

An Analysis of Racial Trends and Segregation in the Upper Darby School District

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Almost two-thirds of U.S. public school students currently attend schools where more than half of students are of their own race or ethnicity (1). While the famed *Brown v. Board of Education* looked to create an integrated school system, many studies report evidence of the policy's failure. Scholars note that resegregation trends, in urban and suburban school districts, are worsening. This segregation crisis has attracted attention from media and policymakers as many citizens languish in low-resourced communities that feed into low-resourced schools. Much of the existing research examines segregation trends by looking between school districts for outcome differences. With that focus, there is a lack of comprehensive research that examines within-district school segregation. The purpose of this study is to contextualize Upper Darby School District's diversification using historical information that can provide guidance for school district efforts that seek to continue the legacy of *Brown* and alleviate racial tensions in suburbs experiencing racial and economic change. This research found a high segregation index within the district that stems from patterns of residential segregation and results in stark outcome differences between attendance zones. The study also assesses district efforts to mend this segregation and provides policy recommendations. Gaining knowledge of historical trends in this Philadelphia suburb provides valuable information that informs the current state of school segregation experienced by districts across the United States.

The Upper Darby School District (UDSD) is situated in Upper Darby Township¹: a large, diverse, Mid-Atlantic suburb outside of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. UDSD has been known for its rapidly increasing and diversifying population, particularly in the 1990s and 2000s. This study's findings confirm that the diverse population is largely segregated among its schools, with elementary schools ranging from 3% white to 65% white. Landmark court orders of *Brown v. Board of Education* ruled that the "segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive[s] the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities," (2). Despite this, segregation in places such as Upper Darby continues to restrict opportunity for all children.

Though the U.S. population has become more racially and ethnically diverse over the past few decades and will become majority minority by 2040, income inequality and racial residential segregation persist, resulting in neighborhoods with intensely different economic resources for the white and nonwhite populations (3).

While *Brown v. Board of Education* outlawed explicit school segregation, Black students today are more segregated in schools than they were half a century ago (4). Since *Brown*, segregation has been allowed to persist through more ambiguous avenues. Despite the common

¹ Under Pennsylvania law, there are four types of incorporated municipalities for governance purposes: cities, boroughs, townships, and towns. The community of Upper Darby is classified as a "township", for governance purposes.

"*de facto*" label², the cycle of discrimination and Black disadvantage is not merely a social accident, but a result of convoluted and ambiguous laws and policies. It is crucial that we do not become complacent with the segregation in today's public schools, or regard it as merely a product of nature.

The segregation we see in public school attendance zones is driven largely by the racial segregation of many local residential areas, and is more exacerbated between school districts, while a focus on within-district segregation has fallen by the wayside. However, it is important to note that within-district segregation still viciously persists despite it being the primary focus of *Brown v. Board of Education*. In order to solve issues of segregation between school districts, we must first address the within-district segregation that *Brown* tried to address 65 years ago. This study seeks to fill the gap in existing research and provide meaningful context to the continuing issue of within-district school segregation in Upper Darby, Pennsylvania.

Methodology

This case study provides an opportunity for analysis of the interplay between racial demographics and the manifestation of racial segregation 65 years post-*Brown* decision. UDSD was selected as a research site due to its well-known racial diversity, proximity to the student

² *De facto* segregation is defined as segregation that is not maintained by any explicit law or policy.

researcher at Villanova University, and because it is representative of many similar sized suburbs in the Mid-Atlantic region. This study hypothesizes that findings from UDSD will align with trends in similar suburban communities in the United States. Demographic information for Upper Darby Township was collected from the U.S. Census Bureau and the American Community Survey.

Racial demographic data for UDSD's 13 public schools (10 elementary schools, two middle schools, one high school) was collected from the U.S. Department of Education and the National Center for Education Statistics and analyzed by year between 1987-2017³. The district's Kindergarten Center was excluded from data collection so as to focus on discrepancies between schools on the elementary, middle, and high school levels. Historical trends were distinguished by creating data tables and graphs with statistics from the 1987-88, 1991-92, 1996-97, 2001-02, 2006-07, 2011-12, and 2016-17 school years. In addition to documenting raw demographic enrollment data, the researcher created the "misrepresentation index." This unique measure of misrepresentation was calculated by comparing school racial demographic enrollment percentages to district racial demographic enrollment percentages. The misrepresentation index by race is equal to the school enrollment percentage minus the district percentage, which results in a percentage that displays the value by which each racial population is over or underrepresented in the school. The total misrepresentation index is the sum of the absolute values of the percentage point misrepresentation for each race. This calculation reveals which school in the district strays the most significantly from the district enrollment totals in a given school year.

When analyzing demographic data, schools were looked at individually, but a distinct focus was placed on the differences in trends between the two catchment areas⁴ that divide the town into "Beverly Hills" and "Drexel Hill". The "Beverly Hills catchment area," when referenced in this study, refers to Beverly Hills Middle School and the five elementary schools in the district that feed into it. The "Drexel Hill catchment area" refers to Drexel Hill Middle School and the five elementary schools that feed into it.

In order to provide context for the demographic data, this study reviews various policies, documents, court cases, hearings, and newspaper articles related to race and/or segregation in Upper Darby, Delaware

County⁵, and Pennsylvania. These materials were sought out dating back to *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. More recent race-related data from the area were collected from a variety of sources including the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, CBS News, and the *Delco Times*. More dated or archival materials not available via online databases like Justia were acquired from the Upper Darby Historical Society and the Delaware County Historical Society. Together, these materials create a holistic story of the history of Upper Darby and the surrounding area.

Google Scholar, Proquest, and the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) database were used to search for journal articles, dissertations, and theses on related topics (educational gerrymandering, the unintended effects of *Brown v. Board of Education*, suburbanization, school integration, and segregation). These resources will also serve to explore various race and education-related court cases.

Preliminary research led to the development of the following research questions: 1) To what extent are Upper Darby public schools segregated by race/ethnicity and are there any notable historical trends?; 2) What factors may have led to the current racial representation in Upper Darby public schools?; 3) Has Upper Darby School District taken any purposeful action to actively integrate schools, as *Brown v. Board of Education* intended?

To address these research questions this research study will: 1) analyze school and catchment area demographic data from 1987 to 2017; 2) utilize demographic data to draw conclusions regarding racialized patterns or discrepancies in UDSD; and 3) explore the factors in the Greater Philadelphia area/Upper Darby community that may have resulted in the current allocation of students within UDSD.

Literature Review

Overview

Upper Darby Township, the subject of this research study, is positioned as an ideal case study for evaluating the historical to modern day trends of school segregation. A rapidly diversifying suburb, it sits minutes outside of a large, diverse city, yet simultaneously minutes away from many wealthy, predominantly white suburbs. While the differences between these communities in factors such as demographic makeup and income are more visible, it is the discrepancies within communities like Upper Darby that may not be getting as much attention as they should be. To understand the story of Upper Darby and

³ While UDSD and Upper Darby Township share the same geographic area, UDSD demographic data represents only the school aged children enrolled in the town's public school system. Upper Darby Township demographic data represents the suburb's entire population.

⁴ A catchment area is the area of a community from which a school's students are drawn.

⁵ Upper Darby Township, along with 49 other municipalities, resides in Delaware County.

its school segregation, it is crucial to first understand the story of segregation in the U.S. at large. Hence, this study's literature review will focus on the research available in six different subject areas: *Brown v. Board of Education*, Suburbanization & White Flight, Residential Segregation, Gerrymandering & School Attendance Zones, Student Outcomes, and Proposed Solutions. Each of these subject areas serves a unique and crucial purpose in aiding the reader in understanding the many nuances of the segregation we see today in U.S. schools and communities.

Brown v. Board of Education

More than six decades have passed since *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, the landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court case that unanimously ruled, "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" (5). The decision, propelled forward by then recently appointed Chief Justice Earl Warren, was intended to force Americans to confront the undemocratic social practices (e.g. segregation) that were profoundly present in U.S. society (6). However, many Americans were not in support of the decision, including President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who later described the appointment of Earl Warren as Chief Justice as the worst decision he ever made (2).

While some school districts accepted the new federal mandate and worked to put policies into place to successfully integrate their schools, many other school boards and officials responded to the change by working harder to preserve the exclusive whiteness of their schools. There are multiple studies (7, 8) that explore the unintended consequences of *Brown* and desegregation mandates since its attempted implementation in 1954. Knowledge of these repercussions can inform current debates surrounding the efficacy of school district integration policies, effects of residential segregation on public schools, and inequitable distribution of resources that impact student academic achievement.

Following the Civil Rights Era of the 1950s and 60s and the widely publicized *Brown v. Board of Education* case, blatant racial discrimination should have become less acceptable in American public schools. However, *Brown* lacked a clear timeline for its ambiguous implementation strategy, only specifying that the desegregation should happen "with all deliberate speed" (5). Ogletree, author of *All Deliberate Speed*, explains that such rhetoric implies "unhurried," and therefore compromised the victory as resisters could end segregation on their own time (2).

The vastly different nature of districts around the nation impeded any possibility of a universal desegregation plan. It was hence decided that local

courts and school-level authorities would hold the responsibility of implementing programs to achieve desegregation in their own public schools. However, it was not until years later that any incentive or sanction was put into place to ensure local communities would uphold the constitutionality of their implementation plans. Many communities were able to simply ignore the *Brown* ruling for years. When they could not, "some states and local municipalities passed amendments and legislation that would allow them to shut down the public school system if integration became a reality" (8). This led to the 1964 U.S. Supreme Court case *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*, wherein it was decided that the shutting down of public schools in protest of integration was unconstitutional (8).

Eventually (primarily in the 1970s) desegregation efforts across the nation became noticeable, and opposition seemed to decline (9). This could be due to the high incidence of court cases that had imposed stricter mandates by 1980 (9). By 1980, explicit school segregation was no longer widely acceptable. Logan, Zhang, & Oakley found that nationally, within-district segregation decreased between 1968 and 2010, explicitly documenting that at the national level, the average Black student in 1968-71 was enrolled in a school district with an extremely high value of segregation (9). "In the space of a single decade, this average dropped nearly to 50. Subsequent changes have been small but in the direction of further decline, falling below 47 by 2010," (9). This information is promising- unlike some studies and reports; it documents progress that has been made since *Brown*.

Unfortunately, a false sense of progress has resulted in dwindling efforts to preserve any integration. In Pennsylvania, the Human Relations Commission (PHRC) was the state's designated body to enforce school desegregation, but since the early 1980s its focus has shifted away from segregation to other racial equity issues in public schools as segregation persists through inconspicuous legal avenues (10). A recent Seattle Times article echoes these sentiments stating that between 1970 and 1990, the nation made steady progress toward school desegregation, particularly in the South. It reads, "at peak, 40 percent of Black Southern students attended a formerly all-white school, while less than a third of all Black students attended Black schools," (11). Since then, progress now reverses as mandates and incentives are rolled back and the United States Department of Education adopts new priorities.

The persistent presence of institutional racism is nothing new. Judge Robert L. Carter, who presented portions of the oral argument in *Brown v. Board of Education* recognized this even in 1968, saying: "Few in the country, Black or white, understood in 1954

that racial segregation was merely a symptom, not the disease; that the real sickness is that our society in all its manifestations is geared to the maintenance of white superiority,” (12).

Suburbanization & White Flight

Suburbanization is defined as a significant population shift from urban areas to suburban areas. Since the massive suburbanization following World War II, this practice has manifested itself in a highly racially discriminatory way (13-16). Boustan found in every decade between 1940 and 1970, cities that received a larger number of Black migrants lost a larger number of white residents. After adjusting for migrant location choices, her formula estimated that each Black arrival was associated with 2.7 white departures (13). “White flight” is a term that came into use at this time and referred to the vast migration of white families from racially mixed urban areas to predominantly white, affluent suburbs, many of which still exist today (13, 15-16). The concept of “white flight” has been challenged, some scholars pointing out alternative reasons for white residents moving away from cities. In response, scholars have pointed to the combination of the unbalanced ratio of Black arrivals to white departures, the overall urban population decline, and falling housing prices as evidence indicating an inherent white fear of racial diversity (13, 15-16).

Since the beginning of suburbanization, populations with the ability to move to the suburbs were almost always either white, wealthy, or both. While suburbanization has a history dating most significantly back to the post-war era (1940s), the threat of integrated public schools also caused many white, wealthy families to relocate to suburban communities that were not subject to integrative practices. As stated, *Brown v. Board of Education* already lacked a clear implementation strategy, but what it also did not account for was the mass suburbanization that had begun after World War II. Racially driven movement patterns became more exacerbated in the 1950s and 60s, following the beginning of school integration. Baum-Snow & Lutz found a 13 percent decrease in the aggregate white population of 92 urban districts between 1960 and 1990, while the aggregate Black population grew by nearly 54 percent over the same period (17). The middle-class families swarming to the suburbs had the means to demand that the quality of education in these schools serve their children and prepare them for admittance to prestigious colleges and universities (18). By the 1960s, the face of suburban education had shifted. Increasing property values and a larger property tax base improved school systems in desirable (predominantly white)

suburbs, which then drew affluent (also predominantly white) families to the area, who were able and willing to pay the “higher private housing costs for the privilege of more desirable public schools,” (15).

Still today, predominantly white suburban districts compete to attract the “best” families (usually white and upper-class) as a way to sustain the community’s financial stability. There is a belief, borne out by data, that the financial stability of a community is highly correlated to its racial demographic makeup. In contrast, large numbers of low-income students in school districts require more resources and therefore raise per-pupil expenditure and increase fiscal pressures on the school district. This could drive off established and affluent homeowners, especially if their racial or cultural background differs from that of the lower-income students (15). Dougherty’s study also confirmed the validity of this claim, finding that millions of white families moved out of cities driven by the appeal of educational and social superiority of smaller and more racially homogenous suburban school systems (15).

Clotfelter also found a positive correlation between white flight from desegregated public schools and the concentration of Black students in the school. His data found that the “tipping point” of Black students in a specific school, typically between 50 and 55 percent, caused a dramatic increase in the rate of white flight from the school (14). In another study, Liebowitz & Page found that the end of the desegregation policies in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina caused families who relocated within the county to be 50% more likely to choose a school attendance zone with a greater proportion of white students than their former residence (19). These observed population changes all confirm the mass exodus of white families to suburban areas. The next section will examine these patterns and other factors fueling this movement.

Residential Segregation

Race-driven patterns of movement continue to manifest in our society, communities, and schools today. A number of researchers show that lawful school desegregation orders from decades ago produced changes in housing patterns that have had long-lasting impacts on residential segregation (15, 19-20), now the primary cause of segregation we see in public schools.

Additionally, many housing policies and real estate practices across the country are historically discriminatory and designed to benefit white residents. Because students are typically required to attend their assigned neighborhood school, public schools reflect the demographic makeup and socioeconomic status of their communities, as well as the wealth available

within the community to support the schools. Due to the inextricable ties between race and class, schools across the country are not only segregated, but also underfunded in a pattern that is predictable based on the racial demographic makeup of their students. This means that neighborhood segregation is largely to blame for the school segregation and resulting income disparities seen today across the nation. Residential segregation creates higher-income communities, with “predominantly white school districts that have more local tax revenue for their schools, compared to fewer dollars and resources for school districts in low-income, minority neighborhoods” (21).

Dougherty’s research in Greater Hartford, Connecticut reveals many reasons as to why residential segregation manifested in the area. Like many cities, Hartford’s population experienced a steep decline after 1950. City residents began moving in increasing numbers to three suburbs in particular: West Hartford, Bloomfield, and Avon, all sitting near the capital city of Hartford. At this time, “shopping for schools” was a relatively new practice for suburban homebuyers (15).

Coalitions established attractive practices in schools to entice upper-class families into their communities. Real estate agents steered Black homebuyers into Bloomfield and white homebuyers into Avon and West Hartford, capitalizing on white anxieties about integrated or racially-mixed schools (15). While residents moving to Avon and West Hartford remained mainly white, increasing numbers of Black citizens moved into Bloomfield, which then saw an exodus of its white middle-class population. The forthcoming reputation of Bloomfield as a “struggling” school system “has challenged the willingness of voters to support local educational services” (15). Practices like these were not uncommon, and quickly became part of a discriminatory, yet dynamic, relationship between race, public schools, and private housing.

Today, 27 percent of all public school parents report having moved to their neighborhood to attend their current school (22). As previously stated, this practice is commonly referred to as “shopping for schools.” Due to the increased probability that white families (rather than Black or Hispanic families) will be financially stable and mobile enough to make this sort of move, “shopping for schools” is largely a white practice (15). Furthermore, Saporito and Sohoni cite in their study that, “Research on actual neighborhood choices has suggested that white families make efforts to live in predominantly white neighborhoods, while nonwhite families show a greater tolerance for integrated neighborhoods,” (23). Therefore, not only are white families more likely to have the ability to move to select their school, but they are more likely to select to move to majority-white

districts, actively perpetuating residential segregation and racial isolation.

The term “*de facto* segregation” has become standard for use among policymakers who regard current residential isolation of low-income Black citizens as being something of a social accident, converging from a variety of factors out of their control. Therefore, it is debated whether the court and legal mandates can rule over these independent choices, economic or geographic patterns that result in *de facto* segregation. In 2007, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District* that school districts could not voluntarily use racial classifications in student assignment to correct *de facto* segregation (19). This decision was especially controversial, and some consider it to be a huge setback in the pursuit of integration.

The intersectionality between race and class is indisputable. In 2017, 8% of white citizens lived in poverty, as opposed to the 20% and 16% of Black and Hispanic citizens, respectively (24). Because Black children are 2.5 times more likely to live in poverty, they are also 30% more likely than poor white students to attend “high-poverty” schools where over half of the students qualify for free or reduced-price lunch (24). In the same way that race and class are interconnected, so are school segregation and residential segregation. This intersection is discussed using findings of recent studies in the next section.

Gerrymandering & School Attendance Zones

“As Black families from...overcrowded ghettos moved into white neighborhoods in the 1950s, the board of education worked feverishly...to maintain segregation, [and] managed boundaries and transfers to minimize interracial enrollments,” (25). Many scholars argue that a similar maintenance of school segregation still exists today through what experts have deemed “educational gerrymandering” (20, 26-27). Educational gerrymandering involves the manipulation of school attendance zone boundaries to meet a specific goal, and it is not an uncommon practice. In a national sample of 23,945 school attendance zones, one study found that overall, attendance zones are highly gerrymandered based on both demographic characteristics of race and socioeconomic status (28). A report by Brookings Institution mirrored this finding, saying that “while schools mostly look like the neighborhoods they serve that are contained within their district, in some places, this is in part because of the way district boundaries divide geographically proximate neighborhoods along lines that separate families by race and income.” (29).

Another study, based in a county outside Richmond,

Virginia, found that the rezoning processes in the county had significant racial impacts, as none of the rezoned attendance boundaries addressed the existence of racially isolated white school zones in certain parts of the county (30). A similar study found that the process of closing one urban school and redrawing other school attendance boundaries in Richmond was a highly politicized process, and was associated with a dramatic increase in racial segregation over a short period of time (20). The manipulation of school attendance zones has significant implications for U.S. students and public schools. It hinders equitable student access to educational opportunity and resources and goes against the mission of the U.S. Department of Education to foster educational excellence and ensure equal access.

While multiple studies have concluded that irregularly shaped attendance zones exacerbate racial segregation of school systems (20, 28, 30-31), Saporito and Van Riper contrastingly argue that it is instead compact attendance zones in residentially-segregated urban spaces that intensify racial homogeneity in public schools (32). Their research suggests that it is the irregularly shaped attendance zones that often contain racially diverse populations. The rationale for their conclusion is based on the concept of residential segregation and the likelihood that nonwhite students live in racially homogenous neighborhoods (32). Saporito, in a later study, adds, “compact attendance zones reproduce the income segregation that already exists in residential areas” (33). Educational gerrymandering can be used in different ways to either foster school diversity or to exacerbate racial isolation. The contrast between research findings on gerrymandering and school attendance zone policies strongly suggests that more research needs to be conducted on the effects of specific policies and practices. Should more policy research be conducted on these topics, perhaps schools and administrations could begin to make strides towards a more equitable vision of public schooling.

Student Outcomes

Statistically, student test scores are higher in schools where most students come from middle and high-income families (34). As Billingham states, “the persistent association between race and class in the United States frequently results in vastly different education opportunities for students from different racial backgrounds” (35). This fact helps explain the educational achievement gap between minority students and their white counterparts. Students of color have consistently been underrepresented in high-achieving schools. Concentrating students with economic and social disadvantages in racially and economically

homogeneous communities and schools worsens this plight. A study by Diaz-Granados looks explicitly at the school district of University City, outside of St. Louis, Missouri. In a mixed methods study, he finds that “suspension rates, academic achievement gaps, graduation rates, and transitions from University City Senior High School to four year colleges are far less favorable for Black students,” (36). He argues that the district has historically accepted mediocrity for Black students, and explores through interviews the mindsets that differentiate standards for white and Black students in the district (36). Studies like this contextualize the system that continually disadvantages Black people, across the country and across generations, that is made possible by racially and economically segregated schools distributing funding and resources disproportionately based on the notion that white, affluent schools produce greater student outcomes.

Pernicious views that frame minority students as inherently less capable of success ought to be challenged. Rothstein identifies the well-documented individual predictors of low academic achievement: lesser access to health care, parents with lower literacy, less adequate housing, fewer opportunities for enriching out of school activities, and fewer family resources (40). Social and economic conditions such as these set some students up for failure before they even begin school, and segregation intensifies these obstacles to educational attainment and success (15, 34, 39).

Proposed Solutions

The issue of segregation is a crucial one. In terms of how we move forward towards integrated schools, school choice is a popular deconcentration⁶ policy option, although the efficacy of this option continues to be hotly debated. While supporters of school choice have advocated that student enrollment in choice schools helps decrease segregation, studies like that of Saporito & Sohoni prove the opposite, having found evidence from enrollment and catchment area data that disproves such arguments (23). Specifically, they conclude, “public schools that have private and/or magnet schools within their catchment areas have disproportionately fewer white children than do schools without nearby private or magnet schools,” (23) implying that choice schools favor white children. The efficacy of this option heavily depends on many specifics and the context in which the policy is implemented (19).

Ihlanfeldt proposes in a recent study an alternative idea that housing affordability may be a more viable option to deconcentrate Black and Hispanic students

6 A “deconcentration policy” refers to a policy with the intent to reallocate students who attend segregated schools, to schools that represent a wider variety of student demographics.

within poor, low-performing schools (34). Other policy options that have been suggested include reducing exclusionary zoning, adopting inclusionary zoning, and “counseling voucher receipts on housing opportunities that exist in white neighborhoods” (41). Despite the vast amount of research confirming the segregation U.S. students experience in their communities and schools, it is still up for debate how policy should address this systemic issue. It is the hope of the researcher that studies such as this one can inform future policy-making decisions that will help alleviate segregation in our schools and communities.

Results

Introduction

The results section of this research will begin with an overview of the Upper Darby School District. Next, demographic data is discussed, highlighting the most recent data set: 2016-2017. A comprehensive analysis then compiles the observed demographic data and analyzes trends. A demographics conclusions section closes the demographics segment of the results.

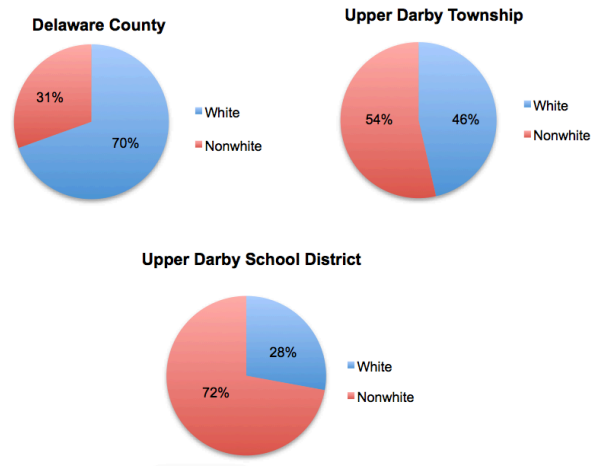
Subsequently, the results found from external sources and archives are shared in a section titled, “Upper Darby Outside of Demographics.” These results are categorized under subheadings for clarity purposes, separating the sources that show *de facto* segregation in Upper Darby from the sources that are related to the district’s strangely shaped attendance zones. The third section of “Upper Darby Outside of Demographics” describes recent efforts to relocate students.

Context: Upper Darby School District

Upper Darby School District (UDSD), founded in 1834, is one of the largest school districts in Pennsylvania, enrolling approximately 12,000 students. The district also employs over 960 professional staff and 840 support personnel (42). There are 14 public schools in the district: one high school, two middle schools, 10 elementary schools, and a Kindergarten Center. The school district serves a total population of over 82,912 (43), enrolling students from Upper Darby Township, Clifton Heights Borough, and Millbourne Borough, all located in Southeast Delaware County. UDSD is bordered by Haverford Township School District, Philadelphia School District, William Penn School District, and Springfield Township School District.

Upper Darby Township is 46% white, 0.1% American Indian/Alaska Native, 12% Asian, 34% Black, 6% Hispanic, 3% two or more races (43). The 8.3 square mile township represents a much more diverse

population than the county it resides in. While Upper Darby Township is 53.6% nonwhite, Delaware County is only 30.5% nonwhite (43). The UDSD enrollment is even more diverse, with a school population that is 72.1% nonwhite (44). These statistics are displayed in Figures 1-3 below.



Figures 1-3. Demographic Makeup of Delaware County, Upper Darby Township, and Upper Darby School District. Collected from the U.S. Census Bureau and National Center for Education Statistics (43-44).

Furthermore, 20.4% of the township population are immigrants. The median household income is \$52,979, and the per capita income is \$26,599 (43). UDSD has over 800 students enrolled in its English Language Learner program, with over 70 languages spoken across the district. 1,300 students are enrolled in special education programs (45). The 2016-17 budget was \$199,146,490, equating to an average cost of about \$13,000 per student, the lowest of any district in Delaware County (46).

There are also multiple private educational institutions in the district and surrounding area. Using census and enrollment data, it was determined that approximately 3,000 students living in UDSD opt for a private education (47). The role that school choice may play in public school racial demographics is unclear.

Demographics

2016-2017. While school districts in the U.S. eventually complied with *Brown’s* federal mandate to desegregate, and could no longer prevent the attendance

of a student solely on the basis on race, segregation was never completely alleviated, and many say the plight has worsened since the 1990s (3-4, 15, 36, 41). This study confirms the worsening of segregation in the Upper Darby School District. In the National Center for Education Statistics' most recent data collection, of UDSD's 12,297 students, 27.9% are white, 46.7% are Black, 15% are Asian/Asian Pacific Islander, and 7.6% are Hispanic (44)⁷. In an ideally integrated district, each school would have a similar demographic breakdown to that of the district as a whole; however, this is far from the reality. Among the district's 10 elementary schools, enrollments range from ~3% white to ~65% white. The 2016-2017 racial demographic data for the each of the district's public schools is shown below in Table 1⁸.

Table 1. 2016-2017 UDSD School Enrollment. *Note:* Data aggregated from the National Center for Education Statistics (44).

School	Total Enrollment	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian
Upper Darby High School	3,621	27.87%	50.29%	5.72%	14.42%
Beverly Hills Middle School	1,443	4.85%	61.82%	8.80%	23.15%
Drexel Hill Middle School	1,289	54.23%	31.65%	4.58%	7.53%
Aronimink Elementary School	280	48.93%	27.86%	6.07%	13.21%
Bywood Elementary School	641	2.96%	66.93%	12.48%	16.54%
Charles Kelly Elementary School	348	5.46%	55.75%	11.21%	24.43%
Garrettford Elementary School	631	48.65%	33.12%	6.34%	6.34%
Highland Park Elementary School	775	10.71%	49.55%	13.03%	23.87%
Hillcrest Elementary School	713	59.75%	23.28%	6.73%	4.77%
Primos Elementary School	467	41.76%	34.69%	4.93%	10.49%
Stonehurst Hills Elementary School	571	2.63%	84.24%	7.53%	3.50%
Walter M Senkow Elementary School	273	2.56%	23.81%	13.92%	58.61%
Westbrook Park Elementary School	507	64.69%	23.67%	4.73%	2.37%

Data was cross analyzed against district enrollment totals and plotted into separate tables that show the calculated misrepresentation index⁹ of each school's demographic breakdown in relation to UDSD total enrollment. The misrepresentation index tables show that in the 2016-2017 school year, schools in UDSD range from being 25 percentage points less white

(underrepresented) to 37 percentage points more white (overrepresented) than the district enrollment totals¹⁰. Black students in UDSD schools range from being 23 percentage points underrepresented to being overrepresented by 38 percentage points. The vast differences in the allocation of Black and white students within UDSD are alarming. Hispanic students in UDSD have the lowest level of misrepresentation, ranging from being 3 percentage points underrepresented to being 6 percentage points overrepresented. Asian students range from being 13 percentage points underrepresented to being 44 percentage points overrepresented. The school with the most total racial misrepresentation of students is Walter M. Senkow Elementary School, with a total misrepresentation index of 98.24 percentage points in comparison to district enrollment totals¹¹. The school with the least total misrepresentation of students' races is Upper Darby High School, with only a 6 percentage point total misrepresentation index between its enrollment and the race enrollment percentages of UDSD. This confirms research from Saporito and Sohoni which concluded that levels of segregation are generally lower among students in high school catchment areas as opposed to the catchment areas of elementary and middle schools, due mostly to the size of the catchment area (therefore decreasing the likelihood that residential segregation will separate students; 48).

It was concluded that UDSD's schools are highly racially segregated across public school attendance boundary lines. There is a distinct difference in the racial composition of the Beverly Hills catchment area and the Drexel Hill catchment area, representing an invisible yet divisive line through the middle of Upper Darby Township. A district-wide map of UDSD school attendance zones can be found in Figure 4¹². All five of the elementary schools with the smallest white enrollments feed into Beverly Hills Middle School. These five elementary schools are also Title I schools¹³, as is Beverly Hills Middle School. Contrastingly, the five elementary schools with significantly higher proportions of white students are all non-Title I schools and feed into the district middle school that is similarly more white and non-Title I. This shows a trend of segregation not only by race, but by income, as is commonly seen in systems across the U.S.

7 This excludes the racial categories of American Indian/Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian, and students of two or more races, due to the low reported numbers of enrolled students belonging to these groups.
 8 This study chose to exclude the Upper Darby Kindergarten Center from the data collection to focus on discrepancies between schools on the elementary, middle, and high school level.
 9 The misrepresentation index is a measure created by the researcher in order to establish a uniform measure by which to compare schools.

10 The misrepresentation index tables have not been included in this publication. They are instead summarized in the following sections.
 11 The total misrepresentation index is the absolute value of the percentage point misrepresentation for each race. This calculation reveals which school in the district strays the most significantly from the district enrollment totals. This number is not out of 100.
 12 The image is hand-drawn due to the lack of an image displaying all attendance zones online.
 13 Title I schools are schools with large concentrations of low-income students that receive supplemental funds to assist in meeting students' educational goals.

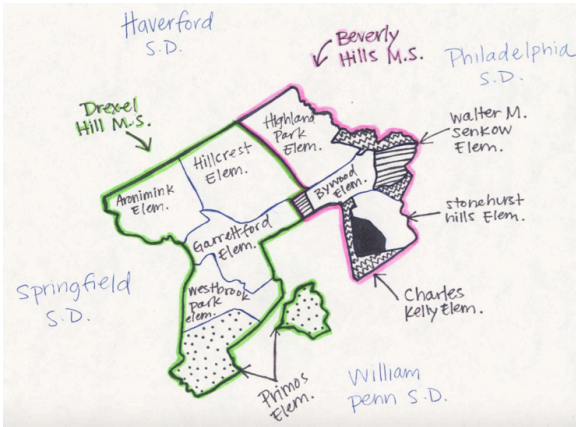


Figure 4. Catchment Area and School Attendance Zone Map of Upper Darby School District. Note: Green boundary indicates the Drexel Hill Catchment Area, while the pink boundary indicates the Beverly Hills Catchment Area. Patterns indicate areas designated to the same attendance zone, despite geographical separation. The solid shading in the middle of the diagram is part of the William Penn School District. Note: School attendance zone boundaries collected from the Upper Darby School District School Finder tool (49).

Comprehensive analysis. In this study, demographic data was collected from 1987-2017 to track racial demographic trends and changes over time¹⁴. The racial enrollment trends of the district population are displayed in Figure 5.

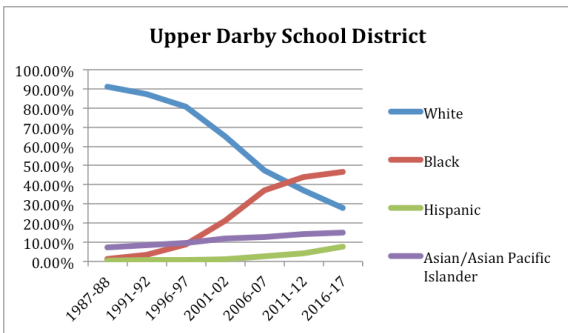


Figure 5. Enrollment Data for the Upper Darby School District. Collected from the National Center for Education Statistics (45).

The data collection begins in 1987 with 91% white enrollment, and minimal Black enrollment. While this certainly did not make for diverse schools within the district, the segregation index determined was low. In comparison to today’s lopsided distribution, in 1987 students of each race/ethnicity were distributed

¹⁴ 1987 is the earliest year that demographic data is publicly available.

relatively evenly across the district. As can be seen above, the largest demographic changes in the district occurred in the decade between 1996 and 2006. White student enrollment dropped from 81% to 48% of the UDSD student population during this decade.

The racial demographic trends of each public school in the district have been tracked, as can be found below in Figures 6, 7-12 and 13-18. In this data collection, Upper Darby High School consistently replicates the enrollment totals of the district. This result was expected; the larger the size of the school attendance boundaries, the more likely it is that such units are racially heterogeneous (48). Typically, the geographic region covered by school catchment areas grows larger as the grade level increases. Thus, it should be expected that levels of segregation would be lower among students in high school catchment areas as opposed to the catchment areas of elementary and middle schools. The enrollment graph for Upper Darby High School can be seen in Figure 6.

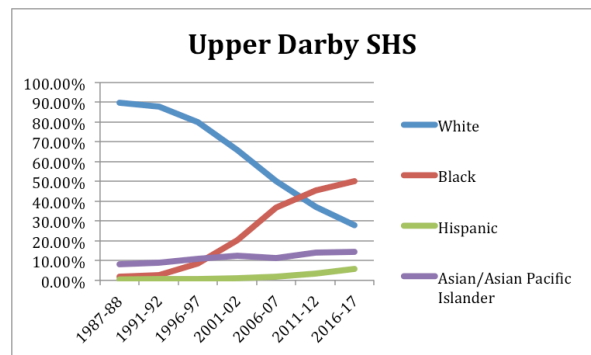
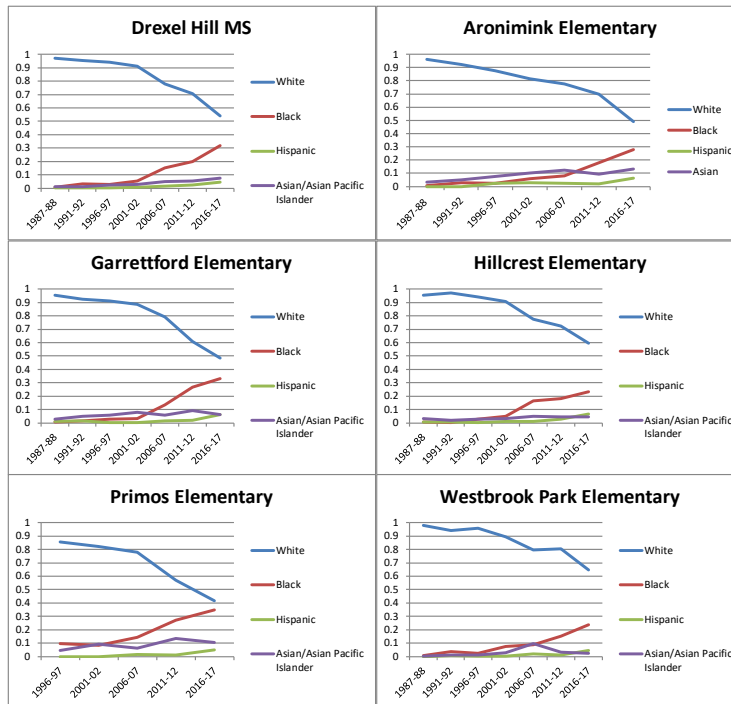
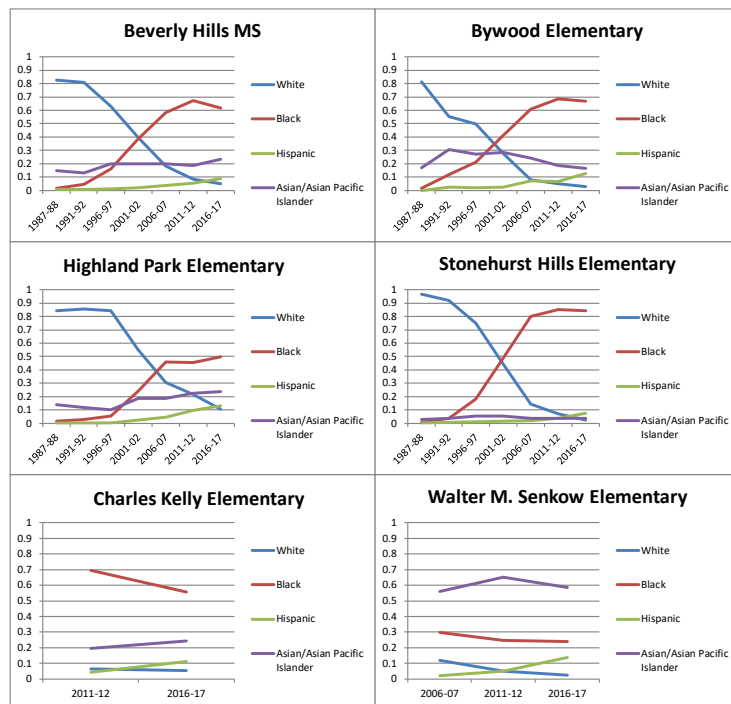


Figure 6. Enrollment Data for Upper Darby Senior High School of the Upper Darby School District. Collected from the National Center for Education Statistics (44).

The issue within UDSD lies in the differences between the catchment areas of Beverly Hills and Drexel Hill. Below are first the graphs displaying the six schools in the Drexel Hill catchment area. As seen in these graphs, the trends appear to be uniform across all schools in the catchment area. However, in none of the six schools has the Black enrollment surpassed the white enrollment, despite this occurring in the district as a whole. Additionally, despite the noticeable decline in the white student population, white students remain highly overrepresented in Drexel Hill. For example, in 2002, the student population in the Drexel Hill catchment area should have been 65% white and 35% nonwhite, but instead was 89% white and 11% nonwhite.



Figures 7-12. Enrollment Data for Schools in the Drexel Hill Catchment Area of the Upper Darby School District. Collected from the National Center for Education Statistics (44). Note: Primos Elementary School data, shown above, is only available from 1996. All other data was collected from 1987.



Figures 13-18. Enrollment Data in the Beverly Hills Catchment Area of the Upper Darby School District. Collected from the National Center for Education Statistics (44). Note: Charles Kelly Elementary and Walter M. Senkow Elementary School data, shown above, is only available from 2011 and 2006, respectively. All other data was collected from 1987.

Due to the overall diversity of the district, none of these schools are considered racially isolated. Nonetheless, when contrasted with the enrollment graphs from the Beverly Hills catchment area, the differences become apparent. The enrollment graphs for the Beverly Hills catchment area are shown in Figures 13-18. These graphs illustrate an even more drastic drop in white student population than can be observed in the district totals and show an opposite trend than that observed in the Drexel Hill catchment area, with white student enrollment numbers in some schools dropping all the way to zero. The white population in the Beverly Hills catchment area dropped from 67% to 17% between 1996-97 and 2006-07. It continued to drop to just 9% by 2011-2012. Meanwhile, the Black population has far surpassed the enrollment numbers of white students in all six schools in Beverly Hills. Previous research has suggested that these patterns may be related: white families are more likely to move out of a neighborhood or choose a private school option as the Black student population approaches 50% (48).

Conclusions

Highly segregated district. The analysis conducted and presented in the study of Upper Darby School District led to the conclusion that the district is highly segregated and experiencing rapid racial change. Frankenberg defines rapid racial change in a previous study as “racial transition at least three times that of the entire enrollment (an annual decline of white students of at least 1.8 percentage points over a seven-year period)” (50).

The most recent NCES data shows that the Beverly Hills catchment area is only 5% white, and all six schools within this catchment area are Title I. Contrastingly, 90.8% of all white elementary and middle school students in UDSD reside and attend school in the Drexel Hill catchment area. None of the schools in the Drexel Hill catchment area are Title I. Data revealed that nonwhite students in the district are 7.4x more likely than their white counterparts to attend a Title I school. This confirms a known link between race and class (3, 15, 21, 24, 29, 34, 38, 40).

This segregation has historical roots. The level of segregation the district is currently experiencing did not happen suddenly. Even when the school district was 91% white in 1987, there were racial discrepancies between catchment areas: Drexel Hill was more white and Beverly Hills was less white than the district as a whole.

Schools in the more affluent, predominantly white Drexel Hill community also have a history of greater academic success than in Beverly Hills (51). Despite

the location of these schools in the same district with the same tax base, there is a discrepancy between student academic achievement that can be linked to school location, race, and class, giving the whiter, more affluent students of Drexel Hill a better chance at academic success.

Residential segregation. The observed differences in racial demographics between the two major catchment area enrollments leads to the firm conclusion that residential segregation is the primary cause of the school segregation. This means that the segregation is considered *de facto*, or “accidental.” Unfortunately, this status frames school and residential segregation as having no constitutional remedy, therefore dissuading policymakers from taking any formative actions towards a solution. This situation also nullifies the validity of contributing factors with historical and modern relevance: discriminatory housing and real estate policies, suburbanization patterns of residents from Philadelphia, community violence against nonwhite citizens, and prejudiced community rhetoric, which will be discussed in the next section.

Archival Materials Conclusions: Upper Darby Outside of Demographics

Contributors to *de facto* segregation in Upper Darby

Housing and real estate policies and practices. Numerous studies explore methods by which housing and real estate have shaped the communities in which we live (3, 9, 13, 15-17, 19, 25, 34, 36, 39, 41). Greater Philadelphia and Delaware County are not exempt from the discriminatory practices present in the housing system. In 1959, the Delaware County Board of Realtors published an advertisement stating that proposed fair housing laws “endanger your property rights” and “infringe your constitutional rights” (52). In a verbal testimony, the 1980 Chairman of the Yeadon Community Relations Committee¹⁵ confirmed the intentional steering by some real estate agents of Black families into certain areas of Delaware County and white families away from such neighborhoods. This mirrors what Dougherty found in the suburbs outside Hartford, Connecticut (15). Actions like these operated to perpetuate patterns of residential segregation and to hasten white flight (53). Additionally, there are records of local lawsuits such as one filed against Prudential Insurance in 2006, alleging that the insurance company was denying homeowners insurance to residents living in predominantly nonwhite neighborhoods (52).

Minority residents in the Philadelphia area

¹⁵ Yeadon is a suburban borough of Philadelphia nearby to Upper Darby.

experience higher poverty and unemployment rates than the overall rates of the area (54). The lack of access to economic opportunity prevents low-income and minority families from choosing housing outside of areas of minority concentration. This has manifested noticeably in Upper Darby, and results in segregated neighborhoods that produce segregated schools.

Mortgage loan denials and high-cost lending disproportionately affect minority applicants in Philadelphia and the surrounding area (54). There is also an inadequate amount of affordable rental housing surrounding Philadelphia. The housing that is affordable has often been poorly preserved (54). The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia suggests that disinvestment in aging homes lowered prices enough to make them affordable, causing an influx of low-income, predominantly minority residents to inner-suburbs of Philadelphia like Upper Darby, particularly in the late 20th century (55). Generally, the declining housing conditions preceded these minority buyers, yet many white residents assumed that the arrival of minority residents caused housing conditions to deteriorate (55). In many instances, racial tension and animosity resulted.

Suburbanization from Philadelphia & violence. In 1975, a Black family attempted to move to an all-white neighborhood in Upper Darby, but they were met with rioting neighbors and vandalism (52). Early in 1978, a Black family's home was spray painted with words and phrases like "KKK" and "Black and White don't mix." Rocks were later thrown at their windows and a shotgun was fired at the mother of the family before they moved out of Upper Darby (53). In June of 1980, an aggressive mob of white residents prevented a Black woman and her two children from moving into the home they had rented in Upper Darby. These and more similar instances led to an "Investigatory hearing concerning problems of racial tension," held in 1980 by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC). At this point in time, the township was only 3.1% nonwhite (56), and diversity was not welcomed (53). The investigatory hearing cited "an unseemly pattern of racially motivated terrorism and harassment" (53). Following the hearing, the PHRC concluded that Eastern Delaware County had a far greater instance of violence in response to racial integration than any other place in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (53). The hearing also cited that the elected officials and police force in Upper Darby did not display "sufficient sensitivity to the important differences between ordinary, random vandalism and racially motivated harassment" (53), many of them who testified denying any racial motivation behind the incidents.

Out of the violence and ignorance of the community

came organizations like the Housing Equality Center of Pennsylvania, formed to support minority homebuyers and combat racial discrimination in housing. The Housing Equality Center is still doing this work today.

Community rhetoric. Negative and prejudiced rhetoric from community members perpetuates distance and tension between the two sides of Upper Darby Township. This holds true today. The township's historian, a former schoolteacher, confirmed that each "side of town" has a certain reputation largely based on race and class (57). Even simple rhetoric like this perpetuates the racial divide the community is experiencing.

General rhetoric regarding the nature of *de facto* segregation plays a role in how the issue is perceived. As Frankenberg and Orfield write in the introduction of *The Resegregation of Suburban Schools*, the belief that governmental policies have no role in segregated residential patterns and racially isolated schools is preventing the realization that segregated residential patterns are not a "natural" phenomenon (58). These patterns and how they manifest in today's society are a result of decades of policies and practices, some of which are discussed in short above, that combine to create and maintain racial segregation in communities across the country.

Strangely shaped attendance zones

Transportation policies. Figure 4 reveals significant irregularities in UDSD's attendance zones, pulling children from different parts of the township to schools outside of their neighborhoods. Irregular attendance zones have shown promise in alleviating effects of residential segregation; however, they can also serve to do the opposite (32). Bywood, Walter M. Senkow, Stonehurst Hills, and Charles Kelly Elementary Schools all part of the Beverly Hills catchment area, are irregular attendance zones where some students are bussed from other neighborhoods to get to their assigned school. Instead of bussing students outside of their neighborhood to attend a better school, students in UDSD that are bussed outside their neighborhoods do so to attend under resourced Title I schools, further exacerbating the segregation ravaging the district (51).

The transportation of primarily nonwhite students living near Garrettford Elementary School to the farther away, and already primarily nonwhite, Walter M. Senkow Elementary School prompted an investigation by the NAACP/Department of Justice, which did not result in any change. One Delco Times article from 2016 details the issue, alleging that students from Walter M. Senkow Elementary "are bussed 6 miles outside of the district to be taught in a Glenolden school building the

district rents from the Archdiocese of Philadelphia,” (59). The Walter M. Senkow population is 96% nonwhite, despite a sizable proportion of the students being bussed from the generally more white community of Drexel Hill. School attendance zones have proven to be an issue in the district for years, brought to light first in the *Husbands v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* court case.

Husbands v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania 1975. *Husbands v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* challenged the reorganization of a group of school districts (the school district of Upper Darby included), with plaintiffs alleging that they had been forced to “attend schools within racially and economically segregated districts and accordingly, have been deprived of rights, privileges, and immunities secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States” (60). As was common at this time in the two decades following, the decision was prolonged, waiting to base their decision on the outcome of a similar larger-scale case.

The result of the case was the conglomeration of certain school districts in the Delaware County area to increase/equalize the amount of Black students in certain districts. Upper Darby, at the time (1968), had a Black student population of 0.1% (60). As a result of this case, the school districts of Millbourne, Clifton Heights, and Upper Darby were combined into what is now the Upper Darby School District.

Other recent efforts

Aronimink Elementary School. Analysis of demographic data shows that the peak of racial misrepresentation across the district was in the 2011-2012 school year. In late 2012, in order to comply with “No Child Left Behind” mandates, UDSD gained permission by way of a waiver to bus students from four failing elementary schools¹⁶ (Bywood, Charles Kelly, Highland Park, and Stonehurst Hills elementary schools, in Beverly Hills catchment area) to Aronimink Elementary School in an attempt to improve student outcomes (61). The selected transfer students were chosen based on economic and academic need. This effort appears to have been successful, as low-achieving students selected to transfer to Aronimink showed significant academic improvement in the following years. Aronimink also made considerable progress towards accurate racial representation between 2011-2012 and 2016-2017. Such improvements indicate that similar efforts with other schools might yield additional positive results for school integration and student academic achievement, however, no further efforts have been made since then.

¹⁶ A “failing” elementary school was defined in this source as having not achieved Adequate Yearly Progress, or AYP, a state standard.

Dismissal of former Superintendent Dunlap. In 2016, then superintendent Robert Dunlap proposed a bold plan to make attendance zones fluid and reduce overcrowding in the elementary schools, where class sizes range from 18 to 29 (62). The district had attracted the attention of the NAACP due to racial imbalances across schools. The prominent organization was “concerned about anyone who opposes the best education for all kids, who supports segregating children, so . . . we are doing some investigating,” said Joan Duvall-Flynn, president of the Media branch of NAACP (62).

After proposing the progressive plan, Dunlap was promptly put on leave by the school board until he later resigned. He had also put forward an idea to build a new school in Bywood, claiming it would save millions of dollars by eliminating the bussing system currently in place transporting students outside the district to Walter M. Senkow Elementary. A *Philadelphia Inquirer* article from the time suggests this controversy is “tinged with racial resentments in one of the region’s most diverse neighborhoods” (63). The Mayor was one of the authorities opposed to this attendance zone policy change, while State Representative Margo Davidson was in strong support of the idea.

Clifton Heights Middle School. The most recent district debate in UDSD concerns the proposed construction of a third middle school. The intended location of the school is situated in the Drexel Hill community and would reduce overcrowding in the other two middle schools, especially in Beverly Hills. The Beverly Hills Middle School current population is 1,443, while Drexel Hill Middle School enrolls 1,289. The new middle school would host somewhere around 950 students, which would reduce populations in each of the other middle schools to approximately 1,000 students (64).

The issue with the proposed location is that it sits on a property that currently functions as a baseball field- a prized area of the Clifton Heights borough. Residents of the neighborhood have been “storming the field” in recent weeks and months in an attempt to dissuade school district officials from utilizing the land for the new school (64). However, the school district holds true ownership of the land, and has been leasing it to Clifton Heights for only \$1 per year under its current lease, which dates back to 1977. The Clifton Heights residents are also predominantly white, a fact that has been stirring up arguments across the school district. Community members in Beverly Hills claim that Drexel Hill residents do not want the school built there because they do not want “poor” (and predominantly nonwhite) students attending their schools, while Drexel Hill families dismiss that race or socioeconomic status plays a role in their stance on the matter (63). The latest

progress in the controversy is the approval of a multi-year facilities improvement plan that includes a study to determine the plausibility of building the new middle school on the Clifton Heights Athletic Field. The study will cost \$50,000 to \$60,000 (64).

As is seen through these happenings, UDSD has not been able to move forward with significant plans to make the district's racial balance more equitable among schools. There remains work to be done in the district to ensure an equitable public education for all students.

Policy Recommendations

Following research and data analysis, two explicit recommendations were made to the Upper Darby School District. First, the district should move forward with the construction of the third middle school. The district has almost no debt and can afford to build the new middle school in Clifton Heights. The location of the school in Drexel Hill may provoke pushback but it is the best option for the new school location due to the existing ownership of the land by UDSD. A third middle school will ease overcrowding in the existing two middle schools, especially in Beverly Hills Middle School. The current student population of Beverly Hills is 1,443 students; the current student population of Drexel Hill Middle School 1,289; the new middle school would host approximately 950 students, which would reduce the populations of each of the other middle schools to approximately 1,000 students. A third middle school in the district would provide students with more resources, and would likely improve student outcomes, especially among students attending Beverly Hills Middle School.

Second, the district should reconsider a significant change in attendance zone policy, perhaps a modification or adapted version of the fluid attendance zone proposal from Dunlap. For UDSD, this policy is feasible and holds potential to equalize racial representation among their elementary and middle schools. There has already been success with this concept with Aronimink Elementary School, which has been an important, if unintended, trial run of this method. On the contrary, students from Charles Kelly and Walter Senkow Elementary Schools are also already being bussed to schools located far outside their neighborhoods (Charles Kelly is not located in the neighborhood, Walter Senkow is located outside the district), although this is not beneficial at all as these schools are still racially imbalanced and low achieving by state standards. Currently, the attendance zone policy serves the students in Drexel Hill more than it serves students in Beverly Hills area. This finding confirms that of Siegel-Hawley, whose study also concluded that comparable attendance zone policies ought to be changed (30).

UDSD cannot claim colorblindness in these efforts if they are to reduce segregation. At the same time, UDSD should not move students across attendance zones solely on the basis of race, but should also consider other factors such as housing status, socioeconomic status, academic achievement, special accommodations, etc.

Limitations of Study and Future Research

While the researcher can speculate that the results of this study of Upper Darby are applicable to similar suburbs, the case-study nature of this project prevents this from being guaranteed. The research would be enhanced by a larger sample size analyzing similar data from a collection of suburbs. Compiling data from more than one community would allow for more concrete conclusions regarding the nature of resegregation of U.S. suburbs. Expanding this study to encompass other rapidly diversifying suburbs would also provide better extensive policy recommendations.

Other limitations of this study include the lack of available demographic data prior to 1987. This study was initially proposed to include racial demographic enrollment data dating back to the *Brown v. Board of Education* court decision in 1954, but this data is not publicly available. Data dating back to the beginning of mandated integration at the time of *Brown v. Board of Education* would enable additional conclusions to be made.

The research would have also been positively impacted if the Upper Darby School District had been a contributor to the data collection. The researcher attempted to connect with the school district and board members but was unable to do so. In further research regarding the Upper Darby community and school district, administrators, school board members, and other stakeholders should be involved in order to enact lasting change.

Future study should also analyze the role privatization plays in changing school demographics and segregation. This study determined that approximately 3,000 students from the Upper Darby School District opt for an alternative education to the public school system. However, the race/ethnicity of these students was not known, despite this undoubtedly playing a large role in the racial composition of the public schools in the district.

Further research should include an analysis of demographic changes in schools alongside a comprehensive analysis of housing policies and data including housing prices, demographics of homeowners in each school attendance zone, and should also examine differences between housing statistics, income and race between attendance zones. Due to lack of time, explicit

housing and real estate policies could not be collected or analyzed to a meaningful extent.

Lastly, this research study found that lower grade levels (i.e. elementary schools) are generally more racially homogeneous, demonstrated by the results from the misrepresentation index. This finding invites future study into the social implications of exacerbated racial segregation among younger students. But educational environments can shape young children's worldview before even their teen years, which would suggest potential major implications of racial segregation during this time (65). Further study should evaluate these implications and how they may shape America's youth and, therefore, our future.

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