occurred at a clear-cut point suggests the possibility of a continuing effect not shown by Table 15. For example, in Dallas, where the effect of desegregation in 1971 was not particularly strong (an increase in loss from 3% in 1970 to 8% in 1971) the subsequent years showed losses comparable to that of 1971 (9% and 7%, and data for 1974 not contained in the OCR data shows a loss of 9%). In Denver there was a steady growth in loss after the point of greatest reduction in segregation (1969) from 2% to 7%. But in general, there are simply not enough data. What is important to note, however, is that a small but continuing increment in white loss can have a much greater effect than the one-time loss. Thus the estimates of long-term impact of desegregation on pages 74 and 75 may be serious underestimates.

The modified procedures described above lead also to changes in the tabulations for the largest central city districts in Appendix 3 with minor changes for all schools and major changes for the separate elementary and secondary schools. Revised Appendix 3 may be obtained from The Urban Institute upon request.

7

TEXTUAL REVISIONS

Page 21, line 4:

"As the table shows, elementary schools are more segregated than high schools, in every region except the Southeast where within-district segregation at the two levels is the same."

Page 21, line 11: "... only a fifth (0.20) ..."

Page 34, lines 1-14:

"The answer at first appears to be that the degree of desegregation was greater at the secondary level, for as Table 9 shows, the reduction in degree of segregation in the country as a whole was greater at the secondary than the elementary level."

However, this apparent greater reduction in segregation at the secondary level masks differences among regions. Figures 3 and 4 show the changes from 1968-72 in elementary and secondary schools by region. In the two regions where federal and court actions toward integration were strongest, the Southeast and West South Central and in the Border states, the drop in segregation was greater in high schools than in elementary ones. But in each of the other regions the decrease in segregation was greater in elementary schools. In fact, in three of the northern regions (New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central), segregation increased among secondary schools from 1968-70, while no region showed an increase in segregation among elementary schools."

Page 46, line 21: Delete "... but the Southeast ..."

Page 48, lines 4-18:

"When we look at changes from 1968 to 1972, there is an increase in every region but Border states at both levels. But the increases vary by region and by level. In all regions, the increase was either the same at both levels or greater at the secondary level."

What appears to occur is this: As suggested by the earlier data, the general movement of whites to areas with few blacks during this period was greater at the secondary level, very likely due to the greater age and affluence of families with children of high school age. The result of that greater movement was to increase the between-district segregation more among secondary school students than among elementary students. Whether the loss of white children when desegregation occurred was greater at secondary than at elementary levels cannot, however, be inferred from these results. That question will be discussed again in a subsequent section."

Page 58, line 14: "Large negative values for Δr ..."

Page 60, line 2 through page 61, line 6:

1. For a city with the average number of students, with no blacks and no reduction in segregation, the expected loss per year is:
 - a) Largest 21: (gain of) 0.9% of whites present at beginning of year (average number of students is 169,000)
 - b) Next 46: 1.2% of whites present at beginning of year (average number of students is 58,000)
2. Additional expected loss if the city is 50% black:
 - a) Largest 21: 6.8% of whites present at beginning of year
 - b) Next 46: 4.5% of whites present at beginning of year
3. Additional expected loss if the city experiences a decrease of .2 in the index of segregation in that year:²⁵
 - a) Largest 21: 5.6% of whites at beginning of year
 - b) Next 46: 1.1% of whites at beginning of year
4. Additional expected loss if a city were twice its size:
 - a) Largest 21: 0% of whites present at beginning of year
 - b) Next 46: 2.9% of whites present at beginning of year

Taking the first three losses together, the expected loss of whites from a city system with 50% blacks would be:

For the largest 21:-

with reduction of .2 in segregation: $(-) 0.9\% + 6.8\% + 5.6\% = 11.5\%$
with no change in segregation: $(-) 0.9\% + 6.8\% = 5.9\%$

For the next 46:

with reduction of .2 in segregation: $1.2\% + 4.5\% + 1.1\% = 6.8\%$
with no change in segregation: $1.2\% + 4.5\% = 5.7\%$

Page 63, line 11 through page 64, line 7:

"Estimated increase in loss of whites in one year as a function of reduction of .2 in index of segregation:

| | South | North |
|------------|-------|-------|
| Largest 21 | 6.8% | 4.0% |
| Next 46 | 1.9% | * |

*No reliable estimate for the North can be made since the correlation between Δr and Δr_x South is .983 (i.e., nearly all changes in segregation occurred in the South in these 46 cities). See footnote 26 for further discussion.

These results show that indeed there has been a greater loss of whites when desegregation has taken place in large southern cities than when it has taken place in large northern cities, with the estimate nearly twice for the southern cities what it is for northern ones. For the smaller cities, there is a smaller loss for the Southern cities though no effect can be estimated for the North in these smaller cities.

For this analysis with the two additional variables, we can also ask

what differences in loss of whites are associated with a difference between 0 and 50% black in the city schools and a difference between 0 between-district segregation and .4 between-district segregation.

Estimated increase in loss of whites in one year as a function of 50% black in city school district and between-district segregation of .4:

| | 50% black | Between-district segregation of .4 |
|------------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| Largest 21 | 2.2% | 6.6% |
| Next 46 | 1.7% | 4.4% |

Page 65, tabulation in center of page:

| Between-district segregation | Largest 21. proportion black | | | Next 46 proportion black | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------------------|-----|-----|
| | .25 | .50 | .75 | .25 | .50 | .75 |
| 0 | 2% | 10% | 17% | 3% | 6% | 9% |
| .2 | 9 | 16 | 24 | 8 | 11 | 15 |
| .4 | 15 | 23 | 30 | 14 | 17 | 20 |

Page 66, lines 1 through 3:

"These estimates are for a city in the South. In the North the losses at the time of reduction in segregation are estimated to be 3.6% less in the largest 21 cities with no reliable estimate possible in the next 46."

Page 66, line 22: "and three more equations, . . ."

Page 71, lines 10 through 12:

"The results of the analysis give coefficients for Δr of .262 (.057) for the largest 21 city districts, and .098 (.025) for the smaller cities.²⁹"

Page 71, footnote 29: " R^2 in these equations are .65 and .60 respectively."

Pages 77 and 78: Delete section on Elementary and Secondary Schools, which continues through sixth line from bottom on page 78.

Page 79: Delete number 10.

REVISED TABLES AND FIGURES

Revised Table 5. BLACK-WHITE CONTACT AND SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN 1968 BY REGION, FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

| | Proportion | | Schoolmates | | Black-white segregation | |
|--------------------|------------|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| | white | black | whites for average black | blacks for average white | within district | total |
| U.S. | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .78 | .16 | .20 | .04 | .66 | .75 |
| Secondary | .81 | .15 | .25 | .05 | .59 | .69 |
| New England | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .92 | .06 | .42 | .03 | .42 | .55 |
| Secondary | .95 | .04 | .67 | .03 | .16 | .29 |
| Middle Atlantic | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .78 | .16 | .26 | .05 | .50 | .67 |
| Secondary | .85 | .12 | .42 | .06 | .30 | .50 |
| Border | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .77 | .22 | .22 | .06 | .53 | .71 |
| Secondary | .81 | .19 | .31 | .07 | .41 | .62 |
| Southeast | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .70 | .28 | .15 | .06 | .74 | .78 |
| Secondary | .68 | .31 | .16 | .07 | .74 | .76 |
| West South Central | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .77 | .16 | .15 | .03 | .73 | .80 |
| Secondary | .81 | .15 | .23 | .04 | .63 | .71 |
| East North Central | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .87 | .12 | .25 | .04 | .63 | .71 |
| Secondary | .88 | .12 | .35 | .05 | .50 | .60 |
| West North Central | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .87 | .11 | .22 | .03 | .67 | .75 |
| Secondary | .93 | .06 | .44 | .03 | .44 | .53 |
| Mountain | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .79 | .03 | .29 | .01 | .57 | .64 |
| Secondary | .84 | .02 | .53 | .02 | .32 | .37 |
| Pacific | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .77 | .08 | .23 | .02 | .59 | .71 |
| Secondary | .80 | .07 | .30 | .03 | .50 | .62 |

Page 34: Revised Table 9. Within-district Segregation in 1968, 70, 72 at Elementary and Secondary Levels for the U.S. as a Whole

| | 1968 | 1970 | 1972 | 1972-68 |
|------------|------|------|------|---------|
| Elementary | .66 | .48 | .42 | -.24 |
| Secondary | .59 | .33 | .29 | -.30 |

Page 47: Revised Table 12. Between-district Segregation in 1968 and 1972 in Each Region for Elementary and Secondary Schools

| | Elementary | | | Secondary | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | 1968 (1) | 1972 (2) | Change (3) | 1968 (4) | 1972 (5) | Change (6) |
| United States | .34 | .37 | +03 | .31 | .34 | +03 |
| New England | .28 | .34 | +06 | .17 | .23 | +06 |
| Middle Atlantic | .42 | .46 | +04 | .33 | .41 | +08 |
| Border | .49 | .48 | -.01 | .45 | .47 | +02 |
| Southeast | .21 | .23 | +02 | .20 | .22 | +02 |
| West South Central | .34 | .38 | +04 | .29 | .34 | +05 |
| East North Central | .31 | .32 | +01 | .29 | .33 | +04 |
| West North Central | .39 | .41 | +02 | .27 | .35 | +08 |
| Mountain | .19 | .20 | +01 | .09 | .12 | +03 |
| Pacific | .31 | .34 | +03 | .29 | .34 | +05 |

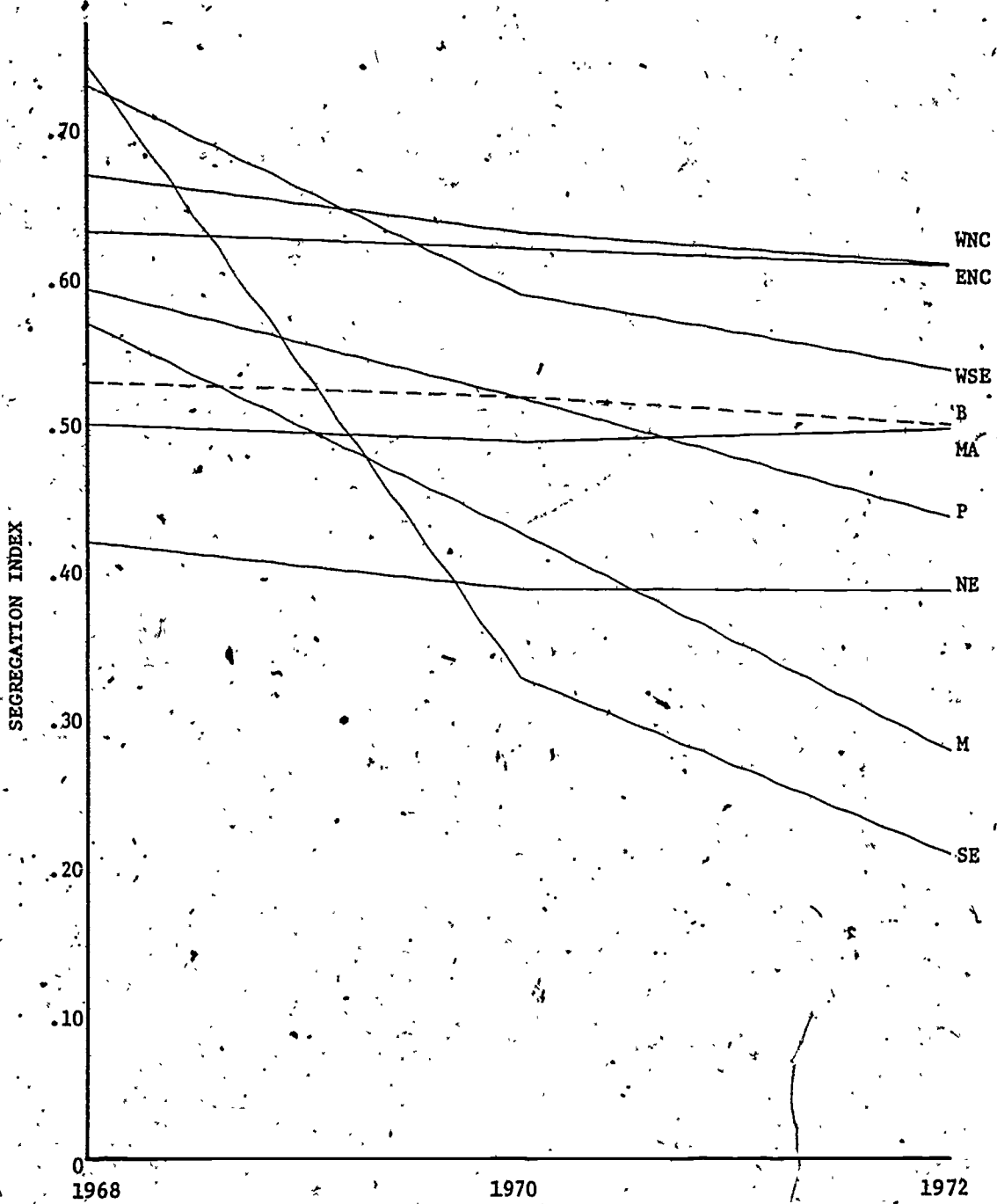


Figure 3 (Revised)

Within-district Elementary School Segregation,
by Region

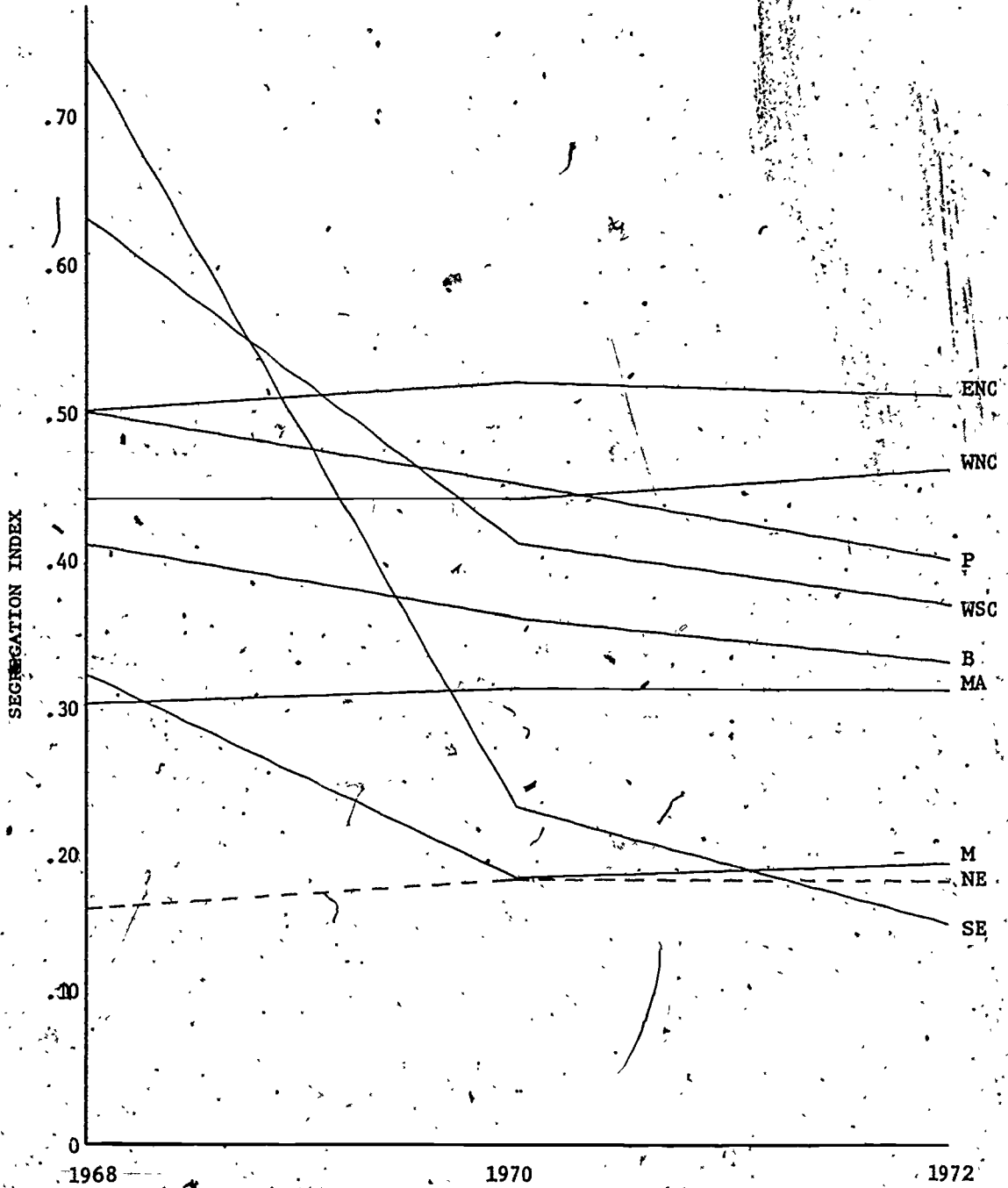


Figure 4 (Revised)

Within-district Secondary School Segregation,
by Region

Revised Table 14. Regression Coefficients for Analyses
of White Student Loss to Central Cities

| <u>Equation 1</u> | <u>Largest 21</u> | <u>Next 46</u> |
|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| ΔR | .279 (.062) | .056 (.026) |
| Prop. black | -.133 (.028) | -.090 (.014) |
| $\ln N$ | .000 (.008) | -.042 (.010) |
| Constant | .013 | .452 |
| R^2 | .29 | .26 |
| Number of Observations | (105) | (226) |

Including inter-district segregation in SMSA, and inter-
action of desegregation with South:

| <u>Equation 2</u> | | |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|
| ΔR | .199 (.156) | -.148 (.137) |
| Prop. black | -.044 (.039) | -.035 (.016) |
| $\ln N$ | .066 (.008) | -.041 (.010) |
| R SMSA | -.165 (.050) | -.110 (.021) |
| $\Delta R \times S$ | .143 (.170) | .242 (.137) |
| Constant | -.059 | .438 |
| R^2 | .36 | .35 |

Including interactions of desegregation with proportion
black and inter-district segregation, and also including
South as a dummy variable:

| <u>Equation 3</u> | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| ΔR | -.459 (.184) | -.349 (.151) |
| Prop. black | .051 (.037) | -.026 (.019) |
| $\ln N$ | .003 (.006) | -.039 (.009) |
| R SMSA | -.210 (.044) | -.102 (.025) |
| $\Delta R \times \text{South}$ | .148 (.198) | .244 (.145) |
| $\Delta R \times \text{Prop. black}$ | 1.770 (.307) | .511 (.215) |
| $\Delta R \times R \text{ SMSA}$ | .561 (.494) | .894 (.314) |
| South | -.006 (.010) | -.002 (.006) |
| Constant | -.039 | .414 |
| R^2 | .60 | .40 |

Page 68: Revised Table 15. Further Analysis Results (Equations include proportion, black, and inter-district segregation)

Large 21

| Years of desegregation | ΔR_t | ΔR_{t-1} | ΔR_{t-2} | R^2 |
|------------------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|-------|
| 69-73 | .320 (.060) | | | .35 |
| 70-73 | .330 (.069) | .009 (.080) | | .35 |
| 71-73 | .279 (.065) | -.035 (.078) | -.022 (.075) | .43 |
| 72-73 | .603 (.096) | -.082 (.068) | -.048 (.070) | .71 |

Next 46

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----|
| 69-73 | .089 (.025) | | | .34 |
| 70-73 | .076 (.026) | .034 (.026) | | .31 |
| 71-73 | .102 (.032) | .024 (.025) | -.024 (.027) | .42 |
| 72-73 | .130 (.050) | .051 (.033) | -.045 (.029) | .40 |

Estimated added losses of whites due to desegregation in first year of desegregation, in second year, and third year, assuming reduction of .2 in segregation index.*

| | First year | Second year | Third year |
|----------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Large 21 | 7.7% | 0.7% (gain) | 0.7% (gain) |
| Next 46 | 2.0% | 0.7% | 0.7% (gain) |

*Unweighted averages of above estimates were used because standard errors were nearly alike.

Revised Table 17. Estimated Additional Loss of White Students
in Specified Cities

(Loss during desegregation in cities which had a Δr in one
year of $\geq .1$, beyond general loss of whites in those cities.
(Desegregation assumed is $\Delta r = -.2$.)

| City | Estimated loss as a percent of white students present at beginning of year |
|---------------|--|
| Houston | (gain) 9.1% |
| Dallas | 7.9% |
| Memphis | 15.6% |
| Tampa | 2.6% |
| Indianapolis | 6.7% |
| Atlanta | 16.7% |
| Denver | (gain) 4.0% |
| San Francisco | 5.1% |
| Average | 5.2% |

NOTE: Professor Reynolds Farley (personal communication 10 September, 1975) has pointed out to us that Houston, Dallas, Memphis, and Denver annexed substantial amounts of territory during the period 1970-73, so that the losses for those cities may be underestimated due to an undetermined number of white children added through annexation. Thus the apparent gains for Houston and Denver may well be due to annexation.

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| PREFACE..... | iii |
| TABLES..... | vii |
| FIGURES..... | ix |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| The Measures of School Integration..... | 7 |
| Integration in 1968..... | 11 |
| Within-District Segregation..... | 12 |
| Regional Variations..... | 14 |
| Variation by Size of District..... | 16 |
| Variation in Segregation by District Size in Each Region..... | 18 |
| Segregation at Elementary and Secondary Levels..... | 20 |
| Racial Contact and Segregation in the 22 Largest Central City Districts..... | 23 |
| Trends in Within-System Segregation..... | 27 |
| Changes in Segregation at Elementary and Secondary Levels..... | 32 |
| Changes in 22 Largest Central-City Districts..... | 37 |
| Changes in Total Segregation and Segregation Between Districts..... | 43 |
| Within- and Between-District Segregation in Metropolitan Areas..... | 49 |
| The Size of Individual Segregating Responses to Desegregation..... | 53 |
| REFERENCES..... | 81 |
| APPENDIX 1: Office for Civil Rights Sampling Plan and Report Form, 1968..... | 83 |
| APPENDIX 2: Alternate Use of S _{wb} | 93 |
| APPENDIX 3: Basic Data for 70 Largest Central City School Districts-- All Schools, Elementary and Secondary, 1968-73..... | 97 |

TABLES

| | | |
|----|--|----|
| 1 | Proportion of Schoolmates from Each Group for the Average Child of Each Group | 12 |
| 2 | Black-White Contact and School Segregation in 1968 by Region | 15 |
| 3 | Black-White Contact and School Segregation in 1968 by District Size | 17 |
| 4 | Average Within-District Segregation in 1968 in Each Region According to District Size | 19 |
| 5 | Black-White Contact and School Segregation in 1968 by Region for Elementary and Secondary Schools | 22 |
| 6 | Black-White Contact and School Segregation in 1968 for 22 Largest Central City School Districts | 24 |
| 7 | Black-White Contact and School Segregation in 1972 by Region | 28 |
| 8 | Average Within-District Segregation in 1972 in Each Region According to District Size | 33 |
| 9 | Within-District Segregation in 1968, 1970, 1972 at Elementary and Secondary Levels for the U.S. as a Whole | 34 |
| 10 | Black-White Segregation and Contact of Blacks with Whites in 22 Largest Central City School Districts, 1968-73 | 38 |
| 11 | Changes in Within-District and Between-District Segregation in 1968 and 1972 in Each Region | 45 |
| 12 | Between-District Segregation in 1968 and 1972 in Each Region for Elementary and Secondary Schools | 47 |
| 13 | Black-White Segregation among Schools within Central Cities and Between-Districts in the Metropolitan Area | 50 |
| 14 | Regression Coefficients for Analysis of White Student Loss to Central Cities | 59 |
| 15 | Further Analysis Results | 68 |
| 16 | Reduction in Segregation 1968-73, Expected and Actual Loss of White Students 1969-73, 22 Largest Central City School Districts | 70 |
| 17 | Estimated Additional Loss of White Students in Specified Cities | 72 |

FIGURES

| | | |
|---|---|----|
| 1 | Average Within-District Segregation, 1968-72 by Region (Alaska and Hawaii omitted) | 30 |
| 2 | Average Within-District Segregation, 1968-72 by District Size | 31 |
| 3 | Average Within-District Elementary School Segregation by Region, 1968-72 | 35 |
| 4 | Average Within-District Secondary School Segregation by Region, 1968-72 | 36 |
| 5 | Average Total Segregation by Region, 1968-72 (Alaska and Hawaii omitted) | 44 |

INTRODUCTION

School desegregation has been a major issue in the United States in the 1960's and 1970's. In 1954, the Supreme Court decision in the Brown case initiated a set of activities which has culminated in the current desegregation efforts in large cities of the North.

"Desegregation" has meant many things during the period since 1954. The term initially referred to elimination of dual school systems, in which one set of attendance zones was used to assign white children to one set of schools, and a second set of attendance zones was used to assign black children to a different set of schools. The classic and plaintive query of the black mother in the South was why should her child be bussed to a school far away, past a nearby school, merely because of the color of his skin. The extent of the change is that the same plaintive query is now heard, primarily from white mothers, primarily in large cities, where bussing has begun to be used, not to segregate children by race, but to integrate them.

This change is reflected in a change in meaning of the term desegregation. From the initial meaning of eliminating a system of dual assignment, the term desegregation has come to mean reduction of any segregation within a system, and in the strongest meaning of the term, elimination of any racial imbalance among schools in the system. Thus desegregation, which initially meant abolition of a legally-imposed segregation, has come to mean, in many cases, affirmative integration.

However, except for one court case (in Detroit) which was later reversed in the Supreme Court, desegregation has not come to mean elimination of racial imbalance between school districts. Nor, except in a few instances, have two or more school systems combined or cooperated to reduce segregation due to residence in different districts. Thus social policy in school desegregation, although changing over time and different in different districts, has almost wholly been confined to desegregation of schools within a school district.

Given the policies that have been applied, by local school systems, by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and by the courts, we can ask a series of questions concerning the actual state of racial integration in schools, and recent trends in that state. For actions taken by one branch of government and at one level of government interact with actions taken by individuals and by other branches and levels of government. The actual state of school integration is a result of this interaction. It is different than it would be in the absence of the policies designed to bring about integration; but it is more than a simple consequence of the policies. Indeed, there are numerous examples of government policy in which the result of the interaction between policy and response is precisely the opposite of the result intended by those who initiated the policy. It is especially important in the case of school desegregation to examine this interaction, because many of the actions taken by individuals, and some of those taken by their local government bodies, have precisely the opposite effect on school desegregation to that intended by federal government policy. The most obvious such individual action, of course, is a move of residence to flee school integration.

To examine the status and trends in school segregation, the primary (and virtually singular) data source are the statistical reports collected by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Beginning in 1968 and continuing to the present, the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of HEW has obtained from school systems throughout the United States statistics showing the racial composition of each school in the district, the racial composition of teaching staffs, and related information. The data for 1968, 69, 70, 71, 72, and 73 have been processed and are available for analysis. These data allow a detailed statistical analysis of the status and trends in school segregation by race throughout the United States. They are unique in this; and the opportunity they offer is the opportunity to examine what has actually occurred throughout the period 1968-73 during which there have been policies at local, state, and federal levels, in courts, legislatures, executive and administrative branches of government related to school desegregation. Most of these policies have been aimed at bringing about desegregation, though in a few cases, such as anti-bussing actions in Congress, they have been aimed at preventing certain kinds of desegregation.

Not all the questions surrounding school desegregation can be answered by these data, as will be evident in subsequent pages, but some can be, in a more complete way than before.

Of the various policy aims that have been the objects of school desegregation policies, these statistical data can give evidence only on a subset of the aims. And from this subset, we will examine a still smaller subset: the aim of eliminating racial segregation among schools within a system, whatever its source, and the aim of eliminating racial segregation between districts. The data gathered by OCR allow also for the examination of teacher assignment, and thus racial segregation among staff and

between staff and students. However, we will not pursue that examination here.

The data do not allow, on the other hand, for a study of segregation among classes within a school (often known as "tracking"), because there is no good information on pupil assignment to classes within a school. The Office for Civil Rights attempted, in its 1971 questionnaire, to obtain these data from school systems, but abandoned the effort in 1972. A more detailed and intensive mode of data collection is probably necessary if data of sufficient quality on assignment within school are to be obtained.

No implication is attended by the examination to be carried out below that the policy aim of eliminating segregation among schools with a system, whatever its source, is the "correct" one, and other policies which would either go less far (such as eliminating only that school segregation not due to residence) or further (such as eliminating all segregation among classes within a school) are not correct. The question of what is the correct policy depends not only on the implicitly aimed-for social consequences, but upon the realm of legitimate authority of the governmental units applying the policy. This in turn depends on just which individual rights citizens have vested in their government for collective use, through the Constitution and legislative acts. For example, to accomplish the policy aim of eliminating all segregation among schools, whatever its source, the most effective implementation would be federally-specified pupil assignment to schools to create precise racial balance, disregarding school district and state lines. However, such a policy would be using collectively certain rights that individuals have retained to themselves or vested in a more local level of government. As another example,

citizens have vested certain authority in the court, such as constitutional protection, but a wider range of authority in elected legislatures. Thus certain policy aims such as elimination of segregation among schools whatever its source may be appropriate for legislative action if it achieves certain desired consequences, but not appropriate for court action, which must be directed not toward achieving desirable social goals, but insuring constitutional protection for all citizens. It is useful also to point out that data such as these which show the indirect and unintended consequences of school desegregation actions may be relevant for certain desegregation decisions, but not for others. They are relevant for an executive or legislative body which is attempting in its action to achieve a desirable social consequence. They are not relevant for a court decision which is acting to insure equal protection under the 14th Amendment.

Despite the fact that only two aims, student desegregation among schools in a district regardless of the source of segregation, and desegregation between school districts, can be studied, there are a number of important questions that can be answered with these data. In particular, these data show the result of government desegregation actions and individual segregating actions taken together, and allow some assessment of the effects of each. In this way, they suggest the limits of government policy, or at least the limits of policies carried out in the conflict mode that has characterized school desegregation policy.

We will begin by examining the state of racial integration among schools within a district in 1968, and then move to an examination of the changes that occurred over the period 1968-1973. What will be of special interest

is the differential changes that occurred over that period of time in different kinds of school settings: in different regions of the country, in school districts of different sizes, and in particular large cities. For different things were happening in different places during this time, giving rise to very different trends in different places.

For much of the analysis in examining trends, two separate series must be used. The even years, 1968, 1970, 1972, constitute a census of U.S. school districts, covering 90% of the children in school, and excluding only a few very small districts.¹ The odd years include only a sample of school systems, representing those districts in which most minority pupils are found. When examining trends over time in individual districts the odd-numbered years can be safely included, because each district is either included as a whole, or excluded. But for average across the country, across regions, across states, and even metropolitan areas, the odd years cannot be included, and the series must end with 1972.

¹See Appendix 1 for OCR sampling plan.

THE MEASURES OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION

A principal consequence of school desegregation that is of major societal interest is the amount of contact between children of different racial groups.² Furthermore, most of the attention has been focussed on the amount of contact of "minority" children (principally blacks and Spanish American children³), with "majority whites." Much attention both of courts and legislatures has been directed toward elimination of patterns that result in schools which are overwhelmingly or predominantly minority.

For these reasons, a directly relevant statistical measure on a school system is the proportion of white children in the same school with the average black child. This gives a measure of the experience of the "average black child" in that school district with whites. A similar

² A different consequence may be of legal interest: the degree to which segregation resulting from action of any level of government (thus failing to provide equal protection under the 14th Amendment) is eliminated. Still other consequences are of interest to particular groups, and these may depend on the particular way that segregation or integration arises. For example, if either segregation or integration is achieved through assignment of children to schools at some distance because of their race, then the parents affected may feel a greater deprivation of rights than in the case when such assignment does not occur, even if the school's racial composition does not differ. However, a study of the kind carried out here cannot examine these consequences.

³ The OCR surveys measure enrollments of the following categories: Negroes, American Indian, Oriental, Spanish Surnamed Americans, and Other. White non-minority and undesignated minority groups are included in the category "Other."

measure may be calculated for the proportion of children of each racial group in the school of the average child from each racial group.⁴

This measure is affected not only by the degree of segregation between two groups in different schools in the system, but also by the overall proportion of children in each group. If there are few white children in the system, for example, then whether or not there is the same proportion of whites in each school, the average black child will have a small proportion of white children in his school. Because of this, it is valuable also to have a measure of just how far from an even distribution across the schools the actual distribution is, that is, a measure that is standardized for the number of whites in the system. Such a measure can be constructed, having a value of 0 if there is no segregation between the

⁴The measure of interracial school contact may be constructed as follows: If we number the schools in the system 1, ...k, ...n, and consider the first school, there is a given proportion of whites in this school. Call this p_{1w} . There are a certain number of blacks in the school. Call this n_{1b} . Then for this number of blacks, the proportion of whites in their school is p_{1w} . If we average this proportion over all schools, weighting by the number of blacks, we obtain the desired measure, which we may call s_{bw} , the proportion of white children in the school of the average black child (or more generally, labelling the group i and j for generality):

$$s_{bw} = \frac{\sum_k n_{kb} p_{kw}}{\sum_k n_{kb}} \quad (1)$$

or for any groups i and j

$$s_{ij} = \frac{\sum_k n_{ki} p_{kj}}{\sum_k n_{ki}} \quad (2)$$

two groups in question, and a value of 1.0 if segregation is complete.⁵

It is important to note, however, that although the standardized measure is a measure of segregation of children in one group from those of another, it is the unstandardized measure which measures directly the presence of children of a group in schools attended by children of another group. Thus the proportion of white schoolmates for the average black child may be low, as in Washington, D.C., where only 3% of the children are white, without the measure of segregation being especially high.⁶

⁵The standardized measure of segregation is constructed as follows. If the same proportion of children from group j were in each school, then s_{ij} (see preceding footnote for notation) would be equal to p_j . If the children of group j were all in schools by themselves, totally isolated from children of group i , s_{ij} would be 0. Thus a measure of how far s_{ij} is from p_j is $(p_j - s_{ij})/p_j$. This we will call r_{ij} , which may be thought of as a measure of the degree of segregation, or the degree to which segregation between schools is responsible for the value of s_{ij} . The formula is

$$r_{ij} = \frac{p_j - s_{ij}}{p_j} \quad (3)$$

⁶For some purposes, it is preferable not to standardize s_{ij} to create a "measure of segregation," r_{ij} , but rather to let s_{ij} be a dependent variable in an analysis, with one of the independent variables the proportion of group j in the system. Using this alternative, we do not begin with a concept of "segregation," but rather with a concept of proportion of the average member of group i 's schoolmates that are of group j . The degree to which this is accounted for by the proportion of group j in the system is a measure of the integration of group i with j . In a regression equation, if the coefficient on the proportion of group j is 1, there is no segregation. Insofar as it is below 1, there is.

INTEGRATION IN 1968

In 1968 in the United States, 15% of the children in public schools (grades 1-12) were black, 6% were of another minority, and 79% were majority whites. But the average black child in U.S. schools went to a school which had 74% black children in it, and only 22% white children (and 4% other minorities). Meanwhile, the average majority white child was in a school which was 93% white and only 4% black.

These numbers show that the interracial contact in American schools in 1968 was quite low. Black children had more contact with whites than whites had with blacks, due to the disparity in overall numbers; but the separation was quite marked. Using the standardized measure described earlier, r_{ij} , the segregation between blacks and whites is .72.⁷

Although in the subsequent examination we will focus exclusively on black-white segregation, it is useful to note here the proportion of schoolmates from each of the five racial-ethnic groups for the average child from each group. Table 1 shows this for 1968.⁸

As this table shows, the average white child in the U.S. has far less contact with any minority children than any of the minorities have with children from other groups. Among the minorities, black children have least contact with children from other groups. Construction of standardized measures

⁷ Using equation (3), this is calculated as $r_{bw} = \frac{.79 - .22}{.79} = .72$.

⁸ Using equation (3), standardized measures of segregation may be calculated for each pair of groups, from the tabulation presented.

Table 1. PROPORTION OF SCHOOLMATES FROM EACH GROUP FOR THE AVERAGE CHILD OF EACH GROUP

| Proportion of schoolmates who are: | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|------|
| For the Average: | American Indian | Negro | Oriental American | Spanish Surname | Majority White | Sum |
| American Indian | .31 | .04 | 0+ | .06 | .59 | 1.00 |
| Negro | 0+ | .74 | 0+ | .03 | .22 | .99 |
| Oriental American | 0+ | .11 | .11 | .12 | .66 | 1.00 |
| Spanish Surname | 0+ | .11 | .01 | .43 | .44 | .99 |
| Majority White | 0+ | .04 | 0+ | .03 | .93 | 1.00 |
| Proportion of each group | .0035 | .1530 | .0047 | .0466 | .7923 | |

of segregation from these figures would show that blacks and whites are the most segregated, both from one another and from the other groups.

Within-district segregation

The segregation reflected in the value of .72 for black-white segregation is composed of two parts: segregation among schools within the same school district, and segregation due to blacks and whites living in different school

districts. The average of the within-district segregation, when weighted according to the number of blacks in the districts, is somewhat lower, at .63. However, this figure represents a degree of segregation nearly as large as that for total segregation. (If every district in which blacks lived had the same racial composition, then given this same segregation of .63 within districts, the average black child would have had 29% white schoolmates, rather than 22%. This would have been somewhat more contact, but still not a high amount.⁹)

A different picture is evident when we examine the average within-district segregation weighted by the number of whites in the district. This figure is .23. The low number compared to the high .63 for the average weighted by the number of blacks reflects the fact that most whites live in smaller districts with few blacks, while most blacks live in districts with many whites. If segregation in the smaller districts was low in 1968 (as we shall see shortly it was), then the within-district segregation for the average black would be high. Or to put it differently, the segregation within the districts where most blacks live is high, while the segregation within the districts where most whites live is much lower. This reflects also the fact that most whites live in districts different from those in which most blacks live.

We shall use as a measure of the average within-district segregation in the subsequent analysis the average weighted by numbers of black students, since desegregation policy within districts has focussed on the districts with many blacks, and upon the interracial contacts of blacks.

⁹The value of 29% is calculated by use of equation (3) with $r_{bw} = 6.3$
 $p_w = .79$. Thus $.63 = \frac{.79 - s_{bw}}{.79}$, or $s_{bw} = .29$.

Regional Variations

However, the degree of school segregation differed considerably among regions of the country in 1968. Table 2 shows, for the Census geographic regions, the contact of blacks and whites, and the segregation, in each of the regions.¹⁰

Table 2 shows, comparing columns 1 and 3, the disparity between the proportion white in each region and the proportion white among the average black's schoolmates. Although the proportion white ranges from .69 to .93, in no region except the Outlying states does the average black have a majority of white schoolmates. Only in New England does the proportion approach this. Comparing columns 2 and 4 shows a similar disparity for whites: although the proportion black reaches .29 in one region, in no region does the average white have more than 7% black schoolmates.

These disparities are shown in column 6, the measure of total segregation. It is greatest in the two southern regions, though not so much greater than several northern regions as might be expected, given historic differences between North and South in school policy. With this relative similarity between total segregation in North and South in 1968, it is somewhat puzzling that when the goals of desegregation shifted from elimination of dual systems to more ambitious ones, attention continued to be concentrated on the South until the early 1970's. The explanation probably lies in the

¹⁰ Several regions have been reclassified, because the character of racial segregation has differed within the region. Hawaii and Alaska have been separated as "outlying" states from the Pacific region; and the South Atlantic and East South Central have been combined and redivided into Border (Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky) and Southeast (all others in these two regions). In all tabulations beyond Table 2, the Outlying states, Hawaii and Alaska, are dropped, because as Table 2 shows, there is no black-white segregation in their schools, and the number of blacks in those states is very small.

Table 2. BLACK-WHITE CONTACT AND SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN 1968 BY REGION

| | Proportion | | Schoolmates | | Black-white segregation | |
|--------------------|------------|------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| | 1 white | 2 black | 3 whites for average black | 4 blacks for average white | 5 within district | 6 total |
| U.S. | .79 | .15 | .22 | .04 | .63 | .72 |
| New England | .93 | .05 | .49 | .03 | .34 | .47 |
| Middle Atlantic | .81 | .14 | .31 | .05 | .43 | .62 |
| Border | .79 | .21 | .26 | .07 | .48 | .67 |
| Southeast | .69 | .29 | .16 | .07 | .75 | .77 |
| West South Central | .78 | .16 | .18 | .04 | .69 | .77 |
| East North Central | .87 | .12 | .29 | .04 | .58 | .67 |
| West North Central | .90 | .09 | .27 | .03 | .61 | .70 |
| Mountain | .81 | .03 | .36 | .01 | .49 | .56 |
| Pacific | .78 | .07 | .25 | .02 | .56 | .68 |
| Outlying | .87 | .03 | .83 | .83 | (-).04 | .05 |

conflict surrounding desegregation: The desegregation movement was part of a larger movement of the 1960's of liberating the southern Negro. Only with the success of that movement did attention turn to the North.

In the measure of within-district segregation (column 5), the two southern regions are more distinct from the northern regions. The southeast shows the classic pattern of southern segregation, with nearly all the segregation occurring within districts, while New England, Middle Atlantic, and Border regions show what has emerged as the northern pattern of segregation--segregation due to blacks and whites attending schools in different districts. In those three regions, the ratio of the within-district segregation to the total segregation is lowest, .69 to .72.

* Variation by size of district

The policies of desegregation, as well as the individual responses to it, vary greatly by district size. Desegregation in an urban area is a very different process from that in a small district in a rural area. Thus just as it is important to examine regional variations (because of historical differences and because of the different desegregation policies applied in North and South), it is important to examine variations by district size. Since district boundaries most often coincide with central city boundaries, variations in district size are largely coincident with variation in city size.

Table 3 shows the 1968 interracial contact and segregation by district size. The columns have the same meaning as columns 1-5 of Table 2. (Column 6 is not included here, since "total segregation" has meaning only for a geographic entity, such as SMSA or region.) First, columns 1 and 2 show the sharp racial differences by district size: the smaller the district, the greater the proportion white and smaller the proportion black. One result

Table 3. BLACK-WHITE CONTACT AND SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN 1968 BY DISTRICT SIZE*

| District, Size | Proportion of all whites in districts of this size. | Proportion of all blacks in district of this size | Proportion | | Schoolmates | | 5 Black-white segregation within district |
|----------------|---|---|------------|----------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| | | | 1. white | 2. black | 3 whites for average black | 4 blacks for average white | |
| U.S. | 1.0 | 1.00 | .79 | .15 | .22 | .07 | .63 |
| > 100,000 | .09 | .35 | .52 | .38 | .12 | .09 | .71 |
| 25-100,000 | .16 | .23 | .73 | .20 | .22 | .06 | .66 |
| 10-25,000 | .20 | .14 | .83 | .11 | .30 | .04 | .54 |
| 5-10,000 | .20 | .13 | .86 | .11 | .28 | .04 | .59 |
| 2.5-5,000 | .18 | .09 | .88 | .09 | .30 | .03 | .56 |
| < 2,500 | .16 | .06 | .90 | .06 | .35 | .02 | .44 |

* The size classification for districts was carried out only once, for comparability across years. Sizes are based on 1972 enrollments.



of this is shown in columns 3 and 4: the average black child has an increasing proportion of white schoolmates as district size decreases, and the average white has a decreasing proportion of black schoolmates as district size decreases.

Column 5, shows that given the racial distributions in the districts, the average segregation is greatest within the largest districts, and declines somewhat as district size decreases. Thus not all the increase in the proportion of white schoolmates for the average black child in smaller districts is due to the greater proportion of whites in those districts. Part is due to the lesser segregation in the smaller districts.

Variations in segregation by district size in each region

The differing patterns of segregation in North and South suggest the usefulness of examining segregation in different size districts in each of the regions. Table 4 shows the measure of segregation (column 5 in Tables 2 and 3) in each size class in each region. First, looking at the largest districts, the most striking point is that segregation is high not only in the two southern regions; it is equally high in three of the five northern regions. Only in Middle Atlantic and Border states is the degree of segregation in the largest districts lower.

As district size decreases, however, segregation decreases markedly outside the two Southern regions. In the Southeast, segregation remains almost constant among all size districts, and in the West South Central region, it declines only slightly as district size decreases. Thus in 1968, the difference between South and North in segregation is not at all in the largest cities, but in the smaller cities and towns. A caution should be introduced, however: the measures of segregation do not tell the levels of contact be-

Table 4. AVERAGE WITHIN-DISTRICT SEGREGATION IN 1968 IN EACH REGION ACCORDING TO DISTRICT SIZE

| District Size (000) | U.S. | New England | Middle Atlantic | Border | South-east | West South Central | East North Central | West North Central | Mountain | Pacific |
|---------------------|------|-------------|-----------------|--------|------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------|---------|
| >100 | .71 | -- | .53 | .59 | .84 | .79 | .79 | .82 | -- | .84 |
| 25-100 | .66 | .48 | .54 | .46 | .77 | .74 | .61 | .64 | .56 | .45 |
| 10-25 | .54 | .28 | .30 | .23 | .69 | .61 | .33 | .22 | .44 | .35 |
| 5-10 | .59 | .08 | .15 | .24 | .74 | .64 | .18 | .15 | .45 | .20 |
| 2.5-5 | .56 | .06 | .08 | .13 | .74 | .52 | .09 | .19 | .11 | .08 |
| <2.5 | .44 | .01 | .04 | .04 | .70 | .36 | .02 | .09 | .06 | .05 |

tween the two racial groups: as Table 2 showed, the average white child in the Southeast has, despite the higher levels of segregation, a higher proportion of black schoolmates than in any other region, except in the Border states where it is equal. These tables suggest, in fact, that it is the potentially high proportion of black schoolmates, due to a high proportion black in the region or district, that generates high levels of segregation. Table 2 shows a rather strong relation between the proportion black in a region and the total or within district segregation.

Segregation at elementary and secondary levels

In the tabulations up to this point, all students in all schools were included, whatever grade they were in. However, in most localities, schools are divided into different levels, at least into an elementary school and high school, though sometimes into three levels (a 6-3-3 plan, with junior high schools, or a 4-4-4 plan, or a 5-3-4 plan).¹¹ Elementary schools are characteristically smaller than high schools, having smaller geographic attendance zones, with several elementary schools feeding into a single high school. Because of residential segregation by race, we would expect the attendance zones of elementary schools to be more racially homogeneous, and thus to be more segregated than high schools.

¹¹ In recent years, the effort to achieve integration without bussing has led to even finer divisions in some cases, with a school building which once covered the four years of high school, for example, now covering only two years, with twice as large an attendance zone.

Table 5, which is comparable to the first six columns of Table 2, shows the degree of interracial contact and the degree of segregation for the U.S. as a whole and for each region, in elementary and secondary schools. As the table shows, elementary schools are more segregated than high schools, in every region. Only in the Southeast is the segregation at the two levels nearly the same. This reflects the remains of the historical de jure segregation of the South, which segregates beyond the segregation induced by residence, and thus segregates the high schools as fully as elementary.

The difference in segregation at elementary and secondary levels is rather substantial in most regions, and in the U.S. as a whole: the average black elementary school child has only a sixth (0.17) of his schoolmates white, while the average black secondary school child has a quarter (0.25) of his schoolmates white. Whether the greater segregation at the elementary level includes a greater tendency on the part of whites to segregate their elementary school children, beyond that due to small attendance zones, cannot be inferred from these data. However, the examination of trends from 1968-72 in a subsequent section will give some indications of different processes at elementary and

¹² Because of the varying organization of schools into levels, and because of the way data were collected by OCR (the grade levels covered by each school and the numbers of each racial group in each school, but not by grade level) a fixed rule for classifying a schools as "elementary" or "secondary" was required. This was to count every school with a sixth grade as elementary and every school with a tenth grade as secondary. This excluded some schools with less than the first six grades; but to include them along with the sixth-grade schools for which they were feeders would have incorrectly assessed segregation between, say, a grade 1-4 school and a 5-8 school, rather than segregation across all schools serving a given grade level. Some schools in small communities, which cover grades 1-12, are included both as elementary and secondary. Using this method, however, we obtain the segregation at two levels in the community, the 6th and 10th grade level.

Table 5. BLACK-WHITE CONTACT AND SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN 1968 BY REGION, FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

| | Proportion | | Schoolmates | | Black-white segregation | |
|--------------------|------------|---------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------|
| | 1 white | 2 black | 3 whites for average black | 4 blacks for average white | 5 within district | 6 total |
| U.S. | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .77 | .17 | .17 | .04 | .70 | .78 |
| Secondary | .81 | .15 | .25 | .05 | .61 | .70 |
| New England | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .92 | .06 | .43 | .03 | .40 | .53 |
| Secondary | .95 | .04 | .68 | .03 | .14 | .29 |
| Middle Atlantic | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .79 | .15 | .27 | .05 | .50 | .67 |
| Secondary | .87 | .10 | .47 | .05 | .27 | .46 |
| Border | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .78 | .21 | .21 | .06 | .56 | .73 |
| Secondary | .85 | .15 | .39 | .07 | .35 | .54 |
| Southeast | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .66 | .32 | .12 | .06 | .79 | .81 |
| Secondary | .67 | .32 | .15 | .07 | .75 | .78 |
| West South Central | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .76 | .18 | .14 | .03 | .76 | .82 |
| Secondary | .81 | .15 | .23 | .04 | .63 | .72 |
| East North Central | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .86 | .13 | .24 | .04 | .65 | .72 |
| Secondary | .90 | .10 | .41 | .04 | .43 | .55 |
| West North Central | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .89 | .10 | .22 | .03 | .66 | .75 |
| Secondary | .93 | .06 | .38 | .03 | .47 | .59 |
| Mountain | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .80 | .03 | .28 | .01 | .59 | .66 |
| Secondary | .83 | .02 | .53 | .01 | .32 | .36 |
| Pacific | | | | | | |
| Elementary | .77 | .08 | .21 | .02 | .62 | .73 |
| Secondary | .84 | .05 | .36 | .02 | .44 | .57 |

secondary levels.

Racial contact and segregation in the 22 largest central-city districts

As Tables 3 and 4 show, segregation is most pronounced in the largest school districts, which tend to be located in the largest cities. Table 6, in the same format as columns 1-6 of Table 2, shows for the twenty-two largest central-city districts (1972 enrollment) the proportion of schoolmates of the other race in columns 3 and 4, and the measure of segregation in column 5.¹³ The first seventeen of these are in the 100,000+ size category in Tables 3 and 4; the last five are in the 25-100,000 class. In only three cities (Columbus, Boston, and San Diego) did the average black child have more than a quarter of his schoolmates white, and in only six cities (Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, New Orleans, New York, and San Francisco, excluding Washington, D.C., which is an aberrant case, almost racially homogeneous) did the average white child have more than 15% of his schoolmates black. This low degree of contact is reflected by the segregation measures, eight of which are .80 or above, and only three of which are below .60. These figures re-emphasize what Table 4 shows: that segregation in large cities in 1968 was not concentrated in any region of the country, but appeared to a similar degree in all regions.

Altogether, the picture of racial segregation in U.S. schools in 1968 is one with several components:

¹³ These 22 largest central city school districts are classified according to 1972 enrollment and an Office of Education metropolitan status classification. They represent 22 of the 23 largest central city districts; Albuquerque is excluded (the 22nd largest) because it is not among the largest 50 cities in total population.

Table 6: BLACK-WHITE CONTACT AND SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN 1968
FOR 22 LARGEST CENTRAL CITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS
(Districts ranked by 1972 Enrollment)-

| | Proportion | | Schoolmates | | Segregation within district ⁵ |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--|--|--|
| | ¹ White | ² Black | ³ Whites for average black | ⁴ Blacks for average white | |
| 1. New York | .44 | .31 | .31 | .17 | .47 |
| 2. Los Angeles | .54 | .23 | .07 | .03 | .86 |
| 3. Chicago | .38 | .53 | .05 | .08 | .86 |
| 4. Philadelphia | .39 | .59 | .14 | .21 | .64 |
| 5. Detroit | .39 | .59 | .13 | .20 | .66 |
| 6. Houston | .53 | .33 | .06 | .04 | .89 |
| 7. Baltimore | .35 | .65 | .10 | .19 | .71 |
| 8. Dallas | .61 | .31 | .06 | .03 | .91 |
| 9. Cleveland | .42 | .56 | .06 | .09 | .85 |
| 10. Wash., D.C. | .06 | .93 | .03 | .44 | .53 |
| 11. Memphis | .46 | .54 | .04 | .04 | .92 |
| 12. Milwaukee | .73 | .24 | .18 | .06 | .75 |
| 13. San Diego | .76 | .12 | .26 | .04 | .66 |
| 14. Columbus | .74 | .26 | .30 | .10 | .60 |
| 15. Tampa | .74 | .19 | .16 | .04 | .78 |
| 16. St. Louis | .36 | .64 | .07 | .12 | .82 |
| 17. New Orleans | .31 | .67 | .09 | .19 | .72 |
| 18. Indianapolis | .66 | .34 | .22 | .11 | .67 |
| 19. Boston | .68 | .27 | .27 | .11 | .60 |
| 20. Atlanta | .38 | .62 | .06 | .09 | .85 |
| 21. Denver | .66 | .14 | .20 | .04 | .69 |
| 22. San Francisco | .41 | .28 | .25 | .17 | .38 |

1. High segregation in the largest cities of the country, where the proportions of blacks are greatest;
2. Sharply lower segregation in smaller districts everywhere but the South (and slightly lower there), but much smaller proportions of blacks in these smaller districts -- except in the South;
3. A large contribution to total segregation in some northern regions due to blacks and whites living in different districts, so that the difference in total segregation between North and South is considerably less than their difference in segregation within districts;
4. Greater segregation at elementary than at secondary levels, due at least in part to the smaller, more homogeneous areas served by elementary schools.
5. A seeming paradox: the region with the highest degree of segregation, the Southeast, is also the region in which the average white child had the highest proportion of black schoolmates (.07). The reason, of course, lies in the higher proportion of blacks in the Southeast.

It is clear from these data that by 1968, desegregation of schools was a far from accomplished task in cities and towns of all sizes in the South; but that in the largest cities it was equally high in many places where dual school systems had never existed. But this was the picture in 1968, before the major thrust of desegregation in schools had occurred. The next four years show strong trends toward desegregation. It is these trends to which we now turn.

TRENDS IN WITHIN-SYSTEM SEGREGATION

Between 1968 and 1972, there was a sharp reduction in black-white segregation in the United States. In 1972, 16% of public school children were black, and 77% white. The average black child in 1972 went to a school that was 61% black (compared to 74% in 1968) and 34% white. And the average majority white child was in a school which was 89% white and 7% black. The comparison below shows the change from 1968 to 1972:

| | Proportion | | Schoolmates | | Black-white segregation | |
|------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | <u>white</u> | <u>black</u> | <u>whites for average black</u> | <u>blacks for average white</u> | <u>within district</u> | <u>Total</u> |
| 1968 | .79 | .15 | .22 | .04 | .63 | .72 |
| 1972 | .77 | .16 | .34 | .07 | .37 | .56 |

The change from 1968 to 1972 is substantial. Indeed, the average within-district segregation in 1972 between blacks and whites may not be greater than that between some pairs of white ethnic groups. But the change from 1968 to 1972 consists of very different changes in different locales. For reference in making comparisons with Table 2, Table 7 shows the interracial

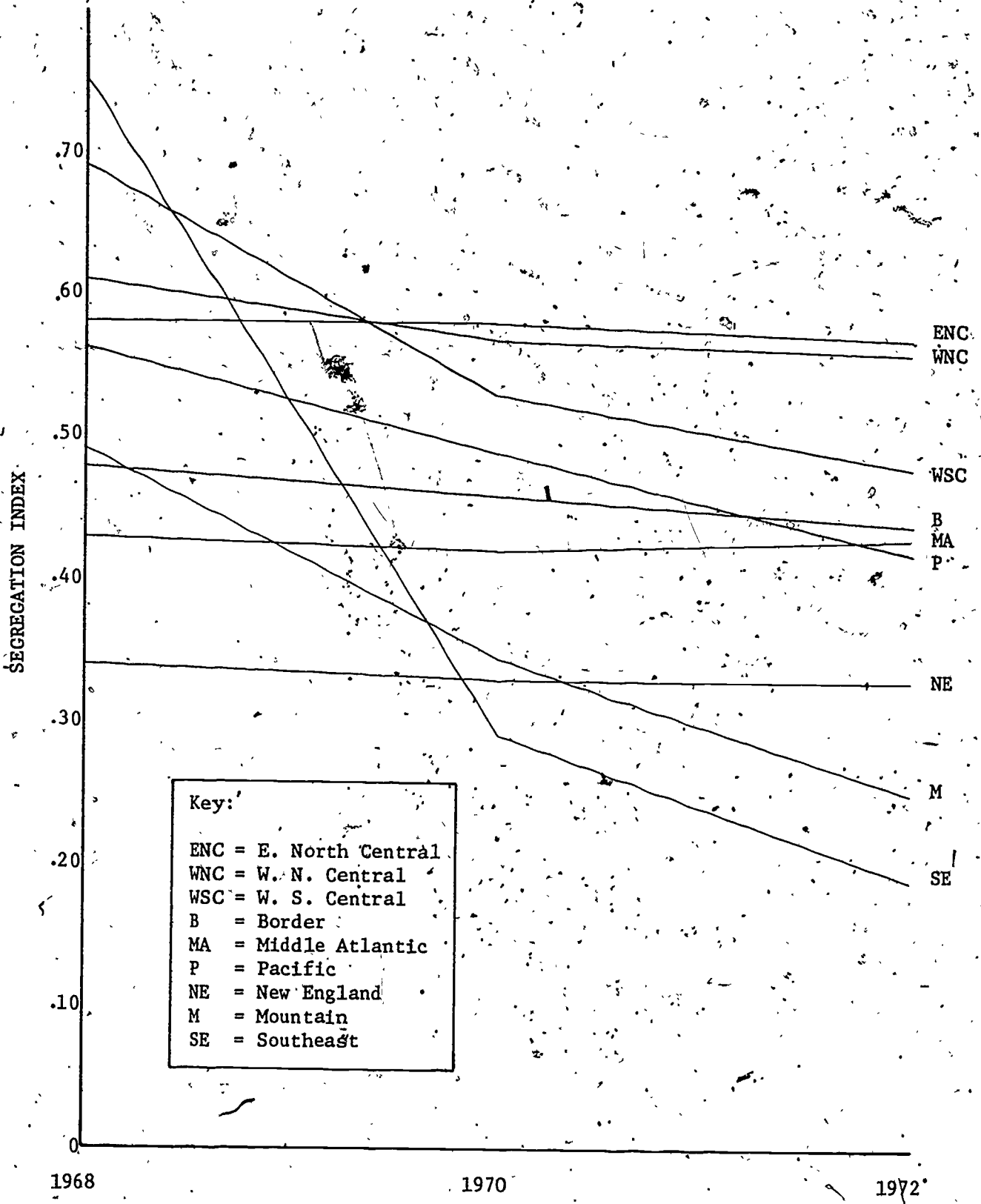
Table 7. BLACK-WHITE CONTACT AND SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN 1972 BY REGION

| | Proportion | | Schoolmates | | | Black-White segregation | |
|--------------------|------------|---------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--|
| | 1 White | 2 Black | 3 Whites for average black | 4 Blacks for average white | 5 Within district | 6 Total | |
| U.S. | .77 | .16 | .34 | .07 | .37 | .56 | |
| New England | .92 | .06 | .47 | .03 | .33 | .49 | |
| Middle Atlantic | .78 | .16 | .28 | .06 | .43 | .64 | |
| Border | .79 | .21 | .28 | .07 | .44 | .65 | |
| Southeast | .68 | .30 | .44 | .19 | .19 | .35 | |
| West South Central | .76 | .17 | .28 | .06 | .48 | .63 | |
| East North Central | .86 | .13 | .28 | .04 | .57 | .67 | |
| West North Central | .89 | .09 | .30 | .03 | .56 | .66 | |
| Mountain | .80 | .03 | .52 | .02 | .25 | .35 | |
| Pacific | .75 | .08 | .29 | .03 | .42 | .61 | |

52

contact and the segregation in each of the regions. But the varying changes can best be seen via a graph. Figure 1 shows the trends in average segregation within school districts (comparable to column 5 of Table 2 and Table 7) in each region over the three points in time, 1968, 1970, and 1972. There is a radical drop in the Southeast, from highest at .75 in 1968 to lowest at .19 in 1972. Among the other regions, there are rather large declines in West South Central, Mountain, and Pacific regions. In New England, Middle Atlantic, and East-North Central regions, there has been virtually no change in segregation. These trends show that school desegregation during this period (the period during which most desegregation took place) was almost wholly a southern affair, with the far West being the only exception. This concentration in the South was of course largely the consequence of federal requirements, supported by legal decisions in the courts, aimed at removing segregation where dual school systems had not been eliminated. The graph suggests, however, that the segregation removed was not only that due to dual systems; it was also that due to individual residential location within districts that has led in the North to within-district segregation of .40-.60.

But apart from having occurred primarily in the South and to a lesser extent in the Far West, how did desegregation proceed in districts of different sizes? Figure 2 shows the changes in average within-district segregation in districts of each size over this four-year period. The results are striking: Districts greater than 100,000 in size changed very little; and the amount of change increased steadily as the district size decreased. Among districts 10,000 or below in size, segregation is small indeed, less than .15. The graph shows the very great effectiveness of desegregation policies in the smaller districts (though we have not yet examined the effects



Key:

ENC = E. North Central
 WNC = W. N. Central
 WSC = W. S. Central
 B = Border
 MA = Middle Atlantic
 P = Pacific
 NE = New England
 M = Mountain
 SE = Southeast

1970

1972

54

Figure 1

Average Within District Segregation, 1968-1972, by Region (Alaska and Hawaii omitted)

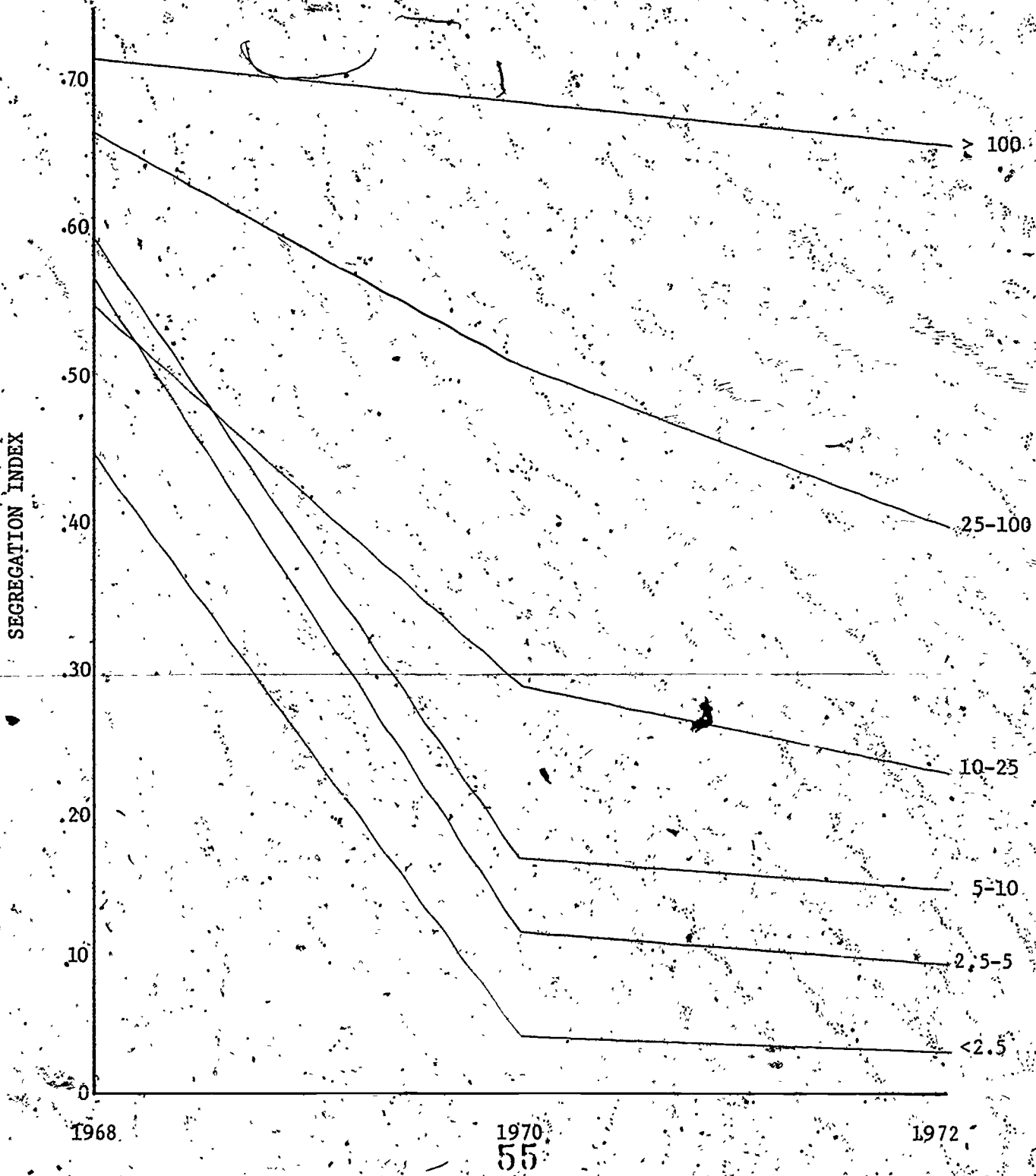


Figure 2

Average Within District Segregation,
1968-1972, by District Size,
(Enrollment in thousands)

on total segregation), and the much lesser effectiveness in the largest districts.

But these differential changes in different sized districts can be somewhat misleading because of the fact that desegregation policy was located primarily in the South, and most of the blacks in smaller districts were located in the South. The trends may be seen by a table (Table 8) for segregation by district size in each region in 1972, for comparison with Table 4 for 1968. The comparison shows that, as suggested by Figure 2, great amounts of desegregation did take place in small districts in those regions where small-district segregation existed: the Southeast and West South Central regions. The comparison shows in addition several points: even outside the South, some desegregation within districts occurred in the smaller districts, though essentially none in the largest districts. The decline in segregation in Mountain, Pacific, and Border states occurred in the medium and medium-large districts, not the largest. And finally, there was a reduction of segregation in the largest districts in one region only, the Southeast. As Table 8 shows, the Southeast shows not only overall the least segregation in 1972, as Figure 1 indicates, but shows lower segregation than most other regions in nearly all size districts. In a four-year period (and primarily in the two-year period 1968-70), school districts of all sizes in the Southeast changed from being the most segregated in the nation to among the least segregated.

Changes in segregation at elementary and secondary levels

Earlier, Table 4 showed that in 1968 the average segregation was less at the secondary level than at the elementary level, in each region of the country. Now we can ask how desegregation proceeded in elementary and secondary schools: whether there was greater desegregation at one level than at

Table 8. AVERAGE WITHIN-DISTRICT SEGREGATION IN 1972 IN EACH REGION ACCORDING TO DISTRICT SIZE

| District Size (000) | U.S. | New England | Middle Atlantic | Border | South-east | West South Central | East North Central | West North Central | Mountain | Pacific |
|---------------------|------|-------------|-----------------|--------|------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------|---------|
| > 100 | .65 | -- | .55 | .55 | .44 | .76 | .79 | .84 | -- | .78 |
| 25-100 | .39 | .56 | .53 | .43 | .28 | .47 | .60 | .59 | .25 | .25 |
| 10-25 | .22 | .20 | .22 | .17 | .16 | .31 | .38 | .20 | .29 | .16 |
| 5-10 | .14 | .08 | .12 | .06 | .13 | .17 | .17 | .19 | .28 | .05 |
| 2.5-5 | .09 | .02 | .05 | .03 | .09 | .14 | .07 | .11 | .09 | .16 |
| < 2.5 | .03 | 0 | .03 | .02 | .04 | .02 | .02 | .01 | .03 | .05 |

the other. The answer at first appears to be that the degree of desegregation was almost identical at the two levels, for as Table 9 shows, the reduction in degree of segregation in the country as a whole was nearly the same.

Table 9. WITHIN-DISTRICT SEGREGATION IN 1968, 70, 72 AT ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY LEVELS FOR THE U.S. AS A WHOLE

| | 1968 | 1970 | 1972 | 1972-68 |
|------------|------|------|------|---------|
| Elementary | .70 | .51 | .45 | -.25 |
| Secondary | .61 | .30 | .27 | -.24 |

However, this apparent nearly identical reduction in segregation masks two differences which cancel each other. Figures 3 and 4 show the changes from 1968-72 in elementary and secondary schools region by region. In the two regions where federal and court actions toward integration were strongest, the Southeast and West South Central, the drop in segregation was greater in high schools than in elementary ones. But in each of the other regions except the Border region, the decrease in segregation was greater in elementary schools. In fact, in four of the northern regions (New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central), segregation increased among secondary schools from 1968-70, while only the Middle Atlantic region showed an increase in segregation among elementary schools.

This increase in segregation among secondary schools appears likely to be due to segregating movement among white families with high-school age children. One form of movement that would bring about such an increase is movement from an attendance zone serving a school with many blacks to an attendance zone serving a school with fewer blacks, but within the same school system.

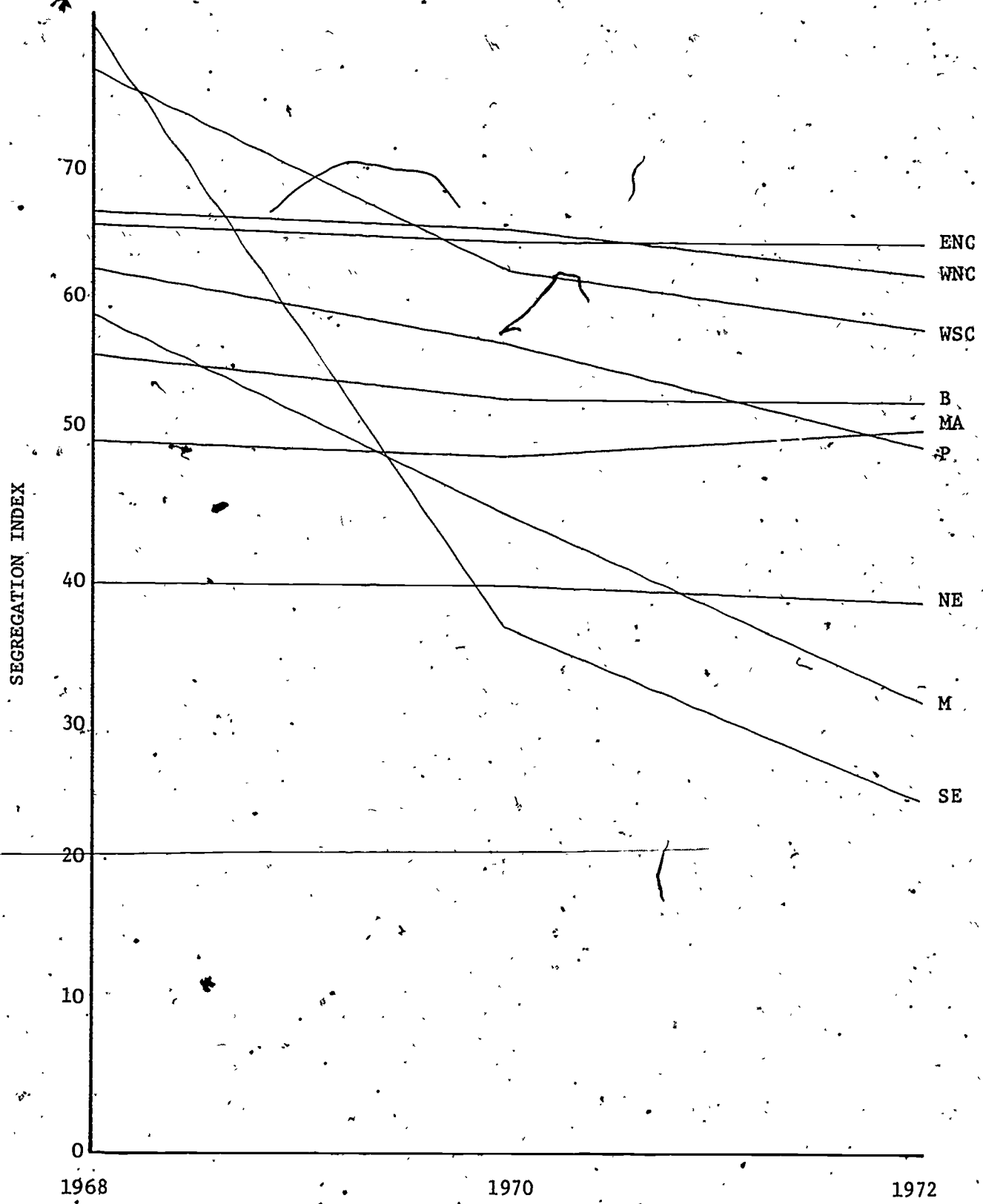


Figure 3

Within-district Elementary School Segregation, by Region

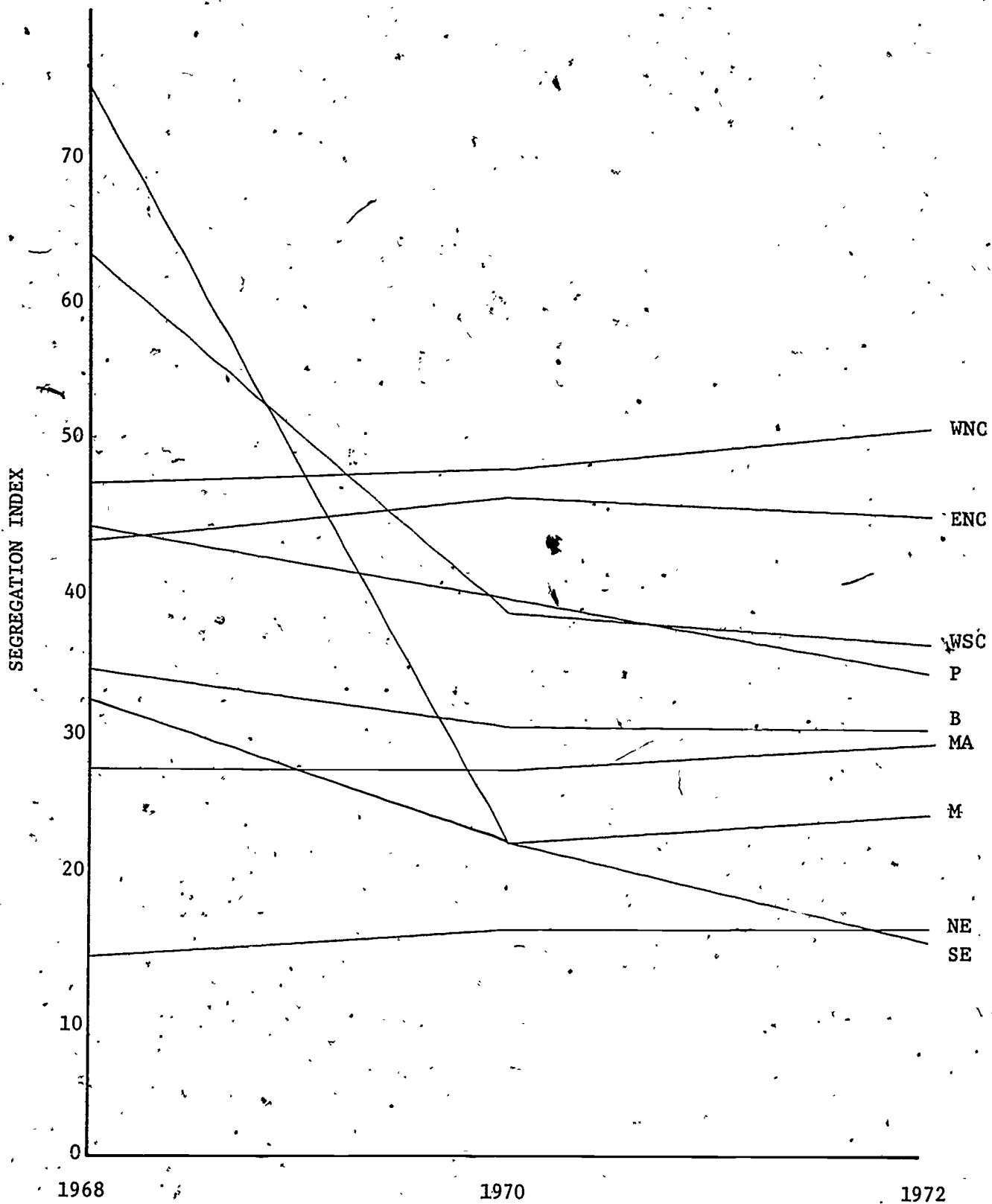


Figure 4

Within-district Secondary School Segregation, by Region

Another, and more likely, is differential movement of families with high school age children out of central city districts with many blacks: greater movement out of the district on the part of white families whose children were in largely white schools.¹⁴

At this point, these possible explanations must remain conjectures. We will return to elementary and secondary differences in subsequent sections.

Change in 22 largest central-city districts

A final picture of change in within-district segregation is the change in the 22 largest central-city districts. The left side of Table 10 shows the segregation of each in 1968 and 1973, together with the change, in column 3. The table shows the dramatic reduction in some southern cities, joined by Indianapolis among the northern cities, Denver and San Francisco in the West. It shows, however, an increase in five northern cities and one Border city, showing that even during this period of major desegregation, and even within the city boundaries themselves, there were residential movements increasing the segregation in these cities. There are no more northern cities within which segregation was reduced than there are within which segregation increased.

But this does not tell the whole story, even before examining the question of segregation between districts. There have been substantial population shifts in some of these cities, and we can ask the question: given these population shifts, to what extent does the decrease in segregation, where it

¹⁴ The same pattern could be caused by differential movement into schools of different racial composition.

Table 10: BLACK-WHITE SEGREGATION AND CONTACT OF BLACKS WITH WHITES IN 22 LARGEST CENTRAL CITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1968-1973 (Districts ranked by 1972 Enrollment)

| | Segregation Measures | | | Proportion white schoolmates for average black | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|--|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| | ¹ 1968 | ² 1973 | ³ change (1973-1968) | ⁴ 1968 | ⁵ 1973 | ⁶ change (1973-1968) |
| 1. New York | .47 | .50 | +0.03 | .23 | .17 | -.06 |
| 2. Los Angeles | .86 | .79 | -.07 | .07 | .09 | +0.02 |
| 3. Chicago | .86 | .88 | +0.02 | .05 | .04 | -.01 |
| 4. Philadelphia | .64 | .72 | +0.08 | .14 | .10 | -.04 |
| 5. Detroit | .66 | .62 | -.04 | .13 | .11 | -.02 |
| 6. Houston | .89 | .72 | -.17 | .06 | .11 | +0.05 |
| 7. Baltimore | .71 | .69 | -.02 | .10 | .09 | -.01 |
| 8. Dallas | .91 | .69 | -.22 | .06 | .15 | +0.09 |
| 9. Cleveland | .85 | .87 | +0.02 | .06 | .05 | -.01 |
| 10. Washington, D.C. | .53 | .49 | -.04 | .03 | .02 | -.01 |
| 11. Memphis | .92 | .31 | -.61 | .04 | .22 | +0.18 |
| 12. Milwaukee | .75 | .73 | -.02 | .18 | .17 | -.01 |
| 13. San Diego | .66 | .53 | -.13 | .26 | .34 | +0.08 |
| 14. Columbus | .60 | .56 | -.04 | .30 | .30 | 0 |
| 15. Tampa | .78 | .04 | -.74 | .16 | .71 | +0.55 |
| 16. St. Louis | .82 | .85 | +0.03 | .07 | .05 | -.02 |
| 17. New Orleans | .72 | .57 | -.15 | .09 | .09 | 0 |
| 18. Indianapolis | .67 | .39 | -.28 | .22 | .35 | +0.13 |
| 19. Boston | .60 | .63 | +0.03 | .27 | .21 | -.06 |
| 20. Atlanta | .85 | .48 | -.37 | .06 | .09 | +0.03 |
| 21. Denver | .69 | .31 | -.38 | .20 | .39 | +0.19 |
| 22. San Francisco | .38 | .07 | -.31 | .25 | .27 | +0.02 |

occurred, result in an increase in the proportion of white schoolmates for the average black? The right hand side of Table 10 answers that question by comparing the proportion of white schoolmates for the average black in each of these districts in 1968 with the proportion in 1973. The figures show that although segregation decreased in 16 of the 22 cities, the proportion of white schoolmates for the average black increased only in ten of those sixteen. In four it decreased, and it remained unchanged in two. Thus although segregation was reduced in most of the 22 cities, the contact of the average black with white schoolmates has increased in less than half of them. Only in those cities where desegregation was great did the contact increase substantially--and even in Atlanta, where there was great desegregation, from .85 to .48, the proportion of white schoolmates for the average black child increased only .03, from .06 to .09--because of the great loss in numbers of white school children in Atlanta. (In Atlanta, the white school population in 1973 was only 38% of its size in 1968.)

This last result leads directly to a set of further questions about the larger effects of school desegregation over the 1968-72 or 1968-73 period. The desegregation policies have been confined wholly to within-district desegregation. But as has been evident in earlier examination, there was, especially in the North, substantial segregation due to residence of blacks and whites in different districts - in particular, larger proportions of blacks in large districts and larger proportion of whites in small districts. We can ask, then, what has been the trend, over this period of time, not merely in within-district segregation, as examined so far, but in overall segregation. And we can ask just what has been the change in segregation between districts during this period. Has it increased, as appears likely,

and if so, to what extent? Finally, we can ask just what has been the effect of desegregation within districts on the behavior that increases segregation between districts: the movement of whites from districts with high proportions of blacks and low segregation to districts with smaller proportions of blacks.

The importance of these questions for educational policy lies in the fact that the distribution of children by race in schools is a result not merely of policies by the Federal government, nor of court orders, nor of policies by state and local governments. It is also the result of individuals' decisions about where they will live, and about whether they will send their children to public or nonpublic schools. Increasingly, as incomes increase, more families have these options open to them, though residential options are more restricted for black families due to residential discrimination. Thus the resulting distribution of children among schools is the result of the interaction of the collective decisions by governmental units and the individual family decisions. In areas of economic policy, governments have recognized that final outcomes are not merely the direct result of a policy, and are as concerned with the indirect effects of a policy as with the direct ones. In areas of social policy that are not economic, they usually have not, and have proceeded blindly, as if the policies directly controlled the final outcomes.

School segregation can show well these indirect effects, because the indirect effects have their principal impact on the distribution of whites and blacks among districts, and thus upon segregation between districts, while the direct effects of government policy have been on the distribution of whites and blacks among schools within a district.¹⁵ We have examined the

¹⁵ As suggested in the elementary-secondary comparisons, the indirect effects in the form of residential movement can also have their effects on segregation within districts. The only portion of the indirect effects that the present analysis can measure is that which has its effect on segregation between districts.

direct effects and in the right half of Table 10 taken a glimpse at the indirect effects. We will now turn to examine these indirect effects in more detail.

CHANGES IN TOTAL SEGREGATION AND SEGREGATION BETWEEN DISTRICTS

Figure 5 shows the changes in total segregation in the U.S. as a whole and in each of the regions shown in Figure 1. These changes show roughly the same patterns as the within-district changes in Figure 1, but there are some important differences. First the regions are more tightly bunched in overall segregation in 1968 than in within-district segregation. Secondly, the decreases in overall segregation, among those districts that do show a decrease, are somewhat less than changes in within-district segregation. This reflects the fact that while there were reductions in segregation within districts, due to desegregation policies, there were at the same time increases in segregation between districts, due primarily to the movement of white students to districts with few blacks.

This counterbalancing increase in segregation can be seen more directly by examining the within- and between-district segregation in 1968 and 1972 in each region.¹⁶ As Table 11 shows, the within-district segregation has declined in every region except Middle Atlantic, where it remained constant, while the between-district segregation has increased in every region except Border, where it remained constant. In 1968, the within-district segregation

¹⁶ The between-district segregation is calculated just as in equations (2) and (3), except that the units over which interracial contact is calculated in equation (2) are not schools, but school districts. It should be noted that the total segregation is not the sum of within-district (which is an average over districts, weighted by the proportion black in each district) and between-district segregation. Total segregation over a region is the segregation among schools calculated over the whole region, as if there were no school districts. (It would be the sum of within- and between-district segregation if the average for the former were weighted in a different way.)

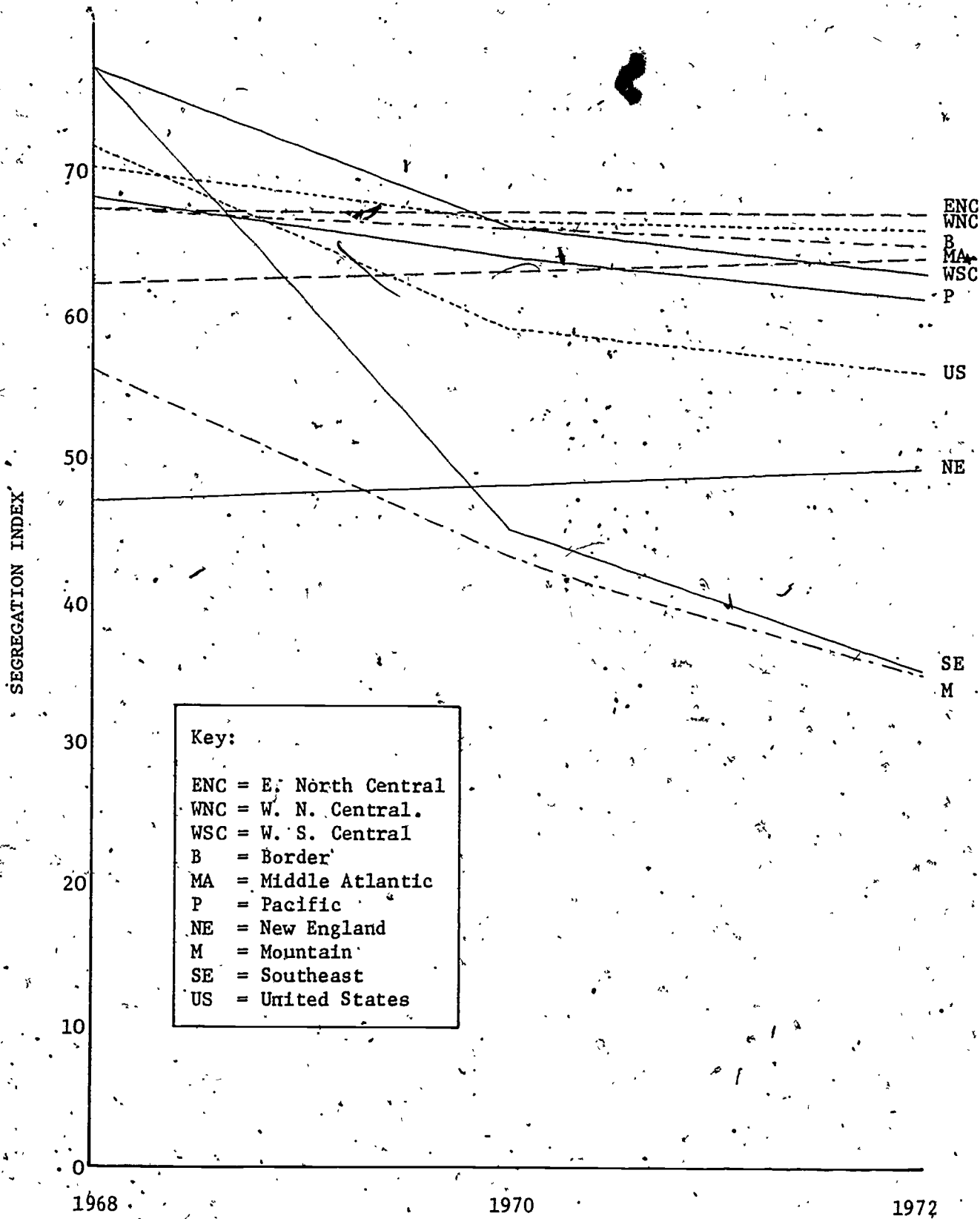


Figure 5

Average Total Segregation, 1968-1972, United States, and by Region (Alaska and Hawaii omitted)

Table 11. CHANGES IN WITHIN-DISTRICT AND BETWEEN-DISTRICT SEGREGATION IN 1968 AND 1972 IN EACH REGION

| | Within-district | | | Between-district | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|
| | 1968 (1) | 1972 (2) | Change (3) | 1968 (4) | 1972 (5) | Change (6) |
| United States | .63 | .37 | -.26 | .32 | .35 | +.03 |
| New England | .34 | .33 | -.01 | .26 | .31 | +.05 |
| Middle Atlantic | .43 | .43 | .00 | .39 | .44 | +.05 |
| Border | .48 | .44 | -.04 | .48 | .48 | .00 |
| Southeast | .75 | .19 | -.56 | .18 | .22 | +.04 |
| West South Central | .69 | .48 | -.21 | .32 | .37 | +.05 |
| East North Central | .58 | .57 | -.01 | .30 | .32 | +.02 |
| West North Central | .61 | .56 | -.05 | .35 | .39 | +.04 |
| Mountain | .49 | .25 | -.24 | .15 | .17 | +.02 |
| Pacific | .56 | .42 | -.14 | .30 | .34 | +.04 |

was greater than the between-district segregation in every region; by 1972 the between-district was greater than the within-district in three of the nine regions. Thus the segregation that reflects residential separation into different school districts shows a steady increase throughout the country.

The between-district segregation measures can also be helpful in a further examination of changes at the elementary and secondary levels. Earlier, in Figures 3 and 4, differential changes in segregation were apparent at elementary and secondary levels, with increases in segregation occurring in several regions for secondary schools. These increases were increases in segregation wholly among schools within the same district. A second way of looking at the changes occurring at elementary and secondary levels is to examine changes in the between-district segregation in each region at these two levels. If between-district segregation is greater at the elementary level, it indicates that fewer white and black elementary school children live in the same school districts than is true for secondary school children. If the increase from 1968 to 1972 in between-district segregation is greater at the elementary level, it indicates that over this period the movement of white students out of districts with many blacks was greater at the elementary level than at the secondary level.

The comparisons of elementary and secondary levels in 1968 show that in every region but the Southeast, the between-district segregation was greater at the elementary level than at the secondary level. This indicates that elementary children were more residentially segregated by race throughout the country than secondary children were--a strong indication that the greater within-district segregation found earlier at the elementary level is not due merely to the smaller size and greater neighborhood focus of the elementary school, but is due to a greater tendency to segregate at the elementary level. For

Table 12. BETWEEN-DISTRICT SEGREGATION IN 1968
AND 1972 IN EACH REGION FOR ELEMENTARY
AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

| | Elementary | | | Secondary | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | 1968 (1) | 1972 (2) | Change (3) | 1968 (4) | 1972 (5) | Change (6) |
| United States | .33 | .37 | + .04 | .32 | .34 | + .02 |
| New England | .27 | .30 | + .03 | .19 | .24 | + .05 |
| Middle Atlantic | .41 | .45 | + .04 | .30 | .40 | + .10 |
| Border | .49 | .50 | + .01 | .39 | .44 | + .05 |
| Southeast | .21 | .27 | + .06 | .22 | .24 | + .02 |
| West South Central | .32 | .38 | + .06 | .31 | .35 | + .04 |
| East North Central | .29 | .31 | + .02 | .26 | .33 | + .07 |
| West North Central | .38 | .40 | + .02 | .33 | .41 | + .08 |
| Mountain Y | .19 | .23 | + .04 | .07 | .10 | + .03 |
| Pacific | .31 | .35 | + .04 | .27 | .31 | + .04 |

between-district segregation is not affected by the size of school or the size of its attendance zone, since the district contains both elementary and high schools for those who live within its boundaries.

When we look at changes from 1968 to 1972, there is an increase in every region at both levels. But the increases vary by region and by level. In the three regions where within-district segregation was most reduced, between-district segregation increased more at the elementary level. In the remaining regions, the increase was either the same at both levels or greater at the secondary level.

What appears to occur is this: As suggested by the earlier data, the general movement of whites to areas with few blacks during this period was greater at the secondary level, very likely due to the greater age and affluence of families with children of high school age. But the movement in response to desegregation appears to have been greater at the elementary level, for it is only where desegregation was great that elementary segregation between-districts increased more than secondary. These inferences cannot be strong here; analysis of changes in specific districts in a later section will provide more information about the differential processes at the two levels.

WITHIN- AND BETWEEN-DISTRICT SEGREGATION
IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

Another way of seeing what is happening in school segregation in the largest metropolitan areas is to examine trends in the segregation between different school districts in the metropolitan area. Most large cities have a separate school district from that of the surrounding suburbs (although many districts in the South are countywide). And just as there is racial segregation due to blacks and whites attending different schools in the same district, there is racial segregation due to blacks and whites living in different districts. Although the former (within-district segregation) has been reduced in a number of cities, especially in the South, the latter (between-district segregation) has been increasing in each of the metropolitan areas containing the 22 largest central city districts except for Washington, D.C.

Table 13 compares the within-district and between-district segregation in each of the 22 largest central city districts and their metropolitan areas in 1968 and 1972.¹⁷ In addition, the trends in between-district segregation exhibited from 1968 to 1972 are projected forward to 1976 in a simple linear projection. The data show that already in 1972, the between-district segregation is substantial in many of these metropolitan areas; for example, it is greater than .40 in nine of them. In Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, it

¹⁷

Data are available, as in other tables, for 1973 for these central city districts, but cover only some of the non-central city districts in 1973. Thus 1972 comparisons must be used. Unfortunately, 1974 data, which will soon be available, is on an ever more restricted sample.

Table 13. BLACK-WHITE SEGREGATION AMONG SCHOOLS WITHIN CENTRAL CITIES AND DISTRICTS IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA

| | 1968 | | 1972 | | Projected* 1976 |
|---------------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| | Within | Between | Within | Between | Between |
| New York | .47 | .28 | .48 | .34 | .41 |
| Los Angeles | .86 | .26 | .80 | .28 | .31 |
| Chicago | .86 | .40 | .87 | .48 | .55 |
| Philadelphia | .64 | .39 | .70 | .44 | .48 |
| Detroit | .66 | .47 | .64 | .57 | .67 |
| Houston | .89 | .15 | .74 | .26 | .37 |
| Baltimore | .71 | .38 | .69 | .42 | .46 |
| Dallas | .91 | .16 | .72 | .26 | .36 |
| Cleveland | .85 | .43 | .87 | .47 | .51 |
| Wash., D.C. | .53 | .66 | .47 | .59 | .52 |
| Memphis | .92 | .04 | .79 | .05 | .06 |
| Milwaukee | .76 | .15 | .76 | .21 | .27 |
| San Diego | .66 | .06 | .55 | .07 | .07 |
| Columbus, O. | .60 | .12 | .58 | .14 | .16 |
| Tampa | .78 | .01 | .03 | .01 | .01 |
| St. Louis | .82 | .47 | .85 | .54 | .61 |
| New Orleans | .72 | .24 | .61 | .32 | .41 |
| Indianapolis | .67 | .19 | .57 | .25 | .31 |
| Boston | .60 | .21 | .64 | .28 | .34 |
| Atlanta | .85 | .36 | .63 | .51 | .65 |
| Denver | .69 | .21 | .33 | .26 | .31 |
| San Francisco | .38 | .40 | .08 | .46 | .52 |

*Projections are simple linear projections, which over small ranges and in the absence of sharp actions, such as large-scale desegregation over the whole metropolitan area, are sufficient for rough projections.

exceeds the segregation within the central city district itself. Furthermore, the projections of these trends to 1976 show that it may be expected to grow substantially in many metropolitan areas. And in two metropolitan areas in addition to Washington and San Francisco--Detroit and Atlanta--it will exceed the within-district segregation of these cities (assuming that the latter does not change).¹⁸ These projections indicate that the segregation of the future in metropolitan areas is as much a matter of segregation between districts as it is a matter of segregation within districts.

The Washington metropolitan area, as the one metropolitan area in which between-district segregation is decreasing, is especially interesting, because it illustrates the kind of process that may be expected to occur in many metropolitan areas as an outgrowth of present patterns of within-district school desegregation, and continuing residential segregation. Washington schools became almost completely racially homogeneous (6% white in 1968, and 3% in 1973), with the between-district segregation of whites and blacks increasing (highest among all these cities in 1968 and 1972), until finally the between-district segregation had nowhere to go but down. This pattern, of course, involves the central city first turning nearly all black before there is reduction of the city-suburb segregation.

All the changes described so far suggest a strong individual response to school desegregation on the part of families, especially where desegregation has been great. Direct evidence, however, lies in the tendency of white families to move when desegregation occurs, either to a district with fewer blacks, or to a district in which there is greater segregation--in either case, keeping the proportion of black schoolmates for its children low. What do the data show about the movement of white children out of the central city districts when desegregation occurs?

¹⁸ Of course, desegregation within Boston in 1974 and in Detroit in 1975, reduces sharply the within-district segregation in those cities.

THE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL SEGREGATING
RESPONSES TO DESEGREGATION

It is clear from the preceding sections that there is a segregating process occurring through individual movement, primarily of white families, from schools and districts in which there is greater integration or a greater proportion of blacks, to schools and districts in which there is less integration or a smaller proportion of blacks. The consequences of this, of course, are to partially nullify the effects of school desegregation as carried out by various governmental or legal agencies.

What is not yet clear is whether desegregation itself induces an increased movement of whites from the desegregated district. This is a difficult but important question to answer, because desegregation in particular school districts is a direct outcome of social policy or legal rulings, and it is important to ask whether there are indirect consequences of desegregation itself which partly nullify it, and if so, what the size of this response is under various circumstances.¹⁹

¹⁹ There have been several studies of the effect of school segregation on the loss of white children from the desegregating school system. In an attitude survey of parents in eight Florida countywide desegregated school districts, one group of authors (Cataldo et al., 1975) concluded that when the racial composition of schools is less than 30% black, almost no whites leave; but beyond 30% a higher proportion leave. Mercer and Scout in a comprehensive (as yet unpublished) survey of white school population changes in California districts between 1966 and 1973 found no relation between population changes and the amount of desegregation undergone in the district. Charles Clotfelter (1975), in contrast, shows that desegregation in Mississippi had a significant effect on private school enrollment, an effect that increased with increasing proportions of blacks in the schools. Reynolds Farley (1975) used the same OCR data used in our analysis, but only up to 1972. He found no relation of school integration to white population loss for 125 cities with 100,000 or more population and at least 3% blacks, and also for the largest northern and southern cities. His methods differ, however, from our own in several respects, particularly in our year-by-year examination contrasted to his five-year examination.

The question is difficult because casual observation shows that desegregation has evoked differing reactions in different cities, and because desegregation has taken place in very different settings. For example, in many areas of the South, school systems are countywide, encompassing both a city and the surrounding suburbs. Leaving a desegregated system in that setting entails leaving the public school system itself, or a rather distant move (unless adjacent counties have also desegregated, which was a common occurrence in the early 1970's in the South). This, of course, is more difficult than a move to a separate predominantly white suburban school system, which is the common pattern in the North. Another variation is in city size, which creates nearly a qualitative difference in the character of desegregation. For full-scale desegregation in a large city entails mixing student populations that are much more socially distinct and more residentially separated than in small cities.

Additional complications include these:

- a. Most desegregation in this period took place in the South, so that except as there was a similar response in those few places in the North that did segregate, the generalization of results to northern cities must remain a question.
- b. There was a general loss during this time of whites from central cities, a loss which preliminary analysis indicates is greater as the size of the city is greater, and as the proportion black in the city is greater.
- c. The available data show simply the student populations of each race for each of the six years, 1968-73, so that only changes in student populations are directly measured. This is not exactly the same as movement, although something about net movement of a racial group out of the district's

schools can be inferred from these measures of gain or loss.²⁰

- d. If there is a loss of whites when desegregation occurs, it is not clear what the time progression of this loss is. When does it begin? Does it continue, and accelerate as the ~~proportion~~ white in the schools declines, or is it a one-time response which does not continue once the degree of desegregation is constant? Or does it in fact reverse itself, with whites returning to the district's schools a year or so after they have desegregated? Initial observation of particular cities which have fully desegregated suggests that a loss due to desegregation begins in the same year that desegregation takes place, but its subsequent course is less clear. Using these indications from individual cities, we will first attempt to examine the loss of whites in the same year that desegregation occurs.

These difficulties are not overcome simply, but the data are extensive, showing racial composition of schools over each of the six years 1968-73.²¹ The cities to be examined are divided into two groups because of the indications that response to desegregation differs considerably in very large cities from the response in smaller ones: 1) twenty-one of the twenty-three largest

²⁰ Fertility changes among whites also affect the change in numbers of white children in the schools. Fertility of whites in the years preceding this period was declining, which leads to a general decline in white student populations. This affects the constant term in the regression equations, but not the indicated effects of desegregation, unless the decline in white fertility was by some chance greater in those cities that desegregated. The covariance analyses even controls for that possibility (see p. 71).

²¹ Schools are not identified each year in a way that makes possible tracing changes in individual schools.

districts in the country classified as central-city districts;²² 2) forty-six of the next forty-seven largest central-city districts.²³

These cities are divided into two groups because the response to desegregation appears, as indicated above, different in the largest cities from smaller ones. In analyzing the question of how loss of white students is related to desegregation, we will first examine the loss that is related to reduction in segregation in the same year. The measure of segregation used is the

22 Washington, D.C., which has only about 3% white, is excluded because it is already racially homogeneous. Albuquerque, the 22nd largest central-city district, was excluded because the city of Albuquerque is not among the first 50 in population. Size of central-city district corresponds reasonably well to size of city, but there are some discrepancies. This set of districts included 19 of the largest 21 cities in the country by the 1970 census (excluding only San Antonio and Phoenix). In addition, it includes Denver (the 25th largest), Atlanta (the 27th largest), and Tampa (the 50th largest). The latter is a county-wide school district, which accounts for the large district size relative to city size. In preliminary analyses, only the largest 20 central-city districts were included, excluding Denver and San Francisco. However, because Denver and San Francisco were two of the few northern cities to undergo extensive desegregation during the period 1968-73, they have been included.

23 Richmond, Va., which annexed some suburban districts in the same year it underwent extensive desegregation, was excluded. It was not possible to tell from Richmond the exact size of white loss from the original district, although the loss in years subsequent to the annexation shows that it was substantial. Memphis also had annexation, but its size was affected only slightly, so it was not excluded.

standardized measure r_{ij} presented in earlier sections.²⁴

In this analysis, all years are taken together (that is, Δr_{ij} in 68-69 is related to change in whites in 68-69, Δr_{ij} in 69-70 is related to change in whites in 69-70, etc.) in an equation as follows:

$$(4) \quad \frac{w_t - w_{t-1}}{w_{t-1}} = a + b_1 \Delta r_{t,t-1} + b_2 p_{bt-1} + b_3 \ln N_{t-1}$$

where:

w_t is number of white students in the system in year t

r_t is the standardized measure of segregation in year t

p_{bt-1} is the proportion black in the system in year $t-1$

N_{t-1} is the number of students in the system in year $t-1$

²⁴ It seems likely that the tendency of white families to leave the system is related not to a change in the "index of segregation," but to a change in the proportion of blacks in their child's school. Thus a change in the unstandardized measure of earlier sections, s_{ij} (the proportion of black children in the average white child's school), should be more directly related to loss of whites than is r_{ij} . However, the unstandardized measure is affected by the number of white children in the system, and thus any analysis including it must relate the change in s_{ij} in the previous year to the loss of whites in a given year. A discussion in Appendix 3, however, indicates how one might use the change in s_{ij} as a determinant of loss of whites in the same year. The relation between the size of a change in s_{ij} and the corresponding change in r_{ij} depends on the proportion black in the system. When it is .5, which is about average for the largest 22 central-city districts, then the change in r_{ij} is twice the change in s_{ij} (since $r_{ij} = (p_j - s_{ij})/p_j$). It is because both the numerator and denominator of the formula for r_{ij} are affected by loss of whites to the system that r_{ij} in a given year is approximately independent of loss of whites in that year.

The analysis is carried out for $t = 69, 70, 71, 72, 73$. They are taken together to obtain an average effect over the five years, because among the 22 cities, massive desegregation in any one year in one city can distort results for that year. The two additional variables of proportion black in the system and number of students are included because these variables appear to be related to loss of whites from the system independently of the change in segregation.

Note that the independent variable measuring change in segregation $\Delta r_{t,t-1}$ is just that. It is not a measure of a particular form of change in segregation, such as bussing, nor even of a desegregation policy. Change in r can occur through individual movement of black or white students; and certainly the slight upward movement of segregation (as measured by r) in some northern cities is just that. However, these individual movements make only small differences in r over any year. Large negative values for r are due to desegregation policies instituted in that city. Although the term "desegregation" to a civil rights lawyer may mean only the move to full racial balance in all schools, it is important to remember that the desegregation variable used in this analysis refers to a reduction of any size in the index of segregation.

The results of the analysis are presented in Table 14. The table presents the coefficients to the above equation for the largest 21 central-city systems and the next 46, along with standard errors of the coefficients and amount of variance accounted for. To gain some sense of the magnitude of the effects represented by these coefficients, we can express what the expected yearly rates of loss of white students would be in various circumstances. It is important to remember that these are average effects, which

Table 14. REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR ANALYSES OF
WHITE STUDENT LOSS TO CENTRAL CITIES

| | <u>Largest 21</u> | <u>Next 46</u> |
|--|-------------------|----------------|
| Equation 1 | | |
| ΔR | .277(.062) | .091(.031) |
| Prop. black | -.135(.028) | -.086(.151) |
| ln N | .001(.001) | -.047(.011) |
| Constant | .003 | .503 |
| R^2 | .28 | .24 |
| Number of observations | (103) | (239) |
| Including inter-district segregation in SMSA, and interaction of desegregation with South | | |
| Equation 2 | | |
| ΔR | .195(.158) | .008(.151) |
| Prop. black | -.047(.041) | -.033(.019) |
| ln N | .007(.008) | -.042(.011) |
| R SMSA | -.162(.052) | -.109(.024) |
| $\Delta R \times S$ | .144(.172) | .122(.152) |
| Constant | -.064 | .450 |
| R^2 | .35 | .29 |
| Including interactions of desegregation with proportion black and inter-district segregation, and also including South as dummy variable | | |
| Equation 3 | | |
| ΔR | -.460(.187) | -.147(.173) |
| Proportion black | .050(.037) | -.027(.022) |
| ln N | .003(.007) | -.041(.011) |
| R_{SMSA} | -.208(.045) | -.101(.029) |
| $\Delta R \times \text{South}$ | .146(.201) | .108(.165) |
| $\Delta R \times \text{Prop. black}$ | 1.774(.313) | .406(.254) |
| $\Delta R \times R_{SMSA}$ | .544(.501) | .664(.385) |
| South | -.006(.010) | -.001(.007) |
| Constant | -.037 | .43337 |
| R^2 | .60 | .32 |

differ from city to city, as will become apparent in subsequent analysis:

1. For a city with the average number of students, with no blacks and no reduction in segregation, the expected loss per year is:
 - a) Largest 21: (gain of) 0.3% of whites present at beginning of year (average number of students is 169,000)
 - b) Next 46: 1.3% of whites present at beginning of year (average number of students is 58,000)
2. Additional expected loss if the city is 50% black:
 - a) Largest 21: 6.8% of whites present at beginning of year
 - b) Next 46: 4.3% of whites present at beginning of year
3. Additional expected loss if the city experiences a decrease of 20% in the index of segregation in that year:²⁵
 - a) Largest 21: 5.5% of whites at beginning of year
 - b) Next 46: 1.8% of whites at beginning of year
4. Additional expected loss if a city was twice its size:
 - a) Largest 21: (gain of) .07% of whites present at beginning of year.
 - b) Next 46: 3.3% of whites present at beginning of year

Taking the first three losses together, the expected loss of whites from a city system with 50% blacks would be:

25. A decrease of .2 in the index of segregation is approximately equal to an increase of 10% in the black schoolmates of the average white in the system if the proportion is .50.

For the largest 21:

with reduction of .2 in segregation: $(-) 0.3\% + 6.8\% + 5.5\% = 12.0\%$

with no change in segregation: $(-) 0.3\% + 6.8\% = 6.5\%$

For the next 46:

with reduction of .2 in segregation: $1.3\% + 4.6\% + 1.8\% = 7.7\%$

with no change in segregation: $1.3\% + 4.6\% = 5.9\%$

These results suggest that the impact of desegregation is quite large for the largest 21 districts, of the same order of magnitude as other effects; but that for the next 46 cities, the impact is much less, considerably smaller than that due to other factors. (The average loss of whites per year in the largest 21 cities was 5.6% of those present at the beginning of the year, and in the next 46, 3.7%.) It should be remembered also that this is an effect for the year of desegregation only; we do not yet know about subsequent effects.

But how does a decrease of .2 in the segregation index compare to the actual largest declines that occurred in segregation in these cities in any single year? One way to get a sense of this is, as stated earlier, from the fact that in a city with .5 blacks in the schools, an increase of 10% blacks in the average white child's school is equivalent to a decrease of .2 in the segregation measure. To give another sense of the magnitude of a change of .20, the cities among the 21 largest districts are listed below in which a reduction in segregation of .10 or more occurred in any single year, together with the year it occurred:

| <u>City</u> | <u>Year</u> | <u>Reduction in segregation</u> |
|---------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| Houston | 69-70 | .11 |
| Dallas | 70-71 | .19 |
| Memphis | 72-73 | .48 |
| Tampa | 70-71 | .52 |
| Indianapolis | 72-73 | .18 |
| Atlanta | 69-70 | .11 |
| | 72-73 | .15 |
| Denver | 68-69 | .22 |
| San Francisco | 70-71 | .16 |

Eight of the 21 cities underwent a reduction in segregation of .1 or more in any single year, and three a reduction of .2 or more (and seven of them underwent a reduction of .2 or more over the total period 68-73). Among the next 46, 13 underwent a reduction of .2 or more over the whole period, and 10 of these a reduction of .4 or more. Many cities, of course, underwent no desegregation at all, and their segregation indices remained approximately constant, or increased.

A next step which can be taken (or two steps at once) is to attempt to consider two more factors which differ among cities which have experienced desegregation, factors which may affect the rate of loss of whites. One is location in the South or North. This factor we do not expect to affect the general loss of whites, but only their loss when desegregation occurs. Thus we can ask what is the effect of desegregation of .2 for southern cities,

and what is the effect for northern cities? Second, cities differ in the degree to which a suburban alternative is available. Some cities, either because the school district encompasses all or most of the metropolitan area, or because the rest of the metropolitan area is about the same racial composition as the central city, have no such available havens. Thus we can ask how the loss of whites is affected by the racial disparity between city and suburbs, or what we have called in an earlier section, the between-district segregation.

A regression equation which includes these two variables gives results as indicated in Table 14, which allow the following estimates:

Estimated increase in loss of whites in one year as a function of reduction of .2 in index of segregation:

| | South | North |
|------------|-------|-------|
| Largest 21 | 6.8% | 3.9% |
| Next 46 | 2.6% | 0.2% |

These results show that indeed there has been a greater loss of whites when desegregation has taken place in large southern cities than when it has taken place in large northern cities, with the estimate nearly twice for the southern cities what it is for northern ones. For the smaller cities, there is a similar difference, with essentially no loss estimated for northern cities. A caution must be introduced in these estimates: as the table shows, the coefficients on which the estimates are based are not as large as their standard errors, so that the estimates should be taken as only a best guess. The reason, of course, is that only a small number of cities in both North and South in both samples have experienced high degrees of desegregation. The fact that the results are similar for both sets of cities does, however, provide some additional confirmation.

Estimated increase in loss of whites in on year as a function of 50% black in city school district and between-district segregation of .4:

| | 50% black | Between-district segregation of .4 |
|------------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| Largest 21 | 2.3% | 6.5% |
| Next 46 | 1.6% | 4.3% |

The estimates show that the loss which was earlier seen as resulting from the proportion black in the city can in fact in considerable part be accounted for by the between-district segregation, which is a function of the difference between proportion black in the city and that in the suburbs. Thus the frequent observation that the loss of whites from central-city school systems depends on the existence of suburban systems with high proportions of whites is certainly confirmed by these data. Note, however, that this is a generally greater loss of whites under such conditions, not related to the period of desegregation. The question of whether there is additional loss at the time of desegregation can be answered by a further analysis, to which we now turn.

In this analysis, we include not only the possibilities that have already been examined, but three others as well:

- a) The possibility that there is a generally different loss rate of whites from central cities in the South than in the North, in the absence of desegregation
- b) the possibility that desegregation produces different rates of loss when the proportion black in the city differs (interaction between proportion black and change in segregation)
- c) the possibility that desegregation produces different rates of loss when the inter-district segregation differs

The estimates of these effects can best be expressed as the total estimated

loss rates under different illustrative conditions.²⁶ We will consider what the loss rates would be for the average size district in the South for each group of cities where the reduction in segregation is .2, as in earlier illustrations. Estimates are given for various combinations of proportion black in the central-city district, ranging from .25 to .75 and between district segregation ranging from 0 to .4.

The tabulation below shows the estimated loss rates under these various illustrative conditions.

| Between-district segregation | Largest 21 proportion black | | | Next 46 proportion black | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------|-----|-----|
| | .25 | .50 | .75 | .25 | .50 | .75 |
| 0 | 2% | 10% | 17% | 1% | 2% | 3% |
| .2 | 8 | 16 | 24 | 5 | 7 | 8 |
| .4 | 15 | 22 | 30 | 10 | 11 | 13 |

26

The individual coefficients from Table 14 if interpreted alone without combining both the interaction terms and the main effects are not meaningful. Thus the negative sign on the coefficient for Δr is not itself interpretable, without the compensating positive coefficient of $\Delta r \times$ proportion black. Even so, particular combinations of values for the variables would show results that would seem unlikely on their face (for example, integration at very low proportions black apparently bringing about a small gain in proportion of whites in city schools, rather than a loss, or increased proportion black apparently bringing about a small gain as well). This is probably due to misspecification of the equation--for example, some nonlinearity in effect of proportion black, not allowed by the equation as specified, or to a tendency of two highly correlated variables to have coefficients that polarize, due to minor sampling fluctuations. (See "Instabilities of Regression Estimates Relating Air Pollution to Mortality," Gary C. McDonald and Richard C. Schwing, *Technometrics*, Vol. 15, No. 8, Aug. 1973.) Finally, there is the fact that some coefficients would give meaningless values of rate of loss (e.g., over 100%) for extreme values of the independent variables (e.g., $\Delta r = 1$ and proportion black = 1.0). This is due to a deliberate misspecification of the equation. The appropriate dependent variable would have been logarithm of (whites in year t /whites in year $t-1$), rather than (whites in t - whites in $t-1$)/(whites in $t-1$). The latter was used because it gives almost the same results as the former, and the coefficients are more directly expressible as additions to a given rate of loss.

These estimates are for a city in the South. In the North the losses at the time of reduction in segregation are estimated to be 3.5% less in the largest 21 cities and 2.3% less in the next 46. However, it should be recalled that more desegregation took place in the South, so that the estimates are less reliable for northern cities. It should also be noted that some combinations of proportion black and between-district segregation are impossible or quite unlikely, such as .25 proportion black and .4 between-district segregation, or .75 black and 0 between-district segregation.

The most striking from these illustrative estimates are two effects. One is the large increase in the effect of desegregation on rate of white loss as the proportion black in the district increases. This effect exists in both size cities, though it is more pronounced in the largest 21. There is a similarly large increase in the effect of desegregation on white loss if there are suburban alternatives, as measured by a high value for between-district segregation. In this case, the estimated augmentation effect is high both for the smaller cities and for the large ones.

The analysis above does not, however, answer certain other questions, such as the losses of whites in subsequent years. To examine this question, we can slightly modify equation (4), and examine the loss in a given year as a function of the desegregation not only in that year, but in preceding years:

$$\frac{w_t - w_{t-1}}{w_t} = a + b_{11} \Delta r_{t,t-1} + b_{12} \Delta r_{t-1,t-2} + b_2 p_b + b_3 \ln N \quad (5)$$

and two more equations, including respectively $b_{13} \Delta r_{t-2,t-3}$, $b_{13} \Delta r_{t-2,t-3} + b_{14} \Delta r_{t-3,t-4}$, and $b_{13} \Delta r_{t-2,t-3} + b_{14} \Delta r_{t-3,t-4} + b_{15} \Delta r_{t-4,t-5}$.

The last of the equations, which examines effects of desegregation over the preceding five years, is the most complete, but gives the least accurate estimates, since it is based only on the loss in 72-73, and includes only

21 observations. Thus, only the first four equations will be used and only the first three coefficients, for which there are multiple estimates, will be calculated by averaging over the equations. These results will give an indication of the time pattern of white loss following desegregation.²⁷ The indication must be preliminary, because asking as detailed a question as this of data which consist of a limited number of desegregation experiences, some of which occurred only in 71-72 or 72-73, cannot provide a conclusive answer. Nevertheless, it is useful to attempt to obtain even a preliminary answer to the question. Table 15 shows for successively greater numbers of terms, up to three, the estimates for coefficients. When these coefficients are averaged as described earlier to attempt to estimate the succeeding effects of integration, the results are not very satisfactory, nor even highly consistent, except for the first term (the year in which integration took place). The second year shows essentially no effect while the third year shows an improbably large positive effect.²⁸ Thus, this attempt must be regarded as unsuccessful for statistical reasons (probably the particular years of desegregation associated with estimates for particular lags). The most that can be said is that there is no evidence for a return to city schools in

²⁷ The possible indirect accelerating effects of desegregation on white loss through its effect on increasing the proportion black (p_b in equation (5)) is not reflected in the coefficients b_{11} through b_{15} . That effect can be calculated to determine, for example, the effect in year 2 through $\Delta r_{t,t-1}$ in Δp_b and then the product $b_2 \Delta p_b$.

²⁸ One reason for suspecting estimates of Δr_{t-2} is that they are heavily dependent on changes in segregation that took place in 1971-72, and among the 21 cities, there were no large changes during that year.

Table 15. FURTHER ANALYSIS RESULTS

(Equations include proportion black and inter-district segregation).

| <u>Large 21</u> <u>Years of desegregation</u> | ΔR_t | ΔR_{t-1} | ΔR_{t-2} | R^2 |
|--|--------------|------------------|------------------|-------|
| 69-73 | .317(.061) | | | .35 |
| 70-73 | .325(.070) | .008(.082) | | .36 |
| 71-73 | .252(.059) | -.206(.138) | .774(.196) | .56 |
| 72-73 | .561(.081) | -.166(.133) | .772(.190) | .81 |
| | | | | |
| <u>Next 46</u> | | | | |
| 69-73 | .127(.032) | | | .29 |
| 70-73 | .111(.034) | .041(.034) | | .25 |
| 71-73 | .106(.033) | .032(.051) | -.011(.038) | .41 |
| 72-73 | .131(.052) | -.023(.062) | -.027(.047) | .36 |

Estimated added losses of whites due to desegregation in first year of desegregation, in second year, and third year, assuming reduction of .2 in segregation index.*

| | First year | Second year | Third year |
|----------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Large 21 | 7.3% | 1.8% (gain) | 15.4% |
| Next 46 | 2.4% | 0.6% | 0.4% (gain) |

*Unweighted averages of above estimates were used because standard errors were nearly alike.

the second or third year after desegregation nor any strong evidence for a delayed loss in the second and third years after desegregation. (There is, however, an indirect effect in subsequent years through the increase in proportion black that occurs during the first year.)

There is another more stringent test of segregating effects of school desegregation than those we have examined so far. Each city, with its own particular housing patterns, suburban configurations, crime levels, distribution of racial prejudices, industrial growth or decline, and other factors, has rates of white loss that are specific to it. A rough test of this sort can be carried out for the largest cities by using the white student loss that occurred in each city in 1968-69, before much desegregation occurred in any of these cities (except for Denver), and observing what occurred from 1969 to 1973. For the twelve districts of the 22 which did not experience a reduction of at least 0.1 in segregation over the period 1968-1973 (and on the average experienced no change at all), loss of white students expected between 1969 and 1973, based on their 1968-69 losses, was 17% of the white students present in 1969. The actual loss during this period was 20%, only slightly greater than expected. For the ten districts which did experience desegregation of 0.1 or more, their expected loss between 1969 and 1973, based on the 1968-69 before desegregation losses, was only 10%. But their actual 1969-73 losses averaged 26% of the white students present in 1969. Table 16 shows these figures for each city separately.

A more careful statistical examination of this sort may be made by introducing into the regression equation a dummy variable for each city. Since in equation (4) there are five observations for each city, the degrees of freedom in the equation are $5n - n - 3$.

Table 16. REDUCTION IN SEGREGATION 1968-1973, EXPECTED AND ACTUAL LOSS OF WHITE STUDENTS 1969-1973, 22 LARGEST CENTRAL CITY DISTRICTS

| District | Reduction in Segregation | Proportion of Whites Present in 1969 Lost by 1973 | |
|---|--------------------------|---|---------|
| | | Expected (based on city's 1968-69 loss ¹) | Actual |
| 1. New York | (+) .03 | .11 | .16 |
| 2. Los Angeles | .07 | .15 | .20 |
| 3. Chicago | (+) .02 | .16 | .25 |
| 4. Philadelphia | (+) .08 | .13 | .13 |
| 5. Detroit | .04 | .33 | .30 |
| 6. Houston* | .17 | .19 | .29 |
| 7. Baltimore | .02 | .10 | .16 |
| 8. Dallas* | .22 | .05 | .25 |
| 9. Cleveland | (+) .02 | .21 | .12 |
| 10. Washington | .04 | .36 | .42 |
| 11. Memphis* | .61 | (+) .10 | .37 |
| 12. Milwaukee | .02 | .07 | .16 |
| 13. San Diego* | .13 | .01 | .08 |
| 14. Columbus, Ohio | .04 | .07 | .12 |
| 15. Tampa* | .74 | (+) .09 | (+) .11 |
| 16. St. Louis | (+) .03 | .17 | .25 |
| 17. New Orleans* | .15 | .14 | .38 |
| 18. Indianapolis* | .28 | .10 | .24 |
| 19. Boston | (+) .03 | .11 | .15 |
| 20. Atlanta* | .37 | .26 | .59 |
| 21. Denver* | .38 | .09 | .20 |
| 22. San Francisco* | .31 | .39 | .33 |
| *Average for 10 cities which had 0.1 or more reduction in segregation. | | .10 | .26 |
| Average for 12 cities which had less than 0.1 reduction in segregation. | | .17 | .20 |

¹ Expected loss equals $1 - (1-x)^4$, where x equals the proportion white students lost in 1968-69.

This analysis makes a somewhat different comparison than the previous ones. In those analyses, districts which have desegregated are compared with those that have not, to discover the effect of desegregation on loss of white students to the system. In this analysis, by contrast, we compare districts that have desegregated with their own expected rates of loss in the absence of desegregation, to discover any additional loss of whites due to desegregation. This is obviously a much more stringent test because it controls for the general characteristics of each city. The equations used in the analysis include proportion black, logarithm of number of students, and between-district segregation, with the addition of a dummy variable for each city. The results of the analysis give coefficients for Δr of .258 (.058) for the largest 21 city districts, and .143 (.034) for the smaller cities.²⁹ These coefficients correspond closely to those found in earlier equations, indicating that the estimate of the average additional loss rate during desegregation is a stable one, and not due to uncontrolled characteristics of the cities.

Finally, it is possible to carry out a full analysis of covariance, in which we can not only control for the characteristics of the individual cities, but also estimate the loss rate under desegregation for each city which underwent substantial desegregation.³⁰ These estimates are probably as close as we can obtain to the actual effects of desegregation on white loss in the year of desegregation. They show that the estimated white loss does vary

²⁹ R^2 in these equations are .64 and .55 respectively.

³⁰ This analysis is carried out by an equation with Δr (change in segregation), dummy variables for each city, and interactions between the city dummy variable and Δr . The coefficient for each city is the same as the sum of the coefficients for Δr and the interaction term.

considerably from city to city, and that the average loss rate specified earlier obscures very different loss rates in different cities. Table 17 shows the estimated loss rate in the year of desegregation if Δr were .2, for all cities listed earlier which underwent desegregation of .1 or more in a single year. These rates must still be regarded as only estimates because there are other things varying concurrently with desegregation. For three of these, proportion black, between-district segregation, and size of district, the equation has controlled the general effects; but the specific effects of each of these variables (as well as others) may differ from city to city. Nevertheless, these figures do indicate where the losses due to segregation are especially great, and where they are small.

Table 17. ESTIMATED ADDITIONAL LOSS OF WHITE STUDENTS
IN SPECIFIED CITIES

(Loss during desegregation in cities which had a Δr in one year of $-.1$, beyond general loss of whites in those cities. Desegregation assumed is $\Delta r = -.2$.)

| <u>City</u> | Estimated loss as a percent of white students present at beginning of year |
|---------------|--|
| Houston | (gain) 0.9% |
| Dallas | 2.5% |
| Memphis | 13.5% |
| Tampa | 2.3% |
| Indianapolis | 5.5% |
| Atlanta | 11.0% |
| Denver | (gain) 2.3% |
| San Francisco | 4.3% |
| Average | 4.5% |

Now that we have some sense of the magnitude of the losses of whites in the year in which desegregation occurs, and how that magnitude varies among different cities, it is useful to ask just how much difference this makes in the long run in the city's population composition. For insofar as we can determine, the effect of desegregation is a one-time effect. The present data give no good evidence that there is a continuing increased loss of whites from city schools after desegregation has taken place. On the other hand, there are secondary impacts of the initial loss: it increases the proportion of blacks in the schools, which itself increases the rate of loss. And it increases the racial disparity between suburbs and city, also increasing the rate of loss. Yet these are second-order effects and their overall impact is not clear.

One way of gaining a sense of the difference that sharp desegregation makes in the racial composition of a city in subsequent years is to consider a hypothetical city with particular characteristics, and apply the coefficients of the equations to the changing population composition of the city, year by year, under two conditions: with sharp desegregation in the first year, and without any change in segregation.

We will do this with two of the equations for the large cities: the simple equation including only Δr , proportion black, and logarithm of student population (Equation 1 in Table 14); and the most complex equation, including three interaction terms (Equation 3 in Table 14).

Assumed characteristics of the district in year 0:

1. Proportion black = 0.50
2. Proportion white = 0.50
3. Average size student body for the largest 21 (169,000)

- *4. Suburban ring equal in size to central city, and all white (this means that initial between district segregation for SMSA is .33).
- *5. Located in North.
- *6. No overall change in student populations in SMSA; white losses from central city appear in suburbs.
- *7. No movement of blacks to suburbs.

(Starred items are relevant only to Equation 3 in Table 14.)

The population compositions of the cities will be projected under two assumptions: first, that there is no change in segregation ($\Delta r = 0$); and second, that in year 0, there is a drop of .4 in r . This would not be total desegregation in most large cities, (see, for example, Table 13) but it would reduce the segregation by about half, and in some cases more, and be very substantial desegregation.

Equation 1, including only Δr , proportion black, and logarithm of size, certainly does not include all the ways in which desegregation can have an impact on white student loss. On the other hand, Equation 3 may overstate the initial loss upon desegregation through the magnitude of the interaction terms and may understate the losses after desegregation. The two equations show, however, something about the range of effects that might be expected for a city with these characteristics.

PREDICTED PORTION BLACK IN YEAR

| | Year: | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|-------------------------|-------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| <u>Equation 1</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| with desegregation (.4) | | .5 | .54 | .56 | .58 | .60 | .61 | .63 | .65 | .67 | .69 | .70 |
| without desegregation | | .5 | .51 | .53 | .55 | .56 | .58 | .60 | .61 | .63 | .65 | .67 |
| <u>Equation 3</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| with desegregation (.4) | | .5 | .58 | .60 | .62 | .63 | .65 | .67 | .69 | .71 | .73 | .75 |
| without desegregation | | .5 | .51 | .52 | .54 | .55 | .56 | .58 | .59 | .61 | .63 | .65 |

We should emphasize that these projections are not intended as predictions for any city. They are intended rather to give a better perspective on what these equations imply for the impact of desegregation on the city's population composition.

The equations give considerably different projections, but perhaps the most important point is that the impact of desegregation, as a one-time impact, matters less in the overall population composition of the central city than does the continuing loss of whites with or without desegregation. According to Equation 3 from Table 14, there would be a 10% difference in the proportion black in the city at the end of ten years due to desegregation; but even without desegregation, the proportion would have increased from .5 to .65. And according to Equation 1 from Table 14, the difference due to desegregation would be only 3% at the end of the 10 years, but with about the same general increase in proportion black.

It is useful also to see the projected proportion of white schoolmates for the average black child under these conditions, and the proportion of black schoolmates for the average white in the metropolitan area. These are given below, assuming an initial segregation of .8, reduced to .4 under desegregation.

| | White schoolmates for average black | | Black schoolmates for average white | |
|-----------------------|--|---------|--|---------|
| | Year 0 | Year 10 | Year 0 | Year 10 |
| <u>Equation 1</u> | | | | |
| with desegregation | .30 | .18 | .15 | .09 |
| without desegregation | .10 | .07 | .05 | .03 |
| <u>Equation 3</u> | | | | |
| with desegregation | .30 | .15 | .15 | .08 |
| without desegregation | .10 | .07 | .05 | .04 |

These projections show that under all conditions, there is an extensive decline in interracial contact over the ten years. The interracial contact under desegregation is projected to remain higher after 10 years than it was in year 0 under no desegregation; but the projected erosion is great, and especially so under desegregation. Most of the intended benefits of desegregation will have been lost at the end of 10 years-- in part to the loss of white students upon desegregation, but due even more to the general loss of white students from city schools, with or without desegregation. Nothing here can be said, of course, about the quality of interracial contact in the two situations.

It is important again to emphasize that these are projections for a hypothetical city with the given characteristics; as is evident in the earlier analysis, the estimated impact of changes in segregation differs from city to city, and in some cities is estimated to be absent.

Altogether, these projections emphasize what data from earlier projections have shown: that the emerging patterns of segregation are those between large cities which are becoming increasingly black, and everywhere else, which is becoming increasingly white. Desegregation in central cities hastens this process of residential segregation but not by a great deal under the conditions specified in the example. It provides a temporary, but fast eroding, increase in interracial contact among children within the central city. In districts with certain characteristics, however, (such as about 75% black and about .4 between-district segregation, as in Detroit, Baltimore, Philadelphia, or Chicago), the impact of full-scale desegregation would be, according to the estimates from page 65,

very large, moving the city's schools to nearly all black in a single year. What would happen in a particular city is unknown; the point here is that the white loss depends very much on the extent of desegregation, the proportion black in the central city and the black-white differential between central city and suburb.

Elementary and Secondary Schools

One final question is useful to examine before ending this quest for the effects of desegregation within large central cities. This is the differential effect on loss of whites from elementary school and from high school. The question cannot be answered with a high degree of conclusiveness, because some apparent changes in elementary or secondary school populations may have been due rather to a grade reorganization among the schools in the district. Such reorganizations are particularly likely to occur in desegregating systems and the effects on the analytical results are unknown.

Nevertheless, Equations (1), (2), and (3) from Table 14 were analyzed separately for elementary schools and high schools, with some consistency of results. In general, the elementary school losses in the year of desegregation were much more extensive than the secondary school losses. For Equation (1), where the overall effect in the largest 21 cities was estimated at 5.5% loss of whites with a $-.2$ reduction in segregation, the effect for elementary schools was estimated to be 20.4%, compared to only 5.3% for secondary schools. For the next 46 cities, the elementary losses were estimated at 12.8% and the secondary at 0.5%.³¹ Results for the other two equations are not inconsistent

³¹ The fact that in neither the 21 cities nor the 46 is the estimate of the overall effect an average, or near an average, of the estimated elementary and secondary effects raises some question about the latter estimates. We have no explanation for this anomaly, except the possibility of school reorganization.

with these, but are marred by the high degree of collinearity among the independent variables. The indication from these results is that the effect of desegregation on elementary school losses is rather great, considerably greater than for the secondary schools. This result should be regarded as less than conclusive, because of the unknown effects of school reorganization on numbers of students classified in elementary and secondary schools, and because the collinearity prevented strong confirmation by use of equations with greater numbers of variables. Yet the result does appear in both sets of districts, and suggests that desegregation has a particularly strong effect at the elementary school level. This, of course, is more destructive of the goals of racial integration of schools than if the loss were greater at high school levels. For if the tendency of white families to leave a desegregating system is especially pronounced in the elementary grades, then the loss will have its impact at all grade levels, as the elementary children move into high school.

The earlier analysis of changes in within-district and between-district segregation at elementary and secondary schools showed that there is greater movement both within and between districts of the sort that leads to resegregation among white secondary school students than among elementary ones. The present analysis shows that this greater movement at the secondary level is not a response to desegregation, but rather a general movement independent of desegregation, presumably related to the family's age and to its affluence which increases with age.

Altogether then, what does this analysis of effects of desegregation in cities indicate? Several results can be specified with some assurance:

1. In the large cities (among the largest 22 central city school districts) there is a sizeable loss of whites when desegregation takes place.

2. There is a loss, but less than half as large, from small cities. These differences due to city size continue to hold when the reduced opportunity of white flight into surrounding school districts in the smaller cities is taken into account.
3. The estimated loss is less in northern cities which have undergone desegregation than in southern ones.
4. In addition to effects of desegregation on white loss, both the absolute proportion of blacks in the central city and their proportion relative to those in the surrounding metropolitan areas have strong effects on loss of whites from the central-city district.
5. Apart from their general effect on white loss, a high absolute proportion of blacks in the central city and a high difference in racial composition between the central-city district and the remaining metropolitan area both intensify the effects of desegregation on rates of white loss.
6. When general rates of white loss for individual cities are taken into account, the desegregation effects still hold to about the same degree as estimated from comparisons among cities.
7. No conclusive results have been obtained concerning the direct effect of desegregation in subsequent years after the first. The indirect effect, however, through increasing the proportion black in the city and the segregation between the city district and suburban ones, is to accelerate the loss of whites.
8. The effect of desegregation on white loss has been widely different among different cities where desegregation has taken place.
9. Because, insofar as we can estimate, the loss of whites upon desegregation is a one-time loss, the long-term impact of desegregation is considerably less than that of other continuing factors. The continuing white losses produce an extensive erosion of the interracial contact that desegregation of city schools brings about.
10. The effects of desegregation on loss of white elementary school children appears considerably greater than the effect on loss of secondary school children.

All this leads to general conclusions consistent with those from earlier sections of this examination: that the emerging problem with regard to school desegregation is the problem of segregation between central city and suburbs; and in addition, that current means by which schools are being desegregated are

intensifying that problem, rather than reducing it. The emerging problem of school segregation in large cities is a problem of metropolitan area residential segregation, black central cities and white suburbs, brought about by a loss of whites from the central cities. This loss is intensified by extensive school desegregation in those central cities, but in cities with high proportions of blacks and predominantly white suburbs, it proceeds at a relatively rapid rate with or without desegregation.

REFERENCES

1. Cataldo, Everett; Giles, Michael; Athos, Deborah; and Gatlin, Douglas, "Desegregation and White Flight." Integrated Education, 13 (January-February, 1975).
2. Clotfelter, Charles T. "School Desegregation, 'Tipping,' and Private School Enrollment." Journal of Human Resources (Forthcoming).
3. Farley, Reynolds. "Racial Integration in the Public Schools, 1967 to 1972: Assessing the Effects of Governmental Policies." Sociological Focus, VIII (January, 1975).
4. McDonald, Gary C., and Schwing, Richard C. "Instabilities of Regression Estimates Relating Air Pollution to Mortality." Technometrics, 1 IV (August, 1973).

APPENDIX 1:
OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS SAMPLING PLAN
and
REPORT FORMS
1968

APPENDIX 1

OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS SAMPLING PLAN

All school districts with 3,000 or more enrollment (1967-68) were surveyed. Smaller school districts were selected for inclusion in the survey in a statistically random manner based on district enrollment size in the preceding school year (1967-68) as determined by the United States Bureau of the Census (1967 Census of Governments, Volume 17).

The sampling plan used was as follows:

| <u>District Enrollment</u> | <u>Sampling Rate</u> | <u>Projected Total In Each Size Category</u> |
|----------------------------|----------------------|--|
| 3,000 and larger | 100% | actual data |
| 1,200 - 2,999 | 75% | 1 1/3 times actual data |
| 600 - 1,199 | 50% | 2 times actual data |
| 300 - 599 | 25% | 4 times actual data |
| less than 300 | 0 | none |

In addition to the above sampled districts, all districts eliminating racially dual school systems under terms of voluntary plan agreements with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare or under federal court order were surveyed regardless of school district enrollment size.

In 1968, the 8,491 school districts sampled covered an estimated 43.9% of the Nation's public school districts but they enrolled an estimated 90.8% of the Nation's public elementary and secondary pupils.

These data were reported to the Office for Civil Rights by school district superintendents and/or State education agencies. The reports were required under the regulations implementing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Hawaii and the Territories were not required to participate in this survey. Ninety-five school districts with federal funds terminated (as of August 1968) because of non-compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were also excluded from the survey.

SOURCE: Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts: Enrollment and Staff by Racial/Ethnic Groups, Fall 1968. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, p. iv.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORM OS/CR 101
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
 Office for Civil Rights
 Washington, D.C.
SCHOOL SYSTEM REPORT,
FALL 1968 ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS SURVEY
 Due October 15, 1968

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS. The fall 1968 Elementary and Secondary School Survey consists of two report forms. FORM OS/CR 101 for reporting system-wide data, and an Individual School Report (either Form OS/CR-102 or OS/CR 102-1) for reporting individual school data. Complete Form OS/CR-101 for the School System, and an Individual School Report for each individual school. See Instructions for ITEM VI below, requiring a separate report for each campus of each school.

The data reported should reflect the facts when assignments can be considered stabilized, normally in the latter part of September. The report is due October 15, 1968.

Please use a typewriter to complete the report, if possible.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS. The OCR School System Number consists of the first 10 digits of the number at the ^{TOP} of the label affixed to the School System Report, Form OS/CR-101. This number should appear in ITEM II of each Individual School Report. If the Individual School Report is completed at the individual schools, the principals should be instructed on the correct number to place in ITEM II, of the Individual School Report.

- ITEM I.** Use the school system name your State uses in its published official listing of its school districts. The same name should be used in Item I of each Individual School Report.
- ITEM II.** Enter street address if different from address on label.
- ITEM III.** Enter City, County, State and Zip Code, if different from label.
- ITEM IV.** Enter the name of the Chief Administrative Officer of the school system.
- ITEM V.** Place an "x" in the appropriate box:
 HEW Form 441. Has been accepted from school systems which never had, or have completed the elimination of, a dual school structure.
 HEW Form 441-B. Has been accepted from school systems eliminating a dual school structure pursuant to a voluntary desegregation plan. Assurance of Compliance with Court Order. Has been accepted from school systems eliminating a dual school structure pursuant to an order of a Federal Court.
- ITEM VI.** Enter the number of schools as the schools are organized by the local school system. If, however, a school has classroom buildings located on separate campuses (classroom buildings on campuses which are not contiguous), count each such separate campus as an individual school. File an Individual School Report for each school (or separate campus).
- ITEM VII.** Report the number of persons in each category. Do not use percentages. If there are no persons in a category, enter "0" for the category. Do not complete this item until each of the Individual School Reports has been completed.

Column 1: School System-Total. Include both minority and non-minority groups.
 Column 2: American Indian. Persons considered in school or community to be of American Indian origin.
 Column 3: Negro. Persons considered in school or community to be of African or Negroid origin.
 Column 4: Oriental. Persons considered in school or community to be of Chinese, Japanese, or other Oriental origin.
 Column 5: Spanish Surnamed American. Persons considered in school or community to be of Mexican, Central-American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Latin-American or other Spanish speaking origin.

NOTE. For the purpose of this report, minority groups are considered to be mutually exclusive, place an individual in *one minority group only*.

Line A. Enrolled Students. Regular day students on the current rolls of the individual schools of this school system, total of Item VII-A of Individual School Reports.

Line B(1) and Line B(2). Full-Time Professional Instructional Staff. Enter in the appropriate category the number of professional instructional staff members who work for this school system on a full-time basis.

Include. Principals, assistant principals, classroom teachers, supervisors of instruction, curriculum consultants, school librarians, non-classroom teachers, audio-visual staff, guidance counselors and school psychologists.

Do NOT include. Higher-level administrators (superintendent of schools), staff members who work for the school system on a part-time basis; para-professional staff members, such as teacher aides and student teachers, non-instructional staff members, such as business, financial, attendance, health, transportation, clerical, custodial, and food service personnel.

Line B(1). Assigned to One School Only. Enter on line (1) the full-time professional instructional staff members who work at only one school. These entries should be the total of the equivalent categories reported in Item VII-B(5) of the Individual School Reports.

Line B(2). Assigned to More than One School. Enter on line (2) the full-time professional instructional staff who work at more than one school.

SUBMISSION OF REPORT. This report should be submitted to HEW in accordance with the forwarding instructions sent to the school system with its report forms. Before mailing, remove the school system's file copy from each set of reports. If the school system is instructed to mail the report to HEW through its State education agency, mail the four HEW copies, and the State education agency copy to your State education agency. If the report is mailed directly to HEW, mail the State education agency copy to your State education agency and the four HEW copies to:

Office for Civil Rights
 Department of Health, Education and Welfare
 Post Office Box 14195
 Washington, D.C. 20044

Before mailing the report, check the completeness and accuracy of each item, particularly the totals. Errors or omissions may require a re-filing of the form. Be sure there is an Individual School report for each school.

REPORTING REQUIREMENT

This report is required pursuant to the HEW Regulation (45 CFR 80) issued to carry out the purposes of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Section 80.6(b) of the Regulation provides:

Compliance Reports. Each recipient shall keep such records and submit to the responsible Department official or his designee timely, complete and accurate compliance reports at such times, and in such form and containing such information as the responsible Department official or his designee may determine to be necessary to enable him to ascertain whether the recipient has complied or is complying with this Regulation

If you have any questions write:

Office for Civil Rights
 Department of Health, Education & Welfare
 Box 14195
 Washington, D.C. 20044
 or telephone 202-338-7866

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
 Office for Civil Rights
 Washington, D.C.
SCHOOL SYSTEM REPORT
FALL 1968 ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SURVEY
 Required Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
 Due October 15, 1968

FORM
 OS/CR 101
 (5/68)

Budget Bureau
 No:51-R550

Expiration
 Date: 6/30/69

- I. Name of School System _____
- II. Street Address _____
- III. City, County, State, Zip Code _____
- IV. Name of Chief Administrative Officer of School System _____
- V. Most recent type of Assurance of Compliance accepted by HEW:
 - HEW Form 441
 - HEW Form 441-B
 - Assurance of Compliance with Court Order
 - Other Please explain: _____
- VI. Number of Schools in this School System.
- VII. Students and Professional Staff.

| Report number of persons in each category. Do not use percentages. | Column 1 School System Total (BOTH minority and non-minority groups) | MINORITY GROUP (Persons included in Column 1 who are members of the minority groups listed below) | | | | | Column 6 Total Minority Group (Sum of Columns 2, 3, 4, and 5) |
|--|--|--|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| | | Column 2 American Indian | Column 3 Negro | Column 4 Oriental | Column 5 Spanish Surnamed American | | |
| A. Enrolled Students. | | | | | | | |
| B. Full-time professional staff | | | | | | | |
| (1) Assigned to One School Only | | | | | | | |
| (2) Assigned to More Than One School | | | | | | | |
| (3) TOTAL of (1) and (2) | | | | | | | |

To assure the submission of correct Title VI compliance data, check the completeness and accuracy of each item reported. Errors or omissions may require a re-filing of this form. Be sure there is an Individual School Report for each of the schools (or separate campuses) reported in Item VI.

Certification: I certify that the information given with this report is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief. A willfully false statement is punishable by law. (U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 1001).

Signature and Title of Person Furnishing Information _____

Telephone Number _____

Date Signed _____

**INSTRUCTIONS
FOR FORM OS/CR 102**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office for Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

**INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL REPORT
FALL 1968 ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SURVEY**

Due October 15, 1968

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS. Nonnally, complete one Individual School Report (Form OS/CR 102) for each school, as the schools are organized by the local school system. If, however, a school has classroom buildings located on separate campuses (classroom buildings on campuses not contiguous to each other), file a separate report Form OS/CR-102 for each campus.

Please use a typewriter to complete the report, if possible.

- ITEM I.** Use the school system name your State uses in its published official listing of its school districts.
- ITEM II.** The OCR school system number consists of the first 10 digits of the number at the bottom of the label affixed to Form OS/CR 101 sent to the school system superintendent. If this form is completed at individual schools, the superintendent should transmit the OCR school system number to each school.
- ITEM III.** State the name of the school (or separate campus) covered by this report.
- ITEM IV.** Give the street address of the school (or separate campus) covered by this report.
- ITEM V.** Complete the address. Do not forget to give the zip code.
- ITEM VI-A.** If a school has more than one campus, each campus should file an Individual School Report.
- ITEM VI-B.** Mark all the boxes that apply to your school. (or separate campus)
- ITEM VII.** Report the number of persons in each category. Do not use percentages. If there are no persons in a category, enter "0" for the category.

Column 1: School Total. Include both minority and non-minority groups.
 Column 2: American Indian. Persons considered in school or community to be of American Indian origin.
 Column 3: Negro. Persons considered in school or community to be of African or Negroid origin.
 Column 4: Oriental. Persons considered in school or community to be of Chinese, Japanese, or other Oriental origin.
 Column 5: Spanish Surnamed American. Persons considered in school or community to be of Mexican, Central American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Latin-American or other Spanish speaking origin.

NOTE: For the purposes of this report, minority groups are considered to be mutually exclusive, place an individual in *one minority group only*.

- Line A** Enrolled Student. Enter the number of regular day school students on the current rolls as of the date of the report.
- Line B(1) through B(4)** Full-time Professional Instructional Staff. Enter in the category which represents their major assignment the number of professional instructional staff members assigned to this school on a full-time basis. These are professional instructional staff members whose current assignments require their services at this school for the whole of the regular school day.
- Line B(1).** The Principal. The professional staff member who is the administrative head of the school.
- Line B(2).** Assistant Principals. The professional staff members, other than the principal, who direct and manage the operation of the school.
- Line B(3).** Classroom Teachers. The professional staff members who instruct students in courses in classroom situations.
- Line B(4).** Other Instructional Staff. The professional staff members who are supervisors of instruction, curriculum consultants, school librarians, non-classroom teachers (homebound, etc.), audiovisual staff, guidance counselors and school psychologists - assigned to this school on a full time basis.

Do not include staff members who work at this school on a part-time basis, para-professional staff members, such as teacher's aides and student teachers, or non-instructional staff members, such as attendance, business, financial, health, transportation, clerical, custodial and food service personnel.

- Line C:** Give the date as of which Item VII is answered.

ITEM VIII. Give the year when the school enrolled its first students.

ITEM IX. Instructions are contained in the item.

SUBMISSION OF REPORT. It is the responsibility of each school system to submit this report by October 15, 1968. If the report is completed at the individual schools, it should be returned to the superintendent's office for forwarding to HLW. Before submitting the report, check the accuracy and completeness of each item, particularly the totals. Errors or omissions may require a refiling of the form.

REPORTING REQUIREMENT:

This report is required pursuant to the HEW Regulation (45 CFR 80) issued to carry out the purposes of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Section 80.6(b) of the Regulation provides:

Compliance Reports— Each recipient shall keep such records and submit to the responsible Department official or his designee timely, complete and accurate compliance reports at such times, and in such form and containing such information as the responsible Department official or his designee may determine to be necessary to enable him to ascertain whether the recipient has complied or is complying with this Regulation.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office for Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

**INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL REPORT
FALL 1968 ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SURVEY**

Required Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Due October 15, 1968

FORM
OS/CR-102
(5/68)

Budget Bureau
No: 51-R0462

Expiration
Date: 6/30/69

I Name of School System _____

II OCR School System Number _____

III Name of School _____

IV Street Address _____

V City, County, State, Zip Code _____

VI. A. Number of Campuses at this School: NOTE: File a separate report form (OS/CR 102) for each campus.

B. Grades offered (Put an "x" in the appropriate box for each grade offered at this school)

Pre-K K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Ungraded

VII. Students and Professional Staff

Report number of persons in each category. Do not use percentages.

| Column 1 School Total (BOTH minority and non-minority groups) | MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP OF STUDENTS AND PROFESSIONAL STAFF (Persons included in Column 1 who are members of the minority groups listed below) | | | | | Column 6 Total Minority Group (Sum of Columns 2, 3, 4, and 5) |
|---|--|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| | Column 2 American Indian | Column 3 Negro | Column 4 Oriental | Column 5 Spanish Surnamed American | | |
| A Enrolled Students | | | | | | |
| B Professional Staff | | | | | | |
| (1) The Principal | | | | | | |
| (2) Assistant Principals | | | | | | |
| (3) Classroom Teachers | | | | | | |
| (4) Other Instructional Staff | | | | | | |
| (5) Total of (1), (2), (3), (4), above by each column. | | | | | | |

C Date for Item VII furnished as of (Date) _____

VIII In what school year (e.g., 1966-67) did this school first enroll students? _____

IX. State the school year in which additions to this school, if any, were opened. Include only the two most recent additions. Do not include additions opened before 1954-1955 school year. For the purpose of this question, additions do NOT include (A) temporary structures, such as mobile classrooms, or (B) structures which do not increase the student capacity of the school, such as a cafeteria, gymnasium, or school library. (If no additions, write "NONE.")

1. _____

2. _____

To assure the submission of correct Title VI compliance data, please check the completeness and accuracy of each item reported. Errors or omissions may require a re-filing of this Form.

Certification I certify that the information given above is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. (A willfully false statement is punishable by law. U.S. Code Title 18, Section 1001.)

Signature and Title of Person Furnishing Information _____ Telephone Number _____ Date Signed _____



INSTRUCTIONS
for
FORM OS/CR-102-1

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office for Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL REPORT
FALL 1968 ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SURVEY
Due October 15, 1968

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS. Normally, complete one Individual School Report (Form OS/CR-102-1) for each school, as the schools are organized by the local school system. If, however, a school has classroom buildings located on separate campuses (classroom buildings on campuses not contiguous to each other), file a separate report (Form OS/CR-102-1) for each campus.

Please use a typewriter to complete the report, if possible.

- ITEM I.** Use the school system same your State uses in its published official listing of its school districts.
- ITEM II.** The OCR school system number consists of the first 10 digits of the number at the bottom of the label affixed to Form OS/CR-101 sent the school system superintendent. If this form is completed at individual schools, the superintendent should transmit the OCR school system number to each school.
- ITEM III.** State the name of the school (or separate campus) covered by this report.
- ITEM IV.** Give the street address of the school (or separate campus) covered by this report.
- ITEM V.** Complete the address. Do not forget to give the zip code.
- ITEM VI-A.** If a school has more than one campus, each campus should file an Individual School Report.
- ITEM VI-B.** Mark all the boxes that apply to your school, (or separate campus).
- ITEM VII.** Report the number of persons in each category. Do not use percentages. If there are no persons in a category, enter "0" for the category.

Column 1: School Total. Include both minority and non-minority groups.
 Column 2: American Indian. Persons considered in school or community to be of American Indian origin.
 Column 3: Negro. Persons considered in school or community to be of African or Negroid origin.
 Column 4: Oriental. Persons considered in school or community to be of Chinese, Japanese, or other Oriental origin.
 Column 5: Spanish Surnamed American. Persons considered in school or community to be of Mexican, Central American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Latin American or other Spanish speaking origin.

NOTE. For the purpose of this report, minority groups are considered to be mutually exclusive, place an individual in *one* minority group only.

Item A. Enrolled Students Enter at the appropriate grade level the number of regular day school students on the current roll as of the date of this report.

Line B(1) through B(4) Full-time Professional Instructional Staff. Enter in the category which represents their major assignment the number of professional instructional staff members assigned to this school on a full-time basis. These are professional instructional staff members whose current assignments require their services at this school for the whole of the regular school day.

Line B(1) The Principal. The professional staff member who is the administrative head of the school.

Line B(2) Assistant Principals. The professional staff members, other than the principal, who direct and manage the operation of the school.

Item B(3) Classroom Teachers. The professional staff members who instruct students in courses in classroom situations. Enter each classroom teacher at the grade level which represents his major assignment. If Grades 7 and 8 are considered secondary grades at this school, report the 7th and 8th Grade teachers as Secondary Classroom Teachers.

Line B(4) Other Instructional Staff. The professional staff members who are supervisors of instruction, curriculum consultants, school librarians, non-classroom teachers (homebound, etc.), audiovisual staff, guidance counselors and school psychologists - assigned to this school on a full-time basis.

Do not include: staff members who work at this school on a part-time basis; para-professional staff members, such as teacher's aides and student teachers, or non-instructional staff members, such as attendance, business, financial, health, transportation, clerical, custodial and food service personnel.

Line C(1) Enter in the appropriate categories the number of vacancies filled at this school since October 1, 1967 by full-time professional instructional staff members new to this school system.

Line C(2) Enter in the appropriate categories the number of vacancies filled in the full-time professional instructional staff of this school since October 1, 1967 by transfers from other schools of this system.

Line D Enter the number of unfilled full-time professional instructional staff positions at this school as of the date on Line E.

Line E Give the date as of which Item VII is answered.

ITEM VIII. Give the year when the school enrolled its first students.

ITEM IX. Instructions are contained in the Item.

SUBMISSION OF REPORT. It is the responsibility of each school system to submit this report by October 15, 1968. If the report is completed at the individual schools, it should be returned to the superintendent's office for forwarding to HEW. Before submitting the report, check the accuracy and completeness of each item, particularly the totals. Errors or omissions may require a re-filing of the form.

REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

This report is required pursuant to the HEW Regulation (45 CFR 80) issued to carry out the purposes of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964...

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE Office for Civil Rights Washington, D.C. INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL REPORT BY GRADES FALL 1968 ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SURVEY Required Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 Due October 15, 1968

FORM OS/CR 102-1 (5/68) Budget Bureau No. 51 R0551 Expiration Date: 6/30/69

I. Name of School System, II. OCR School System Number, III. Name of School, IV. Street Address, V. City, County, State, Zip Code, VI. A. Number of Campuses at this School, B. Grades offered (Put an "x" in the appropriate box for each grade offered at this school)

Table with columns: Column 1 School Total (BOTH minority and non minority groups), Column 2 American Indian, Column 3 Negro, Column 4 Oriental, Column 5 Spanish Surnamed American, Column 6 Total Minority Group (Sum of Col. 2, 3, 4 & 5). Rows include: A. Enrolled Students (Pre K to 12, Ungraded Special Educ, Other Ungraded, TOTAL Enrollment), B. Professional Instructional Staff (1) The Principal, (2) Assistant Principals, (3) Classroom Teachers (a) Elementary Classroom Teachers (by grade), (b) Secondary Classroom Teachers (as a group), (c) Ungraded, Special Educ, (d) Other Ungraded, (4) Other Instructional Staff, (5) TOTAL of (1),(2),(3),(4), (6) Newly hired staff members (new to this system), (7) Transfers (staff members transferred from another school of this system), (8) TOTAL of (6) and (7).

D. Number of Current Vacancies in Full time professional instructional staff, E. Date for Item VII furnished as of (Date), VII. In what school year (e.g. 1966-67) did this school first enroll students?, IX. State the school year in which additions to this school, if any, were opened. Includes only the two most recent additions. Do not include additions opened before 1954-1955 school year. For the purpose of this question, additions do NOT include (A) temporary structures, such as mobile classrooms, or (B) structures which do not increase the student capacity of the school, such as a cafeteria, gymnasium, or school library. (If no additions, write "NONE")

To assure the submission of correct Title VI compliance data, please check the completeness and accuracy of each item reported. Errors or omissions may require a re-filing of this form. Certification: I certify that the information given above is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. (A willfully false statement is punishable by law. U.S. Code Title 18, Section 1001.)

Signature and Title of Person Furnishing Information, Telephone Number, Date Signed



APPENDIX 2
ALTERNATE USE OF S_{wb}

APPENDIX 2

ALTERNATE USE OF s_{wb}

We will consider here the possible use, as an independent variable in studying white loss, the change in proportion black in the average white child's classroom, Δs_{wb} , using the notation of equation (1) in the text. This was not done in the analyses carried out, because Δs_{wb} is not only affected by desegregation actions which rearrange pupils among schools, but also by any loss of whites that takes place. However, the following approach is suggested for future work.

We assume that the proportion of whites lost to the system (p_w) is a function of various factors including change in the proportion of blacks in the average white child's classroom due to desegregation. That change we will call $\Delta_1 s$.

$$p_w = f(\Delta_1 s, x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n). \quad (A1)$$

But the observed change in proportion of blacks in the average white child's school, Δs , includes both this change, $\Delta_1 s$, and a change due to a change in numbers of whites and blacks in the system, which we will call $\Delta_2 s$:

$$\Delta s = \Delta_1 s + \Delta_2 s \quad (A2)$$

Now if the proportion of whites lost to the system between year $t-1$ and year t is p_w , then the proportion remaining is $c_w = 1 - p_w$. Similarly, the number of blacks in the system in year t as a proportion of those present in year $t-1$ is c_b . And the number of others (neither blacks nor whites) as a proportion of the number in the preceding year is c_o . If s_{wb} , s_{ww} , and s_{wo} are the proportion of blacks, whites and others in the average white child's school in year $t-1$, then by definition, $s_{wb,t} = s_{wb,t-1} / (s_{wb,t-1} + s_{ww,t-1} + s_{wo,t-1})$

and in year t , the value of s_{wb} which would occur if there were general changes in each population group, would be:

$$s_{wb}^* = (c_b s_{wb,t-1}^*) / (c_b s_{wb,t-1} + c_w s_{ww,t-1} + c_o s_{wo,t-1}) \quad (A3)$$

And the change in s due merely to general changes in the proportion in each population group (dropping the subscripts on s_{wb}^*) is: $\Delta_2 s = s_t^* - s_{t-1}$.

Now, from equation (A2), $\Delta_1 s = \Delta s - \Delta_2 s$ or:

$$\Delta_1 s = s_t - s_{t-1} - (s_t^* - s_{t-1}) = s_t - s_t^*$$

Now for use in a regression equation, s_t is calculated as usual, and s_t^* is calculated according to equation (A3). This will allow use of a variable, $\Delta_1 s$, which is independent of the general changes in population composition, and dependent only on the differential changes in different schools, i.e., changes in the degree of segregation. This variable is:

$$\Delta_1 s_{wb} = s_{wb,t} - (c_b s_{wb,t-1}^*) / (c_b s_{wb,t-1} + c_w s_{ww,t-1} + c_o s_{wo,t-1}) \quad (A4)$$

The regression of p_w on $\Delta_1 s_{wb}$ will be independent of general changes in numbers of whites, blacks and others in the system, and thus p_w and $\Delta_1 s_{wb}$ be used for the same pair of years in the equation.

APPENDIX 3

Basic Data for 70
Largest Central City
School Districts
(ranked by 1972 enrollment)

ALL SCHOOLS

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|---------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 467365 | 0.16617 | 0.47208 | 0.31476 | 1063787 |
| 2 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 452827 | 0.17900 | 0.46876 | 0.33695 | 1115870 |
| 3 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 436457 | 0.18098 | 0.47554 | 0.34508 | 1140359 |
| 4 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 424418 | 0.18290 | 0.47707 | 0.34976 | 1151715 |
| 5 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 400495 | 0.18574 | 0.48409 | 0.36001 | 1125449 |
| 6 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 380631 | 0.18349 | 0.49804 | 0.36555 | 1104920 |
| 4220580 6 | | | | | | | | |
| New York City | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 350909 | 0.03157 | 0.86634 | 0.22695 | 653549 |
| 3 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 324065 | 0.03772 | 0.84346 | 0.24098 | 642895 |
| 4 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 309504 | 0.04297 | 0.82713 | 0.24857 | 634138 |
| 5 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 283303 | 0.05082 | 0.79869 | 0.25244 | 620659 |
| 6 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 271655 | 0.05295 | 0.79136 | 0.25380 | 611228 |
| 1422710 5 | | | | | | | | |
| Los Angeles | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 219478 | 0.07511 | 0.85812 | 0.52942 | 582274 |
| 2 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 209888 | 0.07748 | 0.85648 | 0.53985 | 582071 |
| 3 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 199669 | 0.07566 | 0.86199 | 0.54825 | 577679 |
| 4 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 185321 | 0.07644 | 0.86362 | 0.56054 | 568922 |
| 5 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 170373 | 0.07244 | 0.87313 | 0.57097 | 553342 |
| 6 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 157913 | 0.07009 | 0.87890 | 0.57881 | 539365 |
| 2309930 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Chicago | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 109512 | 0.21114 | 0.64071 | 0.58766 | 282617 |
| 2 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 105710 | 0.20814 | 0.65152 | 0.59728 | 282312 |
| 3 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 101153 | 0.19355 | 0.68043 | 0.60564 | 278593 |
| 4 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 95844 | 0.17917 | 0.70724 | 0.61199 | 271446 |
| 5 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 99537 | 0.18685 | 0.69590 | 0.61445 | 282941 |
| 6 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 91633 | 0.17224 | 0.71920 | 0.61341 | 268410 |
| 4818990 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Philadelphia | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 116250 | 0.20126 | 0.66008 | 0.59209 | 296097 |
| 2 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 105280 | 0.21245 | 0.65556 | 0.61680 | 288187 |
| 3 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 98046 | 0.20703 | 0.67564 | 0.63828 | 284200 |
| 4 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 94042 | 0.21455 | 0.66892 | 0.64801 | 281690 |
| 5 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 84392 | 0.24055 | 0.64405 | 0.67580 | 276547 |
| 6 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 73759 | 0.26738 | 0.61844 | 0.70077 | 263958 |
| 3212000 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Detroit | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 131099 | 0.03560 | 0.89311 | 0.33306 | 246098 |
| 2 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 124451 | 0.04087 | 0.87789 | 0.33468 | 236220 |
| 3 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 119181 | 0.08211 | 0.76969 | 0.35650 | 241139 |
| 4 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 107587 | 0.09266 | 0.75320 | 0.37547 | 231581 |
| 5 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 98282 | 0.10177 | 0.74187 | 0.39426 | 225410 |
| 6 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 87776 | 0.11333 | 0.72472 | 0.41169 | 216982 |
| 5323640 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Houston | | | | | | | | |



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SHSA | Number Whites | S _{wb.} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 66997 | 0.18702 | 0.71288 | 0.65137 | 192171 |
| 2 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 65329 | 0.19507 | 0.70520 | 0.66172 | 193123 |
| 3 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 63238 | 0.20210 | 0.69900 | 0.67142 | 192498 |
| 4 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 60742 | 0.20644 | 0.69710 | 0.68154 | 190735 |
| 5 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 57350 | 0.21178 | 0.69425 | 0.69266 | 186600 |
| 6 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 54549 | 0.21403 | 0.69363 | 0.69860 | 182733 |

3000090 6
Baltimore

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 97888 | 0.02818 | 0.90847 | 0.30786 | 159924 |
| 2 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 96480 | 0.02510 | 0.92117 | 0.31838 | 162490 |
| 3 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 93388 | 0.02624 | 0.92277 | 0.33977 | 163632 |
| 4 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 85782 | 0.08681 | 0.75920 | 0.36053 | 159192 |
| 5 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 78214 | 0.10813 | 0.71972 | 0.38580 | 154581 |
| 6 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 72688 | 0.12693 | 0.68948 | 0.40875 | 153549 |

5316230 6
Dallas

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 66102 | 0.08575 | 0.84683 | 0.55985 | 155829 |
| 2 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 62303 | 0.08395 | 0.85211 | 0.56763 | 150718 |
| 3 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 61345 | 0.07925 | 0.86229 | 0.57553 | 151637 |
| 4 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 59553 | 0.07619 | 0.86761 | 0.57550 | 148207 |
| 5 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 58189 | 0.07543 | 0.86896 | 0.57575 | 145196 |
| 6 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 54780 | 0.07572 | 0.86819 | 0.57445 | 137569 |

4504378 6
Cleveland.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 58271 | 0.04095 | 0.92355 | 0.53568 | 125813 |
| 2 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 59777 | 0.04990 | 0.90980 | 0.55322 | 134190 |
| 3 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 71743 | 0.07245 | 0.85918 | 0.51450 | 148304 |
| 4 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 67242 | 0.08775 | 0.83668 | 0.53727 | 145903 |
| 5 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 58309 | 0.11996 | 0.79241 | 0.57787 | 138714 |
| 6 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 37846 | 0.47086 | 0.30898 | 0.68140 | 119542 |

5202940 6
Memphis

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 95161 | 0.05854 | 0.75470 | 0.23864 | 130445 |
| 2 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 93533 | 0.05598 | 0.78340 | 0.25845 | 132462 |
| 3 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 93023 | 0.06323 | 0.75640 | 0.25958 | 132349 |
| 4 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 89318 | 0.06468 | 0.76914 | 0.28017 | 131815 |
| 5 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 84265 | 0.07218 | 0.75730 | 0.29741 | 127810 |
| 6 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 78820 | 0.08546 | 0.72645 | 0.31242 | 123224 |

5909600 6
Milwaukee

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 98079 | 0.04010 | 0.65557 | 0.11641 | 128817 |
| 2 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 97886 | 0.04642 | 0.62111 | 0.12250 | 128401 |
| 3 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 97078 | 0.05171 | 0.58397 | 0.12430 | 128783 |
| 4 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 96105 | 0.05483 | 0.57206 | 0.12812 | 128075 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 5 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 91657 | 0.05930 | 0.55169 | 0.13246 | 124391 |
| 6 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 89961 | 0.06410 | 0.53197 | 0.13696 | 123466 |

1434320 6
San Diego



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SHSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Pop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 81655 | 0.10381 | 0.59999 | 0.25952 | 110699 |
| 2 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 80171 | 0.10249 | 0.61168 | 0.26393 | 109411 |
| 3 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 79874 | 0.10748 | 0.59880 | 0.26790 | 109548 |
| 4 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 78921 | 0.11743 | 0.58382 | 0.28216 | 110598 |
| 5 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 74852 | 0.12335 | 0.58012 | 0.29377 | 106548 |
| 6 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 70747 | 0.13266 | 0.56489 | 0.30489 | 102336 |

4504380
Columbus 6

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 24629 | 0.04174 | 0.78677 | 0.19037 | 100985 |
| 2 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 76332 | 0.05547 | 0.71019 | 0.19141 | 103795 |
| 3 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 77794 | 0.06883 | 0.64466 | 0.19361 | 105347 |
| 4 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 75394 | 0.19013 | 0.02576 | 0.19516 | 101298 |
| 5 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 80136 | 0.18459 | 0.02536 | 0.18939 | 107540 |
| 6 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 84781 | 0.18029 | 0.03907 | 0.18762 | 113842 |

1900870
Tampa 6

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 41810 | 0.11578 | 0.81768 | 0.63505 | 115557 |
| 2 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 39861 | 0.12622 | 0.80431 | 0.64498 | 113355 |
| 3 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 37877 | 0.12558 | 0.80855 | 0.65592 | 111218 |
| 4 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 34383 | 0.11530 | 0.82993 | 0.67792 | 107975 |
| 5 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 32630 | 0.10688 | 0.84456 | 0.68761 | 105592 |
| 6 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 29798 | 0.10750 | 0.84515 | 0.69422 | 98850 |

3529280
St. Louis 6

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 34673 | 0.19014 | 0.71679 | 0.67138 | 110743 |
| 2 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 33459 | 0.20725 | 0.69525 | 0.68607 | 110664 |
| 3 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 31406 | 0.23046 | 0.66656 | 0.69535 | 109856 |
| 4 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 28323 | 0.26595 | 0.62820 | 0.71530 | 107433 |
| 5 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 24535 | 0.28948 | 0.61215 | 0.74639 | 103639 |
| 6 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 20879 | 0.33556 | 0.56528 | 0.77189 | 98828 |

2801170
New Orleans 6

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 72010 | 0.10991 | 0.67372 | 0.33685 | 108567 |
| 2 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 70204 | 0.11792 | 0.66121 | 0.34805 | 108192 |
| 3 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 67772 | 0.13029 | 0.63615 | 0.35810 | 106239 |
| 4 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 63334 | 0.15455 | 0.58968 | 0.37666 | 102326 |
| 5 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 59079 | 0.16753 | 0.57348 | 0.39278 | 96976 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 6 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 53289 | 0.25166 | 0.39203 | 0.41393 | 91714 |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|

2404770
Indianapolis 6

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 64500 | 0.10817 | 0.60822 | 0.27054 | 94174 |
| 2 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 62657 | 0.10651 | 0.62949 | 0.28746 | 94667 |
| 3 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 62014 | 0.10737 | 0.63977 | 0.29807 | 96696 |
| 4 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 59390 | 0.10905 | 0.65663 | 0.31758 | 96610 |
| 5 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 57405 | 0.12024 | 0.63529 | 0.32968 | 96239 |
| 6 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 53593 | 0.12483 | 0.63426 | 0.34131 | 93647 |

3102790
Boston 6



| Year | School District Number | Metro: Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 42506 | 0.09254 | 0.85009 | 0.61731 | 111227 |
| 2 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 39318 | 0.11775 | 0.81630 | 0.64101 | 109664 |
| 3 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 32605 | 0.20284 | 0.70588 | 0.68964 | 105141 |
| 4 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 27698 | 0.23456 | 0.67511 | 0.72197 | 100172 |
| 5 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 21683 | 0.28374 | 0.63181 | 0.77063 | 96806 |
| 6 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 15997 | 0.42029 | 0.48405 | 0.81459 | 88125 |

2000120

Atlanta

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 63398 | 0.04361 | 0.69120 | 0.14122 | 96577 |
| 2 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 61912 | 0.07658 | 0.46883 | 0.14417 | 96634 |
| 3 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 60454 | 0.08958 | 0.39225 | 0.14739 | 97928 |
| 4 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 57177 | 0.10167 | 0.35289 | 0.15712 | 94840 |
| 5 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 53420 | 0.11574 | 0.32588 | 0.17168 | 91616 |
| 6 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 49892 | 0.12257 | 0.31086 | 0.17786 | 87820 |

1503360

Denver

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 47677 | 0.01355 | 1.43029 | 0.02380 | 79615 |
| 2 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 48066 | 0.01506 | 0.42443 | 0.02617 | 82086 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 3 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 48945 | 0.01631 | 0.33260 | 0.02444 | 83781 |
| 4 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 49357 | 0.01639 | 0.34962 | 0.02520 | 85446 |
| 5 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 49764 | 0.01864 | 0.27269 | 0.02563 | 86688 |
| 6 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 48225 | 0.01878 | 0.25349 | 0.02516 | 85497 |

4100060

Albuquerque

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 38671 | 0.17085 | 0.38019 | 0.27565 | 93941 |
| 2 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 34250 | 0.16998 | 0.38992 | 0.27862 | 92795 |
| 3 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 33601 | 0.18285 | 0.35866 | 0.28511 | 91150 |
| 4 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 28343 | 0.27306 | 0.10174 | 0.30398 | 83584 |
| 5 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 26067 | 0.28119 | 0.08007 | 0.30566 | 81970 |
| 6 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 23089 | 0.28368 | 0.06982 | 0.30497 | 78010 |

1434410

San Francisco

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 58623 | 0.19054 | 0.65531 | 0.29167 | 83111 |
| 2 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 59530 | 0.12081 | 0.58644 | 0.28813 | 84518 |
| 3 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 56819 | 0.28963 | 0.05936 | 0.30790 | 82507 |
| 4 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 54926 | 0.30834 | 0.03130 | 0.31830 | 81042 |
| 5 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 53629 | 0.31273 | 0.03336 | 0.32352 | 79813 |
| 6 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 51928 | 0.32344 | 0.03167 | 0.33402 | 78599 |

4302970

Charlotte-Mecklenburg

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 13716 | 0.27139 | 0.62557 | 0.72462 | 75960 |
| 2 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 11755 | 0.27413 | 0.62175 | 0.72475 | 77137 |
| 3 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 11198 | 0.26482 | 0.63325 | 0.72207 | 78456 |
| 4 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 9820 | 0.27188 | 0.62240 | 0.72003 | 79661 |
| 5 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 9639 | 0.24531 | 0.66044 | 0.72244 | 78379 |
| 6 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 8626 | 0.24772 | 0.65753 | 0.72332 | 76674 |

4011340

Newark

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 49231 | 0.19304 | 0.55045 | 0.42940 | 86807 |
| 2 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 47648 | 0.19837 | 0.54833 | 0.43918 | 85286 |
| 3 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 46064 | 0.19909 | 0.55714 | 0.44957 | 84199 |
| 4 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 43837 | 0.19772 | 0.56917 | 0.45893 | 81600 |
| 5 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 40763 | 0.19864 | 0.57972 | 0.47264 | 77878 |
| 6 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 37039 | 0.20015 | 0.59138 | 0.48983 | 73373 |

4504375 6
Cincinnati

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 77291 | 0.06418 | 0.41733 | 0.11016 | 94002 |
| 2 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 72535 | 0.06773 | 0.41603 | 0.11597 | 89188 |
| 3 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 66417 | 0.07471 | 0.41145 | 0.12694 | 83243 |
| 4 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 60072 | 0.08473 | 0.37587 | 0.13576 | 76844 |
| 5 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 58024 | 0.09166 | 0.36365 | 0.14403 | 75239 |
| 6 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 53087 | 0.09337 | 0.38455 | 0.15171 | 70273 |

5707710 6
Seattle

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 21310 | 0.05002 | 0.65892 | 0.14665 | 79353 |
| 2 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 18829 | 0.06925 | 0.39393 | 0.14726 | 78289 |
| 3 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 17704 | 0.10893 | 0.29003 | 0.15343 | 77253 |
| 4 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 16014 | 0.11531 | 0.25489 | 0.15476 | 74955 |
| 5 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 14173 | 0.12343 | 0.22006 | 0.15826 | 72305 |
| 6 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 12837 | 0.13227 | 0.18323 | 0.16195 | 70530 |

5338730 6
San Antonio

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 66413 | 0.02371 | 0.80500 | 0.12162 | 79990 |
| 2 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 65943 | 0.03228 | 0.75139 | 0.12985 | 79566 |
| 3 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 64077 | 0.03732 | 0.72783 | 0.13713 | 77822 |
| 4 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 61390 | 0.06214 | 0.56054 | 0.14140 | 75080 |
| 5 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 56859 | 0.07713 | 0.49857 | 0.15381 | 71190 |
| 6 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 53312 | 0.08593 | 0.46843 | 0.16166 | 67802 |

4630240 6
Tulsa

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 46005 | 0.16110 | 0.58904 | 0.39201 | 76268 |
| 2 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 43962 | 0.16273 | 0.59238 | 0.39921 | 73500 |
| 3 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 43679 | 0.16451 | 0.59154 | 0.40276 | 73461 |
| 4 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 41876 | 0.17400 | 0.57620 | 0.41058 | 71502 |
| 5 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 40484 | 0.19108 | 0.54257 | 0.41772 | 70080 |
| 6 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 39146 | 0.19898 | 0.53026 | 0.42358 | 68414 |

4819170 6
Pittsburgh

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 70156 | 0.04990 | 0.38747 | 0.08147 | 78413 |
| 2 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 68583 | 0.05243 | 0.39139 | 0.08614 | 77398 |
| 3 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 66757 | 0.05883 | 0.36143 | 0.09212 | 75857 |
| 4 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 63233 | 0.06107 | 0.37546 | 0.09778 | 72593 |
| 5 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 58854 | 0.07642 | 0.28425 | 0.10677 | 68437 |
| 6 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 56394 | 0.08405 | 0.26341 | 0.11410 | 66325 |

4710050 6
Portland



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 39772 | 0.03357 | 0.90994 | 0.37271 | 63725 |
| 2 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 40939 | 0.04178 | 0.88783 | 0.37242 | 65566 |
| 3 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 39188 | 0.12378 | 0.67939 | 0.38607 | 64198 |
| 4 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 39866 | 0.12399 | 0.68232 | 0.39030 | 65906 |
| 5 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 40751 | 0.12847 | 0.66959 | 0.38882 | 67342 |
| 6 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 40527 | 0.12996 | 0.66380 | 0.38656 | 67011 |

2800540 6

E. Baton Rouge

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 44023 | 0.06542 | 0.84298 | 0.41664 | 75464 |
| 2 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 42620 | 0.13907 | 0.66902 | 0.42017 | 73504 |
| 3 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 38677 | 0.19475 | 0.56203 | 0.44467 | 69791 |
| 4 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 35548 | 0.28963 | 0.37698 | 0.46488 | 66593 |
| 5 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 35943 | 0.27736 | 0.39253 | 0.45659 | 66263 |
| 6 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 35222 | 0.27823 | 0.39318 | 0.45850 | 65184 |

1002370 6

Mobile

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 19835 | 0.24193 | 0.56174 | 0.55203 | 64102 |
| 2 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 17774 | 0.26441 | 0.53732 | 0.57147 | 61679 |
| 3 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 19098 | 0.27910 | 0.50751 | 0.56670 | 67067 |
| 4 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 15617 | 0.30542 | 0.49536 | 0.60523 | 61988 |
| 5 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 13981 | 0.31682 | 0.49094 | 0.62236 | 60651 |
| 6 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 14409 | 0.32241 | 0.48250 | 0.62302 | 60703 |

1428050 6

Oakland

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 39510 | 0.13005 | 0.72184 | 0.46753 | 74202 |
| 2 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 37312 | 0.11504 | 0.76345 | 0.48633 | 72638 |
| 3 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 35128 | 0.11032 | 0.78013 | 0.50175 | 70503 |
| 4 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 32838 | 0.10607 | 0.79624 | 0.52058 | 68495 |
| 5 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 29836 | 0.11171 | 0.79461 | 0.54389 | 65414 |
| 6 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 25155 | 0.11932 | 0.78634 | 0.55844 | 62096 |

3516400 6

Kansas City, Mo.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 43942 | 0.14329 | 0.60829 | 0.36582 | 72115 |
| 2 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 42546 | 0.15740 | 0.58261 | 0.37709 | 71441 |
| 3 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 41021 | 0.16582 | 0.56932 | 0.38502 | 70305 |
| 4 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 38939 | 0.17894 | 0.55009 | 0.39773 | 68217 |
| 5 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 35275 | 0.18544 | 0.55090 | 0.41290 | 64296 |
| 6 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 32527 | 0.18468 | 0.56533 | 0.42487 | 60752 |

4205850 6

Buffalo

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 61218 | 0.03988 | 0.47596 | 0.07610 | 71777 |
| 2 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 59422 | 0.04522 | 0.45178 | 0.08249 | 70472 |
| 3 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 57676 | 0.05090 | 0.43887 | 0.09071 | 69250 |
| 4 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 54760 | 0.05882 | 0.41521 | 0.10059 | 67254 |
| 5 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 50892 | 0.06922 | 0.37765 | 0.11122 | 63838 |
| 6 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 47432 | 0.07420 | 0.37816 | 0.11932 | 62413 |

1422500 6

Long Beach.



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 49956 | 0.06008 | 0.66759 | 0.18074 | 62431 |
| 2 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 49582 | 0.06358 | 0.65598 | 0.18481 | 62481 |
| 3 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 50381 | 0.06402 | 0.65500 | 0.18556 | 63516 |
| 4 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 50352 | 0.07177 | 0.61989 | 0.18881 | 63931 |
| 5 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 49384 | 0.08127 | 0.58019 | 0.19358 | 63125 |
| 6 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 46923 | 0.08593 | 0.56540 | 0.19771 | 60502 |

3774820 6
Omaha

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 36294 | 0.02505 | 0.51422 | 0.05156 | 53667 |
| 2 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 37995 | 0.02567 | 0.50249 | 0.05160 | 55964 |
| 3 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 25703 | 0.03147 | 0.45524 | 0.05778 | 39618 |
| 4 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 27799 | 0.03301 | 0.41564 | 0.05649 | 42949 |
| 5 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 28172 | 0.03098 | 0.43053 | 0.05441 | 43323 |
| 6 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 27815 | 0.03189 | 0.39522 | 0.05274 | 42854 |

1208760 6
Tucson

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 26294 | 0.03294 | -0.00401 | 0.02905 | 62105 |
| 2 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 25847 | 0.03945 | -0.00851 | 0.03121 | 62199 |
| 3 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 25359 | 0.03846 | -0.00855 | 0.03017 | 62545 |
| 4 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 25205 | 0.04026 | -0.01016 | 0.03042 | 62960 |
| 5 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 24096 | 0.04114 | -0.01159 | 0.02990 | 62404 |

6 5318300 1 57 23983 0.04354 -0.01253 0.03141 63937
5318300 6
El Paso

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 43551 | 0.09194 | 0.65165 | 0.26393 | 61183 |
| 2 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 44279 | 0.10354 | 0.61749 | 0.27067 | 62965 |
| 3 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 43504 | 0.10357 | 0.61053 | 0.26592 | 61699 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 4 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 43580 | 0.10227 | 0.62679 | 0.27404 | 62746 |
| 5 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 42773 | 0.10974 | 0.59740 | 0.27257 | 61694 |
| 6 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 40669 | 0.11337 | 0.60216 | 0.28496 | 59911 |

4504490 6
Toledo

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 62490 | 0.05355 | 0.28656 | 0.07506 | 70006 |
| 2 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 60112 | 0.05509 | 0.31961 | 0.08096 | 68278 |
| 3 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 58143 | 0.05949 | 0.32991 | 0.08874 | 66855 |
| 4 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 55497 | 0.06588 | 0.32291 | 0.09729 | 64877 |
| 5 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 51804 | 0.07165 | 0.32253 | 0.10576 | 61546 |
| 6 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 48405 | 0.08220 | 0.29775 | 0.11698 | 58833 |

3321240 6
Minneapolis

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 58472 | 0.03378 | 0.84472 | 0.21753 | 74727 |
| 2 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 53470 | 0.04969 | 0.78145 | 0.22736 | 72945 |
| 3 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 50495 | 0.05466 | 0.76236 | 0.22999 | 70042 |
| 4 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 49571 | 0.06715 | 0.71550 | 0.23602 | 69141 |
| 5 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 42224 | 0.23829 | 0.09491 | 0.26328 | 60275 |
| 6 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 37461 | 0.24636 | 0.07815 | 0.26724 | 54041 |

4622770 6
Oklahoma City



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 32278 | 0.06382 | 0.87587 | 0.51413 | 66434 |
| 2 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 31175 | 0.08005 | 0.84839 | 0.52804 | 66054 |
| 3 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 28125 | 0.19056 | 0.65119 | 0.54633 | 61994 |
| 4 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 26031 | 0.20283 | 0.64088 | 0.56479 | 59907 |
| 5 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 23372 | 0.20498 | 0.65491 | 0.59398 | 57729 |
| 6 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 20781 | 0.20842 | 0.66267 | 0.61785 | 54512 |

1000390

Birmingham

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 58060 | 0.05575 | 0.57221 | 0.13032 | 68391 |
| 2 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 56218 | 0.07572 | 0.45286 | 0.13840 | 67025 |
| 3 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 52868 | 0.09577 | 0.34723 | 0.14671 | 63811 |
| 4 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 48861 | 0.14995 | 0.03201 | 0.15491 | 59868 |
| 5 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 45942 | 0.15904 | 0.02791 | 0.16360 | 57254 |
| 6 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 43914 | 0.16589 | 0.02871 | 0.17079 | 55431 |

2612990

6

Wichita

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 43853 | 0.03979 | 0.82011 | 0.22117 | 56306 |
| 3 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 44385 | 0.21523 | 0.03693 | 0.22348 | 57222 |
| 4 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 44761 | 0.21798 | 0.01903 | 0.22221 | 57635 |
| 5 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 44164 | 0.21736 | 0.02412 | 0.22273 | 56930 |
| 6 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 43835 | 0.21824 | 0.02242 | 0.22324 | 56598 |

5002310

5

Greenville

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 33934 | 0.02758 | 0.81655 | 0.15037 | 51760 |
| 2 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 34354 | 0.03283 | 0.77872 | 0.14836 | 52724 |
| 3 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 35400 | 0.03720 | 0.75317 | 0.15069 | 54974 |
| 4 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 35816 | 0.06941 | 0.52658 | 0.14662 | 55565 |
| 5 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 35214 | 0.07273 | 0.51398 | 0.14964 | 55861 |
| 6 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 36968 | 0.08802 | 0.40508 | 0.14795 | 58332 |

5308940

6

Austin

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 40701 | 0.02065 | 0.77109 | 0.09022 | 58180 |
| 2 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 40599 | 0.02303 | 0.73066 | 0.08550 | 57029 |
| 3 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 40132 | 0.03231 | 0.63678 | 0.08895 | 57450 |
| 4 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 38644 | 0.03610 | 0.61116 | 0.09284 | 55913 |
| 5 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 37665 | 0.03932 | 0.57909 | 0.09342 | 54990 |
| 6 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 36722 | 0.04355 | 0.55416 | 0.09768 | 54758 |

1414550

6

Fresno

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 43341 | 0.13121 | 0.49215 | 0.25836 | 58589 |
| 2 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 41637 | 0.13570 | 0.48823 | 0.26516 | 56838 |
| 3 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 40880 | 0.13755 | 0.49643 | 0.27315 | 56426 |
| 4 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 39943 | 0.14097 | 0.49308 | 0.27810 | 55570 |
| 5 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 38306 | 0.14589 | 0.49206 | 0.28722 | 53966 |
| 6 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 36101 | 0.15197 | 0.48630 | 0.29584 | 51521 |

4504348

6

Akron

| Year | School District Number | Metgo. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|----------------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 33909 | 0.01770 | 0.95948 | 0.43697 | 60483 |
| 2 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 31989 | 0.07595 | 0.83186 | 0.45170 | 58782 |
| 3 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 27298 | 0.20813 | 0.57536 | 0.49012 | 53866 |
| 4 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 26677 | 0.21949 | 0.55713 | 0.49561 | 53330 |
| 5 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 26044 | 0.21692 | 0.56442 | 0.49801 | 52336 |
| 6 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 24099 | 0.25881 | 0.49742 | 0.51496 | 50054 |
| 2800300 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Shreveport | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 36582 | 0.07198 | 0.81200 | 0.38285 | 59527 |
| 2 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 35191 | 0.08494 | 0.78412 | 0.39343 | 58287 |
| 3 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 33415 | 0.09809 | 0.75870 | 0.40653 | 56609 |
| 4 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 31348 | 0.11112 | 0.73962 | 0.42675 | 55041 |
| 5 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 28698 | 0.13739 | 0.69180 | 0.44580 | 52162 |
| 6 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 26111 | 0.16362 | 0.64654 | 0.46291 | 48960 |
| 4504384 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Dayton | | | | | | | | |
| 1414550 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 47147 | 0.00145 | 0.07665 | 0.00157 | 52908 |
| 3 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 46050 | 0.00195 | 0.06427 | 0.00209 | 52684 |
| 4 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 45024 | 0.00299 | 0.08454 | 0.00327 | 51983 |
| 5 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 43994 | 0.00359 | 0.10346 | 0.00401 | 51382 |
| 6 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 42677 | 0.00485 | 0.11247 | 0.00546 | 50346 |
| 1414880 | | 5 | | | | | | |
| Garden Grove, Calif. | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 29699 | 0.16306 | 0.64653 | 0.46131 | 55212 |
| 2 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 28194 | 0.14715 | 0.68885 | 0.47292 | 53586 |
| 3 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 27458 | 0.14162 | 0.70655 | 0.48262 | 53197 |
| 4 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 25786 | 0.14045 | 0.71191 | 0.48753 | 50440 |
| 5 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 24011 | 0.14688 | 0.71223 | 0.51041 | 49133 |
| 6 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 22199 | 0.15184 | 0.70915 | 0.52205 | 46545 |
| 2703600 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Louisville | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 34763 | 0.11915 | 0.14518 | 0.13939 | 52545 |
| 2 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 34763 | 0.12573 | 0.13776 | 0.14582 | 53327 |
| 3 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 33496 | 0.13143 | 0.14343 | 0.15343 | 52218 |
| 4 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 31261 | 0.13770 | 0.15266 | 0.16251 | 49658 |
| 5 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 30247 | 0.14371 | 0.14532 | 0.16814 | 48774 |
| 6 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 29006 | 0.15223 | 0.13972 | 0.17696 | 47588 |
| 1433840 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Sacramento | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 31824 | 0.08520 | 0.79685 | 0.41941 | 56029 |
| 2 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 33689 | 0.10665 | 0.74631 | 0.42040 | 59429 |
| 3 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 29644 | 0.23617 | 0.47421 | 0.44917 | 55117 |
| 4 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 25830 | 0.46020 | 0.03972 | 0.47924 | 50791 |
| 5 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 24024 | 0.47766 | 0.03556 | 0.49527 | 48701 |
| 6 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 24204 | 0.48209 | 0.03624 | 0.50022 | 50404 |
| 5602670 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Norfolk | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 45669 | 0.04412 | 0.23859 | 0.05795 | 50338 |
| 2 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 43432 | 0.04622 | 0.26364 | 0.06277 | 48432 |
| 3 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 44378 | 0.04512 | 0.29059 | 0.06360 | 49732 |
| 4 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 44130 | 0.04500 | 0.30714 | 0.06495 | 49621 |
| 5 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 42476 | 0.04549 | 0.32919 | 0.06781 | 48059 |
| 6 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 40234 | 0.05072 | 0.30235 | 0.07270 | 45954 |

3333840 6
St. Paul

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 35975 | 0.04974 | 0.82036 | 0.27690 | 49831 |
| 2 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 36521 | 0.05088 | 0.81509 | 0.27518 | 50462 |
| 3 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 35690 | 0.11568 | 0.58274 | 0.27723 | 49514 |
| 4 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 33744 | 0.28228 | 0.04016 | 0.29409 | 47938 |
| 5 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 32464 | 0.28817 | 0.05040 | 0.30346 | 46675 |
| 6 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 31487 | 0.29677 | 0.04561 | 0.31095 | 45801 |

4301500 6
Winston-Salem/Forsythe

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 22097 | 0.00990 | 0.81702 | 0.05413 | 46110 |
| 2 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 21808 | 0.01038 | 0.80704 | 0.05378 | 46025 |
| 3 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 20901 | 0.01492 | 0.73329 | 0.05595 | 46292 |
| 4 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 19530 | 0.01741 | 0.69279 | 0.05667 | 45900 |
| 5 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 18798 | 0.02262 | 0.59045 | 0.05524 | 45567 |
| 6 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 18015 | 0.03002 | 0.46926 | 0.05657 | 44815 |

5315270 6
Corpus Christi

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 14063 | 0.12095 | 0.80360 | 0.61585 | 48431 |
| 2 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 13246 | 0.14188 | 0.77559 | 0.63224 | 48436 |
| 3 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 12095 | 0.14885 | 0.77010 | 0.64747 | 46595 |
| 4 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 10710 | 0.15044 | 0.77709 | 0.67487 | 45332 |
| 5 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 9910 | 0.15844 | 0.77234 | 0.69596 | 44830 |
| 6 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 8640 | 0.18823 | 0.73956 | 0.72273 | 43312 |

2403870 6
Gary,

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 13542 | 0.16593 | 0.75700 | 0.68285 | 43115 |
| 2 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 12487 | 0.19626 | 0.72144 | 0.70453 | 42719 |
| 3 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 17041 | 0.36771 | 0.42680 | 0.64151 | 47988 |
| 4 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 13781 | 0.61990 | 0.10244 | 0.69066 | 45031 |
| 5 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 12901 | 0.63377 | 0.09663 | 0.70156 | 43825 |
| 6 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 10799 | 0.66622 | 0.09084 | 0.73278 | 40960 |

5603240 6
Richmond

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 32016 | 0.18035 | 0.37544 | 0.28876 | 47372 |
| 2 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 30352 | 0.19230 | 0.38243 | 0.31138 | 46843 |
| 3 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 28410 | 0.20322 | 0.38691 | 0.33147 | 45500 |
| 4 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 26076 | 0.24689 | 0.30777 | 0.35665 | 44132 |
| 5 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 24271 | 0.23660 | 0.37617 | 0.37928 | 43347 |
| 6 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 22956 | 0.24895 | 0.37954 | 0.40123 | 43304 |

4224750 6
Rochester



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 35377 | 0.05661 | 0.59121 | 0.13848 | 41595 |
| 2 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 36540 | 0.06421 | 0.53437 | 0.13790 | 43016 |
| 3 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 36375 | 0.06476 | 0.56708 | 0.14959 | 43400 |
| 4 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 36377 | 0.09048 | 0.41667 | 0.15510 | 43822 |
| 5 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 35448 | 0.09627 | 0.40193 | 0.16097 | 43245 |
| 6 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 34201 | 0.10129 | 0.39172 | 0.16652 | 42012 |

2403630 6
Ft. Wayne

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 42425 | 0.05134 | 0.33842 | 0.07760 | 46532 |
| 2 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 41698 | 0.05625 | 0.28694 | 0.07889 | 45788 |
| 3 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 41177 | 0.05855 | 0.29168 | 0.08267 | 45375 |
| 4 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 40102 | 0.05720 | 0.32155 | 0.08430 | 44340 |
| 5 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 38796 | 0.05850 | 0.35381 | 0.09052 | 43226 |
| 6 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 37546 | 0.06084 | 0.33320 | 0.09124 | 42000 |

2508970 6
Des Moines

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 32183 | 0.07187 | 0.40065 | 0.11992 | 36975 |
| 2 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 37650 | 0.06731 | 0.39529 | 0.11131 | 42826 |
| 3 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 37342 | 0.07902 | 0.35714 | 0.12292 | 43116 |
| 4 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 36218 | 0.07788 | 0.39067 | 0.12781 | 42133 |
| 5 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 35131 | 0.08108 | 0.40494 | 0.13625 | 41364 |
| 6 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 34010 | 0.09202 | 0.36587 | 0.14511 | 40618 |

2334510 6
Rockford, Ill.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 16457 | 0.22866 | 0.46998 | 0.43141 | 37023 |
| 2 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 15850 | 0.22821 | 0.47678 | 0.43617 | 37916 |
| 3 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 14991 | 0.22959 | 0.48277 | 0.44387 | 38430 |
| 4 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 14915 | 0.22959 | 0.48522 | 0.44600 | 39256 |
| 5 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 13912 | 0.22463 | 0.50569 | 0.45442 | 38616 |
| 6 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 12423 | 0.20995 | 0.54633 | 0.46279 | 37948 |

4007830 6
Jersey City

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|------------------|---------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 30816 | 0.00051 | -0.00000 | 0.00051 | 33563 |
| 2 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 32955 | 0.00102 | -0.00001 | 0.00101 | 36761 |
| 3 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 32944 | 0.00157 | -0.00000 | 0.00157 | 37049 |
| 4 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 33112 | 0.00216 | 0.00221 | 0.00217 | 37340 |
| 5 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 33313 | 0.00256 | -0.00001 | 0.00255 | 37594 |

1402640 5
Anaheim

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 24041 | 0.00951 | 0.36927 | 0.01508 | 35417 |
| 2 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 24780 | 0.00976 | 0.40063 | 0.01629 | 36041 |
| 3 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 25730 | 0.00987 | 0.37623 | 0.01582 | 37176 |
| 4 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 26034 | 0.01039 | 0.31554 | 0.01517 | 36906 |
| 5 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 26288 | 0.01005 | 0.27209 | 0.01381 | 37146 |
| 6 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 26201 | 0.01051 | 0.25278 | 0.01406 | 36687 |

1434590 6
San Jose

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SNSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 22402 | 0.03816 | 0.91062 | 0.42696 | 39093 |
| 2 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 22207 | 0.12513 | 0.70920 | 0.43028 | 38979 |
| 3 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 20530 | 0.24742 | 0.45583 | 0.45468 | 37651 |
| 4 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 20318 | 0.25247 | 0.45078 | 0.45969 | 37604 |
| 5 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 19823 | 0.25895 | 0.44131 | 0.46350 | 36949 |
| 6 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 19217 | 0.26099 | 0.44381 | 0.46924 | 36293 |

1002430 6
Montgomery, Ala.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 11755 | 0.01738 | 0.40052 | 0.02900 | 30208 |
| 2 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 11772 | 0.02136 | 0.22225 | 0.02746 | 31430 |
| 3 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 11887 | 0.02244 | 0.17445 | 0.02718 | 33262 |
| 4 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 12097 | 0.02785 | 0.00664 | 0.02803 | 35352 |
| 5 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 12140 | 0.03060 | -0.00249 | 0.02817 | 36736 |
| 6 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 12213 | 0.03088 | -0.00472 | 0.02629 | 39179 |

5346680 6
Ysleta (El Paso)

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 25340 | 0.03495 | 0.44613 | 0.06309 | 30336 |
| 2 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 26658 | 0.03692 | 0.40957 | 0.06253 | 31779 |
| 3 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 27596 | 0.03921 | 0.36802 | 0.06204 | 33025 |
| 4 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 28746 | 0.04314 | 0.29181 | 0.06091 | 34426 |
| 5 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 29853 | 0.04357 | 0.30049 | 0.06228 | 35853 |
| 6 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 29171 | 0.04362 | 0.28272 | 0.06081 | 34996 |

1503060 6
Colorado Springs

APPENDIX 3

Basic Data for 70
Largest Central City
School Districts
(ranked by 1972 enrollment)

ELEMENTARY

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|---------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 202859 | 0.14862 | 0.53374 | 0.31874 | 502055 |
| 2 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 201202 | 0.15891 | 0.52740 | 0.33624 | 537356 |
| 3 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 191832 | 0.15919 | 0.53081 | 0.33928 | 537420 |
| 4 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 179723 | 0.16121 | 0.53406 | 0.34600 | 518318 |
| 5 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 170216 | 0.15641 | 0.55437 | 0.35100 | 501634 |
| 6 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 155062 | 0.15725 | 0.56440 | 0.36101 | 483668 |
| 4220580 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| New York City | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 188646 | 0.02677 | 0.89035 | 0.24414 | 373146 |
| 2 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 179883 | 0.02898 | 0.88347 | 0.24870 | 366399 |
| 3 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 17842 | 0.02997 | 0.88260 | 0.25529 | 356726 |
| 4 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 58152 | 0.03386 | 0.87021 | 0.26085 | 346770 |
| 5 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 47981 | 0.03855 | 0.85068 | 0.25817 | 334738 |
| 6 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 132322 | 0.03668 | 0.85759 | 0.25753 | 323999 |
| 1422710 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Los Angeles | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 144791 | 0.04736 | 0.90903 | 0.52057 | 387540 |
| 2 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 138561 | 0.04900 | 0.90728 | 0.52840 | 385729 |
| 3 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 133292 | 0.04933 | 0.90830 | 0.53792 | 388851 |
| 4 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 125651 | 0.04961 | 0.90869 | 0.54329 | 379792 |
| 5 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 114924 | 0.04817 | 0.91277 | 0.55227 | 365575 |
| 6 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 104640 | 0.04777 | 0.91423 | 0.55696 | 350836 |
| 2309930 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Chicago | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 57017 | 0.19287 | 0.68730 | 0.61681 | 158453 |
| 2 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 56427 | 0.18642 | 0.69969 | 0.62076 | 161216 |
| 3 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 55255 | 0.16616 | 0.72939 | 0.61404 | 156421 |
| 4 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 52299 | 0.14940 | 0.75303 | 0.60493 | 147445 |
| 5 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 54345 | 0.14884 | 0.75613 | 0.60214 | 148755 |
| 6 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 49128 | 0.13203 | 0.78031 | 0.60098 | 139326 |
| 4818990 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Philadelphia | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 69381 | 0.17931 | 0.69414 | 0.58624 | 174773 |
| 2 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 64028 | 0.19012 | 0.68821 | 0.60975 | 172472 |
| 3 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 57699 | 0.17662 | 0.71722 | 0.62460 | 161761 |
| 4 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 55232 | 0.18810 | 0.70359 | 0.63480 | 159744 |
| 5 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 50059 | 0.21751 | 0.67006 | 0.65924 | 156118 |
| 6 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 42966 | 0.24353 | 0.64612 | 0.68819 | 147511 |
| 3212000 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Detroit | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 74920 | 0.03883 | 0.88959 | 0.35166 | 150031 |
| 2 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 68179 | 0.03961 | 0.88617 | 0.34793 | 137572 |
| 3 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 65716 | 0.06110 | 0.83557 | 0.37159 | 142556 |
| 4 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 57177 | 0.06662 | 0.82201 | 0.37432 | 125411 |
| 5 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 50120 | 0.07453 | 0.81203 | 0.39649 | 119471 |
| 6 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 43851 | 0.08908 | 0.78434 | 0.41307 | 114097 |
| 5323640 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Houston | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 42182 | 0.13229 | 0.79624 | 0.64924 | 120258 |
| 2 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 41026 | 0.13179 | 0.79712 | 0.64958 | 117078 |
| 3 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 31715 | 0.11829 | 0.81666 | 0.64522 | 89393 |
| 4 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 28328 | 0.13262 | 0.80368 | 0.67553 | 87306 |
| 5 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 26126 | 0.14027 | 0.79488 | 0.68384 | 82635 |
| 6 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 24672 | 0.13655 | 0.79689 | 0.67232 | 75604 |
| 3000090 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Baltimore | | | | | | | | |





| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 54512 | 0.02450 | 0.92556 | 0.32919 | 94105 |
| 2 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 52994 | 0.02136 | 0.93350 | 0.32123 | 90157 |
| 3 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 50693 | 0.02025 | 0.93937 | 0.33393 | 89300 |
| 4 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 42982 | 0.03059 | 0.90390 | 0.31833 | 75518 |
| 5 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 39037 | 0.04741 | 0.85454 | 0.32592 | 71386 |
| 6 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 35282 | 0.06318 | 0.81989 | 0.35078 | 69520 |
| 5316230 6 Dallas | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 36216 | 0.07944 | 0.85815 | 0.56003 | 85742 |
| 2 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 34220 | 0.08378 | 0.85355 | 0.57207 | 83880 |
| 3 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 33495 | 0.07510 | 0.86775 | 0.56792 | 81420 |
| 4 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 32132 | 0.06851 | 0.87879 | 0.56527 | 78264 |
| 5 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 30509 | 0.06082 | 0.89339 | 0.57048 | 75310 |
| 6 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 29152 | 0.05512 | 0.90207 | 0.56278 | 71488 |
| 4504378 6 Cleveland | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 34868 | 0.04112 | 0.92151 | 0.52389 | 73452 |
| 2 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 34724 | 0.05689 | 0.89581 | 0.54603 | 76736 |
| 3 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 40545 | 0.07866 | 0.84618 | 0.51139 | 83306 |
| 4 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 35280 | 0.09753 | 0.82198 | 0.54786 | 78376 |
| 5 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 30297 | 0.12694 | 0.78696 | 0.59587 | 75303 |
| 6 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 25110 | 0.18229 | 0.32885 | 0.71859 | 44800 |
| 5202940 6 Memphis | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 51854 | 0.04924 | 0.82371 | 0.27933 | 75982 |
| 2 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 51253 | 0.04909 | 0.82439 | 0.27953 | 75709 |
| 3 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 49427 | 0.05001 | 0.80809 | 0.26059 | 71222 |
| 4 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 46842 | 0.05931 | 0.79611 | 0.29098 | 71224 |
| 5 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 41884 | 0.06832 | 0.78686 | 0.32052 | 66588 |
| 6 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 38473 | 0.07598 | 0.77299 | 0.33471 | 63245 |
| 5909600 6 Milwaukee | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 53756 | 0.03537 | 0.70860 | 0.12139 | 71052 |
| 2 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 53337 | 0.04137 | 0.67682 | 0.12802 | 71716 |
| 3 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 51587 | 0.04488 | 0.65629 | 0.13057 | 69901 |
| 4 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 51365 | 0.04736 | 0.63942 | 0.13135 | 69470 |
| 5 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 48537 | 0.04852 | 0.61916 | 0.12739 | 65844 |
| 6 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 46262 | 0.05485 | 0.60706 | 0.13960 | 64276 |
| 1434320 6 San Diego | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 49078 | 0.07844 | 0.69402 | 0.25635 | 66287 |
| 2 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 49057 | 0.08067 | 0.69432 | 0.26391 | 66965 |
| 3 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 47238 | 0.08526 | 0.66501 | 0.25451 | 63687 |
| 4 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 45066 | 0.09378 | 0.65342 | 0.27060 | 62133 |
| 5 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 42869 | 0.10748 | 0.62536 | 0.28688 | 60485 |
| 6 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 39991 | 0.11387 | 0.61725 | 0.29750 | 57274 |
| 4504380 6 Columbus | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 38834 | 0.03459 | 0.83691 | 0.21208 | 53564 |
| 2 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 39781 | 0.03942 | 0.81180 | 0.20947 | 55102 |
| 3 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 39734 | 0.04635 | 0.76256 | 0.19522 | 53441 |
| 4 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 10312 | 0.24510 | 0.03128 | 0.25302 | 14750 |
| 5 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 11936 | 0.21929 | 0.05076 | 0.23102 | 16925 |
| 6 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 10963 | 0.23618 | 0.06416 | 0.25238 | 16095 |
| 1900870 6 Tampa | | | | | | | | |



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 26727 | 0.12087 | 0.81394 | 0.64964 | 76994 |
| 2 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 25651 | 0.13065 | 0.80241 | 0.66124 | 76415 |
| 3 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 23815 | 0.12331 | 0.81655 | 0.67214 | 73372 |
| 4 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 20880 | 0.10988 | 0.83930 | 0.68373 | 66678 |
| 5 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 19735 | 0.09990 | 0.85399 | 0.68418 | 63156 |
| 6 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 18148 | 0.09919 | 0.85544 | 0.68614 | 58628 |
| 3529280 St. Louis 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 18797 | 0.16798 | 0.75866 | 0.69602 | 64869 |
| 2 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 17740 | 0.18861 | 0.73326 | 0.70710 | 64230 |
| 3 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 15863 | 0.22159 | 0.69088 | 0.71685 | 60604 |
| 4 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 12568 | 0.24497 | 0.67445 | 0.75248 | 56251 |
| 5 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 12416 | 0.25947 | 0.65570 | 0.75362 | 54724 |
| 6 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 6557 | 0.35895 | 0.56819 | 0.83128 | 42634 |
| 2801170 New Orleans 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 51683 | 0.07561 | 0.77769 | 0.34010 | 78319 |
| 2 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 50289 | 0.08050 | 0.77033 | 0.35050 | 77798 |
| 3 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 48418 | 0.08375 | 0.76719 | 0.35974 | 76067 |
| 4 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 44121 | 0.09969 | 0.72910 | 0.36798 | 70302 |
| 5 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 39746 | 0.10440 | 0.73069 | 0.38764 | 65391 |
| 6 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 35759 | 0.20915 | 0.49182 | 0.41156 | 61313 |
| 2404770 Indianapolis 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 31465 | 0.09925 | 0.63764 | 0.27391 | 46917 |
| 2 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 31006 | 0.09965 | 0.66423 | 0.29679 | 48229 |
| 3 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 29764 | 0.09032 | 0.70276 | 0.30387 | 47623 |
| 4 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 27339 | 0.08629 | 0.73154 | 0.32142 | 45632 |
| 5 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 23420 | 0.09150 | 0.73112 | 0.34031 | 41042 |
| 6 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 21776 | 0.09804 | 0.70550 | 0.33290 | 38970 |
| 3102790 Boston 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 27244 | 0.07403 | 0.88152 | 0.62482 | 72730 |
| 2 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 25275 | 0.09611 | 0.85197 | 0.64927 | 72155 |
| 3 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 21167 | 0.17972 | 0.74051 | 0.69259 | 68918 |
| 4 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 17586 | 0.21150 | 0.70244 | 0.71078 | 61231 |
| 5 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 13440 | 0.25835 | 0.65813 | 0.75570 | 56071 |
| 6 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 6641 | 0.43538 | 0.48031 | 0.83777 | 41614 |
| 2000120 Atlanta 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 33468 | 0.03872 | 0.74669 | 0.15284 | 54313 |
| 2 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 32656 | 0.06647 | 0.56276 | 0.15202 | 54256 |
| 3 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 30984 | 0.07364 | 0.53565 | 0.15859 | 51889 |
| 4 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 28769 | 0.08099 | 0.50914 | 0.16500 | 50262 |
| 5 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 26766 | 0.10391 | 0.40462 | 0.17453 | 47979 |
| 6 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 24460 | 0.10656 | 0.40346 | 0.17863 | 44852 |
| 1503360 Denver 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 23312 | 0.01500 | 0.43771 | 0.02667 | 40752 |
| 2 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 23185 | 0.01724 | 0.38750 | 0.02814 | 41537 |
| 3 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 23335 | 0.02003 | 0.28023 | 0.02782 | 41874 |
| 4 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 21931 | 0.02023 | 0.30195 | 0.02898 | 39747 |
| 5 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 21674 | 0.02112 | 0.25813 | 0.02847 | 39478 |
| 6 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 20232 | 0.02190 | 0.24924 | 0.02918 | 37907 |
| 4100060 Albuquerque 6 | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 18486 | 0.14351 | 0.50452 | 0.28963 | 44671 |
| 2 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 16496 | 0.14387 | 0.48923 | 0.28168 | 43880 |
| 3 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 15427 | 0.16148 | 0.45472 | 0.29615 | 40473 |
| 4 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 5832 | 0.32291 | -0.00078 | 0.32239 | 17879 |
| 5 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 5060 | 0.32956 | -0.00829 | 0.32396 | 17002 |
| 6 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 4673 | 0.32403 | -0.00593 | 0.32000 | 16847 |

1434410 6
San Francisco

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 31470 | 0.08631 | 0.70874 | 0.29631 | 44949 |
| 2 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 31120 | 0.09569 | 0.68032 | 0.29932 | 44698 |
| 3 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 19388 | 0.29749 | 0.09095 | 0.32725 | 29060 |
| 4 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 18919 | 0.32528 | 0.02939 | 0.33513 | 28702 |
| 5 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 18512 | 0.32748 | 0.02993 | 0.33758 | 28239 |
| 6 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 16800 | 0.34363 | 0.03356 | 0.35557 | 26400 |

4302970 6
Charlotte- Mecklenburg

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 8793 | 0.23502 | 0.66699 | 0.70576 | 48810 |
| 2 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 7408 | 0.22555 | 0.67183 | 0.68728 | 46492 |
| 3 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 7274 | 0.20666 | 0.69120 | 0.66924 | 44446 |
| 4 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 6164 | 0.20662 | 0.69681 | 0.68148 | 45410 |
| 5 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 6239 | 0.19018 | 0.71732 | 0.67280 | 43160 |
| 6 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 5662 | 0.19160 | 0.71465 | 0.67146 | 41989 |

4011340 6
Newark

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 28527 | 0.14307 | 0.66674 | 0.42931 | 50269 |
| 2 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 27511 | 0.14807 | 0.65829 | 0.43333 | 48760 |
| 3 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 25918 | 0.15062 | 0.65140 | 0.44223 | 46777 |
| 4 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 23970 | 0.14393 | 0.67298 | 0.44011 | 43123 |
| 5 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 21036 | 0.15212 | 0.67550 | 0.46880 | 39951 |
| 6 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 19769 | 0.15048 | 0.68286 | 0.47449 | 38005 |

4504375 6
Cincinnati

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 40931 | 0.06922 | 0.44758 | 0.12530 | 50854 |
| 2 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 37939 | 0.07421 | 0.43632 | 0.13166 | 47805 |
| 3 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 32334 | 0.07269 | 0.45326 | 0.13295 | 41196 |
| 4 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 24824 | 0.08768 | 0.38078 | 0.14159 | 32375 |
| 5 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 11335 | 0.07551 | 0.43308 | 0.13318 | 14799 |
| 6 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 23329 | 0.10183 | 0.33394 | 0.15289 | 31166 |

5707710 6
Seattle

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 10327 | 0.03029 | 0.80548 | 0.15550 | 43563 |
| 2 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 7796 | 0.06566 | 0.47431 | 0.12490 | 39657 |
| 3 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 7204 | 0.07078 | 0.43906 | 0.12618 | 38699 |
| 4 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 6500 | 0.07273 | 0.42537 | 0.12656 | 36756 |
| 5 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 5282 | 0.07949 | 0.38279 | 0.12879 | 34910 |
| 6 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 4953 | 0.07975 | 0.38469 | 0.12960 | 34189 |

5338730 6
San Antonio

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 36670 | 0.01545 | 0.87071 | 0.11951 | 44282 |
| 2 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 36770 | 0.02277 | 0.83705 | 0.13972 | 44511 |
| 3 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 35213 | 0.02785 | 0.79634 | 0.13073 | 42507 |
| 4 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 32146 | 0.04459 | 0.71357 | 0.15566 | 39862 |
| 5 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 29224 | 0.05345 | 0.64224 | 0.14939 | 36314 |
| 6 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 25867 | 0.05734 | 0.62626 | 0.15343 | 32445 |

4630240 6
Tulsa



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 24968 | 0.15688 | 0.63053 | 0.42461 | 43819 |
| 2 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 24064 | 0.15376 | 0.64207 | 0.42958 | 42418 |
| 3 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 24150 | 0.14612 | 0.65476 | 0.42326 | 42114 |
| 4 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 21546 | 0.14288 | 0.66529 | 0.42689 | 37886 |
| 5 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 17482 | 0.17012 | 0.62278 | 0.45097 | 32142 |
| 6 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 17772 | 0.16196 | 0.63462 | 0.44326 | 32218 |
| 4819170 Pittsburgh 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 43765 | 0.04231 | 0.47235 | 0.08019 | 48847 |
| 2 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 43665 | 0.04686 | 0.46113 | 0.08695 | 49361 |
| 3 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 41018 | 0.04348 | 0.45882 | 0.08034 | 45965 |
| 4 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 38069 | 0.04941 | 0.46851 | 0.09296 | 43491 |
| 5 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 34601 | 0.06672 | 0.30797 | 0.09641 | 39766 |
| 6 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 32651 | 0.07328 | 0.28967 | 0.10317 | 37987 |
| 4710050 Portland 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 23829 | 0.03463 | 0.90351 | 0.35886 | 37377 |
| 2 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 24409 | 0.04189 | 0.88400 | 0.36116 | 38459 |
| 3 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 22609 | 0.10941 | 0.71711 | 0.38676 | 37106 |
| 4 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 21159 | 0.10273 | 0.74244 | 0.39885 | 35482 |
| 5 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 21203 | 0.10298 | 0.74045 | 0.39678 | 35544 |
| 6 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 20392 | 0.10771 | 0.73264 | 0.40287 | 34517 |
| 2800540 E. Baton Rouge 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 23941 | 0.06762 | 0.83302 | 0.40497 | 40235 |
| 2 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 21245 | 0.15080 | 0.62947 | 0.40698 | 35825 |
| 3 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 17127 | 0.18138 | 0.53868 | 0.39317 | 28283 |
| 4 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 13919 | 0.24502 | 0.38636 | 0.39929 | 23231 |
| 5 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 14376 | 0.23465 | 0.39764 | 0.38956 | 23601 |
| 6 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 14416 | 0.23324 | 0.39094 | 0.38295 | 23442 |
| 1002370 Mobile 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 11262 | 0.20887 | 0.62624 | 0.55885 | 36910 |
| 2 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 10325 | 0.23571 | 0.59003 | 0.57494 | 35647 |
| 3 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 9682 | 0.26236 | 0.55866 | 0.59446 | 35802 |
| 4 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 8839 | 0.27899 | 0.54091 | 0.60769 | 34641 |
| 5 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 7713 | 0.30383 | 0.51525 | 0.62677 | 32988 |
| 6 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 6897 | 0.32475 | 0.49176 | 0.63896 | 30963 |
| 1428050 Oakland 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 22868 | 0.13193 | 0.73497 | 0.49780 | 45536 |
| 2 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 21759 | 0.12367 | 0.75900 | 0.51317 | 44695 |
| 3 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 20101 | 0.12044 | 0.77127 | 0.52657 | 42458 |
| 4 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 18399 | 0.12124 | 0.77488 | 0.53855 | 39872 |
| 5 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 16258 | 0.12748 | 0.77238 | 0.56005 | 36954 |
| 6 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 13066 | 0.14469 | 0.74839 | 0.57504 | 33570 |
| 3516400 Kansas City MO 6 | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 27131 | 0.11365 | 0.68437 | 0.36006 | 44634 |
| 2 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 25526 | 0.12903 | 0.63079 | 0.34948 | 41445 |
| 3 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 25052 | 0.13180 | 0.63340 | 0.35953 | 41813 |
| 4 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 22883 | 0.13689 | 0.64463 | 0.38521 | 39802 |
| 5 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 20665 | 0.14536 | 0.63539 | 0.39867 | 37246 |
| 6 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 19775 | 0.14297 | 0.62862 | 0.38498 | 34893 |
| 4205850 Buffalo 6 | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|---------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 31927 | 0.04315 | 0.54818 | 0.09551 | 38846 |
| 2 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 30882 | 0.04936 | 0.51710 | 0.10221 | 38204 |
| 3 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 30015 | 0.05618 | 0.49443 | 0.11112 | 37230 |
| 4 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 28470 | 0.06221 | 0.46589 | 0.11648 | 36059 |
| 5 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 26487 | 0.07097 | 0.44221 | 0.12723 | 34222 |
| 6 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 24460 | 0.07203 | 0.45974 | 0.13333 | 33338 |
| 1422500 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Long Beach | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 28673 | 0.04981 | 0.73190 | 0.18580 | 36135 |
| 2 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 28970 | 0.05570 | 0.70633 | 0.18968 | 36899 |
| 3 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 28690 | 0.05576 | 0.71176 | 0.19344 | 36673 |
| 4 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 27020 | 0.06627 | 0.67690 | 0.20510 | 35115 |
| 5 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 27124 | 0.07319 | 0.64730 | 0.20752 | 35386 |
| 6 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 25698 | 0.07086 | 0.61853 | 0.18575 | 32667 |
| 3774820 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Omaha | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 18639 | 0.02895 | 0.53474 | 0.06222 | 29187 |
| 2 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 18912 | 0.02781 | 0.51444 | 0.05728 | 28929 |
| 3 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 18800 | 0.03164 | 0.45517 | 0.05808 | 29390 |
| 4 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 20617 | 0.03208 | 0.43786 | 0.05706 | 32193 |
| 5 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 20968 | 0.02950 | 0.46218 | 0.05486 | 32394 |
| 6 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 20655 | 0.03078 | 0.42090 | 0.05316 | 32076 |
| 1208760 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Tucson | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 17507 | 0.03816 | -0.00526 | 0.03307 | 40156 |
| 2 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 17536 | 0.04298 | -0.00897 | 0.03432 | 40212 |
| 3 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 16792 | 0.04284 | -0.00990 | 0.03327 | 39946 |
| 4 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 16406 | 0.04354 | -0.01140 | 0.03251 | 39984 |
| 5 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 15170 | 0.04490 | -0.01313 | 0.03219 | 38920 |
| 6 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 14876 | 0.04619 | -0.01289 | 0.03374 | 39036 |
| 5318300 6 | | | | | | | | |
| El Paso | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 27894 | 0.08484 | 0.71170 | 0.29429 | 40933 |
| 2 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 27960 | 0.10173 | 0.65514 | 0.29499 | 41161 |
| 3 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 26946 | 0.10379 | 0.64435 | 0.29181 | 39669 |
| 4 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 26821 | 0.09677 | 0.67143 | 0.29451 | 39791 |
| 5 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 25505 | 0.09869 | 0.66198 | 0.29196 | 37909 |
| 6 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 24053 | 0.10996 | 0.66474 | 0.30113 | 36433 |
| 4504490 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Toledo | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 33774 | 0.05733 | 0.33168 | 0.08579 | 38526 |
| 2 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 32648 | 0.05746 | 0.36576 | 0.09060 | 37871 |
| 3 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 30646 | 0.06383 | 0.38055 | 0.10304 | 36209 |
| 4 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 25750 | 0.06485 | 0.40559 | 0.10909 | 30900 |
| 5 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 23188 | 0.06896 | 0.40658 | 0.11621 | 28147 |
| 6 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 20792 | 0.07118 | 0.36069 | 0.11134 | 25535 |
| 3321240 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Minneapolis | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 33087 | 0.01827 | 0.92105 | 0.23137 | 43047 |
| 2 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 28784 | 0.02681 | 0.88769 | 0.23871 | 40296 |
| 3 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 26821 | 0.03623 | 0.84939 | 0.24056 | 37911 |
| 4 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 26260 | 0.04866 | 0.79570 | 0.23820 | 36965 |
| 5 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 10485 | 0.25914 | 0.03109 | 0.26745 | 14855 |
| 6 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 9027 | 0.27096 | 0.03618 | 0.28113 | 13140 |
| 4622770 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Oklahoma City | | | | | | | | |



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SHSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 22283 | 0.05140 | 0.90216 | 0.52530 | 46941 |
| 2 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 21218 | 0.07055 | 0.86953 | 0.54077 | 46203 |
| 3 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 19037 | 0.16684 | 0.70028 | 0.55666 | 42970 |
| 4 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 17301 | 0.17445 | 0.69298 | 0.56822 | 40134 |
| 5 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 15458 | 0.17604 | 0.70603 | 0.59882 | 38651 |
| 6 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 13536 | 0.17665 | 0.71705 | 0.62432 | 36156 |
| 1000390 Birmingham | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 32294 | 0.03620 | 0.74870 | 0.14405 | 38682 |
| 2 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 30406 | 0.04368 | 0.71047 | 0.15088 | 36778 |
| 3 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 28129 | 0.06907 | 0.57074 | 0.16089 | 34526 |
| 4 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 24865 | 0.16604 | 0.03692 | 0.17241 | 31228 |
| 5 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 22992 | 0.17290 | 0.01951 | 0.17532 | 29227 |
| 6 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 22012 | 0.17450 | 0.02308 | 0.17862 | 28278 |
| 2612990 Wichita | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 24110 | 0.03727 | 0.84648 | 0.24275 | 31839 |
| 2 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 22799 | 0.06224 | 0.76472 | 0.26455 | 31000 |
| 3 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 7272 | 0.21273 | 0.05985 | 0.22627 | 9409 |
| 4 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 13812 | 0.21834 | 0.01842 | 0.22243 | 17776 |
| 5 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 13990 | 0.21199 | 0.02162 | 0.21668 | 17879 |
| 6 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 12661 | 0.20314 | 0.02576 | 0.20851 | 16023 |
| 5002310 Greenville | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 16359 | 0.02388 | 0.84305 | 0.15213 | 26654 |
| 2 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 18024 | 0.02758 | 0.77390 | 0.12196 | 27951 |
| 3 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 18066 | 0.02974 | 0.76775 | 0.12806 | 28658 |
| 4 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 18266 | 0.04030 | 0.73063 | 0.14959 | 29821 |
| 5 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 11679 | 0.04584 | 0.75879 | 0.19005 | 21642 |
| 6 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 3087 | 0.14324 | 0.14769 | 0.16806 | 6361 |
| 5308940 Austin | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 22229 | 0.01485 | 0.84519 | 0.09593 | 33106 |
| 2 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 22057 | 0.01885 | 0.78995 | 0.08975 | 32168 |
| 3 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 21508 | 0.03031 | 0.67324 | 0.09277 | 31939 |
| 4 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 20578 | 0.03196 | 0.66986 | 0.09681 | 30720 |
| 5 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 19944 | 0.03386 | 0.65082 | 0.09697 | 30245 |
| 6 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 19213 | 0.03744 | 0.63362 | 0.10219 | 29974 |
| 1414550 Fresno | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 23797 | 0.10391 | 0.59236 | 0.25491 | 32046 |
| 2 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 23492 | 0.11504 | 0.56933 | 0.26713 | 32157 |
| 3 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 22638 | 0.11653 | 0.57603 | 0.27484 | 31327 |
| 4 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 21513 | 0.11927 | 0.57362 | 0.27972 | 29994 |
| 5 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 20272 | 0.12510 | 0.56564 | 0.28800 | 28597 |
| 6 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 18721 | 0.13525 | 0.54768 | 0.29901 | 26865 |
| 4504348 Akron | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 18531 | 0.01576 | 0.96676 | 0.47404 | 35385 |
| 2 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 16961 | 0.09765 | 0.80012 | 0.48854 | 33465 |
| 3 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 14162 | 0.16942 | 0.66685 | 0.50855 | 29006 |
| 4 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 1476 | 0.12664 | 0.76074 | 0.52930 | 3157 |
| 5 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 55 | 0.91551 | 0.05386 | 0.96763 | 1699 |
| 6 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 43 | 0.96087 | 0.00000 | 0.96087 | 1099 |
| 2800300 Shreveport | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 25485 | 0.06612 | 0.81677 | 0.36083 | 40049 |
| 2 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 24182 | 0.07473 | 0.79595 | 0.36625 | 38329 |
| 3 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 23137 | 0.08369 | 0.76765 | 0.36019 | 36334 |
| 4 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 15951 | 0.06047 | 0.79676 | 0.29605 | 22783 |
| 5 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 13641 | 0.07802 | 0.77200 | 0.34220 | 20858 |
| 6 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 13832 | 0.10054 | 0.70992 | 0.34660 | 21324 |

4504384
Dayton

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 25737 | 0.00174 | 0.08121 | 0.00189 | 29087 |
| 3 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 25425 | 0.00235 | 0.06481 | 0.00251 | 29433 |
| 4 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 23133 | 0.00348 | 0.08944 | 0.00382 | 27211 |
| 5 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 22543 | 0.00435 | 0.10900 | 0.00488 | 26860 |
| 6 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 20527 | 0.00552 | 0.13542 | 0.00638 | 24760 |

1414880
Garden Grove

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 16732 | 0.14128 | 0.71417 | 0.49428 | 33151 |
| 2 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 15739 | 0.12438 | 0.75286 | 0.50328 | 31746 |
| 3 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 14962 | 0.11068 | 0.77115 | 0.48363 | 29049 |
| 4 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 13787 | 0.10723 | 0.77905 | 0.48529 | 26854 |
| 5 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 12751 | 0.10794 | 0.78846 | 0.51025 | 26091 |
| 6 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 11840 | 0.11794 | 0.77205 | 0.51739 | 24589 |

2703600
Louisville

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 19446 | 0.11728 | 0.19752 | 0.14615 | 29435 |
| 2 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 19051 | 0.12185 | 0.19563 | 0.15149 | 29151 |
| 4 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 17168 | 0.12802 | 0.22186 | 0.16452 | 27303 |
| 5 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 16393 | 0.13174 | 0.21111 | 0.16700 | 26372 |
| 6 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 15383 | 0.13590 | 0.21343 | 0.17278 | 25044 |

1433840-
Sacramento

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 17173 | 0.06417 | 0.85473 | 0.44174 | 31555 |
| 2 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 18127 | 0.07746 | 0.82322 | 0.43815 | 33153 |
| 3 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 11812 | 0.15356 | 0.68697 | 0.49055 | 23918 |
| 4 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 5252 | 0.45269 | 0.06165 | 0.48243 | 10532 |
| 5 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 4870 | 0.49453 | 0.05060 | 0.52089 | 10459 |
| 6 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 7413 | 0.48566 | 0.05885 | 0.51603 | 15910 |

5602670
Norfolk

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 23231 | 0.04503 | 0.29385 | 0.06377 | 26045 |
| 2 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 23083 | 0.04597 | 0.30757 | 0.06639 | 25982 |
| 3 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 23279 | 0.04550 | 0.33238 | 0.06815 | 26426 |
| 4 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 19672 | 0.04756 | 0.37112 | 0.07563 | 22609 |
| 5 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 18358 | 0.04799 | 0.39831 | 0.07977 | 21262 |
| 6 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 16901 | 0.04964 | 0.41544 | 0.08492 | 19806 |

3333840
St. Paul

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 19187 | 0.03521 | 0.88303 | 0.30098 | 27490 |
| 2 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 19227 | 0.03779 | 0.86835 | 0.28704 | 27010 |
| 3 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 16275 | 0.09431 | 0.66652 | 0.28281 | 22757 |
| 4 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 6725 | 0.30343 | 0.02296 | 0.31056 | 9776 |
| 5 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 6467 | 0.30493 | 0.03280 | 0.31527 | 9465 |
| 6 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 6121 | 0.31985 | 0.04846 | 0.33614 | 9261 |

4301500
Winston-Salem/Forsythe



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|----------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 10895 | 0.00477 | 0.91865 | 0.05858 | 24581 |
| 2 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 10594 | 0.00527 | 0.90795 | 0.05728 | 24391 |
| 3 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 10050 | 0.01242 | 0.78399 | 0.05752 | 24357 |
| 5315270 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| Corpus Christi | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 7186 | 0.09021 | 0.86198 | 0.65358 | 26546 |
| 2 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 6799 | 0.11836 | 0.82143 | 0.66283 | 26681 |
| 3 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 6049 | 0.12283 | 0.81775 | 0.67397 | 25599 |
| 4 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 4850 | 0.10453 | 0.84761 | 0.68590 | 20274 |
| 5 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 4200 | 0.08999 | 0.86919 | 0.68797 | 17819 |
| 6 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 5430 | 0.14019 | 0.78170 | 0.64219 | 19351 |
| 2403870 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Gary | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 7780 | 0.16597 | 0.76340 | 0.70147 | 26389 |
| 2 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 6712 | 0.18266 | 0.75043 | 0.73189 | 25296 |
| 3 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 5559 | 0.20672 | 0.59299 | 0.50790 | 11390 |
| 4 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 2401 | 0.62958 | 0.10736 | 0.70530 | 8232 |
| 5 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 2271 | 0.60051 | 0.13435 | 0.69372 | 7529 |
| 6 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 1797 | 0.67549 | 0.10226 | 0.75243 | 7396 |
| 5603240 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Richmond | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 17529 | 0.16842 | 0.37775 | 0.27066 | 25283 |
| 2 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 17168 | 0.17921 | 0.38098 | 0.28951 | 25726 |
| 3 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 14577 | 0.18041 | 0.41624 | 0.30905 | 22605 |
| 4 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 4608 | 0.20883 | 0.48809 | 0.40795 | 8180 |
| 5 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 1651 | 0.20603 | 0.63674 | 0.56718 | 4168 |
| 4224750 | | 5 | | | | | | |
| Rochester | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 20175 | 0.05122 | 0.66814 | 0.15435 | 24217 |
| 2 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 20566 | 0.05965 | 0.61423 | 0.15464 | 24768 |
| 3 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 20433 | 0.05684 | 0.64774 | 0.16135 | 24810 |
| 4 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 19199 | 0.03420 | 0.52797 | 0.07245 | 21076 |
| 5 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 18778 | 0.03703 | 0.53279 | 0.07926 | 20779 |
| 6 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 17894 | 0.03848 | 0.51468 | 0.07930 | 19824 |
| 2403630 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Ft. Wayne | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 24589 | 0.04741 | 0.42604 | 0.08261 | 27128 |
| 2 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 23883 | 0.05534 | 0.34016 | 0.08387 | 26386 |
| 3 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 23268 | 0.05115 | 0.32567 | 0.07583 | 25450 |
| 4 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 22311 | 0.04852 | 0.38168 | 0.07846 | 24521 |
| 5 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 15621 | 0.06074 | 0.42038 | 0.10480 | 17758 |
| 6 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 14923 | 0.05201 | 0.39782 | 0.08636 | 16662 |
| 2508970 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Des Moines | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 16375 | 0.05813 | 0.40562 | 0.09779 | 18345 |
| 2 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 21719 | 0.04433 | 0.37602 | 0.07104 | 23605 |
| 3 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 17314 | 0.05637 | 0.29250 | 0.07967 | 18991 |
| 4 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 18784 | 0.05720 | 0.31832 | 0.08391 | 20737 |
| 5 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 17783 | 0.05949 | 0.37386 | 0.09500 | 19936 |
| 6 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 17076 | 0.06993 | 0.31222 | 0.10168 | 19395 |
| 2334510 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Rockford ILL | | | | | | | | |



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 10231 | 0.22238 | 0.51776 | 0.46115 | 25443 |
| 2 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 10041 | 0.21953 | 0.50984 | 0.44788 | 25748 |
| 3 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 9464 | 0.20649 | 0.53889 | 0.44781 | 25687 |
| 4 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 9461 | 0.20100 | 0.54993 | 0.44661 | 26043 |
| 5 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 9009 | 0.19392 | 0.57932 | 0.46097 | 26418 |
| 6 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 8101 | 0.17867 | 0.61540 | 0.46457 | 26007 |

4007830 6
Jersey City

1402640 0

Anaheim

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 13702 | 0.00965 | 0.37547 | 0.01545 | 20447 |
| 2 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 14017 | 0.00992 | 0.40317 | 0.01663 | 20630 |
| 3 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 14624 | 0.01029 | 0.36373 | 0.01619 | 21451 |
| 4 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 14656 | 0.01096 | 0.27952 | 0.01522 | 21152 |
| 5 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 14684 | 0.01000 | 0.29076 | 0.01410 | 21059 |
| 6 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 14347 | 0.01075 | 0.26483 | 0.01462 | 20448 |

1434590 6
San Jose

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 14608 | 0.03470 | 0.92423 | 0.45796 | 26950 |
| 2 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 14364 | 0.13707 | 0.70063 | 0.45786 | 26495 |
| 3 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 11642 | 0.24029 | 0.50632 | 0.48673 | 22682 |
| 4 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 11311 | 0.25446 | 0.48778 | 0.49677 | 22477 |
| 5 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 9666 | 0.24837 | 0.49607 | 0.49286 | 19060 |
| 6 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 10173 | 0.26019 | 0.50267 | 0.52317 | 21383 |

1002430 6
Montgomery ALA

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 8058 | 0.01666 | 0.44233 | 0.02988 | 22425 |
| 2 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 7458 | 0.01938 | 0.19436 | 0.02406 | 22115 |
| 3 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 7533 | 0.02109 | 0.13818 | 0.02447 | 23257 |
| 4 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 7069 | 0.02628 | 0.00037 | 0.02592 | 22918 |
| 5 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 6822 | 0.02576 | 0.00111 | 0.02468 | 23342 |
| 6 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 6737 | 0.02532 | 0.00261 | 0.02277 | 23891 |

5346680 6
Ysleta

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|-------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 14183 | 0.03401 | 0.53231 | 0.07271 | 17507 |
| 2 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 14276 | 0.03569 | 0.50345 | 0.07187 | 17518 |
| 3 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 14470 | 0.03649 | 0.48355 | 0.07065 | 17805 |
| 4 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 15334 | 0.03862 | 0.40266 | 0.06465 | 18762 |
| 5 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 15758 | 0.03782 | 0.40793 | 0.06388 | 19238 |
| 6 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 15303 | 0.03725 | 0.39148 | 0.06121 | 18543 |

1503060 6
Colorado Springs

APPENDIX 3

Basic Data for 70
Largest Central City
School Systems
(ranked by 1972 enrollment)

SECONDARY

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|---------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 151483 | 0.18338 | 0.26842 | 0.25066 | 268280 |
| 2 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 141909 | 0.20975 | 0.26875 | 0.28684 | 274770 |
| 3 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 138009 | 0.21655 | 0.28183 | 0.30153 | 285000 |
| 4 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 135621 | 0.21743 | 0.29793 | 0.30970 | 298385 |
| 5 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 128564 | 0.22584 | 0.32119 | 0.33270 | 297421 |
| 6 | 4220580 | 1 | 135 | 118180 | 0.22701 | 0.34648 | 0.34736 | 287791 |
| 4220580 6 | | | | | | | | |
| New York City | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 77712 | 0.03237 | 0.82245 | 0.18252 | 133101 |
| 2 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 82268 | 0.03404 | 0.83099 | 0.20140 | 142606 |
| 3 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 77751 | 0.03670 | 0.81965 | 0.20348 | 136735 |
| 4 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 75611 | 0.04589 | 0.78930 | 0.21779 | 137658 |
| 5 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 73672 | 0.05578 | 0.75550 | 0.22814 | 138341 |
| 6 | 1422710 | 1 | 110 | 69355 | 0.06391 | 0.73031 | 0.23699 | 137031 |
| 1422710 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Los Angeles | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 59507 | 0.12582 | 0.73274 | 0.47077 | 128519 |
| 2 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 56691 | 0.12545 | 0.74550 | 0.49293 | 130463 |
| 3 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 53930 | 0.12204 | 0.75853 | 0.50540 | 130262 |
| 4 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 51068 | 0.11949 | 0.77156 | 0.52307 | 131338 |
| 5 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 48026 | 0.11285 | 0.79091 | 0.53973 | 131920 |
| 6 | 2309930 | 1 | 39 | 46338 | 0.10552 | 0.81001 | 0.55540 | 133507 |
| 2309930 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Chicago | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 29243 | 0.23637 | 0.53275 | 0.50588 | 60607 |
| 2 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 28214 | 0.23974 | 0.54866 | 0.53117 | 62135 |
| 3 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 28315 | 0.21447 | 0.59219 | 0.52589 | 61931 |
| 4 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 26007 | 0.20699 | 0.61601 | 0.53906 | 59090 |
| 5 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 27258 | 0.21607 | 0.62175 | 0.57124 | 66587 |
| 6 | 4818990 | 1 | 149 | 27127 | 0.21684 | 0.62082 | 0.57186 | 67445 |
| 4818990 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Philadelphia | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 28323 | 0.24045 | 0.53826 | 0.52074 | 60754 |
| 2 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 26554 | 0.23731 | 0.57401 | 0.55707 | 61806 |
| 3 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 22920 | 0.24447 | 0.59707 | 0.60674 | 60240 |
| 4 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 22299 | 0.25688 | 0.59382 | 0.63244 | 63129 |
| 5 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 19853 | 0.27960 | 0.57955 | 0.66500 | 62217 |
| 6 | 3212000 | 1 | 53 | 17342 | 0.30630 | 0.55156 | 0.68304 | 58070 |
| 3212000 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Detroit | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 27334 | 0.03081 | 0.90163 | 0.31319 | 46045 |
| 2 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 27869 | 0.04080 | 0.87212 | 0.31909 | 47667 |
| 3 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 24760 | 0.09676 | 0.69556 | 0.31784 | 42858 |
| 4 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 23516 | 0.10329 | 0.67939 | 0.32216 | 41821 |
| 5 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 22606 | 0.12095 | 0.65696 | 0.35257 | 42564 |
| 6 | 5323640 | 1 | 83 | 20609 | 0.12975 | 0.65982 | 0.38140 | 41405 |
| 5323640 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Houston | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 14269 | 0.25927 | 0.57539 | 0.61062 | 36645 |
| 2 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 13487 | 0.27083 | 0.55674 | 0.61099 | 34670 |
| 3 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 13108 | 0.28031 | 0.55021 | 0.62320 | 34788 |
| 4 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 12965 | 0.29653 | 0.55047 | 0.65963 | 38091 |
| 5 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 12239 | 0.28769 | 0.57499 | 0.67691 | 37881 |
| 6 | 3000090 | 1 | 18 | 11526 | 0.30630 | 0.56453 | 0.70338 | 39019 |
| 3000090 6 | | | | | | | | |
| Baltimore | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SHSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|-----------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 22362 | 0.02605 | 0.90608 | 0.27740 | 33472 |
| 2 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 22744 | 0.02536 | 0.90765 | 0.27466 | 34581 |
| 3 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 23081 | 0.02751 | 0.90941 | 0.30367 | 36266 |
| 4 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 22481 | 0.13459 | 0.54061 | 0.29298 | 35013 |
| 5 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 21097 | 0.15835 | 0.51187 | 0.32439 | 35220 |
| 6 | 5316230 | 1 | 47 | 19797 | 0.17900 | 0.48994 | 0.35093 | 34830 |
| 5316230 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Dallas | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 17270 | 0.09447 | 0.80491 | 0.48423 | 34535 |
| 2 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 16115 | 0.08701 | 0.82616 | 0.50054 | 33578 |
| 3 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 14370 | 0.09217 | 0.83822 | 0.56970 | 34662 |
| 4 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 13709 | 0.09084 | 0.83513 | 0.55094 | 32114 |
| 5 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 13597 | 0.09875 | 0.83375 | 0.59397 | 35135 |
| 6 | 4504378 | 1 | 41 | 12709 | 0.10629 | 0.82013 | 0.59095 | 32737 |
| 4504378 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Cleveland | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 23108 | 0.02179 | 0.95044 | 0.43957 | 41322 |
| 2 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 24690 | 0.03535 | 0.92423 | 0.46650 | 46420 |
| 3 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 26350 | 0.06267 | 0.86170 | 0.45317 | 48362 |
| 4 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 25936 | 0.08113 | 0.82727 | 0.46969 | 49077 |
| 5 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 23029 | 0.11018 | 0.76716 | 0.47322 | 43891 |
| 6 | 5202940 | 1 | 118 | 13935 | 0.36309 | 0.37515 | 0.58109 | 33425 |
| 5202940 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Memphis | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 24986 | 0.05977 | 0.69202 | 0.19407 | 31917 |
| 2 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 26661 | 0.06910 | 0.65240 | 0.19880 | 34290 |
| 3 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 25071 | 0.07758 | 0.63183 | 0.21072 | 32973 |
| 4 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 24684 | 0.07554 | 0.67286 | 0.23090 | 33556 |
| 5 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 23688 | 0.08026 | 0.67087 | 0.24385 | 32840 |
| 6 | 5909600 | 1 | 122 | 22698 | 0.09182 | 0.64321 | 0.25736 | 32208 |
| 5909600 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Milwaukee | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 20198 | 0.04284 | 0.53083 | 0.09130 | 25432 |
| 2 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 20264 | 0.04516 | 0.51399 | 0.09293 | 25353 |
| 3 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 21046 | 0.05411 | 0.45520 | 0.09932 | 26451 |
| 4 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 21020 | 0.05805 | 0.40946 | 0.09831 | 26305 |
| 5 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 20525 | 0.06757 | 0.42749 | 0.11803 | 26772 |
| 6 | 1434320 | 1 | 176 | 19708 | 0.06802 | 0.43011 | 0.11937 | 25845 |
| 1434320 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| San Diego | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 15221 | 0.16730 | 0.35456 | 0.25920 | 20617 |
| 2 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 14851 | 0.16283 | 0.38177 | 0.26338 | 20279 |
| 3 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 15052 | 0.17281 | 0.37432 | 0.27619 | 20931 |
| 4 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 15755 | 0.16860 | 0.42355 | 0.29248 | 22453 |
| 5 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 15628 | 0.17147 | 0.44604 | 0.30953 | 22780 |
| 6 | 4504380 | 1 | 45 | 15012 | 0.17712 | 0.44548 | 0.31941 | 22169 |
| 4504380 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Columbus | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 17817 | 0.03994 | 0.73882 | 0.15290 | 23080 |
| 2 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 17262 | 0.06029 | 0.58469 | 0.14517 | 22263 |
| 3 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 18170 | 0.07855 | 0.46970 | 0.14813 | 23425 |
| 4 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 17270 | 0.15855 | 0.1034 | 0.16020 | 22303 |
| 5 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 18655 | 0.16314 | 0.00851 | 0.16454 | 24547 |
| 6 | 1900870 | 1 | 198 | 18888 | 0.16380 | 0.01884 | 0.16694 | 24865 |
| 1900870 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Tampa | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|--------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 10417 | 0.13955 | 0.75050 | 0.55932 | 23818 |
| 2 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 10005 | 0.14938 | 0.74220 | 0.57943 | 24041 |
| 3 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 9786 | 0.15071 | 0.75044 | 0.60393 | 25013 |
| 4 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 9502 | 0.14144 | 0.77330 | 0.62392 | 25641 |
| 5 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 9237 | 0.14226 | 0.78501 | 0.66170 | 27653 |
| 6 | 3529280 | 1 | 170 | 8763 | 0.13277 | 0.80149 | 0.66883 | 26829 |
| 3529280 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| SE. Louis | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 8334 | 0.19234 | 0.66780 | 0.57900 | 20653 |
| 2 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 7863 | 0.21446 | 0.62485 | 0.57167 | 19191 |
| 3 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 7876 | 0.23865 | 0.61629 | 0.62194 | 21634 |
| 4 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 7162 | 0.26233 | 0.59059 | 0.64075 | 20810 |
| 5 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 6864 | 0.28430 | 0.58128 | 0.67898 | 22419 |
| 6 | 2801170 | 1 | 134 | 6216 | 0.29387 | 0.58338 | 0.70538 | 22225 |
| 2801170 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| New Orleans | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 18807 | 0.19710 | 0.38808 | 0.32210 | 27743 |
| 2 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 18408 | 0.21394 | 0.36455 | 0.33668 | 27887 |
| 3 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 17360 | 0.24534 | 0.28011 | 0.34081 | 26525 |
| 4 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 16863 | 0.28980 | 0.21671 | 0.36999 | 26947 |
| 5 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 15900 | 0.31653 | 0.18924 | 0.39041 | 26321 |
| 6 | 2404770 | 1 | 86 | 14650 | 0.34309 | 0.18050 | 0.41866 | 25412 |
| 2404770 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Indianapolis | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 15738 | 0.12487 | 0.34589 | 0.19091 | 20303 |
| 2 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 15252 | 0.12429 | 0.37195 | 0.19791 | 19969 |
| 3 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 14685 | 0.13611 | 0.41682 | 0.23339 | 20309 |
| 4 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 14069 | 0.13421 | 0.49153 | 0.26394 | 20402 |
| 5 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 13977 | 0.13432 | 0.51638 | 0.27774 | 20919 |
| 6 | 3102790 | 1 | 27 | 13346 | 0.12471 | 0.56260 | 0.28512 | 20574 |
| 3102790 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Boston | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 15004 | 0.12349 | 0.78406 | 0.57188 | 35084 |
| 2 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 13857 | 0.15453 | 0.74325 | 0.60189 | 34852 |
| 3 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 11690 | 0.23690 | 0.63931 | 0.65681 | 34092 |
| 4 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 9946 | 0.27229 | 0.60986 | 0.69793 | 33026 |
| 5 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 7810 | 0.32939 | 0.56356 | 0.75473 | 32168 |
| 6 | 2000120 | 1 | 13 | 5163 | 0.43635 | 0.46688 | 0.81848 | 28906 |
| 2000120 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Atlanta | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 17942 | 0.04379 | 0.58045 | 0.10438 | 23586 |
| 2 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 16969 | 0.06005 | 0.45431 | 0.11005 | 22617 |
| 3 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 17224 | 0.08393 | 0.28914 | 0.11806 | 24436 |
| 4 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 15446 | 0.09945 | 0.20985 | 0.12586 | 21842 |
| 5 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 14161 | 0.09699 | 0.36875 | 0.15364 | 20847 |
| 6 | 1503360 | 1 | 51 | 13441 | 0.10283 | 0.33578 | 0.15481 | 19940 |
| 1503360 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Denver | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 11326 | 0.01244 | 0.36357 | 0.01955 | 18156 |
| 2 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 11797 | 0.01330 | 0.34062 | 0.02016 | 18747 |
| 3 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 12578 | 0.01260 | 0.41342 | 0.02149 | 20339 |
| 4 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 13430 | 0.01331 | 0.41832 | 0.02289 | 21673 |
| 5 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 14123 | 0.01644 | 0.27042 | 0.02253 | 22769 |
| 6 | 4100060 | 1 | 5 | 13851 | 0.01668 | 0.28007 | 0.02317 | 22963 |
| 4100060 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Albuquerque | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 9648 | 0.19811 | 0.13822 | 0.22988 | 20989 |
| 2 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 8434 | 0.19380 | 0.19687 | 0.24130 | 20891 |
| 3 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 8161 | 0.20465 | 0.20685 | 0.25802 | 21529 |
| 4 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 7461 | 0.23250 | 0.12862 | 0.26682 | 20205 |
| 5 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 6902 | 0.24195 | 0.10223 | 0.26950 | 19640 |
| 6 | 1434410 | 1 | 177 | 5988 | 0.23818 | 0.11373 | 0.26875 | 19215 |
| 1434410 6 San Francisco | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 12276 | 0.11220 | 0.57219 | 0.26225 | 16690 |
| 2 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 12804 | 0.16008 | 0.38086 | 0.25855 | 17312 |
| 3 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 12704 | 0.25921 | 0.02014 | 0.26453 | 17340 |
| 4 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 12795 | 0.27228 | 0.02220 | 0.27847 | 17801 |
| 5 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 12626 | 0.28246 | 0.02325 | 0.28919 | 17843 |
| 6 | 4302970 | 1 | 37 | 12247 | 0.29227 | 0.01424 | 0.29650 | 17491 |
| 4302970 6 Charlotte-Mecklenburg | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 4001 | 0.31357 | 0.52936 | 0.66625 | 13627 |
| 2 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 3481 | 0.31347 | 0.53807 | 0.67861 | 13588 |
| 3 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 3040 | 0.33786 | 0.51502 | 0.69664 | 14168 |
| 4 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 2848 | 0.35393 | 0.49707 | 0.70374 | 15760 |
| 5 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 2673 | 0.31659 | 0.55856 | 0.71717 | 15377 |
| 6 | 4011340 | 1 | 136 | 2385 | 0.33690 | 0.53663 | 0.72707 | 15004 |
| 4011340 6 Newark | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 11241 | 0.29579 | 0.24855 | 0.39363 | 18670 |
| 2 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 10771 | 0.29784 | 0.28237 | 0.41504 | 18473 |
| 3 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 9447 | 0.28426 | 0.34848 | 0.43631 | 16848 |
| 4 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 8131 | 0.25187 | 0.41740 | 0.43232 | 14420 |
| 5 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 9076 | 0.29013 | 0.37609 | 0.46501 | 17062 |
| 6 | 4504375 | 1 | 40 | 8934 | 0.28475 | 0.40011 | 0.47467 | 17231 |
| 4504375 6 Cincinnati | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 20237 | 0.05253 | 0.37453 | 0.08398 | 23780 |
| 2 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 18250 | 0.05686 | 0.38486 | 0.09244 | 21733 |
| 3 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 16685 | 0.06002 | 0.46490 | 0.11216 | 20293 |
| 4 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 17122 | 0.07251 | 0.36912 | 0.11493 | 21013 |
| 6 | 5707710 | 1 | 182 | 14920 | 0.08145 | 0.40671 | 0.13728 | 19216 |
| 5707710 5 Seattle | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 5847 | 0.09208 | 0.24108 | 0.12134 | 18626 |
| 2 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 5742 | 0.14990 | -0.00709 | 0.14383 | 17931 |
| 3 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 5507 | 0.18314 | -0.03440 | 0.15404 | 17956 |
| 4 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 4933 | 0.19518 | -0.04303 | 0.15900 | 17554 |
| 5 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 4818 | 0.19380 | -0.03311 | 0.16619 | 17227 |
| 6 | 5338730 | 1 | 174 | 4083 | 0.21860 | -0.04692 | 0.18013 | 16333 |
| 5338730 6 San Antonio | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 13924 | 0.03833 | 0.61409 | 0.09932 | 16140 |
| 2 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 14172 | 0.03990 | 0.62608 | 0.10669 | 16505 |
| 3 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 13866 | 0.04495 | 0.61290 | 0.11611 | 16596 |
| 4 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 13991 | 0.05892 | 0.52218 | 0.12330 | 16715 |
| 5 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 13258 | 0.06600 | 0.51570 | 0.13628 | 16121 |
| 6 | 4630240 | 1 | 205 | 12462 | 0.10027 | 0.29943 | 0.14312 | 15288 |
| 4630240 6 Tulsa | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | Lr S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|----------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 16006 | 0.15703 | 0.52964 | 0.33384 | 24173 |
| 2 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 15746 | 0.16674 | 0.49880 | 0.33269 | 23659 |
| 3 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 15344 | 0.17939 | 0.48484 | 0.34823 | 23614 |
| 4 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 14902 | 0.19436 | 0.46130 | 0.36079 | 23429 |
| 5 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 15045 | 0.20655 | 0.43288 | 0.36421 | 23797 |
| 6 | 4819170 | 1 | 152 | 15277 | 0.20671 | 0.41988 | 0.35633 | 23846 |
| 4819170 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Pittsburgh | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 22653 | 0.05942 | 0.15016 | 0.06992 | 25000 |
| 2 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 22496 | 0.06171 | 0.14363 | 0.07206 | 24992 |
| 3 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 21748 | 0.07039 | 0.13712 | 0.08158 | 24419 |
| 4 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 20097 | 0.07460 | 0.14649 | 0.08740 | 22735 |
| 5 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 19298 | 0.07923 | 0.15048 | 0.09326 | 22046 |
| 6 | 4710050 | 1 | 155 | 18116 | 0.08644 | 0.15747 | 0.10260 | 20926 |
| 4710050 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Portland | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 11676 | 0.02201 | 0.93625 | 0.34526 | 17888 |
| 2 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 12696 | 0.02933 | 0.91226 | 0.33426 | 19147 |
| 3 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 11828 | 0.14404 | 0.59898 | 0.35918 | 18517 |
| 4 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 11872 | 0.14911 | 0.58846 | 0.36234 | 18698 |
| 5 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 11701 | 0.14673 | 0.59633 | 0.36349 | 18534 |
| 6 | 2800540 | 1 | 19 | 11046 | 0.14895 | 0.60438 | 0.37651 | 17949 |
| 2800540 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| E. Baton Rouge | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 17387 | 0.03736 | 0.90292 | 0.38484 | 28264 |
| 2 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 16235 | 0.12237 | 0.68726 | 0.39129 | 26671 |
| 3 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 14977 | 0.19467 | 0.45625 | 0.35801 | 23357 |
| 4 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 14073 | 0.27393 | 0.33280 | 0.41057 | 23935 |
| 5 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 14826 | 0.25906 | 0.34453 | 0.39523 | 24558 |
| 6 | 1002370 | 1 | 124 | 14430 | 0.26908 | 0.35356 | 0.41625 | 24740 |
| 1002370 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Mobile | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 4045 | 0.29042 | 0.44498 | 0.52326 | 12573 |
| 2 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 3521 | 0.30942 | 0.43621 | 0.54881 | 11975 |
| 3 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 3357 | 0.31176 | 0.44686 | 0.56362 | 12008 |
| 4 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 3328 | 0.33029 | 0.40517 | 0.55527 | 12457 |
| 5 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 2855 | 0.34200 | 0.42914 | 0.59940 | 12008 |
| 6 | 1428050 | 1 | 177 | 2498 | 0.34568 | 0.48721 | 0.61423 | 11556 |
| 1428050 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Oakland | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 10603 | 0.15297 | 0.64240 | 0.42776 | 18529 |
| 2 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 9861 | 0.14407 | 0.68766 | 0.46127 | 18304 |
| 3 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 9160 | 0.13481 | 0.72372 | 0.48795 | 17889 |
| 4 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 8860 | 0.11994 | 0.77172 | 0.52539 | 18668 |
| 5 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 8325 | 0.12745 | 0.76600 | 0.54468 | 18284 |
| 6 | 3516400 | 1 | 93 | 7361 | 0.11401 | 0.79770 | 0.56358 | 18567 |
| 3516400 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Kansas City MO | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 13397 | 0.17422 | 0.37639 | 0.27936 | 18943 |
| 2 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 13016 | 0.18621 | 0.36833 | 0.29479 | 18956 |
| 3 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 12826 | 0.20324 | 0.33935 | 0.30764 | 19019 |
| 4 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 12319 | 0.23440 | 0.28410 | 0.32742 | 18878 |
| 5 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 11278 | 0.24528 | 0.28522 | 0.34316 | 18015 |
| 6 | 4205850 | 1 | 31 | 11043 | 0.24303 | 0.32000 | 0.35739 | 18025 |
| 4205850 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Buffalo | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SHSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|---------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 15334 | 0.03158 | 0.24606 | 0.04188 | 16952 |
| 2 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 15088 | 0.03429 | 0.27277 | 0.04716 | 16816 |
| 3 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 14305 | 0.03698 | 0.29233 | 0.05226 | 16227 |
| 4 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 13835 | 0.04438 | 0.35083 | 0.06836 | 16178 |
| 5 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 12916 | 0.05623 | 0.26728 | 0.07674 | 15324 |
| 6 | 1422500 | 1 | 110 | 12365 | 0.06504 | 0.23104 | 0.08458 | 15087 |
| 1422500 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Long Beach | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 11772 | 0.09018 | 0.34059 | 0.13677 | 13907 |
| 2 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 10414 | 0.09585 | 0.40000 | 0.15975 | 12707 |
| 3 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 10722 | 0.09375 | 0.42640 | 0.16344 | 13106 |
| 4 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 11042 | 0.09916 | 0.40926 | 0.16785 | 13631 |
| 5 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 11017 | 0.10570 | 0.39951 | 0.17602 | 13777 |
| 6 | 3774820 | 1 | 143 | 10616 | 0.11479 | 0.36730 | 0.18143 | 13388 |
| 3774820 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Omaha | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 11623 | 0.02187 | 0.45033 | 0.03978 | 16288 |
| 2 | 1208760 | 1 | 204 | 12402 | 0.02155 | 0.46064 | 0.03996 | 17292 |
| 1208760 | | 2 | | | | | | |
| Tucson | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 8221 | 0.02177 | 0.03964 | 0.02266 | 18796 |
| 2 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 7803 | 0.02769 | -0.00428 | 0.02351 | 18462 |
| 3 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 7762 | 0.02361 | -0.00284 | 0.02083 | 18432 |
| 4 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 7924 | 0.02751 | -0.00438 | 0.02323 | 18899 |
| 5 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 7769 | 0.03102 | -0.00672 | 0.02446 | 19172 |
| 6 | 5318300 | 1 | 57 | 7949 | 0.03538 | -0.00939 | 0.02623 | 20051 |
| 5318300 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| El Paso | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 13363 | 0.10297 | 0.51871 | 0.21395 | 17457 |
| 2 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 12173 | 0.11261 | 0.53216 | 0.24070 | 16531 |
| 3 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 13925 | 0.11120 | 0.49664 | 0.22092 | 18491 |
| 4 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 14197 | 0.12081 | 0.50601 | 0.24456 | 19496 |
| 5 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 14300 | 0.12836 | 0.45555 | 0.23576 | 19431 |
| 6 | 4504490 | 1 | 201 | 14214 | 0.12959 | 0.47804 | 0.24827 | 19640 |
| 4504490 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Toledo | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 17254 | 0.04607 | 0.11375 | 0.05199 | 18562 |
| 2 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 15435 | 0.04932 | 0.14344 | 0.05758 | 16794 |
| 3 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 15190 | 0.05038 | 0.13404 | 0.06742 | 16716 |
| 4 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 14910 | 0.06105 | 0.14731 | 0.07160 | 16537 |
| 5 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 14133 | 0.07249 | 0.15449 | 0.08573 | 16062 |
| 6 | 3321240 | 1 | 123 | 13421 | 0.08189 | 0.16042 | 0.09754 | 15542 |
| 3321240 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Minneapolis | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 13980 | 0.05809 | 0.69494 | 0.19041 | 17268 |
| 2 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 13329 | 0.09860 | 0.55531 | 0.22172 | 17748 |
| 3 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 12123 | 0.07920 | 0.63493 | 0.21694 | 16198 |
| 4 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 11809 | 0.09019 | 0.61899 | 0.23673 | 16196 |
| 5 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 12578 | 0.21544 | 0.17699 | 0.26177 | 17603 |
| 6 | 4622770 | 1 | 142 | 11819 | 0.23727 | 0.09947 | 0.26348 | 16616 |
| 4622770 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Oklahoma City | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 10011 | 0.09217 | 0.80661 | 0.47660 | 19127 |
| 2 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 9999 | 0.10112 | 0.79441 | 0.49184 | 19677 |
| 3 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 9088 | 0.24025 | 0.54066 | 0.52304 | 19054 |
| 4 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 8638 | 0.25887 | 0.52614 | 0.54631 | 19068 |
| 5 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 7847 | 0.26091 | 0.54842 | 0.57778 | 18630 |
| 6 | 1000390 | 1 | 24 | 7150 | 0.26740 | 0.55470 | 0.60049 | 17907 |
| 1000390 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Birmingham | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 12175 | 0.08802 | 0.12272 | 0.10033 | 13824 |
| 2 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 12518 | 0.10365 | 0.04919 | 0.10901 | 14393 |
| 3 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 12062 | 0.11650 | 0.01783 | 0.11862 | 14062 |
| 4 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 11817 | 0.11613 | 0.00443 | 0.11664 | 13760 |
| 5 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 11258 | 0.12686 | 0.00105 | 0.12699 | 13324 |
| 6 | 2612990 | 1 | 216 | 10792 | 0.14651 | 0.00308 | 0.14697 | 13071 |
| 2612990 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Wichita | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 12908 | 0.04290 | 0.83097 | 0.25379 | 17298 |
| 2 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 11917 | 0.04908 | 0.76231 | 0.20649 | 15018 |
| 3 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 12647 | 0.18924 | 0.03367 | 0.19583 | 15743 |
| 4 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 13906 | 0.20044 | 0.01584 | 0.20367 | 17504 |
| 5 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 13620 | 0.19683 | 0.01311 | 0.19945 | 17062 |
| 6 | 5002310 | 1 | 78 | 13294 | 0.20262 | 0.01495 | 0.20570 | 16816 |
| 5002310 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Greenville | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 9623 | 0.04354 | 0.65721 | 0.12701 | 13282 |
| 2 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 9861 | 0.04150 | 0.69510 | 0.13611 | 13812 |
| 3 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 10371 | 0.04759 | 0.66720 | 0.14301 | 14684 |
| 4 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 10842 | 0.09618 | 0.23744 | 0.12612 | 15025 |
| 5 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 10700 | 0.09854 | 0.20785 | 0.12440 | 15185 |
| 6 | 5308940 | 1 | 16 | 11975 | 0.10849 | 0.14984 | 0.12762 | 17859 |
| 5308940 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Austin | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 9316 | 0.02347 | 0.74316 | 0.09138 | 12465 |
| 2 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 9162 | 0.02687 | 0.65716 | 0.07836 | 11932 |
| 3 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 9251 | 0.03620 | 0.56773 | 0.08373 | 12241 |
| 4 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 8873 | 0.04135 | 0.50400 | 0.08337 | 11983 |
| 5 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 8637 | 0.04449 | 0.48132 | 0.08578 | 11809 |
| 6 | 1414550 | 1 | 70 | 8300 | 0.04750 | 0.46774 | 0.08924 | 11464 |
| 1414550 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Fresno | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 9481 | 0.14783 | 0.33720 | 0.22303 | 12218 |
| 2 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 9033 | 0.14504 | 0.37763 | 0.23304 | 11805 |
| 3 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 8984 | 0.15410 | 0.35929 | 0.24052 | 11862 |
| 4 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 9104 | 0.15613 | 0.38608 | 0.25432 | 12260 |
| 5 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 9519 | 0.16158 | 0.38181 | 0.26137 | 12924 |
| 6 | 4504348 | 1 | 2 | 9145 | 0.16148 | 0.38864 | 0.26414 | 12467 |
| 4504348 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Akron | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 8494 | 0.01818 | 0.96831 | 0.57359 | 20049 |
| 2 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 8418 | 0.04902 | 0.91283 | 0.56237 | 19391 |
| 3 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 7985 | 0.26472 | 0.44789 | 0.47947 | 15444 |
| 4 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 8114 | 0.28870 | 0.37853 | 0.46454 | 15342 |
| 5 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 8226 | 0.29567 | 0.37949 | 0.47649 | 15866 |
| 6 | 2800300 | 1 | 183 | 8009 | 0.33374 | 0.28060 | 0.46392 | 15065 |
| 2800300 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Shreveport | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SMSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 10788 | 0.07097 | 0.79243 | 0.34192 | 16457 |
| 2 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 10554 | 0.09415 | 0.72630 | 0.34397 | 16164 |
| 3 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 10071 | 0.12160 | 0.66900 | 0.36739 | 16024 |
| 4 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 10039 | 0.14374 | 0.62337 | 0.38165 | 16363 |
| 5 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 9500 | 0.17328 | 0.56839 | 0.40147 | 16051 |
| 6 | 4504384 | 1 | 49 | 8598 | 0.23049 | 0.46124 | 0.42781 | 15112 |
| 4504384 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Dayton | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 12707 | 0.00128 | 0.06230 | 0.00136 | 13950 |
| 3 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 13455 | 0.00119 | 0.05952 | 0.00126 | 15049 |
| 4 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 12913 | 0.00233 | 0.08067 | 0.00253 | 14617 |
| 5 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 12935 | 0.00303 | 0.08793 | 0.00332 | 14739 |
| 6 | 1414880 | 1 | 9 | 12777 | 0.00400 | 0.08245 | 0.00436 | 14667 |
| 1414880 | | 5 | | | | | | |
| Garden Grove | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 6766 | 0.19428 | 0.51660 | 0.40189 | 11319 |
| 2 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 6795 | 0.16451 | 0.58698 | 0.39832 | 11310 |
| 3 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 6464 | 0.18681 | 0.57773 | 0.44239 | 11612 |
| 4 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 6334 | 0.18175 | 0.61940 | 0.47754 | 12133 |
| 5 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 5792 | 0.19318 | 0.61901 | 0.50706 | 11754 |
| 6 | 2703600 | 1 | 111 | 5552 | 0.21514 | 0.59969 | 0.53743 | 12024 |
| 2703600 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Louisville | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 7466 | 0.10698 | 0.06061 | 0.11388 | 11003 |
| 2 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 7314 | 0.12036 | 0.05657 | 0.12757 | 11029 |
| 3 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 7100 | 0.13188 | 0.05652 | 0.13978 | 10953 |
| 4 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 6608 | 0.14410 | 0.04870 | 0.15148 | 10457 |
| 5 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 6651 | 0.15985 | 0.06186 | 0.17039 | 10828 |
| 6 | 1433840 | 1 | 167 | 6858 | 0.18219 | 0.04143 | 0.19006 | 11575 |
| 1433840 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Sacramento | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 6978 | 0.13261 | 0.61964 | 0.34865 | 10879 |
| 2 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 7366 | 0.17799 | 0.52169 | 0.37211 | 11862 |
| 3 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 6517 | 0.32558 | 0.21334 | 0.41387 | 11274 |
| 4 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 6291 | 0.41674 | 0.22582 | 0.42779 | 11183 |
| 5 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 6080 | 0.43718 | 0.00826 | 0.44082 | 11059 |
| 6 | 5602670 | 1 | 138 | 5204 | 0.44850 | 0.00568 | 0.45107 | 9666 |
| 5602670 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Norfolk | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 11978 | 0.04301 | 0.17112 | 0.05189 | 13048 |
| 2 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 11571 | 0.04362 | 0.19789 | 0.05439 | 12742 |
| 3 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 14189 | 0.05067 | 0.16775 | 0.06088 | 15835 |
| 4 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 11699 | 0.04287 | 0.22054 | 0.05499 | 12983 |
| 5 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 11354 | 0.04586 | 0.24352 | 0.06062 | 12702 |
| 6 | 3333840 | 1 | 123 | 11310 | 0.05126 | 0.27212 | 0.07043 | 12793 |
| 3333840 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| St. Paul | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 7917 | 0.08311 | 0.75107 | 0.33387 | 11969 |
| 2 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 8118 | 0.07550 | 0.73965 | 0.28998 | 11449 |
| 3 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 8434 | 0.14701 | 0.41698 | 0.25215 | 11299 |
| 4 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 5659 | 0.26987 | 0.02783 | 0.27759 | 7846 |
| 5 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 5551 | 0.27343 | 0.03466 | 0.28325 | 7753 |
| 6 | 4301500 | 1 | 77 | 5490 | 0.27674 | 0.04015 | 0.28832 | 7724 |
| 4301500 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| Winston-Salem/Forsythe | | | | | | | | |

| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SHSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 5389 | 0.01307 | 0.70745 | 0.04467 | 9671 |
| 2 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 5571 | 0.01304 | 0.72026 | 0.04663 | 9908 |
| 3 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 5333 | 0.01529 | 0.71396 | 0.05345 | 10085 |
| 4 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 5224 | 0.01889 | 0.63986 | 0.05244 | 10069 |
| 5 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 5008 | 0.02581 | 0.50447 | 0.05209 | 10136 |
| 6 | 5315270 | 1 | 46 | 4834 | 0.02813 | 0.48954 | 0.05510 | 10108 |
| 5315270 6 Corpus Christi | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 5372 | 0.33575 | 0.75886 | 0.56293 | 15723 |
| 2 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 5134 | 0.16773 | 0.67274 | 0.51253 | 13771 |
| 3 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 4930 | 0.15330 | 0.70579 | 0.52105 | 13657 |
| 4 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 3583 | 0.17332 | 0.71899 | 0.61679 | 12664 |
| 5 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 3319 | 0.15828 | 0.75799 | 0.65402 | 12709 |
| 6 | 2403870 | 1 | 73 | 2765 | 0.18670 | 0.73350 | 0.70057 | 12527 |
| 2403870 6 Gary | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 3755 | 0.17791 | 0.70387 | 0.60081 | 9434 |
| 2 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 3493 | 0.19702 | 0.69010 | 0.63576 | 9664 |
| 3 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 4129 | 0.45676 | 0.26455 | 0.62105 | 10991 |
| 4 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 3347 | 0.61026 | 0.10283 | 0.68021 | 10682 |
| 5 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 3379 | 0.62563 | 0.08199 | 0.68150 | 10810 |
| 6 | 5603240 | 1 | 163 | 2786 | 0.65266 | 0.08830 | 0.71587 | 9918 |
| 5603240 6 Richmond | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 11942 | 0.18287 | 0.22564 | 0.23616 | 16180 |
| 2 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 11275 | 0.19465 | 0.25155 | 0.26007 | 15884 |
| 3 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 10524 | 0.21766 | 0.26214 | 0.29499 | 15787 |
| 4 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 7500 | 0.26243 | 0.11120 | 0.29527 | 11366 |
| 5 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 9160 | 0.21998 | 0.26770 | 0.30040 | 14181 |
| 6 | 4224750 | 1 | 165 | 8634 | 0.23999 | 0.26732 | 0.32755 | 14117 |
| 4224750 6 Rochester | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 7277 | 0.06249 | 0.35595 | 0.09703 | 8142 |
| 2 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 7677 | 0.06462 | 0.35587 | 0.10032 | 8622 |
| 3 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 7660 | 0.07317 | 0.36314 | 0.11489 | 8730 |
| 4 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 8094 | 0.11938 | 0.00212 | 0.11964 | 9303 |
| 5 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 7690 | 0.13081 | 0.00563 | 0.13155 | 9061 |
| 6 | 2403630 | 1 | 68 | 7609 | 0.14313 | 0.00640 | 0.14406 | 9059 |
| 2403630 6 Ft. Wayne | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 8608 | 0.06110 | 0.05448 | 0.06462 | 9301 |
| 2 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 8421 | 0.05941 | 0.07675 | 0.06435 | 9091 |
| 3 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 8449 | 0.06352 | 0.08587 | 0.06949 | 9153 |
| 4 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 8677 | 0.06203 | 0.08158 | 0.06754 | 9402 |
| 5 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 7463 | 0.04964 | 0.12001 | 0.05641 | 7995 |
| 6 | 2508970 | 1 | 52 | 7362 | 0.05172 | 0.12286 | 0.05896 | 7920 |
| 2508970 6 Des Moines | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 8366 | 0.05609 | 0.06947 | 0.06028 | 8975 |
| 2 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 10302 | 0.06477 | 0.10706 | 0.07254 | 11167 |
| 3 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 10436 | 0.09143 | 0.07302 | 0.09863 | 11710 |
| 4 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 10537 | 0.09002 | 0.07913 | 0.09776 | 11835 |
| 5 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 10358 | 0.09754 | 0.09847 | 0.10792 | 11805 |
| 6 | 2334510 | 1 | 166 | 10149 | 0.10729 | 0.07590 | 0.11610 | 11671 |
| 2334510 6 Rockford | | | | | | | | |



| Year | School District Number | Metro. Status | SHSA | Number Whites | S _{wb} | R _{wb} | Prop. Black | Number Students |
|------|------------------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 5579 | 0.22874 | 0.23965 | 0.30084 | 8975 |
| 2 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 5185 | 0.23057 | 0.28005 | 0.32026 | 8899 |
| 3 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 4744 | 0.25163 | 0.29319 | -0.35600 | 8910 |
| 4 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 4720 | 0.26566 | 0.28809 | 0.37316 | 9532 |
| 5 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 4201 | 0.27283 | 0.31123 | 0.39612 | 9121 |
| 6 | 4007830 | 1 | 90 | 3689 | 0.28195 | 0.38572 | 0.42644 | 8904 |

4007830
Jersey City

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|-------|---------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 14211 | 0.00032 | 0.02739 | 0.00032 | 15430 |
| 3 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 15582 | 0.00091 | 0.01461 | 0.00092 | 17343 |
| 4 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 15731 | 0.00147 | -0.00000 | 0.00147 | 17661 |
| 5 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 16318 | 0.00197 | 0.00156 | 0.00197 | 18251 |
| 6 | 1402640 | 1 | 9 | 13088 | 0.00212 | -0.00001 | 0.00211 | 14681 |

1402640
Anaheim

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|------|---------|---------|---------|------|
| 1 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 4918 | 0.00842 | 0.37191 | 0.01340 | 6938 |
| 2 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 5093 | 0.00774 | 0.43632 | 0.01374 | 7134 |
| 3 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 5222 | 0.00847 | 0.45567 | 0.01557 | 7323 |
| 4 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 5777 | 0.01101 | 0.36931 | 0.01746 | 8419 |
| 5 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 5831 | 0.01121 | 0.27387 | 0.01544 | 8615 |
| 6 | 1434590 | 1 | 178 | 5848 | 0.01118 | 0.23737 | 0.01465 | 8462 |

1434590
San Jose

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-----|------|---------|---------|---------|------|
| 1 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 5071 | 0.04714 | 0.90224 | 0.48223 | 9794 |
| 2 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 5212 | 0.10282 | 0.77330 | 0.45355 | 9538 |
| 3 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 4778 | 0.26929 | 0.26060 | 0.36420 | 7515 |
| 4 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 4842 | 0.28096 | 0.30071 | 0.40178 | 8094 |
| 5 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 4831 | 0.29187 | 0.29305 | 0.41286 | 8228 |
| 6 | 1002430 | 1 | 126 | 4770 | 0.29825 | 0.28794 | 0.41886 | 8220 |

1002430
Montgomery ALA

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|------|---------|----------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 3639 | 0.01875 | 0.28982 | 0.02640 | 7690 |
| 2 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 3827 | 0.02300 | 0.25222 | 0.03075 | 7804 |
| 3 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 3879 | 0.02458 | 0.18359 | 0.03011 | 8802 |
| 4 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 3890 | 0.02829 | 0.06553 | 0.03027 | 9415 |
| 5 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 4089 | 0.03358 | -0.00144 | 0.03218 | 10161 |
| 6 | 5346680 | 1 | 57 | 4002 | 0.03592 | -0.00608 | 0.03002 | 10925 |

5346680
Yaleta

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|----|------|---------|---------|---------|------|
| 1 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 5188 | 0.03667 | 0.10002 | 0.04075 | 5816 |
| 2 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 5564 | 0.03765 | 0.12485 | 0.04302 | 6299 |
| 3 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 5932 | 0.04761 | 0.02891 | 0.04903 | 6792 |
| 4 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 6319 | 0.05287 | 0.01542 | 0.05370 | 7225 |
| 5 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 6809 | 0.05870 | 0.00578 | 0.05904 | 7842 |
| 6 | 1503060 | 1 | 42 | 6819 | 0.05816 | 0.00045 | 0.05819 | 7957 |

1503060
Colorado Springs