

Segregation by Race in Charter Schools

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Abstract

The founding of charter schools took place in 1992 and has grown substantially over the past 32 years. Proponents of school choice feel that this market-based system would be beneficial to improve student success, but researchers note a concern that this may cause increased segregation between Black, Latinx, Asian, and White students. In this review article, I have viewed past studies which assess levels of segregation on a national level, a state level, a city level, a metropolitan level, a suburban level, and a rural level. Along with this, I have also viewed past studies that assesses whether charter schools were more segregated than public schools.

Keywords: Segregation, race, charter schools

Introduction

In 1954, the historic case of *Brown vs. Board of Education* concluded, which ended forced segregation in schools nationally (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). Even though this case ended imposed segregation, many scholars note that segregation in our school systems are still happening currently. Researchers note that the concern with the school choice movement is that it will possibly cause further separation between races (Berliner & Hermanns, 2022; Huffman 2018; Wilson, 2019). One area of discussion that requires more research is charter schools, which are school entities that are “publicly funded yet free from labor regulations, teachers’ unions, content restrictions, and financial oversight that public schools face” (Harber, 2020, p. 1). Charter Schools have a long history where signal events took place in 1992 in Cleveland, Ohio which led to their substantial proliferation over the past 32 years (Brennan & Baroway, 2002; Frankenberg et al., 2011; Monarrez et al., 2022). Since the creation of charter schools, they now enroll “1,207,450 students and comprised of 2.5% of all public-school students in the U.S, and 2.7% of students in states that have charter schools” (Frankenberg et al., 2011, p. 17). In addition to the number of students, charter schools are now in over 40 states and in the D.C. area (Frankenberg et al., 2011; Sheridan-McIver & Wolfe 2023).

School choice advocates feel that this market-based system would be beneficial to student success (Chub & Moe, 1990). Some supporters feel that this is a Civil Rights issue in that it allows students to choose the school of their choice (Brennan & Baroway, 2002). Scholars note that even though a market-based system allows for parents to decide to let students go to school wherever they want, funds are taken away from public schools in the form of vouchers (Berliner & Hermanns, 2022). This is shown to hurt individuals in poor and minority communities the most, due to schools being funded through local property tax (Berliner & Hermanns, 2022). Along with minority communities being affected by having funding taken away from schools due to vouchers and charters, it is also shown that minorities in charter schools are given less opportunities to succeed in the future (Frankenberg et. al, 2011). This is due to these schools having “limited contact with more advantaged social networks and fewer opportunities to prepare for living and working in a diverse society” (Frankenberg et al., 2011, p. 4).

Charter school advocates often mention that this system provides better results for their students (Brennan & Baroway, 2002). Even though some studies show that charter schools may provide better results, the

literature often shows that these results are mixed (Baines, 2023; Berliner & Hermanns, 2022; Buras & Urban South Grassroots Research Collective, 2013; Harber 2020; Monarrez et al., 2022). Along with the studies showing mixed results, it has also been shown that these schools often enroll less SPED students and less ELL students, which would impact assessment results for charter schools (Baines, 2023; Berliner & Hermanns, 2022). Researchers also note that schools that are desegregated often perform better due to increased funding for these students, while also giving some White students a different perspective on struggles minority member go through (Monarrez et al., 2022).

Segregation as a possibility due to the increase in charter schools are often multifaceted. With the possibility of charter school enrolling a higher percentage of minority students, it is important to see whether this market-based system has caused increased segregation between Black, Asian, Latinx, and White students. Items such as less funding for minorities is a major concern due to the possibility of less opportunity for these students. Due to concerns from researchers this comprehensive literature review will access articles from numerous sources to view segregation in the charter sector compared to public schools on a national level, a state level, and a regional level.

Methodology

For the methodology of this study, I will be using a process as shown by Anthony Onwuegbuzie and Rebecca Frels which involves using multiple studies that use multiple different method types to formulate new and additional information to future researchers (Onwuegbuzie & Frels, 2016). This study will analyze information from various books, quantitative studies, qualitative studies, information from law papers and data from the Charter Organization to ensure this analysis is comprehensive. Through using the research approach set above, I will attempt to study the segregation levels in this country by viewing numerous different factors (Onwuegbuzie & Frels, 2016). These factors will be on a national level, state level, a city level, and in a few instances on a district level. In addition, I will also be using articles that will view segregation levels or demographic information in metropolitan areas, suburban areas, and rural areas. Viewing each area listed is important so that more areas of the U.S. are viewed, and to ensure the sample is not bias by viewing national and state data alone (Ritter et al., 2010).

Data and Methods

To address the problem statement regarding segregation on numerous different levels, I will use multiple studies in each section to increase the reliability of this study (Field, 2018). Researchers in this area of study have used multiple assessment types, and viewing one assessment method without accounting for the other may bias the study (Ritter et al., 2010). For the national data I will use an analysis from 2011 and two articles from 2019 (Adamson & Galloway, 2019; Frankenberg et al., 2011; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). In addition to this I will assess state level data through two of the same articles, while also involving other articles from separate states (Frankenberg et al., 2011; Gulosino, & D'Entremont, 2011; Mattison, 2020; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). When viewing the city level regarding segregation I will use data from the 2019 study that also involved national data, and I will also use a study from New York, to provide an in-depth analysis (Frankenberg et al., 2011; Mordechay & Ayscue, 2022; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). When viewing the metropolitan, suburban, and rural areas, I will be using different methods due to there not being as much research done in rural or suburban areas. This in part is due to over 50% of charter's being located in metropolitan/large city areas (National Alliance for Charter Schools, 2012; Sheridan-Mclver & Wolfe, 2023). For both metropolitan and suburban areas I will use an article written by Tomas Monarrez, an article written by Erica Frankenberg, and an article written by Patrick Denice (Denice, 2022; Frankenberg & Siegel-Hawley, 2024; Monarrez et al., 2022). Rural areas are the most underrepresented in this literature review due to their not being any studies known to the researcher in this area. To interpret data for rural areas I will use the charter school data and an article from Erica Frankenberg to show material on demographic information in regard to individuals of various races (Frankenberg et al., 2011; Sheridan-Mclver & Wolfe, 2023). Along with the various sources for the

metropolitan, suburban, and rural area data, I am also involving district level data from Ohio and Delaware, due to different parts of the district having various population levels (Archbald et al., 2018; Gilblom & Sang, 2019). With the various studies mentioned not covering each school district, generalizing the results to each area of the country will not be possible, but due to the variety of studies on different states, cities, school districts, and regional areas, this literature review will have information that is representative of different parts of the country.

Results

National Results

From viewing the results, it is shown that there is still segregation between individuals when regarding race which differed based on how data was assessed, whether there was national data obtained, state data obtained, city data obtained, and data obtained from different geographic parts of town. When viewing national data, different researchers note differing levels of segregation. Various studies show that charter schools enrolled a significantly higher portion of Black students when compared to other races and public schools, which is cited in different articles over different time spans (Frankenberg et al., 2011). The findings from 2007-2008 when compared to 2015-2016 show that similar trends have continued to some degree. In 2007-2008 among 29 states along with D.C. had 5,000 charter schools, with only 7 of them being majority white (Frankenberg et al., 2011). Similar to this finding in the 2015-2016 school year it was shown that charter schools enrolled about 31% more in 90-100% non-white schools (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). The total percentage of Black students in racially isolated schools is 69% during the 2015-2016 school year (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019).

Along with the total number of Black students isolated in non-white charters it has also been shown that “56% of Latinx students attended schools that were 90% or more non-white, which has doubled since 2007” (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019, p. 6). In contrast to Black students and Latinx students it was shown that through the 2015-2016 data set that Asian Americans were the least likely to be segregated in non-white schools (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). Native Americans during the 2015-2016 school year were segregated in an equal manner when compared to public schools (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). These numbers show that “25% of Native Americans were segregated in public schools that are 90% or more non-white, while 29% of these students are segregated in 90% or more non-white charter schools.” (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019 p. 6). From this 60% of Native Americans in total were segregated in non-white schools for both charter schools and public schools (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). The total percentage of Native Americans in intensely segregated schools are 10% in public schools, while the percentage of these students in intensely segregated charter schools is 13% as of 2015-2016 (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019).

In addition to the previous findings (Adamson & Galloway, 2019) shows that as of 2015 white students make up “50% of K-12 students while individuals who were Black made up 16% of the total population and Latinx individuals made up 25% of the overall population” (Adamson & Galloway, 2019, p. 17). From this White people only made up 33% of the charter population, while Black and Latinx students were overrepresented in the charter sector representing numbers of 27% and 33% respectively (Adamson & Galloway, 2019) (Figure 1 in appendix section from Adamson & Galloway, 2019). Even though this shows that minorities are segregated nationally when viewing Charter Schools, there are also instances where there are some predominantly White charters (Frankenberg et al., 2011). The number for this is relatively small with only 7% of students attending White charter schools in 2007-2008. (Frankenberg et al., 2011). Even though this number is small, the data from this is old which means that there could have been changes since the time this analysis was done. Additional information regarding primarily White charter schools seem to vary based on state and region, like how segregation of minorities varies from different areas of the country (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019).

State Level

Through viewing segregation levels by different states, results varied based on how much students were segregated by different races in charter schools and how levels of segregation between public schools and charter schools differed. Based on data from the 2007-2008 school year, out of 40 states along with D.C., 22 states had majority Black charter students in 90-100% minority schools (Frankenberg et al., 2011). From this there are four states along with D.C. that had 9 out of 10 students attend intensely segregated minority school, when compared to the 60% of Black students that attended traditional public schools that were intensely segregated (Frankenberg et al., 2011). When viewing information from the 2015-2016 school year similar results occurred in that states seemed to have segregated concentrations of students (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). From this analysis the states that had the largest amount of segregation when viewing minority students between charter schools and traditional public schools are Mississippi (Latinx and white students), Connecticut (Black students), Minnesota (Latinx and Black), Illinois (Latinx and White), and Tennessee (Black and White) (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019) (Table 1 in appendix shows states with highest and lowest levels of segregation. Table 2 shows how segregation levels vary by each state. Both tables are from Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). Out of these states Mississippi had the largest gap between Latinx and White students, while Connecticut had the largest gap for Black students (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019).

In addition to most charter schools having minority students, there are several states where White students made up the majority of charter students (Frankenberg et al., 2011). These states are Hawaii, California, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, Utah, North Carolina, and Idaho (Frankenberg et al., 2011). Out of the each of these states excluding North Carolina, each of these areas had heavier concentrations of minority students involved in the traditional public schools (Frankenberg et al., 2011). When viewing more recent data it shows that Hawaii had the smallest gap between segregation levels when compared to public schools (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019) (Table 1 appendix Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). Along with Hawaii the states that had the smallest gap was Virginia, Nevada (Latinx and White), and Kansas (Latinx and Black) (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019) (Table 1 appendix Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). Out of each of these states Hawaii had a “double digit gap (19%) signifying that public schools were more intensely segregated than charter schools.” (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019, p. 6).

Texas based on the Erica Frankenberg study shows that Latinx students are more racially isolated in charter schools (Frankenberg et al., 2011). Even though this researcher mentions this, they also say that racial isolation for this ethnic group varies by a small amount due to their being a significant number of Latinx students being segregated in both charter schools and traditional public schools (Frankenberg et al., 2011). Additional data was taken on Texas due to additional publications being available on this state, along with a history of segregation of minorities within the state (Mattison, 2020). In this analysis the author found that the mean difference between black students and white students in charter schools and traditional public schools were 10% and 7% respectively (Mattison et al., 2020). These results from the t-test conducted found statistically significant results, with a p-value of .05 (Mattison, 2020). From the author’s study, this means that segregation was slightly higher for Black students in charter schools (Mattison, 2020). In contrast the scores for Latinx students were 16% for charter schools, and 15% for traditional public schools (Mattison, 2020). Based on the p-value needing to at least be .05 for statistical significance (Field, 2018), this result did not yield statistical significance (Mattison et al., 2020). Mattison mentions that the possibility that the results were not statistically significant matches with (Frankenberg et al., 2011), in that these results could have not been shown through their t-test model due to their being racial isolation of Latinx students in both traditional public schools and charter schools (Mattison, 2020).

Along with Texas, more data was shown on New Jersey, which showed segregation in various areas of the state, based on where individuals lived. In predominantly White areas there are only 6 charter schools out of the 52 in the state, which account for a lower number of White students 54.84%, when compared to the

block group that lived in the area 90.08% (Gulosino, & D'Entremont, 2011). Even though Black students make up about 4% of that area, 33.84% of Black students attend charter schools in predominantly White areas. Hispanics make up a small percentage of students in the areas near the charter school at 5.71%, but 7.63% of these students attended charter schools in White neighborhoods (Gulosino, & D'Entremont, 2011).

Racially mixed areas account for 32 out of 52 of the charter schools in the state. White people make up 41.17% of the population, but only 10.28% go to charter schools and only 9.52% are in the school district (Gulosino & D'Entremont, 2011). In comparison 62.25% of Black students attend charters in these areas, while 32.04% are in surrounding areas (Gulosino & D'Entremont, 2011). Hispanics make up 21.24% of these school, which is lower compared to the Hispanic students living in surrounding areas 31.43% (Gulosino & D'Entremont, 2011). In mainly minority neighborhoods 11 out of the 52 charter schools make up this area (Gulosino & D'Entremont, 2011). From viewing the data, only 10.76% of White students live in these areas when compared to 73.79% of Black students, and 19.80% of Hispanic students (Gulosino & D'Entremont, 2011). Based on this information 4.97% of White students attend charter schools in minority areas, while 81.34% of Black students attend charter schools in these areas (Gulosino & D'Entremont, 2011). Hispanic students make up 12.85% of the charter population in these areas, which is smaller than their population in these regions (Gulosino & D'Entremont, 2011).

City Results

City results show similarities to national and state data regarding the top fifty cities with the most charter enrollments which showed that these charter students were attending segregated non-white schools compared to urban students in public schools (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). The 2015-2016 data set shows that cities with the largest difference when compared to charter schools was “Cincinnati 69%, Rochester (63%), Minneapolis (57%), Kansas City (57%) and Camden (49%).” (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019, p. 6) (Table 3 appendix. Table comes from Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). From this 42 of the top 50 cities that have segregated charter schools have lower levels of segregation within the public schools (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). In contrast some cities such as Atlanta, Homestead, Phoenix and Tucson have majority White students enrolled in charter schools when compared to traditional public schools (Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). Cities such as New Orleans are unique in their approach due to the state turning most of the cities' public schools into charter schools around the time Katrina hit (Buras & Urban South Grassroots Research Collective, 2013).

In New York, there has been a rise in the number of charter schools by “356%, while enrollment in traditional public schools is down by 8%.” (Mordechay & Ayscue, 2022, p. 20). In an interesting finding the total number of White and Hispanic students increased in both public schools and charter schools, while the total number of Black students decreased in both school types (Mordechay & Ayscue, 2022). Black students, despite this made up a larger segment of the charter sector when compared to traditional public schools (Mordechay & Ayscue, 2022). Charter schools in New York remained segregated due to 92.6% of elementary charter schools being intensely segregated, while 77.8% of charter schools were hypersegregated enrolling 99%-100% non-white students (Mordechay & Ayscue, 2022). From this, Black students were the race that was exposed to the least amount of White students, while Asians were the most likely to be exposed to a larger share of White students (Mordechay & Ayscue, 2022).

Metropolitan, Suburban, and Rural Results

Viewing results from metropolitan, to suburban, to rural geographic regions shows that there is evidence towards segregation by race when separating for the part of town someone lives in. Metropolitan areas account for over 50% of the nations charter schools while suburban areas make up 25% of the nations

charter schools (Sheridan-Mclver & Wolfe, 2023). From viewing an analysis based on Tomas Monarrez's study, which used the OLS model to show segregation levels/prediction levels if charter enrollment grows shows that for every "1pp increase in charter shares leads to between a 0.09pp and 0.10pp increase in minority students in school districts, municipalities, and counties" (Monarrez et al., 2022, pp. 21-22). In addition to this, the metropolitan areas estimate shows a smaller impact on metropolitan areas with a percentage point of "0.06pp" (Monarrez et al., 2022, p. 19). Segregation on this model shows that this affects Black students the most because, segregation for these students were 50% larger than for Hispanic students in school districts and counties" (Monarrez et al., 2022). Estimated impact for the increase in charter enrollment shows "Black segregation would go up by about 0.07 to 0.1pp, while Hispanic segregation would increase by 0.04 to 0.05 pp, and segregation for Asian students would increase by 0.02 to 0.04 pp." (Monarrez et al., 2022, p. 22). The results for this are statistically significant across each region. A modest affect was found in that the existence of charter schools have caused an increase of " $8 \times 0.09 = 0.72$ p.p. (6%)" in segregation levels per district but could be more depending on if students live in an area with significant charter presence" (Monarrez et al., 2022, pp. 22-23). Charter schools have led to an increase in the isolation of Black students to Asian and White students by 0.5pp, while also having a "0.3 and 0.1 decrease to White and Asian students respectively" (Monarrez et al., 2022, p. 23).

Similar to findings from Tomas Monarrez other researchers have found segregation in charter schools such as how Patrick Denice found that Black students overrepresent the charter movement by 66% (Denice, 2022). The unevenness between races known as the dissimilarity index shows a score of 55.92 in 2012 and 56.56 between Black and White students, which shows statistical significance (Denice, 2022). This number was smaller for Hispanic and White segregation which had a score of 46.60 over the same two years (Denice, 2022). White enrollment in Charter schools was higher when segregation levels were lower in the public school (Denice, 2022).

Suburban charter schools also show evidence of segregation by race due to 30% of them being racially isolated in either primarily White schools or primarily minority schools (Frankenberg & Siegel-Hawley, 2024). Other studies such as ones that view the Cleveland Metropolitan District show that segregation between races still exist and can go between metropolitan areas and outside of them. When viewing this district, they found that higher shares of Black students enrolled in charter schools outside of the district (65.3%) compared to White students outside of this area primarily locating in traditional public schools. (57.4%) (Gilblom & Sang, 2019). Inside the Cleveland Metropolitan district higher number of Black students who live in the area are higher than the number of White students (55.3% vs. 40.0%) (Gilblom & Sang, 2019). Interestingly Black students had a higher percentage enrolled in public schools compared to charter schools (68.7% vs. 66.0%) (Gilblom & Sang, 2019). White students inside the area were low in both sectors with the charter schools at (17.8%) and public schools at (13.8%) (Gilblom & Sang, 2019). Findings in districts such as New Castle County in Delaware show that of the 16 charter schools in the district, all but a "few are overwhelmingly White or overwhelmingly Black, with half of the charter schools being 80% or more Black." (Archbald et al., 2018, p. 26). This is completely different when viewing this county's public schools, where only 5% of them are 80% Black, which shows better racial balance in the public school system in this area (Archbald et al., 2018).

In rural/town areas the charter school sector is smaller making up only 16-19% of the charter schools (Frankenberg et al., 2011; Sheridan-Mclver & Wolfe, 2023). Rural charter schools are typically in areas that are predominantly White, and the data shows that White students make up 55% of these schools, while Black students make 10% of these schools, Asian students make up 3 % of these schools, Native American make up 1% of these schools, and Hispanic students make up 24% of these schools (Sheridan-Mclver & Wolfe, 2023). States such as Oregon, North Carolina, and Hawaii have mainly rural charters that are primarily White (Frankenberg et al., 2011). White isolation in rural areas is also significant in the

public school system as well and is higher by a small amount compared to rural charter schools (Frankenberg et al., 2011). Schools that were 90-100% minority schools in rural/town areas showed 6% that were rural charter schools vs. 5% that were rural public schools (Frankenberg et al., 2011). Erica Frankenberg mentioned that higher white segregation in these areas may be attributed to “higher percentages of public schools being located in less dense areas” (Frankenberg et al., 2011, p. 32). It is also possible that from the overall analysis, that rural areas resemble the demographics of the individuals within these geographic parts of town due to White people being more populated in these regions (Sheridan-Mclver & Wolfe, 2023).

Conclusion

In conclusion it was shown that racial segregation regarding charter schools is shown on the national level, state level, city level, metropolitan level, and suburban level. This varies between different areas of the country due to some states having lower segregation while some had higher levels of segregation (Frankenberg et al., 2011; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019). Some researchers concluded moderate effects, while others concluded significant effects, which could in part be due to the statistical design or when the assessment was completed (Field, 2018). Through viewing the research, it was shown that segregation affected Black students the most, while Hispanic students were lower. Most of the literature cited shows that Hispanics faced segregation, but not in the same degree Black students did (Denice, 2022; Frankenberg et al., 2011; Monarrez et al. 2022). Asian students in most studies showed to be segregated the least compared to Hispanic students and Black students (Monarrez et al., 2022; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2019).

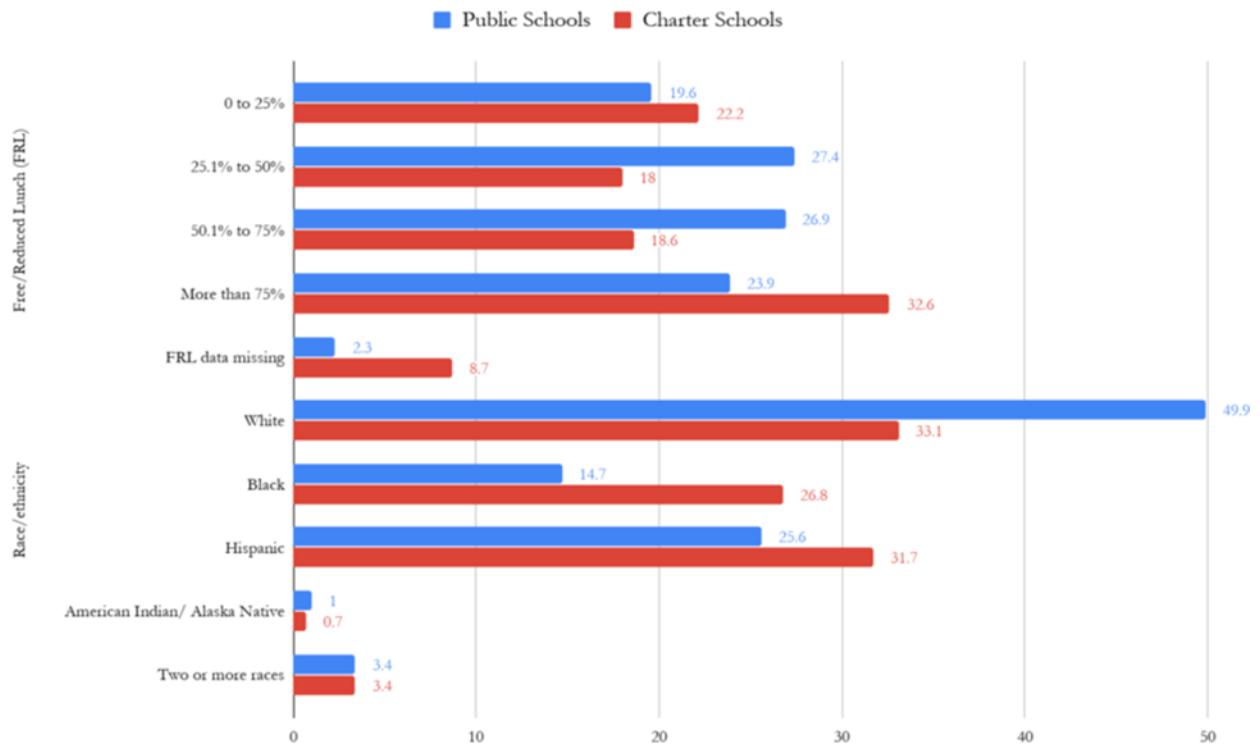
Scholars such as Gary Ritter, mention that segregation between schools could be attributed to the population in which they are located, but from the data this seemed to not be the case when viewing these areas closers (Ritter et al., 2010). Examples such as New Jersey showed that in mixed communities many of these findings hold true (Gulosino, & D’Entremont, 2011). Other scholars who view geographical spacing show that these charters can draw people from multiple areas due to them not being bound by district lines, and that many of these charter schools locate themselves outside of the highest need area instead of inside them (LaFleur, 2016; Lee, 2018). Also examples of White Flight also occurred in areas in which segregation was lower in the public school system, which caused many White students to become enrolled in prestige charter schools (Denice, 2022; Wilson, 2019). These charters are self-paced and require students to take accountability for their own learning (Wilson, 2019).

Future research should involve viewing more states, school districts, and specific areas of town to get a more in-depth analysis to see how characteristics mentioned in this article are shown throughout the rest of the U.S. In addition, there was a lack of material in relation to charter schools in rural areas. This in part could be due to only 16-19% percent of charter schools being in these area, but some qualitative research may warrant an extra analysis in these locations (Frankenberg et al., 2011; Sheridan-Mclver & Wolfe, 2023). In a qualitative analysis located in a rural area in Georgia showed two separate public high schools where one was primarily minority, and the other was primarily White, showed that many Black individuals felt uncomfortable with some actions taken by White students and teacher in the neighboring school (Wilcox, 2021). This should not be generalized to every context in these areas due to it being one city, and it being a qualitative study, but it could reveal that possible segregation could happen in these areas due to possible racist ideology (Wilcox, 2021). Regardless of possible research in this area, one can see that segregation in schools is still an issue that is faced today in our society. Working towards desegregation is something that seems to be a long way off even with the negative impact we see in society (Berliner & Hermanns, 2022). Aspirations and dreams of equal funding and desegregation seem to be a long way off, but as Berliner and Hermanns note, “If we are to dream, let us dream big so we can shoot for a better tomorrow.” (Berliner & Hermanns, 2022, p. 28)

Appendix

Figure 1

Percentage of Students in Charter and Public Schools Based on Race



Source: Adamson, F., & Galloway, M. (2019). Education privatization in the United States: Increasing saturation and segregation. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 27, 129.

<https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.27.4857>

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Table 1.

Percentage of Charter and Public-School Students in Segregated Non-White Schools, by Race/Ethnicity, 2015–2016.

	Latinx Gap		Black Gap		White Gap	
Largest	MS	88%	CT	69%	MS	99%
	MO	79%	MN	59%	IL	39%
	CT	61%	MS	55%	TN	27%
	MN	56%	TN	54%	CT	18%
	IL	54%	DE	54%	NY	17%
Smallest	GA	-10%	AZ	-4%	VA	-1%
	VA	-10%	AK	-8%	NM	-2%
	KS	-11%	HI	-8%	NV	-3%
	HI	-16%	KS	-12%	CA	-4%
	NV	-21%	VA	-18%	HI	-19%

Source: Vasquez Heilig, J., Brewer, T. J., & Williams, Y. (2019). Choice without inclusion?: Comparing the intensity of racial segregation in charters and public schools at the local, state and National Levels. *Education Sciences*, 9(3), 205. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci9030205>

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Table 2.
Percentage of Charter and Public-School Students in Intensely Segregated Non-White Schools, by Race/Ethnicity and by State, 2015–2016.

	Average White Share of Enrollment			90%–100% Non-White Charter School Enrollment Rate			90%–100% Non-White Public School Enrollment Rate		
	Charter	Public	Charter-Public Difference	White	Black	Latinx	White	Black	Latinx
AK	63%	38%	24%	1%	10%	5%	0%	2%	7%
AR	45%	65%	-20%	0%	25%	6%	1%	35%	17%
AZ	42%	43%	-1%	3%	27%	42%	2%	23%	37%
CA	30%	27%	3%	7%	49%	57%	3%	55%	55%
CO	51%	56%	-5%	1%	22%	17%	1%	28%	33%
CT	14%	56%	-42%	1%	25%	19%	19%	94%	80%
DC	11%	12%	0%	7%	83%	73%	8%	90%	63%
DE	36%	45%	-9%	0%	7%	3%	2%	61%	31%
FL	33%	40%	-7%	2%	35%	31%	4%	41%	44%
GA	34%	41%	-7%	2%	45%	31%	1%	43%	21%
HI	23%	12%	11%	23%	28%	52%	4%	20%	36%
IA	54%	82%	-28%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	0%
ID	83%	76%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
IL	8%	56%	-48%	1%	55%	43%	40%	95%	97%
IN	35%	73%	-38%	0%	25%	11%	2%	66%	38%
KS	76%	71%	5%	0%	12%	11%	0%	0%	0%
LA	17%	45%	-28%	1%	33%	11%	4%	82%	48%
MA	33%	64%	-31%	1%	22%	25%	5%	58%	61%
MD	16%	40%	-24%	2%	53%	44%	8%	78%	36%
ME	94%	92%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
MI	35%	71%	-36%	0%	37%	10%	2%	75%	46%
MN	47%	70%	-23%	0%	14%	7%	1%	73%	63%
MO	14%	76%	-62%	0%	38%	7%	13%	82%	86%
MS	1%	42%	-41%	1%	45%	12%	100%	100%	100%
NC	53%	49%	4%	1%	22%	16%	0%	41%	31%
NH	89%	89%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
NJ	15%	51%	-35%	1%	44%	42%	13%	94%	84%
NM	29%	25%	5%	6%	16%	35%	4%	13%	34%
NV	41%	39%	3%	3%	26%	31%	0%	34%	10%
NY	7%	48%	-41%	2%	61%	54%	19%	91%	87%
OH	34%	74%	-40%	0%	32%	6%	3%	66%	22%
OK	33%	52%	-19%	0%	13%	9%	4%	52%	59%
OR	76%	66%	10%	0%	0%	1%	0%	19%	0%
PA	28%	72%	-44%	0%	38%	26%	2%	73%	65%
RI	30%	64%	-34%	2%	29%	44%	12%	66%	62%
SC	54%	48%	7%	1%	18%	6%	1%	30%	21%
TN	8%	69%	-61%	0%	39%	11%	27%	93%	56%
TX	17%	33%	-15%	4%	42%	53%	11%	69%	77%
UT	75%	75%	0%	0%	2%	2%	0%	2%	12%
VA	53%	54%	-1%	1%	18%	10%	0%	0%	0%
WA	31%	59%	-27%	0%	9%	15%	4%	35%	33%
WI	68%	75%	-6%	0%	41%	11%	1%	81%	54%

Source: Vasquez Heilig, J., Brewer, T. J., & Williams, Y. (2019). Choice without inclusion?: Comparing the intensity of racial segregation in charters and public schools at the local, state and National Levels. *Education Sciences*, 9(3), 205. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci9030205>

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Table 3.

Students in intensely segregated non-white public and charter schools based on different cities

City	Public	Charter	Charter-Public Difference
Cincinnati, OH	19.4%	88.7%	69.3%
Rochester, NY	22.8%	86.0%	63.2%
Minneapolis, MN	24.9%	81.5%	56.6%
Kansas City, MO	28.4%	84.9%	56.5%
Camden, NJ	48.8%	97.5%	48.7%
Nashville, TN	12.0%	52.2%	40.2%
Newark, NJ	44.4%	83.9%	39.5%
Brooklyn, NY	50.6%	88.8%	38.2%
Washington, DC	45.1%	78.9%	33.8%
New York, NY	59.3%	92.4%	33.1%
Austin, TX	32.2%	63.0%	30.8%
Chicago, IL	71.0%	98.9%	27.9%
San Antonio, TX	49.2%	76.1%	26.9%
Milwaukee, WI	61.3%	84.8%	23.5%
St Louis, MO	39.3%	62.2%	23.0%
San Francisco, CA	50.5%	73.3%	22.9%
Gary, IN	77.2%	100.0%	22.8%
Dallas, TX	68.7%	91.4%	22.7%
Baltimore, MD	49.1%	68.7%	19.7%
Chula Vista, CA	50.9%	70.0%	19.2%
Memphis, TN	81.0%	100.0%	19.0%
Cleveland, OH	29.7%	48.1%	18.4%
Denver, CO	42.7%	59.9%	17.3%
Oakland, CA	63.1%	80.2%	17.2%
El Paso, TX	83.3%	100.0%	16.7%
Philadelphia, PA	57.0%	72.9%	15.9%
San Jose, CA	55.8%	69.9%	14.1%
Baton Rouge, LA	61.1%	73.5%	12.4%
Saint Paul, MN	42.4%	53.0%	10.6%
Bronx, NY	90.2%	100.0%	9.8%
Brownsville, TX	90.5%	100.0%	9.5%
Indianapolis, IN	19.3%	28.0%	8.7%
San Diego, CA	34.7%	43.4%	8.7%
Houston, TX	73.1%	81.5%	8.4%
Sacramento, CA	39.8%	47.5%	7.7%
Southfield, MI	93.8%	100.0%	6.2%
Miami, FL	76.1%	79.5%	3.4%
Columbus, OH	29.9%	31.3%	1.4%
Detroit, MI	93.5%	93.7%	0.2%
Doral, FL	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Hialeah Gardens, FL	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Huntington Park, CA	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Los Angeles, CA	84.1%	82.5%	-1.6%
Tucson, AZ	30.3%	23.7%	-6.6%
Inglewood, CA	100.0%	91.9%	-8.1%
Stockton, CA	61.7%	46.1%	-15.5%
Phoenix, AZ	53.3%	37.7%	-15.6%
New Orleans, LA	93.7%	77.4%	-16.4%
Homestead, FL	90.1%	61.3%	-28.8%
Atlanta, GA	59.0%	18.5%	-40.6%

Source: Vasquez Heilig, J., Brewer, T. J., & Williams, Y. (2019). Choice without inclusion?: Comparing the intensity of racial segregation in charters and public schools at the local, state and National Levels. *Education Sciences*, 9(3), 205. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci9030205>
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