4

The School Attendance and Residential Location Balancing Act: Community, Choice, Diversity, and Achievement

Ellen B. Goldring and Walker Swain

One of the most important and oftentimes most contentious decisions local school boards across the United States make pertains to student assignment policies and attendance zones. Historically, with the advent of the common school by the mid-nineteenth century, parents had limited choices as to where to send their children to school. Local school boards drew school attendance zones based on geography and neighborhoods. The result of this linkage of school attendance and residential location is a long history of inequality in education because of residential segregation and stratification along racial and socioeconomic lines.

In response to these negative outcomes, numerous policies, often with the courts' involvement, have aimed to unlink this relationship through involuntary (i.e., busing) and voluntary (i.e., parent choice) approaches to improve both school outcomes and school diversity. More recent debates around balancing residential location and school attendance have refocused efforts on the importance of social capital and social networks for improving student outcomes, while raising new questions about the power of the neighborhood, the community, and new localism in education reform.

This chapter reviews the changing relationship between residential location and school attendance, focusing on three key phases (that are only loosely chronological): (1) linkages between school attendance and residential location, with implications for school inequality, school segregation, and peer effects; (2) the

unlinking of school attendance and residential location through court-mandated busing and parent choice options, including magnet schools, charter schools, and vouchers, with implications for school diversity and student achievement; and (3) the relinking of school attendance and residential location through unitary status agreements and closer-to-home schooling, with implications for school diversity, community engagement, and the new localism. The concluding section assesses the current status of the policy debates and discusses possible future relationships between residential location and student assignment.

Linkages Between School Attendance and Residential Location ——

In the American education system, schooling and residential location are intricately linked: student assignment to particular schools is determined by school boards that set attendance zones, which by and large are associated with geographic and residential location. As a consequence, residential neighborhoods influence both the quality and the racial and socioeconomic makeup of schools. The overarching outcomes of the close linkages between residential location and school attendance zones are racial and socioeconomic segregation, resource disparity, and achievement gaps.

SEGREGATED HOUSING PATTERNS

The segregated patterns of housing across the United States directly influence the segregation of the nation's schools. As noted by Taeuber (1974–1975, 842–843), "Where assignments of pupils to schools are based upon residential proximity, the racial composition of neighborhoods directly and obviously affects the racial composition of schools. Schools that serve predominantly white neighborhoods will be predominantly white; schools that serve racially mixed neighborhoods will have pupils of both races; and schools that serve predominantly black neighborhoods will be predominantly black." Taeuber also reminds us that school attendance zones influence patterns of housing as well: racially identifiable schools influence residential preferences. School boards determine, for example, school construction and new school locations. In the landmark case *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971),[1] the U.S. Supreme Court highlighted these issues, noting that school location and building were used to maintain segregation: "School authorities have sometimes, since *Brown*, closed schools which appeared likely to become racially mixed through changes in the neighborhood residential patterns. This was sometimes accompanied by building new schools in the areas of white suburban expansion farthest from Negro population centers in order to maintain the separation of the races with a minimum departure from the formal principles of 'neighborhood zoning'" (20–21).

---

1. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971).

By and large, students who are of similar racial backgrounds attend school together. Although in the South from 1964 to 1970, a higher and higher percentage of black students attended majority-white schools, mirroring the height of the desegregation efforts that continued through the 1980s, beginning in the 1990s the percentage of black students in majority-white schools declined sharply. Across the United States, more than 70 percent of black students were in predominantly minority schools as of 2001 (predominantly minority schools are those with 50–100 percent minority students). This trend was up significantly from the low point in the 1970s, when less than 60 percent of black children attended predominantly minority schools (Orfield 2001). In spite of the rapid increase in minority enrollments due to population changes, white students remain segregated in white schools, as they typically attend schools where 80 percent of the student body is white.

Patterns of continued residential segregation account for some of these trends in school segregation, despite some small decreases in segregated housing patterns (Massey and Gross 1991). Vigdor and Ludwig (2007) reported that residential segregation has declined only modestly since the 1970s. The average black American still lives in a majority-black neighborhood, although the percentage of blacks in these neighborhoods has decreased from 56 percent to 51 percent. They note, "The vast majority of neighborhoods that were predominantly black as of the 1970s remain predominantly minority" (6). Vergon (1994), relying on census data from the 1990s, noted the continued population growth of blacks in the suburbs, especially those closest to cities, but in terms of residential housing, he concluded, "the implications are clear: the opportunity for racial mixing are [*sic*] present in some metropolitan areas and neighborhoods with small proportions of black residents but there is little hope of reducing residential segregation in large urban areas with high proportions of black residents" (Vergon 1994, 490).

CONSEQUENCES OF SCHOOLS WITH CONCENTRATED POVERTY

Students who are in schools with mostly minority children tend to be in schools with concentrated poverty. As noted by Orfield, the average Hispanic student attended a school where 45 percent of the students were poor and qualified for free or reduced-price lunch. The average black student attended a school where 39 percent of the students were poor, compared to the average white student, who attended a school where 20 percent of the students were poor (Orfield 2001). Similarly, schools that are increasingly minority are increasingly poor. Eighty-seven percent of schools that had minority enrollments of 90 percent or more had student bodies in which at least 50 percent of the students were low-income, while only 17 percent of schools that had minority enrollments of 10 percent or less have student bodies in which 50 percent of the students were low-income.

The consequences of the continued linking of residential location to segregated schools are multifaceted. Schools with high concentrations of minority, poor, or low-achieving students tend to be staffed by less experienced, less qualified, and lower-paid instructional staff than schools with low concentrations of

these students (Baratz-Snowden 1975; Oakes 1990; Orfield and Mitzel 1984). There is also evidence suggesting that schools with concentrations of minority students are more likely to have inexperienced teachers (Barton 2003), less effective teachers (Sanders and Rivers 1996), and higher rates of teacher turnover (Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin 2005). Studies show that teachers with less experience and less knowledge are more likely to use ineffective instructional strategies (Smith and O'Day 1988) and produce smaller gains in student achievement (Henry, Bastian, and Fortner 2011).

Early research on teacher mobility indicated that new teachers tended to be placed in schools with higher concentrations of low–socioeconomic status (SES) students and that they transferred to higher-SES schools as they became more experienced (Greenberg and McCall 1974). Lankford, Loeb, and Wyckoff's (2002) more recent evaluation of teacher sorting in New York State updated those findings, taking advantage of rich longitudinal data regarding teachers' credentials and test scores, as well as the selectivity of the colleges they attended. They assessed both the general allocation of teachers based on their composite quality scores and the roles of teacher quality, salary, and school characteristics in predicting transfer or attrition. They found that more-qualified teachers are likely to take advantage of opportunities to leave difficult school situations in poor, urban schools. Teachers who transfer are more likely to be highly qualified than those who stay, and salary schedules do little to combat the trend toward increasingly inequitable distributions of highly qualified teachers.

Transfers between districts drive much of the effect of teacher mobility on the distribution of highly qualified teachers, where receiving districts are significantly less poor and more predominantly white and have smaller class sizes and higher salaries (Boyd et al. 2008; Lankford, Loeb, and Wyckoff 2002). Studies of teacher mobility in Georgia and North Carolina have found that the strongest predictor of teacher transfers in general, and even more so for teachers with the best credentials, is the racial makeup of schools, with teachers consistently exiting schools that are predominantly black, even in cases where salaries are equal or higher and the socioeconomic mix of the schools is similar (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor 2011; Scafidi, Sjoquist, and Stinebrickner 2007).

Research has consistently shown a strong relationship between the percentage of minority students in a school and the resources allocated to it in terms of class size, age and condition of facilities, teacher-to-student ratios, and per pupil expenditures (Baron 1971; Necochea and Cline 1996; Picus 1994). Furthermore, schools serving minority and low-income students tend to offer fewer advanced courses and fewer academic programs than other schools (Oakes 1990). In high schools with less than 10 percent minority children, 34 percent of classes are classified as high ability, while in secondary schools with more than 90 percent minority students, only 11 percent of course offerings are high ability (Orfield and Eaton 1996). Based on a review of the research, Harris and Herrington (2006, 224) conclude, "The evidence supports the notion that reduction in the achievement gap could still be obtained by increasing the capacity in the schools

attended by minority students; indeed significant improvements in the quality of these schools probably require it." However, Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin (2009), using data from elementary school students across Texas from the late 1990s and controlling for any fixed characteristics of the schools, including resources, found that the proportion of black students in a school negatively affects mathematics achievement for black students.

There is strong evidence confirming the relationship between school segregation and the black-white test score gap and adverse consequences of concentrated poverty for student achievement. In the mid-1960s, the Coleman Report (Coleman et al. 1966) clearly documented the influence of a school's socioeconomic class composition on student achievement. Subsequent research has also indicated a strong relationship between a school's socioeconomic composition and student achievement (Chaplin 2002). Vigdor and Ludwig's (2007) analysis of the relationship between the black-white achievement gap on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) within states and states' district-level segregation shows a strikingly strong positive correlation, with the test score gap nearly 50 percent larger in states with the highest levels of segregation. They also note that stalled decreases in the black-white achievement gap at the national level accompanied stalling school integration in the 1980s. Kaufman and Rosenbaum (1992) found that black youths who moved to the suburbs were more likely to complete high school and earn higher wages after high school, compared to those who remained in the cities. Wells and Crain (1997), in their comprehensive study of desegregation in St. Louis, concluded that desegregated schools were instrumental in raising achievement for black students and increasing their aspirations for college.

Using national data from the mid-2000s, Logan, Minca, and Adar (2012) further explored patterns of school attendance and student achievement. They found that Asian and white students are concentrated in the highest-performing schools, while blacks attend the lowest-performing schools, and Hispanics and Native Americans attend schools with performance similar to those attended by black students. These patterns are strongly linked to the levels of poverty in the schools, which is important because the authors found that black, Hispanic, and Native American students are almost exclusively clustered in high-poverty schools located in central cities or racially mixed areas. However, "even after controlling for poverty and other factors," the authors note, they found "substantial race differences" in school performance (297). They conclude, "Decades after the *Brown v. Board* desegregation order, separate and unequal continues to be the pattern in American public education" (298).

The mechanisms by which racial composition affects student achievement are complex. Explanations include low expectations of teachers, motivational and peer pressures, and insufficient and unequal opportunities to learn, including inadequate resources, ineffective teachers, and tracking by rigid ability groups, such as non-college-bound tracks. It is important to note that peers are consequential beyond their impact on student achievement. Some scholars note the

importance of school and classroom diversity for reducing prejudice, developing complex thinking, promoting long-term life chances, and working with people from other backgrounds (Frankenberg 2011).

The case is strong: the linkages between residential location and schooling are robust. These linkages result in schools that are stratified by race, social class, and opportunities for learning; they influence both educational and social outcomes for youths in terms of academic achievement. It is precisely because of these linkages and the desire to give students an equal opportunity to attend high-quality schools that policies, some voluntary and some mandated by legislation or the courts, were developed to unlink the relationships between residential location and school attendance. The next section presents the major policy efforts that have attempted to decouple the schools that children attend from their residential locations.

The Unlinking of School Attendance and Residential Location ———

Since *Brown v. Board of Education*,[2] efforts have been made nationwide to break the robust relationship between residential location and school attendance and to mitigate its negative consequences for poor and minority students. This section reviews various attempts to unlink the relationship between residential location and schooling, including school integration and busing; parent choice policies such as magnet schools, charter schools, and school vouchers; and efforts to achieve school diversity through controlled choice policies, which often focus on limiting socioeconomic isolation.

DESEGREGATION EFFORTS

On May 17, 1954, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously decided that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" (3) and that de jure systems of racially segregated schools violate the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution. Later, in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*[3] (1968) and *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), the Court ruled that parental choice remedies were insufficient to overcome de facto segregation based on housing patterns and outlined policies to affirmatively dismantle discriminatory systems, including the use of cross-district busing and establishing numerical ratios of students by race. These landmark cases not only struck major blows to a pillar of the racially segregated South (that is, separate schools for black and white children); they also created the first major fissure between families' residential locations and the schools the children would attend.

---

2. *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

3. *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, 391 U.S. 430 (1968).

In the wake of these Supreme Court rulings, the racial composition of public schools in the South was radically transformed. In a few decades, the South went from having the most-segregated schools to the most-integrated schools of any region in the country (Clotfelter 1999), despite increases in residential segregation in the region (Rivkin 1994). From 1968 to 1988, the percentage of black students attending majority-white schools in the South increased from 18 to 44 percent. In the same time period, the percentage of blacks in majority-white schools in the Northeast declined from 33 to 23 percent (Orfield and Monfort 1992).

Desegregation was not limited to areas where it was mandated by the courts (Logan, Oakley, and Stowell 2008), and even at its peak, the move toward more-integrated schools did not follow a uniform trajectory toward increased racial balance. Increased interracial contact resulted in a significant decline in white enrollment in public school systems, particularly in, but not limited to, those districts implementing court-ordered desegregation plans (Wilson 1985). While the exodus of white students from integrated school districts increased between-district segregation, this effect was significantly outweighed by increased within-district integration (Logan, Oakley, and Stowell 2008).

More recent studies of the impact of school desegregation on student outcomes have generally found positive effects for black students and no negative impacts for their white peers (Braddock 2009; Dawkins 1983; Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin 2009; Vigdor and Ludwig 2007). Two studies using longitudinal data from Texas, employing a range of fixed effects (Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin 2009) and exploiting plausibly random variation across cohorts (Hoxby 2000), found that a 10 percent decrease in black classmates is associated with an approximately 0.10 standard deviation gain in reading and a slightly smaller but significant gain in math. Although Vigdor and Ludwig (2007) hesitate to make any causal claims, their analysis of the relationship between the state-level black-white achievement gap on NAEP and states' district-level segregation shows a strikingly strong positive correlation, with a test score gap nearly 50 percent larger in states with the highest levels of segregation. Vigdor and Ludwig highlight stalling school integration in the 1980s, accompanied by stalled decreases in the black-white achievement gap at the national level: between 1970 and 1980, the black-white reading gap shrank by approximately 0.5 standard deviation, but it has barely budged since. They also analyzed the effects of neighborhood segregation and found little evidence of residential segregation affecting student achievement beyond the significant effects of school segregation.

PARENT CHOICE POLICIES

Parent choice policies, including magnet schools, charter schools, and voucher programs, are key mechanisms for unlinking the relationship between residential location and school attendance. In the early 1970s, districts first began experimenting with parent choice through magnet schools, often referred to as "voluntary integration programs," as a less coercive means of promoting school integration than cross-district busing (Goldring 2009). The theory behind magnet schools is

relatively simple: desirable special programs, such as performing arts, math and science, or computer engineering, are put in schools situated in neighborhoods with large minority populations in order to attract white students. Some magnets operate as a school within a school, accepting and offering special programs to students outside the attendance zone through an application process, while the school's residentially zoned students are excluded from the program. Others operate as dedicated magnets that have no attendance zone and enroll students only by districtwide application, sometimes competitively based on academic criteria. A third type of magnet provides the special magnet program to all students but enrolls a mix of students from the attendance zone and students who apply from outside the zone.

The evidence of magnet schools' effects on racial diversity is as mixed as the assortment of programs offered. Because of the complex contextual differences—some operate in urban districts that are almost entirely minority; some are elite, academically selective public schools—it is difficult to draw general conclusions about magnets' efficacy as drivers of diversity (Goldring 2009). Similarly, estimates of the effects of magnet school attendance on academic achievement are decidedly inconsistent, though more studies have found positive effects than negative effects (Ballou 2009). The only clear general findings about magnet schools are that they are growing in number (a 53 percent increase from 1997 to 2005), they are popular (more than 75 percent receive more applications than they have spaces), and they are changing the traditional linkage between residential location and school attendance by operating without traditional school attendance zones (Ballou 2009).

Unlike their magnet school predecessors, charter schools, a more recent parent choice option, are not specifically designed to improve the diversity of their respective student bodies. Charter schools are generally promoted as both laboratories for innovation and mechanisms to increase competition and thereby quality (Hanushek et al. 2007; Teske and Schneider 2001). This market-based school choice theory assumes that when parents are given a choice of where to send their children, schools will be more responsive to parents' desires or needs and will either improve or see their enrollment dwindle (Hanushek et al. 2007; Teske and Schneider 2001).

In comparison with low-performing traditional public schools, charter schools with low student achievement are substantially more likely to close (Stuit 2012). However, among the relatively small percentage of charters that do close, few do so because the authorizers revoke their charters. The majority close voluntarily because they failed to attract students and the funding that follows (Palmer and Gau 2003). While charters affect a relatively small proportion of students overall, they have garnered a great deal of attention, and in some urban centers, such as Milwaukee, New Orleans, and Washington, DC, they have dismantled traditional notions of attendance zones and transformed the management and provision of public education. Because charters lack a traditional attendance zone, their size and demographic makeup are subject to parent choice

and fluctuation. When a charter school thrives or develops a strong reputation, the number of applications it receives exceeds its capacity, and it is generally required by law to make admission decisions randomly through a lottery system in order to equalize opportunity for students to enroll (Gleason et al. 2010; Tuttle, Gleason, and Clark 2012).

Several studies have found that parent sorting into charter schools has increased racial segregation and socioeconomic isolation (Bifulco and Ladd 2006, 2007; Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley, and Wang 2010). Using panel data that tracked the movements of North Carolina students over time, Bifulco and Ladd (2006, 2007) found that parental preferences, based in part on the location and recruitment practices of charter schools, resulted in both black and white students attending schools that were more racially isolated than those they previously attended. They also note that a significant portion of the segregating effects for black students was associated with schools that specifically served minority or at-risk students. A 2010 study of charter schools in 40 states found that the trend of higher rates of racial and socioeconomic concentration held true across the country, with particularly isolating effects on black students (Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley, and Wang 2010). In the 2007–2008 school year, the authors estimate that nearly 30 percent of charter school students attended high-poverty schools (greater than 75 percent free or reduced-price lunch), compared to 16 percent of traditional public school students. These findings may not be surprising, as many charter schools strive to provide an alternative to failing traditional public schools and, by mission, focus on at-risk students, who are predominantly poor and minority. The goals of many charter schools to concentrate resources in order to elevate the opportunities and academic achievement of poor and minority students in isolation represent a significant policy shift from prior efforts to increase access to white, middle-class schools through integration.

Findings regarding the effects of charter schools on student achievement have been decidedly mixed. The most rigorous early studies of charter schools utilized longitudinal data and propensity score matching to assess differences in academic achievement that could be attributed to attending a charter school. Studies in Texas, North Carolina, and Florida indicate that students in charter schools experienced smaller (North Carolina and Florida) or equal (Texas) gains in achievement than they would have had they remained in traditional public schools (Bifulco and Ladd 2006; Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin 2002; Sass 2006). Several of the studies attributed the negative effects to the high degree of student turnover, particularly in new charter schools. Sass's (2006) evaluation of Florida's charter schools found negative impacts overall on student achievement, but positive effects in schools that had been operating for at least five years.

More recently, researchers have looked to the charter lottery as a means of conducting natural experiments that allow for more rigorous, unbiased estimates of charter school impacts (Angrist et al. 2010; Angrist, Pathak, and Walters 2011; Deming et al. 2011; Dobbie and Fryer 2009; Gleason et al. 2010; Hastings, Neilson, and Zimmerman 2012; Hoxby and Murarka 2009; Hoxby and Rockoff

2004). Because oversubscribed charter schools are required to make admissions decisions by random lottery, researchers compare the students who are "lotteried in" (winners) to those who are "lotteried out" (losers) on outcomes of interest (academic achievement, graduation rates, college attendance) and attribute any differences to the impact of attending the charter school. In theory, this design allows for stronger causal inference than earlier quasi-experimental approaches, but findings cannot be generalized to the majority of charter schools, which are not oversubscribed (Tuttle, Gleason, and Clark 2012).

Generally, these lottery-based studies find small positive, statistically significant effects of charter school attendance for lottery winners relative to lottery losers, with average effect sizes of approximately one-tenth of a standard deviation. While most scholars acknowledge that these lottery-based findings can be generalized only to popular charter schools, many argue that the findings indicate that charters could make a big difference if society could somehow increase the number of high-performing ones and decrease the number of low-performing ones (Zimmer and Buddin 2009). These studies form the strongest empirical basis for the policy of charter school expansion, which in certain areas of the country has been exponential. However, the largest lottery-based evaluation to date, using data from 36 oversubscribed charters in 15 states, failed to find significant benefits for charter school attendance (Tuttle, Gleason, and Clark 2012). It also estimated that oversubscribed charter schools, which are generally populated with higher-performing students and concentrated in urban areas, are less common than typically reported.

A similar competitive market logic served as the foundation for the policy of granting parents vouchers for their children to attend private schools, another mechanism to unlink residential location and school attendance. Since the 1950s, voucher advocates such as Milton Friedman (1955) have argued that the best way to promote student achievement is to break the monopolistic hold of public schools on the families that live within their attendance zones. Only recently have policy makers begun to experiment with implementation, generally targeting the vouchers to low-income students in low-performing urban schools. Voucher initiatives that cover some or all of the costs of students' attendance at participating private schools free eligible parents from the restrictions of district assignment plans, thereby decoupling their residential location from the schools their children attend. However, like some charter schools, many voucher schools fail to provide transportation, significantly limiting the opportunities for low-income parents to enroll their children in schools far from where they live (Goldhaber 1999).

The body of research on the effects of vouchers on student achievement is still small, and findings are at best mixed. An early quasi-experimental evaluation of the voucher system in Milwaukee found negative or insignificant effects on a range of achievement measures using a series of alternate comparison groups (Witte 1998). More recently, a series of privately funded experiments in Dayton, Ohio; New York City; and Washington, DC, found no effects overall, but some

significant gains for black students who took advantage of the vouchers (Howell et al. 2002). Despite the lack of evidence for increased learning, parents were generally more satisfied with the private schools they chose than those parents who were not offered vouchers. In the federally funded Opportunity Scholarship Program, which offers private school vouchers to low-income students in Washington, DC, parents who received vouchers were more satisfied with their children's schools than parents of children who were lotteried out, but the lottery-winning students rated the schools the same as the lottery losers (Wolf et al. 2009). After three years in the voucher schools, the lottery winners performed significantly better in reading than those who were lotteried out, but they did no better in math. An evaluation of the long-term effects of private school vouchers was performed on students who participated in the New York City voucher experiment mentioned previously. Chingos and Peterson's (2012) analysis of college attendance rates for these students found no overall effect of private school attendance. However, these researchers did find a statistically significant positive effect on college enrollment for African American participants. Use of the vouchers to attend private elementary schools increased college enrollment by 24 percent.

It is worth noting that parent choice policies do not necessarily decouple residential location and schooling because parents often choose schools based on their racial mix and geographic proximity. Research on why parents choose schools other than neighborhood public schools, whether they be magnet, charter, or voucher schools, has repeatedly found that academic quality is a primary element in their choice process. Equally important are geographic proximity and the racial makeup of the schools. Bell (2007, 2009), for example, found that school location in terms of perceptions of neighborhood safety, stability, and ease of transportation was part of parents' early consideration of school choices. Smrekar and Goldring (1999) found that parents (whites more than blacks) were more likely to choose a magnet school located closer to home or in their own neighborhood, and more than half of the parents noted that the racial/ethnic mix of a school was important in their choice process. Similarly, Saporito (2003) found that white parents tended to leave neighborhood schools that had more minority students, in favor of magnet schools that had higher white enrollments, but this pattern was not evident for black parents.

CONTROLLED CHOICE POLICIES

Increasingly popular as an alternative to traditional student assignment plans, controlled choice policies seek to marry individual parent choice with a commitment to equitable opportunity and diversity, often with an emphasis on socio-economic integration (Kahlenberg 2001, 2012). Controlled choice policies such as those implemented in Wake County, North Carolina; Cambridge, Massachusetts; and Louisville, Kentucky, allow parents a great deal of choice in the schools their children attend, but they cap the number of high-poverty or racial minority students enrolled in each school to protect against the isolation of disadvantaged students and to ensure diversity. In some cases, they eliminate any mandatory

attendance zones, making all schools open enrollment. Parents submit a list of their school preferences and are then matched to a school to minimize travel time and maintain specified levels of socioeconomic integration in the schools. These policies' success in eliminating schools with high concentrations of disadvantaged students hinges in part on the merging of urban and suburban school districts to ensure adequate within-district diversity (Kahlenberg 2001). This presents a substantial obstacle both politically and logistically to the policies' implementation in racially isolated urban school districts.

Reardon, Yun, and Kurlaender's (2006) analysis of SES-based, race-neutral controlled choice policies found that the conceptualization or formulation of a policy has a strong impact on the degree to which it results in significant socioeconomic integration. They found that income-based policies generally do not guarantee improved racial integration, but that policies that use a more nuanced definition of socioeconomic status, including measures of wealth or parental education along with income, and policies that require tighter conformity to the overall socioeconomic mix of the district promote greater racial balance.

Despite the widespread implementation of various desegregation, parent choice, and controlled choice policies to try to sever the relationship between residential location and school attendance, the results have been mixed in terms of both improving the racial and socioeconomic diversity in schools and improving educational outcomes for children.

The Relinking of School Attendance and Residential Location ———

As the courts ended many desegregation orders, new questions rooted in notions of social capital, community, and social networks emerged as to the relationship between geography, location, and schooling, despite ongoing evidence of resegregation. The realization that parent choice policies provide options for only a small number of children to attend schools without mandatory attendance zones has also led to a renewed focus on improving educational quality for all students, regardless of the location of schools. This section presents a review of perspectives on localism and arguments for a return to closer-to-home schooling. It also addresses efforts to integrate schools through housing policies that improve the socioeconomic diversity of neighborhoods.

LIFTING DESEGREGATION ORDERS AND IMPLEMENTING UNITARY STATUS AGREEMENTS

An increasing number of federal courts have lifted desegregation orders in urban school districts. The removal of a mandatory desegregation stricture is known as a "grant of unitary status" (where a court determines the district has made adequate progress toward eliminating the vestiges of the segregated system) and is often associated with a return to neighborhood schools, or schools that are closer to home (Smrekar and Goldring 2009). More recently, in the landmark

case *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*[4] (2007), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that explicit race-based student assignment is unconstitutional. This trend has resolidified the linkage between residential location and school attendance. Magnet schools and other parent choice systems, in the absence of court orders and strict racial quotas, largely failed to provide the diversity they were once championed to promote (Goldring 2009; Orfield and Frankenberg 2012).

Studies of post–unitary status assignment plans have generally found negative effects on both school diversity and achievement. An and Gamoran (2009) analyzed the trends in school segregation alongside unitary status agreements and documented an increase in the association between school segregation and residential segregation. They conclude, "In general, black-white and Latino-white school segregation increased after a district was declared unitary" (41), and "the association between school and residential segregation increased between 1990 and 2000" (43). Billings, Deming, and Rockoff's (2012) analysis of the post–unitary status resegregation of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg public school district found that newly drawn residential attendance zones that assigned black students to schools with a higher percentage of blacks than the schools they previously attended resulted in decreased achievement, increased behavior problems, a greater likelihood of being arrested, and a lower likelihood of attending college.

THE NEW LOCALISM: LINKING COMMUNITIES AND SCHOOLS

Supporters of unitary status link the return to closer-to-home neighborhood schools with enhanced possibilities for resource sharing and increased parent involvement and social capital (Goldring et al. 2002). This shift situates the family, the school, and the neighborhood as interdependent systems that together are responsible for socializing the next generation of America's children. As one advocacy group maintains, "Neighborhood schools must be an option for parents of poor minority children, as such schools can provide stability, contribute to a sense of community, and make it easier for parents to become involved in their children's education" (Kersten 1995, 6). Thus, reformers believe that the relationship between residential location and schools can be advantageous for school improvement.

The move toward national standards and accountability reforms, together with strengthening neighborhood schools to partner with communities in order to promote learning, has been termed the "new localism" (Crowson, Goldring, and Haynes 2010; Crowson and Goldring 2009). The new localism suggests that the local community must be at the center of federal and state policies for improving educational outcomes. The notion of developing community capacity for school improvement is fundamental to a renewed view that residential location need not be an impediment to quality education, especially given that the strong linkage

---

4. *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 551 U.S. 701 (2007).

between residential location and schooling outcomes will remain in place for the large majority of children in the United States. Interestingly, the new localism is a resurgence of a movement that developed in the late 1980s to coordinate family and children's services in the schools in an attempt to overcome fragmented social services in most communities, including welfare assistance, employment training, health and wellness care, parenting classes, and new immigrant services (Smrekar and Mawhinney 1999).

The theoretical underpinnings of community-school linkages rest on developing strong social capital and social networks in the community at large, versus simply placing enhanced services in schools. Perhaps the most prominent example of a successful community or neighborhood place-based approach is the Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ). The high-profile nonprofit provides a range of coordinated education and social services to low-income residents of a 100-square-block neighborhood in Harlem, New York (Whitehurst and Croft 2010). Families living in the HCZ neighborhood have access to extensive early childhood educational programming, parenting classes, fitness and nutrition programs, academic advisers, and after-school programs.

Critics of the broader social elements of the initiative have argued that the academic benefits of the HCZ are largely driven by its high-quality charter schools (Curto, Fryer, and Howard 2010; Dobbie and Fryer 2009) and that similar Promise Neighborhood initiatives represent unnecessary expenditures if their aim is to elevate student achievement. (Promise Neighborhoods is a program of the U.S. Department of Education that provides large grants for the development of community-based coordinated interventions to improve student outcomes.) These researchers reached this conclusion by comparing the outcomes for students who lived in the residential zone for HCZ services and also attended the neighborhood charter schools versus those for students who won the lottery (open to all New York City students) to be in the HCZ charter schools but lived outside the zone and thus lacked access to HCZ social services (Curto, Fryer, and Howard 2010; Dobbie and Fryer 2009). Adjusting for observable characteristics, they found that there were no statistically significant differences in school performance between these two groups (Dobbie and Fryer 2009). Another critical evaluation found that students in the HCZ schools were outperformed by demographically comparable students in nearly half of the other New York City charter schools, which generally do not provide similar comprehensive social services (Whitehurst and Croft 2010). However, it is difficult to say whether these two groups represent a fair comparison, as all students who live within the residential zone are actively recruited to apply for admission to the HCZ charter schools, while those who apply from outside the zone demonstrate considerable parental motivation to apply and navigate the system.

NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Within the framework of the new localism and neighborhood schools is a marked shift in the focus of education reform from one that was concerned with student

assignment to schools to one that is more concerned with student outcomes. In 2002, Congress amended and reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965); the new act is commonly referred to as No Child Left Behind (NCLB). In the wake of the monumental act, which passed with bipartisan support and was publicly billed by supporters as a civil rights victory, the policy focused almost entirely on the goal of improving student test scores and closing achievement gaps, regardless of where students attended school. The act mandated all states to develop accountability systems based on annual tests aligned with statewide standards. States were required to set school-level performance targets for adequate yearly progress and to report school test scores disaggregated by race, ethnicity, and free or reduced-price lunch status. William Boyd (2003, 7) described the shift as a "change in focus from inputs *to* the system to the outcomes and accountability *of* the system." The aim to create a diverse mix of students in a school building was essentially left behind (Orfield and Frankenberg 2012). In this new policy environment, teachers and school leaders are accountable for all students' meeting common academic standards, regardless of the racial or socioeconomic status of the students in the school and the peers of those students.

Harris and Herrington (2006) note that the recent emphasis on accountability has failed to promote a more equitable exposure to resources and academic content. They explain how the market-based accountability reforms of NCLB and its state-level predecessors, which placed pressure on the schools to meet minimum benchmarks for measurable outcomes, represent a shift from 1980s standards-based accountability policies that focused on increasing the exposure of all students to challenging course work and elevating graduation requirements. The previous policies, they believe, have the potential to shrink achievement gaps through equalizing resources, while the new policies can result in a growth in those gaps if incentives are not properly aligned. They present correlational evidence of test score and policy trends that support this theory, showing that the 1990s growth in market-oriented accountability policies coincided with a general growth (or stagnation) in achievement gaps.

Evaluations of the impact of these accountability policies, though mixed, have raised important concerns. Although a few studies have indicated an association between implementation of NCLB and significant overall achievement gains (Dee and Jacob 2009; Hanushek and Raymond 2005), they have also found that stronger accountability systems are associated with increases in racial achievement gaps and with difficulty attracting teachers to, and retaining teachers in, low-performing schools (Boyd et al. 2008; Clotfelter et al. 2004).

HOUSING VOUCHERS AND POLICIES

Some scholars and policy makers have sought to address racial and social isolation within the framework of traditional student assignment plans through housing policies such as low-income vouchers and inclusionary zoning. These policies have sought to improve the diversity of schools by directly addressing the issue

of economically isolating housing patterns, thereby enabling students to attend diverse neighborhood schools in integrated communities.

One example is Montgomery County, Maryland's inclusionary zoning policy, which requires real estate developers in the rapidly growing community to set aside a proportion of all newly built homes for affordable housing rented or sold at below-market rates. Since the beginning of the policy in 1974, the local housing authority has purchased nearly 10 percent of the roughly 12,000 affordable units sprinkled across almost every school attendance zone in the county. Because applications for the public housing units far exceed the availability, homes are assigned to applicants on the basis of a lottery, and because residential location and school assignment are linked, students are subsequently randomly assigned to the schools in the attendance zone of their new home.

Schwartz (2010) utilized this natural experiment to estimate the longitudinal impact of student assignment to a low-poverty school in a low-poverty neighborhood. She found that students assigned to public housing zoned for low-poverty schools perform significantly better than those assigned to public housing zoned for medium-poverty schools, in spite of the additional resources the school district allocates to the poorer schools. In fact, by the end of elementary school, low-poverty schools close the initially large achievement gaps between students in public housing and their nonpoor classmates by approximately half in math and a third in reading. Each additional year in a low-poverty school was associated with a significant improvement in achievement for both subjects among students living in the integrated public housing.

On the surface, Schwartz's study seems to contradict the most frequently cited results of evaluations of the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment. (MTO was a randomized controlled experiment conducted by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development designed to test the effects of offering housing vouchers to families to leave high-poverty neighborhoods.) These studies have found that moving to a less poor neighborhood has small significant effects in the early grades (Katz, Kling, and Liebman 2001; Ladd and Ludwig 2003) that fade out by the time students hit middle school (Kling, Liebman, and Katz 2007; Sanbonmatsu et al. 2006). However, more recent reevaluations of MTO highlight the role of parental (constrained) school choice in mitigating the effects of the housing voucher (DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2010). Nearly 80 percent of families who used the housing voucher elected to keep their children in the schools they had attended prior to the move (Briggs et al. 2008), and those that did change schools still attended schools that were majority poor and low performing, though better than the schools of control students who did not move (Ladd and Ludwig 1997). By contrast, Schwartz's treatment group attended low-poverty schools, in which less than 20 percent of the students qualified for free or reduced-price lunch.

Odis Johnson's (2012) review of twenty-seven evaluations of seven different housing programs that relocate students from centers of concentrated poverty found that none of the programs studied since the Gautreaux experiment in

Chicago (Peroff et al. 1979) have come close to replicating the improvements in the racial or socioeconomic composition of the schools students attend. In most post-Gautreaux housing voucher studies, the students who changed neighborhoods experienced only modest improvements in the academic performance of their peers, and in all cases a substantial number of students remained in the schools they had attended prior to the move. Students in the programs generally experienced some early gains, but they faded within four years.

Johnson (2012) attributes some of the failings of the programs to an inability to meet a threshold for change in neighborhood and school demographics, but he also notes a range of social barriers to students feeling fully incorporated into their new communities and schools. While he outlines some ways that these types of integrative housing policies could be improved to ensure that students who move are positioned for academic success, he also notes the trade-off between policies that seek to move students out of their troubled communities and policies, like Promise Neighborhoods, that seek to transform communities.

Conclusions

In few places is the fundamental dilemma posed by the relationship between residential location and student attendance more palpable than in Memphis, Tennessee. For over a decade, Memphis City Schools has been a focal point for school reforms aimed at improving teacher and leadership quality and improving achievement in overwhelmingly poor neighborhood schools. With the help of a $90 million grant from the Gates Foundation, an influx of some high-performing charter schools, and a series of reforms targeting the improvement of teacher quality, the district has made some tangible gains in student achievement (in 2011, the largest test score gains in the state). Schools such as the recently renovated, historically black Manassas High serve as genuine pillars of their communities. Students see teachers as family, and new school leaders have demonstrated a deep commitment to the communities they serve (Garland 2012).

In 2011, however, in the face of potential lost revenue from suburban districts, a largely intractable status as the poorest, lowest-performing district in the state, the city of Memphis district leadership proposed a radical plan. Before their legislatively mandated ties with the surrounding school districts were severed, they dissolved the metro city school district into the suburban school systems, opening the door to a level of racial and socioeconomic integration that district boundaries had blocked for decades. The predominantly poor, black Memphis city school system consolidated with the surrounding Shelby County school system.

The challenges of diversity, community, choice, and achievement are coming to bear on the implementation of the merger. Opposition from the surrounding suburbs is strong, and bureaucratic and logistical barriers are numerous. If history is any guide, integration plans would impose an unequal burden on the

predominantly black schools, their community-based programs, and the students who attend them. Moves would stress students' existing social networks, and incorporation into new communities would be limited. The dilemmas remain. In fact, the consolidation efforts are mostly focused on funding redistribution and governance, not integration. As one legal scholar noted, "The border between Memphis and Shelby will be gone, but it is all but certain that school catchment districts and assignment policies will not change, thus preserving the racial demographics of specific schools" (Anderson 2012, 55).

Yet, as U.S. secretary of education Arne Duncan expressed in his open letter condemning the dismantling of Wake County, North Carolina's merger-based diversity plan, "In an increasingly diverse society like ours, racial isolation is not a positive outcome for children of any color or background. School is where children learn to appreciate, respect and collaborate with people different from themselves" (Duncan 2011). Furthermore, the overarching evidence described in this chapter indicates that high concentrations of minority and low-income students negatively affect those students' achievement. There is also some evidence that improved access to low-poverty schools is significantly more effective in closing achievement gaps than is providing additional resources to schools targeting at-risk students (Billings, Deming, and Rockoff 2012; Schwartz 2010).

The developments in Memphis and Shelby County are not unique. Other city-suburban plans have addressed school policies in a regional and coordinated manner. Siegel-Hawley (2013) studied four such consolidated and merged systems, examining how district boundaries and school desegregation policies influenced both school and housing integration over time. She found that in those systems with stable city-suburban desegregation plans, black-white housing segregation declined over a decade, but then increased when those desegregation plans were dismantled. She concludes, "School policy can indeed become housing policy" (17).

A more comprehensive approach by local governments to addressing school issues alongside other social welfare challenges, rather than isolating school policy and planning as discrete from those other concerns, is consistent with the ideas of the new localism but could also facilitate decreased racial and socioeconomic isolation, as we saw in Schwartz's (2010) evaluation of the Montgomery County, Maryland, housing policy. Henig (2013) makes the case that local school governance is increasingly becoming part of general-purpose government. Thus, he argues, school policies and politics will be increasingly intertwined with other local domestic policy issues, such as housing and welfare. An expanded local government focus of mayors and city councils on school, housing, and social service policies together might then provide a new avenue for addressing more comprehensive approaches to the challenges inherent in the linkages between residential location and educational opportunities.

A novel approach to breaking the cycle of inequality that rests with linkages between location and education merges both localism and parent choice.

New "parent trigger" laws, for example, allow parents to vote to turn a low-performing school into a charter school or to significantly change the makeup of the school's staff. An advocate of parent trigger laws, Ben Austin (2013, 52) states, "The parent trigger provides parents with options other strategies may not. One of its greatest advantages is enabling parents in socioeconomically disadvantaged communities to generate change at their neighborhood school. With the school choice alternative, for example, parents wanting the best education for their child often need financial means and knowledge of the educational options to make an informed choice of another school, resources not always available in low-income communities."

While it is not always front and center, the linkage between students' residential location and the schools they attend plays a pivotal role in many of the most prominent contemporary debates in education policy. For scholars and policy makers alike, the challenge of finding the appropriate balance of bolstering choice, developing community engagement through localized school and neighborhood development, and increasing equity and diversity through socioeconomic and racial integration, in light of widening and persistent achievement gaps, continues to prove quite difficult. This challenge is perhaps best represented by the U.S. Department of Education's simultaneous provision of large grants for the development of community-based Promise Neighborhoods, incentives for states to expand parental choice through broader access to charter and magnet schools, and public support for district-level, controlled choice socioeconomic integration programs in places such as Wake County, North Carolina.

This review highlights the facts that each approach has its own clear theoretical perspectives for improving school performance and that each has a complicated track record of effectiveness. Moving forward, the linkage between school attendance policy and residential location faces a series of enduring dilemmas. Can policy makers promote diversity, equity, and achievement without sacrificing community engagement and individual choice? Can local schools meet the broader needs of a neighborhood without restricting the freedoms of individuals or forfeiting the concept of the common school? These questions should serve as guiding principles for policy makers in addressing the complex balancing act of student assignment and residential location.

REFERENCES

An, B. P., and A. Gamoran. 2009. Trends in School Racial Composition in the Era of Unitary Status. In *From the Courtroom to the Classroom: The Shifting Landscape of School Desegregation*, ed. C. Smrekar and E. Goldring, 19–48. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Anderson, M. 2012. Making a Regional District: Memphis City Schools Dissolves into Its Suburbs. *Columbia Law Review Sidebar* 112:47–61.

Angrist, J. D., S. M. Dynarski, T. J. Kane, P. A. Pathak, and C. R. Walters. 2010. Inputs and Impacts in Charter Schools: KIPP Lynn. *American Economic Review* 100 (May):1–5.

Angrist, J. D., P. A. Pathak, and C. R. Walters. 2011. Explaining Charter School Effectiveness. Working Paper No. 17332. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Austin, B. 2013. Empowered Families Can Transform the System. *Education Next* 13(3):51–56.

Ballou, D. 2009. Magnet School Outcomes. In *Handbook of Research on School Choice*, ed. M. Berends, M. G. Springer, D. Ballou, and H. J. Walberg, 409–426. New York: Routledge.

Baratz-Snowden, J. C. 1975. A Quest for Equal Education Opportunity in a Major Urban School District: The Case of Washington, D.C. Washington, DC: Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

Baron, H. M. 1971. Race and Status in School Spending: Chicago, 1961–1966. *Journal of Human Resources* 6 (Winter):3–24.

Barton, P. E. 2003. *Parsing the Achievement Gap: Baselines for Tracking Progress*. Policy Information Report. Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service, Policy Information Center. http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED482932.pdf.

Bell, C. A. 2007. Space and Place: Urban Parents' Geographical Preferences for Schools. *Urban Review* 39(4):375–404.

———. 2009. Geography in Parental Choice. *American Journal of Education* 115(4):493–521.

Bifulco, R., and H. F. Ladd. 2006. The Impacts of Charter Schools on Student Achievement: Evidence from North Carolina. *Education Finance and Policy* 1(1):50–90.

———. 2007. School Choice, Racial Segregation, and Test-Score Gaps: Evidence from North Carolina's Charter School Program. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 26(1):31–56.

Billings, S. B., D. J. Deming, and J. E. Rockoff. 2012. School Segregation, Educational Attainment and Crime: Evidence from the End of Busing in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Working Paper No. 18487. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Boyd, W. L. 2003. Public Education's Crisis of Performance and Legitimacy: Introduction and Overview of the Yearbook. *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* 102(1):1–19.

Boyd, D., H. Lankford, S. Loeb, and J. Wyckoff. 2008. The Impact of Assessment and Accountability on Teacher Recruitment and Retention: Are There Unintended Consequences? *Public Finance Review* 36(1):8–111.

Braddock, J. 2009. Looking Back: The Effects of Court-Ordered Desegregation. In *From the Courtroom to the Classroom: The Shifting Landscape of School Desegregation*, ed. C. Smrekar and E. Goldring, 3–18. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Briggs, X., K. S. Ferryman, S. J. Popkin, and M. Rendón. 2008. Why Did the Moving to Opportunity Experiment Not Get Young People into Better Schools? *Housing Policy Debate* 19(1):53–91.

Chaplin, D. 2002. Estimating the Impact of Economic Integration. In *Divided We Fail: Coming Together Through Public School Choice*, 87–113. New York: Century Foundation Press.

Chingos, M. M., and P. E. Peterson. 2012. *The Effects of School Vouchers on College Enrollment: Experimental Evidence from New York City*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution and Harvard Kennedy School (February).

Clotfelter, C. T. 1999. Public School Segregation in Metropolitan Areas. *Land Economics* 75(4):487–504.

Clotfelter, C. T., H. F. Ladd, and J. L. Vigdor. 2011. Teacher Mobility, School Segregation, and Pay-Based Policies to Level the Playing Field. *Education Finance and Policy* 6(3):399–438.

Clotfelter, C. T., H. F. Ladd, J. L. Vigdor, and R. A. Diaz. 2004. Do School Accountability Systems Make It More Difficult for Low-Performing Schools to Attract and Retain High-Quality Teachers? *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 23(2):251–271.

Coleman, J. S., E. Q. Campbell, C. J. Hobson, J. McPartland, A. M. Mood, F. D. Weinfeld, and R. L. York. 1966. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Crowson, R., and E. Goldring, eds. 2009. *The New Localism in American Education.* Vol. 1 of *The 108th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education.* New York: Wiley.

Crowson, R., E. Goldring, and K. Haynes. 2010. *Successful Schools and the Community Relationship.* Richmond, CA: McCutchan.

Curto, V. E., R. G. Fryer, and M. L. Howard. 2010. It May Not Take a Village: Increasing Achievement Among the Poor. Unpublished paper, Harvard University.

Dawkins, M. P. 1983. Black Students' Occupational Expectations: A National Study of the Impact of School Desegregation. *Urban Education* 18(1):98–113.

Dee, T., and B. Jacob. 2009. The Impact of No Child Left Behind on Student Achievement. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 30 (November):418–446.

DeLuca, S., and P. Rosenblatt. 2010. Does Moving to Better Neighborhoods Lead to Better Schooling Opportunities? Parental School Choice in an Experimental Housing Voucher Program. *Teachers College Record* 112(5):1443–1491.

Deming, D. J., J. S. Hastings, T. J. Kane, and D. O. Staiger. 2011. School Choice, School Quality and Postsecondary Attainment. Working Paper No. 17438. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Dobbie, W., and R. G. Fryer. 2009. Are High Quality Schools Enough to Close the Achievement Gap? Evidence from a Social Experiment in Harlem. Working Paper No. 15473. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Duncan, A. 2011. Maintaining Racial Diversity in Schools. *Washington Post*, January 13.

Frankenberg, E. 2011. Integration After *Parents Involved*: What Does Research Suggest About Available Options? In *Looking to the Future: Legal and Policy Options for Racially Integrated Education in the South and the Nation*, ed. E. Frankenberg and E. DeBray, 53–74. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Frankenberg, E., G. Siegel-Hawley, and J. Wang. 2010. Choice Without Equity: Charter School Segregation and the Need for Civil Rights Standards. Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA:130. http://files.eric.ed.gov /fulltext/ED509773.pdf.

Friedman, M. 1955. The Role of Government in Public Education. In *Economics and the Public Interest*, ed. R. A. Solo. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Garland, S. 2012. In Memphis Classrooms, the Ghost of Segregation Lingers On. *Atlantic* (February 13). www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/02/in-memphis -classrooms-the-ghost-of-segregation-lingers-on/252992/.

Gleason, P. M., M. A. Clark, C. C. Tuttle, and E. Dwoyer. 2010. *The Evaluation of Charter School Impacts: Final Report*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance. http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext /ED510573.pdf.

Goldhaber, D. D. 1999. School Choice: An Examination of the Empirical Evidence on Achievement, Parental Decision Making, and Equity. *Educational Researcher* 28(9):16–25.

Goldring, E. 2009. Perspectives on Magnet Schools. In *Handbook of Research on School Choice*, ed. M. Berends, M. G. Springer, D. Ballou, and H. J. Walberg, 361–378. New York: Routledge.

Goldring, E., R. Crowson, D. Laird, and B. Berk. 2002. Unmaking Desegregation Policy and "Going Unitary": The Loss of a Sense of Place. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans.

Greenberg, D., and J. McCall. 1974. Teacher Mobility and Allocation. *Journal of Human Resources* 9(4):480–502.

Hanushek, E. A., J. F. Kain, and S. G. Rivkin. 2005. Teachers, Schools and Academic Achievement. *Econometrica* 73(2):417–458.

———. 2009. New Evidence About *Brown v. Board of Education*: The Complex Effects of School Racial Composition on Achievement. *Journal of Labor Economics* 27(3) (July):349–383.

Hanushek, E. A., J. F. Kain, S. G. Rivkin, and G. F. Branch. 2007. Charter School Quality and Parental Decision Making with School Choice. *Journal of Public Economics* 91(5–6) (June):823–848.

Hanushek, E. A., and M. E. Raymond. 2005. Does School Accountability Lead to Improved Student Performance? *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 24(2) (Spring):297–327.

Harris, D. N., and C. D. Herrington. 2006. Accountability, Standards, and the Growing Achievement Gap: Lessons from the Past Half-Century. *American Journal of Education* 112(2):209–238.

Hastings, J. S., C. A. Neilson, and S. D. Zimmerman. 2012. The Effect of School Choice on Intrinsic Motivation and Academic Outcomes. Working Paper No. 18324. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Henig, J. 2013. *The End of Exceptionalism in American Education: The Changing Politics of School Reform*. Boston: Harvard Education Press.

Henry, G. T., K. C. Bastian, and C. K. Fortner. 2011. Stayers and Leavers: Early-Career Teacher Effectiveness and Attrition. *Educational Researcher* 40(6):271–280.

Howell, W. G., P. J. Wolf, D. E. Campbell, and P. E. Peterson. 2002. School Vouchers and Academic Performance: Results from Three Randomized Field Trials. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 21(2):191–217.

Hoxby, C. M. 2000. Peer Effects in the Classroom: Learning from Gender and Race Variation. Working Paper No. 7867. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research (August).

Hoxby, C. M., and S. Murarka. 2009. Charter Schools in New York City: Who Enrolls and How They Affect Their Students' Achievement. Working Paper No. 14852. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Hoxby, C. M., and J. E. Rockoff. 2004. *The Impact of Charter Schools on Student Achievement*. Unpublished manuscript. Harvard University and Columbia Business School. www0.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/jrockoff/hoxbyrockoffcharters.pdf.

Johnson, O. 2012. A Systematic Review of Neighborhood and Institutional Relationships Related to Education. *Education and Urban Society* 44(4):477–511.

Kahlenberg, R. D. 2001. *All Together Now*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

———. 2012. *The Future of School Integration: Socioeconomic Diversity as an Education Reform Strategy*. New York: Century Foundation Press.

Katz, L. F., J. R. Kling, and J. B. Liebman. 2001. Moving to Opportunity in Boston: Early Results of a Randomized Mobility Experiment. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116(2):607–654.

Kaufman, J. E., and J. E. Rosenbaum. 1992. The Education and Employment of Low-Income Black Youth in White Suburbs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 14(3):229–240.

Kersten, K. 1995. *Good Intentions Are Not Enough: The Peril Posed by Minnesota's New Desegregation Plan*. Minneapolis: Center of the American Experiment.

Kling, J. R., J. B. Liebman, and L. F. Katz. 2007. Experimental Analysis of Neighborhood Effects. *Econometrica* 75(1):83–119.

Ladd, H. F., and J. Ludwig. 1997. Federal Housing Assistance, Residential Relocation, and Educational Opportunities: Evidence from Baltimore. *American Economic Review* 87(2):272–277.

———. 2003. The Effects of MTO on Educational Opportunities in Baltimore. In *Choosing a Better Life? Evaluating the Moving to Opportunity Social Experiment*, ed. J. Goering and J. D. Feins, 117–151. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Lankford, H., S. Loeb, and J. Wyckoff. 2002. Teacher Sorting and the Plight of Urban Schools: A Descriptive Analysis. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 24(1):37–62.

Logan, J. R., E. Minca, and S. Adar. 2012. The Geography of Inequality: Why Separate Means Unequal in American Public Schools. *Sociology of Education* 85(3):287–301.

Logan, J. R., D. Oakley, and J. Stowell. 2008. School Segregation in Metropolitan Regions, 1970–2000: The Impacts of Policy Choices on Public Education. *American Journal of Sociology* 113(6):1611–1644.

Massey, D. S., and A. B. Gross. 1991. Explaining Trends in Racial Segregation, 1970–1980. *Urban Affairs Review* 27(1):13–35.

Necochea, J., and Z. Cline. 1996. A Case Study Analysis of Within District School Funding Inequities. *Equity and Excellence in Education* 29(2):69–77.

Oakes, J. 1990. *Multiplying Inequalities: The Effects of Race, Social Class and Tracking on Opportunities to Learn Mathematics and Science*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.

Orfield, G. 2001. Schools More Separate: Consequences of a Decade of Resegregation. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project, Harvard University.

Orfield, G., and S. E. Eaton. 1996. *Dismantling Desegregation: The Quiet Reversal of Brown v. Board of Education*. New York: New Press.

Orfield, G., and E. Frankenberg. 2012. *Educational Delusions? Why Choice Can Deepen Inequality and How to Make Schools Fair*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Orfield, G., and H. Mitzel. 1984. The Chicago Study of Access and Choice in Higher Education. Chicago: Committee on Public Policy Studies, University of Chicago.

Orfield, G., and F. Monfort. 1992. Status of School Desegregation: The Next Generation. Alexandria, VA: National School Boards Association.

Palmer, L. B., and R. Gau. 2003. *Charter School Authorizing: Are States Making the Grade?* Washington, DC: Thomas B. Fordham Institute.

Peroff, K. A., C. L. Davis, R. Jones, R. T. Curtin, and R. W. Marans. 1979. *Gautreaux Housing Demonstration: An Evaluation of Its Impact on Participating Households*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Picus, L. 1994. Estimating the Determinants of Pupil/Teacher Ratio: Evidence from the Schools and Staffing Survey. *Educational Considerations* 21(2):44–55.

Reardon, S. F., J. T. Yun, and M. Kurlaender. 2006. Implications of Income-Based School Assignment Policies for Racial School Segregation. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 28(1):49–75.

Rivkin, S. 1994. Residential Segregation and School Integration. *Sociology of Education* 67(4):1–7.

Sanbonmatsu, L., J. R. Kling, G. J. Duncan, and J. Brooks-Gunn. 2006. Neighborhoods and Academic Achievement Results from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment. *Journal of Human Resources* 41(4):649–691.

Sanders, W., and J. Rivers. 1996. Cumulative and Residual Effects of Teachers on Future Student Academic Achievement. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Value-Added Research and Assessment Center.

Saporito, S. 2003. Private Choices, Public Consequences: Magnet School Choice and Segregation by Race and Poverty. *Social Problems* 50(2):181–203.

Sass, T. R. 2006. Charter Schools and Student Achievement in Florida. *Education Finance and Policy* 1(1):91–122.

Scafidi, B., D. L. Sjoquist, and T. R. Stinebrickner. 2007. Race, Poverty, and Teacher Mobility. *Economics of Education Review* 26(2):145–159.

Schwartz, H. 2010. *Housing Policy Is School Policy: Economically Integrative Housing Promotes Academic Success in Montgomery County, Maryland*. Washington, DC: Century Foundation.

Siegel-Hawley, G. 2013. City Lines, County Lines, Color Lines: The Relationship Between School and Housing Segregation in Four Southern Metro Areas. *Teachers College Record* 115(6):1–45.

Smrekar, C., and E. Goldring. 1999. *School Choice in Urban America*. New York: Teachers College Press.

———. 2009. Neighborhood Schools in the Aftermath of Court-Ended Busing: Educators' Perspectives on How Context and Composition Matter. In *From the Courtroom to the Classroom: The Shifting Landscape of School Desegregation*, ed. C. Smrekar and E. Goldring, 157–192. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Smrekar, C. E., and H. B. Mawhinney. 1999. Integrated Services: Challenges in Linking Schools, Families, and Communities. In *Handbook of Research on Educational Administration*, 2nd ed., ed. J. Murphy and K. S. Louis, 443–461. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Smith, M. S., and J. O'Day. 1988. Research into Teaching Quality: Main Findings and Lessons for Appraisal. Report prepared for the meeting of the Working Party on the Condition of Teaching, Paris, France.

Stuit, D. 2012. Turnaround and Closure Rates in the Charter and District Sectors. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk* 17(1):15.

Taeuber, K. E. 1974–1975. Demographic Perspectives on Housing and School Segregation. *Wayne Law Review* 21:833–850.

Teske, P., and M. Schneider. 2001. Policymakers About School Choice. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 20(4):609–631.

Tuttle, C. C., P. Gleason, and M. Clark. 2012. Using Lotteries to Evaluate Schools of Choice: Evidence from a National Study of Charter Schools. *Economics of Education Review* 31(2) (April):237–253.

Vergon, C. B. 1994. *Brown* at the Threshold of the 21st Century: Enduring or Withering Legacy? *Journal of Negro Education* 63(3):482–500.

Vigdor, J., and J. Ludwig. 2007. Segregation and the Black-White Test Score Gap. Working Paper No. 12988. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research. www.nber.org/papers/w12988.pdf?new_window=1.

Wells, A. S., and R. Crain. 1997. *Stepping Over the Color Line*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Whitehurst, G. J., and M. Croft. 2010. The Harlem Children's Zone, Promise Neighborhoods, and the Broader, Bolder Approach to Education. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution. www.brookings.edu/reports/2010/0720_hcz_whitehurst .aspx.

Wilson, F. D. 1985. The Impact of School Desegregation Programs on White Public-School Enrollment, 1968–1976. *Sociology of Education* 58(3):137–153.

Witte, J. F. 1998. The Milwaukee Voucher Experiment. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 20(4):229–251.

Wolf, P., B. Gutmann, M. Puma, B. Kisida, L. Rizzo, and N. Eissa. 2009. *Evaluation of the DC Opportunity Scholarship Program: Impacts After Three Years*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance.

Zimmer, R., and R. Buddin. 2009. Is Charter School Competition in California Improving the Performance of Traditional Public Schools? *Public Administration Review* 69(5) (September):831–845.

COMMENTARY
Ansley T. Erickson

Ellen B. Goldring and Walker Swain offer a useful distillation, but not an oversimplification, of what we know about two questions: (1) How have student assignment plans linked or unlinked housing and schooling? (2) What have the consequences of this linking or unlinking been for segregation and achievement in American schools? Drawing on the broad and dynamic literature on the consequences of segregation by race and class for student achievement, they make it amply clear that the demographic composition of schools—often a result of student assignment plans that link schooling and housing, and at times the result of policies that unlink the two—is of fundamental importance for American education.

Goldring and Swain offer a useful schematic, grouping together approaches to student assignment that link, unlink, or relink housing and schooling. They refer to these groupings as only "loosely chronological" (92). It would be more accurate to say that only in some cases do they represent chronological periods. In communities that moved from racially gerrymandered school zoning, which resulted in segregated zones, to busing for desegregation that transported students across neighborhood lines or assigned them to schools on a basis other than address, and then back to neighborhood schools that again had segregated demographics, these phases do align with change over time. But it is important not to assume a broader chronology, for two reasons. First, there has been wide variation in how districts proceeded (if they did at all) through desegregation efforts and how they approached student assignment after court-supervised desegregation. Second and more broadly, in many school districts, policies that link schooling to housing, and others that unlink the two, operate simultaneously, as when geographically zoned schools, magnet schools, and charter schools can be found in the same district. Scholars have queried what this interaction means for school composition, asking whether multiple assignment mechanisms in the same district interact to continue or worsen sorting by race, class, or achievement level. (See, for example, Bifulco and Ladd 2009.)

To better understand the linking-unlinking-relinking schematic, consider how the examples Goldring and Swain offer plot on the two axes that represent the focus of their analysis. The first axis is the housing-schooling relationship, running from linked to unlinked. The second is school composition, running from segregated to diverse. Each type of student assignment policy can be plotted on these axes (figure C4.1).

Goldring and Swain offer a much more carefully qualified view of each of these student assignment mechanisms than is apparent in this visualization, which risks inaccuracy through generalizing across varied cases within each mechanism. The one area where Goldring and Swain might have approached a student assignment policy with more qualifiers is busing for desegregation. While busing

Figure C4.1
Student Assignment Schematic View
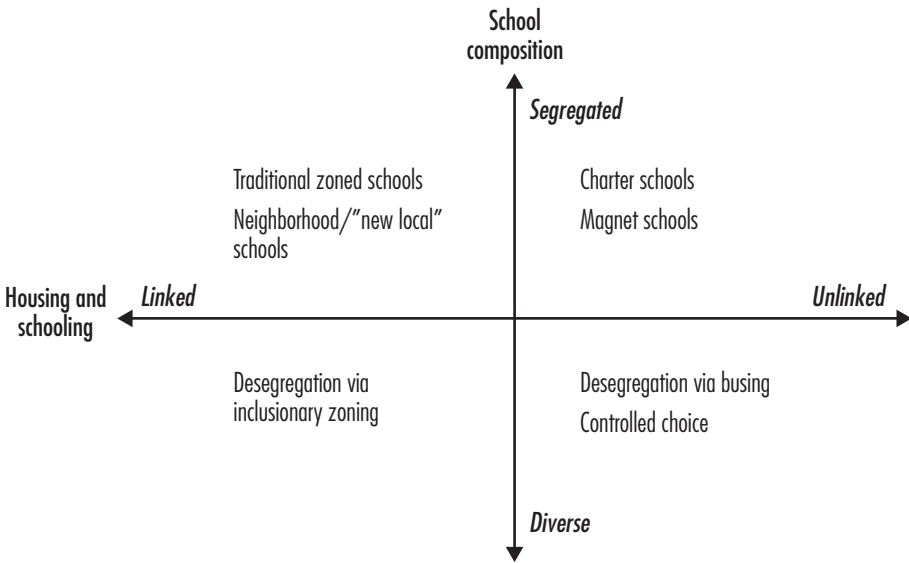
Source: Based on Goldring and Swain, chapter 4 in this volume (92–116).

surely felt to many families like a break in the linkage between housing location and school assignment, in most cases busing plans did assign students based on their residence. Busing for desegregation changed school assignment from the previously presumed local or neighborhood plan, but school assignment still followed address. Some busing plans—as in Louisville, Kentucky's initial use of students' last names to determine school assignment—broke the linkage between residence and school assignment. But in most plans, the basic idea that residence determined assignment—even if assignment was not to the closest school—remained. One way that families could avoid particular school assignments within busing plans was to move to a different residence. Thus, the housing-schooling linkage remained the underlying administrative and social logic of student assignment, even within desegregation plans. That observation is, however, only a modest correction of Goldring and Swain's chapter.

The larger benefit of Goldring and Swain's schematic, visualized as in figure C4.1, lies in the way it illustrates that just as linking schooling and housing does not always foster segregation, unlinking schooling and housing does not always

mean desegregation. Instead, linkages between schooling and housing have most frequently constructed segregation, although at times they have aided desegregation (as in inclusionary zoning). Similarly, some policies that unlink housing and schooling have fed segregation (as in some charter schools), and others have helped desegregation (as in some magnet schools). The primary question is not whether schooling and housing are or should be linked or unlinked. The more fundamental question is what end or ends the housing-schooling relationship, whether linked or unlinked, has served or does serve: property values, community affiliation, diversity and equality?

Historical examples can help flesh out how housing and schooling have been related and why this relationship has mattered to various communities at various points in time. Like Goldring and Swain, most historians considering housing and schooling in relationship to each other have focused on how school demographics follow housing demographics, which of course stem from a mix of historical formal policy and past and present market patterns (Lassiter 2012). The question of how schools act in shaping housing markets—one gestured at in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), as Goldring and Swain note, and recognized by a few scholars at the time—has until very recently gained less historical attention (Benjamin 2012; Dougherty 2012).

Two quick historical examples are worth considering. Clarence Perry, a city planner and social reformer, created in the 1920s what became one of the foundational concepts in urban design and land use planning through the mid-twentieth century. He imagined an ideal "neighborhood unit" that specifically and intentionally related housing, schooling, and community. Perry emphasized locally sited schools as central physical and social nodes in the making of a community—a community that he also felt depended on "social homogeneity" in order to develop. For Perry, housing, schooling, and segregation were tightly and intentionally intertwined (Perry 1925, 1929; Erickson 2010).

In the 1970s and 1980s, when black community advocates in cities such as Nashville, which had extensive but unequally deployed busing for desegregation, argued for a stronger connection between housing—that is, their communities—and schooling, they did so without rejecting the basic idea or value of desegregation. Instead, they hoped for desegregation plans that could be equitably arranged and supportive, rather than those that would undermine institutions in their communities. They could imagine housing, schooling, and desegregation in relationship to one another (Erickson 2010).

Goldring and Swain's useful survey of the landscape of the relationship between schooling and housing embodied in various student assignment plans shows, in essence, that the range of possibilities is broad. There are examples of tight schooling-housing linkages that either foster equality in schools or preserve inequality, just as there are examples of unlinking the relationship between schooling and housing that do either. Many options exist. The question is which ends collectively we choose to value and pursue.

REFERENCES

Benjamin, K. 2012. Suburbanizing Jim Crow: The Impact of School Policy on Residential Segregation in Raleigh. *Journal of Urban History* 38:225–246.

Bifulco, R., and H. F. Ladd. 2009. The Effects of Public School Choice on Those Left Behind: Evidence from Durham, NC. *Peabody Journal of Education* 84:130–149.

Dougherty, J. 2012. Shopping for Schools: How Public Education and Private Housing Shaped Suburban Connecticut. *Journal of Urban History* 38:205–224.

Erickson, A. 2010. Schooling the Metropolis: Educational Inequality Made and Remade, Nashville, Tennessee, 1945–1985. Ph.D. diss., Columbia University.

Lassiter, M. 2012. Schools and Housing in Metropolitan History: An Introduction. *Journal of Urban History* 38:95–204.

Perry, C. A. 1925. The Local Community as a Unit in the Planning of Urban Residential Areas. In *The Urban Community*, ed. E. Burgess, 238–241. New York: Greenwood Press.

———. 1929. The Neighborhood Unit: A Scheme of Arrangement for the Family Life Community. In *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs*, vol. VII, 21–44. New York: Regional Plan.