

October 2016

update of the  
Oct. 2011 publication

# Research Brief

## School Integration and K-12 Outcomes: An Updated Quick Synthesis of the Social Science Evidence

By Roslyn Arlin Mickelson<sup>1</sup>

Some sixty years after the 1954 Brown decision declared separate schooling inherently unequal, America's student population is much larger and more demographically diverse. For many decades court mandated desegregation<sup>2</sup> plans were implemented, but today public schools are again largely segregated by race, ethnicity, and family socioeconomic status (SES). Does this resegregation of schools matter? Educational outcomes remain strongly correlated with individual students' own race and family background. If schools' racial and SES compositions are not contributing factors to inequitable student outcomes, we might lament segregated schooling in moral terms but choose to concentrate our policy reform efforts on the educational factors that influence achievement and attainment. But the preponderance of high quality social, educational, and behavioral science research disseminated since the late 1980s is clear and consistent: the racial and SES composition of schools

influences short- and long-term outcomes. And segregation is harmful for all students.<sup>3</sup>

To be sure, teachers, curricula, and pedagogy are essential components of the opportunities to learn we give our students. But they are not the only important ones. The social organization of schools and classrooms also contributes to the quality of students' education. Whether a school or classroom is racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse or segregated makes a critical difference in K-12 achievement outcomes across the curriculum. Specific findings about the short-term academic benefits of attending a diverse school show:

- Higher achievement in mathematics, science, language and reading.<sup>4</sup>
- Benefits accrue to all students in all grades but are greatest in middle and high school

1 Chancellor's Professor and Professor of Sociology, Public Policy, and Women and Gender Studies at University of North Carolina at Charlotte. RoslynMickelson@unc.edu. All the social, educational, and behavioral science research upon which this synthesis is based is available in a user-friendly searchable database named the Spivack Archive (<http://spivack.org>). The Spivack Archive can be searched by keywords, author, research design and methodology, or sample type. Its development is supported by grants to the author from the National Science Foundation, the Poverty and Race Research Action Council, and the American Sociological Association.

2 Desegregation generally refers to creating schools with diverse racial and ethnic compositions, while integration connotes diversity of the student body's composition, its cultural climate, and the educational processes and contents employed in it

3 Linn, R., & Welner, K. G. (2007). Race conscious policies for assigning students to schools: Social science research and Supreme Court cases. Washington, DC: National Academy of Education; Mickelson, R. A. (2008). Twenty-first century social science research on school diversity and educational outcomes. *Ohio State Law Journal*, 69, 1173–1228; Mickelson, R., & Nkomo, M. (2012). Integrated schooling, life course outcomes, and social cohesion in multiethnic democratic societies. *Review of Research in Education*, 36, 197–238. The voluminous citations for the findings presented in this Research Brief are available by request from the author.

4 Ali, R., & Perez, T. E. (2011, December). Guidance on the voluntary use of race to achieve diversity and avoid racial isolation in elementary and secondary schools. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division and U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights. Retrieved from <http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/edu/documents/guidanceelem.pdf>; Armor, D., & Watkins, S. (2006). School segregation and Black achievement: New evidence from the 2003 NAEP. In *The Benefits of Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Elementary and Secondary Education*, 28–49, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Bankston, C., & Caldas, S. (1996). Majority African American schools and social injustice: The influence of de facto segregation on academic achievement. *Social Forces*, 75(2), 535–555; Berends, M., & Peñalosa, R. (2010). Increasing racial isolation and test score gaps in mathematics: A 30-year perspective. *Teachers College Record*, 112, 978–1007; Borman, K., Eitle, T., Michael, D., Eitle, D., Lee, R., Johnson, L., & Shircliffe, B. (2004). Accountability in a post de-segregation era: The continuing significance of racial segregation in Florida's schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41, 605–634; Bohrnstedt, G., Kitmitto, S., Ogut, B., Sherman, D., & Chan, D. (2015). School Composition and the Black-White Achievement Gap. *National Center for Educational Statistics*; Brown-Jeffy, S. (2008). School effects: Examining the race gap in mathematics achievement. *Journal of African American Studies*, 13, 388–405; Condrón, D. (2009). Social class, school and nonschool environments, and Black/White inequalities in children's learning. *American Sociological Review*, 74, 685–708; Condrón, D. (2009). Social class, school and nonschool environments, and Black/White inequalities in children's learning. *American Sociological*

years, suggesting that the benefits cumulate over time.<sup>5</sup>

- Students from all racial and SES backgrounds benefit from diverse schools. Middle class white youths experience benefits from diversity as well, although low-income and disadvantaged minority youth gain the most.<sup>6</sup>
- The evidence of academic benefits is weakest for immigrant Asian and Latino English learners. Some research suggests English learners may benefit in the short term from attending schools with a critical mass of their coethnics, probably because doing so enhances the likelihood of their receiving appropriate English language programs at their school. However,

other research notes that learning English is fostered by attending school with English speakers.<sup>7</sup>

- There is no evidence that integrated schooling harms any demographic group at any age in any subject area.<sup>8</sup>
- The benefits of racial diversity overlap with those of SES diversity, but each offers unique effects for learners.<sup>9</sup>
- The multiple benefits of attending desegregated schools are intergenerational, extending from grandparents who attended desegregated schools, through their own children to their grandchildren who continue to realize the many benefits.<sup>10</sup>

note 4 continued

Review, 74, 685–708; Condrón, D. J., Tope, D., Steidl, C., & Freeman, K. (2013). Racial segregation and the Black/White achievement gap, 1992–2009. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 54, 130–57; Hallinan, M. (1998). Diversity effects on student outcomes: Social science evidence. *Ohio State Law Journal*, 59, 733–754; Hanushek, E., Kain, J., & Rivkin, S. (2009). New evidence about Brown v. Board of Education: The complex effects of school racial composition on achievement. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 27(3), 349–383; Harris, D. N. (2006). Lost learning, forgotten promises: A national analysis of school racial segregation, student achievement, and “controlled choice” plans. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress. Retrieved from <http://www.american-progress.org/wpcontent/uploads/issues/2006/11/pdf/lostlearning.pdf>; Johnson, R.C. (2011). Long-run impacts of school desegregation & school quality on adult attainments. National Bureau of Economic Research. Working Paper 16664; Mickelson, R. A. (2015). The Cumulative Disadvantages of First- and Second-Generation Segregation for Middle School Achievement. *American Educational Research Journal*, 52 (4): 657–692; Mickelson, R. (2008). Twenty-first century social science research on school diversity and educational outcomes. *Ohio State Law Journal*, 69, 1173–1228; Mickelson, R. A., Bottia, M., & Lambert, R. (2013). A meta-regression analysis of the effects of school and classroom composition on mathematics outcomes. *Review of Educational Research*, 83, 121–158; Mickelson, R. A., Bottia, M., Larimore, S., & Lambert, R. (2015). Does school racial composition matter for achievement: findings from metaregression analyses of the effects of school racial and ethnic composition on K-12 reading and mathematics test scores since 1990. In E. Frankenberg, (Ed). *Education and Civil Rights: Obstacles and Opportunities for Supporting Racial Diversity and Equity across the Educational Pipeline* (forthcoming); Mickelson, R., & Bottia, M. (2010). Integrated education and mathematics outcomes: A synthesis of social science research. *North Carolina Law Review*, 87, 993–1089; Mickelson, R., & Nkomo, M. (2012). Integrated schooling, life course outcomes, and social cohesion in multiethnic democratic societies. *Review of Research in Education*, 36, 197–238; Muller, C., Riegle-Crumb, C., Schiller, K., Wilkinson, L., & Frank, K. (2010). Race and academic achievement in racially diverse high schools: Opportunity and stratification. *Teachers College Record*, 112(4): 1038–1063; Palardy, G. J. (2013). High school socioeconomic segregation and student attainment. *American Educational Research Journal*, 50(4), 714–754; Rumberger, R., & Palardy, G. (2005). Does segregation still matter? The impact of student composition on academic achievement in high school. *Teachers College Record*, 107, 1999–2045; Ryabov, I., & Van Hook, J. (2007). School segregation and academic achievement among Hispanic children. *Social Science Research*, 36, 767–788; Vigdor, J., & Ludwig, J. (2008). Segregation and the test score gap. In K. Magnuson, & J. Waldfogel (Eds.), *Steady Gains and Stalled Progress* (pp. 181–211). New York, NY: Russell Sage.

5 Ibid, footnote 4.

6 Benner, A. D. and Crosnoe, R. (2011). The Racial/Ethnic Composition of Elementary Schools and Young Children’s Academic and Socioemotional Functioning. *American Educational Research Journal*, 48 (3), 621–646; Bottia, M., Giersch, J., Mickelson, R., Stearns, E., & Moller, S. (2015). Distributive Justice Antecedents of Race and Gender Disparities in First Year College Performance. *Social Justice Research*, published online 21 June 2015. DOI 10.007/s11211-015-0242-x; Bottia, M., Mickelson, R., Stearns, E., & Moller, S. (2016). The Role of High School Racial Composition and Opportunities to Learn in Students’ STEM College Participation, unpublished manuscript. Department of Sociology, UNC Charlotte; Brown-Jeffy, 1997, *ibid*; Garda, R. (2011). White interest in school integration. *Florida Law Review*, 63, 605. Brief of 553, 2007; Clayton, J. (2011). Changing diversity in schools: The impact on elementary student performance and achievement. *Education and Urban Society*. 43(6), 671–695; Mickelson & Nkomo, 2012 *ibid*; Page, S. (2008). *The Difference: How the Power of Diversity Creates Better Groups, Firms, Schools and Societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Siegel-Hawley, G. (2013). How nonminority students also benefit from racially diverse schools. Research Brief No. 8. The National Coalition on School Diversity. [www.school-diversity.org](http://www.school-diversity.org).

7 Callahan, R., Wilkinson, L., Muller, C., and Frisco, M. (2008). ESL Placement and the Schools: Effects on Immigrant Achievement. *Education Policy*, 23, 355–384; Cosentino de Cohen, C., N. Deterding, and B. C. Clewell. (2005) *Who’s Left Behind? Immigrant Children in High and Low LEP Schools*. Program for Evaluation and Equity Research. The Urban Institute. Washington, D.C.; Grigorenko, E. (2013). *US Immigration and Education. Cultural and Policy Issues Across the Lifespan*. New York: Springer; Grigorenko, E. (2010). *Conclusion. Commenting on What We Know and What We Need to Learn*. E. Grigorenko & R. Takahashi (Eds). (Pp. 289–296). *Immigration, Diversity, and Education*. New York: Routledge; Migration Policy Institute. (2011) *English Language Learners Information Center*. Washington, DC. Migration Policy Institute; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2012). *Untapped Skills: Realising the Potential of Immigrant Students*, Paris: Author. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2006). *Where Immigrant Students Succeed—A Comparative Review of Performance and Engagement in PISA 2003*, Paris: Author; Suarez-Orozco, C., & Suarez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). *Children of Immigrants*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Suarez-Orozco, C., Suarez-Orozco, M. M., & Todorova, I. (2008). *Learning a New Land: Immigrant Students in American Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

8 Ibid, footnote 4; *ibid*, footnote 6.

9 Choi, K., Raley, K., Muller, C., & Riegle-Crumb, C.. (2008). Class Composition: Socioeconomic Characteristics of Coursemates and College Enrollment. *Social Science Quarterly*. 89 (4): 846–866; Mayer, Susan. (1991). How Much Does a High School’s Racial and Socioeconomic Mix Affect Graduation and Teenage Fertility? In *The Urban Underclass* (C. Jencks and P. Peterson, Eds.): Pp. 321–341 Reardon, S. 2013. *The Widening Academic Achievement Gap Between Rich and Poor. New Evidence and Possible Explanations*. Pp. 91–116. In *Whither Opportunity? Rising Inequality, Schools, and Children’s Life Chances*. Duncan, G.J. & Murnane, R.J. (Eds). New York: Russell Sage Foundation; Palardy, G. (2013). High School Socioeconomic Segregation and Student Attainment. *American Educational Research Journal* 50, 714–754; Van Ewijk, R., and Slegers, P. (2010) “The effects of Peer Socioeconomic Status on Student Achievement: A Meta-analysis.” *Educational Research Review*. 5(2): 134–150.

10 Johnson, R.C. (2011). Long-run impacts of school desegregation & school quality on adult attainments. National Bureau of Economic Research. Working Paper 16664; Johnson, R. C. (2012). *The Long Legacy of School Desegregation*. Unpublished manuscript, Goldman School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley.

There are many reasons all learners are likely to benefit from attending integrated rather than racially and SES segregated schools. Some of these include:

- Teachers and school leaders are more experienced and highly qualified.<sup>11</sup>
- Highly qualified teachers and leaders are less likely to transfer to other schools.<sup>12</sup>
- Student populations are more stable.<sup>13</sup>
- School climates are more supportive of learning and studying.<sup>14</sup>
- Parent involvement is greater.<sup>15</sup>
- Greater resources are available in addition to the higher quality, more stable teacher resources.<sup>16</sup>

Because diverse K-12 schools are, on average higher functioning more stable organizations than racially or socioeconomically isolated schools, any curricular or pedagogic reforms implemented in them are more

likely to be effective sooner and more lasting compared to reforms implemented in segregated schools, where steady turnover of staff and students undermine the implementation and sustainability of any reform efforts.<sup>17</sup>

Additionally, diverse K-12 schools are positively associated with better post-secondary outcomes integrally linked to adults' status attainment. Those who go to diverse K-12 school are likely to

- Graduate from high school.<sup>18</sup>
- Enter and graduate from college.<sup>19</sup>
- Enter a science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) field.<sup>20</sup>
- Have higher occupational and income attainment.<sup>21</sup>
- Possess workplace readiness and interpersonal skills needed in the globalizing economy.<sup>22</sup>

- 
- 11 Jackson, K. (2009). Student Demographics, Teacher Sorting, and Teacher Quality: Evidence from the End of Desegregation. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 27 (2): 213-256;
- 12 Jackson, K. (2009). Student Demographics, Teacher Sorting, and Teacher Quality: Evidence from the End of Desegregation. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 27 (2): 213-256; Lankford, H., Loeb, S. & Wyckoff, J. (2002) Teacher Sorting and the Plight of Urban Schools: Descriptive Analysis 24 *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 24 (1): 37-62.
- 13 *ibid*, footnote 3; *ibid*, footnote, 4.
- 14 *ibid*, footnote 3; *ibid*, footnote, 4.
- 15 *ibid*, footnote 3; *ibid*, footnote, 4; Epstein, J. L. (2011). School, Family, and Community Partnerships: Preparing Educators and Improving Schools (Second Edition). Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Epstein, J. L., Sanders, M. G., Sheldon, S. B., et al. (2009). School, Family, and Community Partnership: Your Handbook for Action, Third Edition and Handbook CD. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press; Epstein, J. (1995). School/Family/Community Partnerships. *Phi Delta Kappan* 76,701-715
- 16 *ibid*, footnote 3; *ibid*, footnote, 4; Condron, D., & Roscigno, V. J. (2003) Disparities Within: Unequal Spending and Achievement in an Urban School District *Sociology of Education*, 76, 18-36; Klugman, J. (2012) How Resource Inequality Among High Schools Reproduces Class Advantages in College Destinations, *Research in Higher Education*, Vol. 53, 803-830; Payne, K., & Biddle, B. (1999) Poor School Funding, Child Poverty and Mathematics Achievement *Educational Researcher*, 28, 4-13; Roscigno, V. J., Tomaskovic-Devey, D., & Crowley, M. (2006). Education and the Inequalities of Place, *Social Forces*, 84, 2121-2145.
- 17 Basile, M. (2012). The Cost Effectiveness of Socioeconomic School Integration. In *All Together Now*. R. Kahlenberg, (ed). Pp. 127-151, Washington, DC: Century Foundation; Kirp, D.L., (2011). *Kids First. Five Big Ideas for Transforming Children's Lives and America's Future*. New York: Public Affairs.
- 18 Lane, J.T. (2014) *The Smoking Guns of Dropout Trends in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools: Exposure to School Racial and SES Segregation and Weak Academic Climate*. MA Thesis. Department of Sociology, UNC Charlotte; Billings, S., Deming, D., and Rockoff, J. (2014). School Segregation, Educational Attainment, and Crime: Evidence from the End of Busing in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 213-256; Saatcioglu, A. (2010). The hidden value of school desegregation: Disentangling school- and student-level effects of desegregation and resegregation on the dropout problem in urban high schools: Evidence from the Cleveland Municipal School District, 1977-1998. *Teachers College Record*, 112, 1391-1442; Swanson, C. (2005). Who graduates in the South? Retrieved <http://www.urban.org/publications/900817.html>
- 19 Choi, K., Raley, K., Muller, C., & Riegle-Crumb, C. (2008). Class composition: Socioeconomic characteristics of coursemates and college enrollment. *Social Science Quarterly*, 89, 846-866; Fletcher, J. & Tienda, M. (2010). Race and ethnic differences in college achievement: does high school attended matter? *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 627, 144-166; Gándara, P. (1995). *Over the Ivy Walls*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press; Jencks, C., & Mayer, S. (1990). The social consequences of growing up in a poor neighborhood. In L. E. Lynn Jr. & M. McGeary (Eds.), *Inner-city Poverty in the United States* (pp. 111-186). Washington, DC: National Academies Press.; McDonough, P. M. (1997). *Choosing Colleges: How Social Class and Schools Structure Opportunity*. Albany: State University of New York Press.; Teranishi, R., Allen, W. R., & Solorzano, D. G. (2004). Opportunity at the crossroads: Racial inequality, school segregation, and higher education in California. *Teachers College Record*, 106, 2224-2247; Teranishi, R., & Parker, T. (2010). Social reproduction of inequality: The racial composition of feeder schools to the University of California. *Teachers College Record*, 112, 1575-1601.; Trent, W. (1997). Outcomes of school desegregation: Findings from longitudinal research. *Journal of Negro Education*, 66, 255-257; Yun, J., & Moreno, J. F. (2006). College access, K-12 concentrated disadvantage, and the next 25 years of education research. *Educational Researcher*, 35(1), 12-19.
- 20 Bottia, M., Stearns, E., Mickelson, R., Moller, S., & Valentino, L. (2015). Growing the Roots of STEM Majors: Female Math and Science High School Faculty and the Participation of Students in STEM. *Economics of Education Review*, 45, 14-27; Giersch, J., Bottia, M., Mickelson, R. A., & Stearns, E. (2016). Exposure to School and Classroom Racial Segregation in Charlotte-Mecklenburg High Schools and Students' College Achievement. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*. 24 (32), 1-25.
- 21 Ashenfelter, O., Collins, W., & Yoon, A. (2006). Evaluating the role of Brown v. Board of Education in school equalization, desegregation, and the income of African Americans. *American Law and Economics Review*, 8, 213-248; Booser, M., Krueger, A. B., & Wolkon, S. (1992). Race and school quality since Brown v. Board of Education (Working Paper No. 4109). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research; Card, D., & Krueger, A. (1996). School resources and student outcomes: An overview of the literature and new evidence from North and South Carolina. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 10, 31-50; Card, D., & Krueger, A. (1992). School quality and black-white relative earnings: A direct assessment. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 107, 151-200. Gamoran, A., Co Guryan, J. (2004). Desegregation and black dropout rates. *American Economic Review*, 94, 919-914.; Johnson, R.C. (2011). Long-run impacts of school desegregation & school quality on adult attainments. National Bureau of Economic Research. Working Paper 16664.
- 22 Brief for 65 leading American businesses as amici curiae supporting respondents, *Gratz v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 244 (2003) (No. 02-516), and *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) (No. 02-241); Consolidated brief of Lt. Gen. Julius W. Becton, Jr. et al. as amici curiae supporting respondents, *Gratz v.*

Integrated K-12 education is positively related to several important nonacademic outcomes essential for individual and societal well-being. These include:

- A reduction in individual levels of racial and ethnic prejudice.<sup>23</sup>
- A break in the intergenerational perpetuation of stereotypes and fears of the “other.”<sup>24</sup>
- An increase in cross-racial trust and friendships among youths and adults.<sup>25</sup>
- An enhanced capacity for navigating multicultural settings.<sup>26</sup>
- An increased likelihood of choosing to live in integrated neighborhoods.<sup>27</sup>
- Better health and wellness among graduates of diverse schools.<sup>28</sup>

- Less juvenile and adult involvement with the criminal justice system.<sup>29</sup>

This quick synthesis of the empirical evidence from almost four decades of high quality social, educational, and behavioral science research additionally suggests that an integrated education can foster greater adherence to democratic values and enhances a person’s propensity for civic engagement. Such long-term nonacademic outcomes help build civic capacity in communities and can serve as the building blocks for greater social cohesion. In these ways, integrated education prepares youth to be citizens who can fully participate in creating a multiethnic, just, democratic society.<sup>30</sup>

note 22 continued

- Bollinger, 539 U.S. 244 (2003) (No. 02-516), and Grutter v. Bollinger, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) (No. 02-241); Gamoran, A., Collares, A. C., & Barfels, S. (2005, August). Does exposure to Whites help Blacks in the long run? Labor-market consequences of high school racial composition. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- 23 Braddock, J. H., III, & Gonzales, A. D. C. (2010). Social isolation and social cohesion: The effects of K–12 neighborhood and school segregation on intergroup orientations. *Teachers College Record*, 12, 1631–1653.; Davies, K., Tropp, L. R., Aron, A., Pettigrew, T. F., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Cross-group friendships and intergroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 15, 332-351; Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751–783.; Tropp, L. R., & Prenovost, M. (2008). The role of intergroup contact in predicting children’s interethnic attitudes: Evidence from meta-analytic and field studies. In S. R. Levy & M. Killen (Eds.), *Intergroup Attitudes and Relations in Childhood Through Adulthood* (pp. 236– 248). New York, NY: Oxford University Press; Stearns, E. (2010). Longterm correlates of high school racial composition: Perpetuation theory reexamined. *Teachers College Record*, 112, 1654–1678.
- 24 Ibid, footnote 23.
- 25 Ibid, footnote 23. Tropp, L. R., Aron, A., Pettigrew, T.F., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Cross-group friendships and intergroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 15, 332-351; Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751–783.; Tropp, L. R., & Prenovost, M. (2008). The role of intergroup contact in predicting children’s interethnic attitudes: Evidence from meta-analytic and field studies. In S. R. Levy & M. Killen (Eds.), *Intergroup Attitudes and Relations in Childhood Through Adulthood* (pp. 236– 248). New York, NY: Oxford University Press; Stearns, E. (2010). Longterm correlates of high school racial composition: Perpetuation theory reexamined. *Teachers College Record*, 112, 1654–1678.
- 26 Carter, P. (2005). *Keepin’ It Real*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press; Carter, P. (2012). *Stubborn Roots. Race, Culture, and Inequality in U.S. and South African Schools*. New York: Oxford University Press; Wells, A. S., Holmes, J. J., Revilla, A. T., & Atanda, K. (2009). *Both Sides Now: The Story of School Desegregation’s Graduates*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 27 Braddock, J. H., III, & Gonzales, A. D. C. (2010). Social isolation and social cohesion: The effects of K–12 neighborhood and school segregation on intergroup orientations. *Teachers College Record*, 12, 1631–1653; Goldsmith, P.R. (2010). Learning Apart, Living Apart: How the Racial and Ethnic Segregation of Schools and Colleges Perpetuates Residential Segregation. *Teachers College Record*, 112(6), 1602-1630; Kurlaender, M., & Yun, J. (2005). Fifty years after Brown: New evidence of the impact of school racial composition on student outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research and Practice*, 6, 51–78; Oliver, E. (2010). *Paradoxes of Integration: Race, Neighborhood, and Civic Life in Multiethnic America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.; Stearns (2010); Wells, et al., (2009).
- 28 Johnson, R.C. (2011). Long-run impacts of school desegregation & school quality on adult attainments. National Bureau of Economic Research. Working Paper 16664; Hahn, R. A. (2016). Racial and Ethnic Segregation as a Core Social Determinant of Public Health and Health Equity: A Persistent Public Health Challenge in the United States. Unpublished Manuscript, Center for Surveillance, Epidemiology and Laboratory Services E-69, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Atlanta, Georgia 30333.
- 29 Billings, S., Deming, D., & Rockoff, J. (2013). School segregation, educational attainment and crime: Evidence from the end of busing in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (2013) doi: 10.1093/qje/qjt026; Consolidated brief of Joseph E. Brann, Daniel J. Coulombe, Edward F. David, Ronald Davis, and Darrel Stephens as amici curiae in support of respondents Parents involved in community schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, 551 U.S. 701 (2007); Jencks, C., & Mayer, S. (1990). The social consequences of growing up in a poor neighborhood. In L. E. Lynn Jr. & M. McGahey (Eds.), *Inner-city Poverty in the United States* (pp.111–186). Washington, DC: National Academies Press; Johnson, 2011; LaFree, G., & Arum, R. (2006). The impact of racially inclusive schooling on adult incarceration rates among U.S. cohorts of African Americans and Whites since 1930. *Criminology*, 44, 73–103; Weiner, D., Lutz, B., & Ludwig, J. (2009). The effects of school desegregation on crime (NBER Working Paper No. 15380). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- 30 Jacobsen, R., Frankenberg, E., and Lenhoff, S. W. (2011). *Diverse Schools in a Democratic Society: New Ways of Understanding How School Demographics Affect Civic and Political Learning*. American Educational Research Journal, DOI: 10.3102/0002831211430352; Junn, J. (2004). Diversity, Immigration, and the Politics of Civic Education. *Political Science and Politics*. 37 (2): 253-255; Kahne, J. & Sporte, S. (2008). Developing Citizens: The Impact of Civic Learning Opportunities on Student Commitment to Civic Participation. *American Educational Research Journal* 45 (3): 738-766; Kahne, J., Chi, B., & Middaugh, E. (2006). Building Social Capital for Civic and Political Engagement: The Potential of High School Civics Courses. *Canadian Journal of Education* 29 (2): 387-409; Mickelson, R., & Nkomo, M. (2012). Integrated schooling, life course outcomes, and social cohesion in multiethnic democratic societies. *Review of Research in Education*, 36, 197–238; Mickelson, R. A., Smith, S. S., Nelson, A. H. (2015). *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow. School Desegregation and Resegregation in Charlotte*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press; Smith, S.S. (2004) *Boom for Whom? Education, Desegregation, and Development in Charlotte*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.