AGENDA

Meeting Type:	WORKSHOP
Date:	06/06/1994

City of Charlotte, City Clerk's Office

CITY COUNCIL WORKSHOP

Monday, June 6, 1994

AGENDA

5:00 p.m.	*Enterprise Community Application*
5:15 p.m.	*Dinner*
5:30 p.m.	*Housing Strategies for Integrating Schools*
5:45 p.m.	*Police Decentralization Strategy*
6:15 p.m.	*Committee of 100 Update: New Transit Service Concepts*
6:45 p.m.	*Boards and Commissions Appointment Process*
7:15 p.m.	*Adjourn*

COUNCIL WORKSHOP AGENDA ITEM SUMMARY

TOPIC: Enterprise Community Grant Application - Status Report

KEY POINTS (Issues, Cost, Change in Policy): Share with City Council a synopsis of the grant application in preparation for Council receiving the official application on June 13, 1994 At that time, City Council will asked to approve forwarding the grant application to the State of North Carolina and U S Department of Housing and Urban Development for approval

OPTIONS:

COUNCIL DECISION OR DIRECTION REQUESTED: Received grant application synopsis

ATTACHMENTS: None

COUNCIL WORKSHOP AGENDA ITEM SUMMARY

TOPIC: Housing Strategies for Integrating Schools

KEY POINTS (Issues, Cost, Change in Policy): The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools has requested the City Council participation in jointly establishing a focus group to examine housing strategies for promoting integrated schools The School Board has passed a resolution to form a focus group and requests the participation of the City Council and County Commissioners in the group's formation

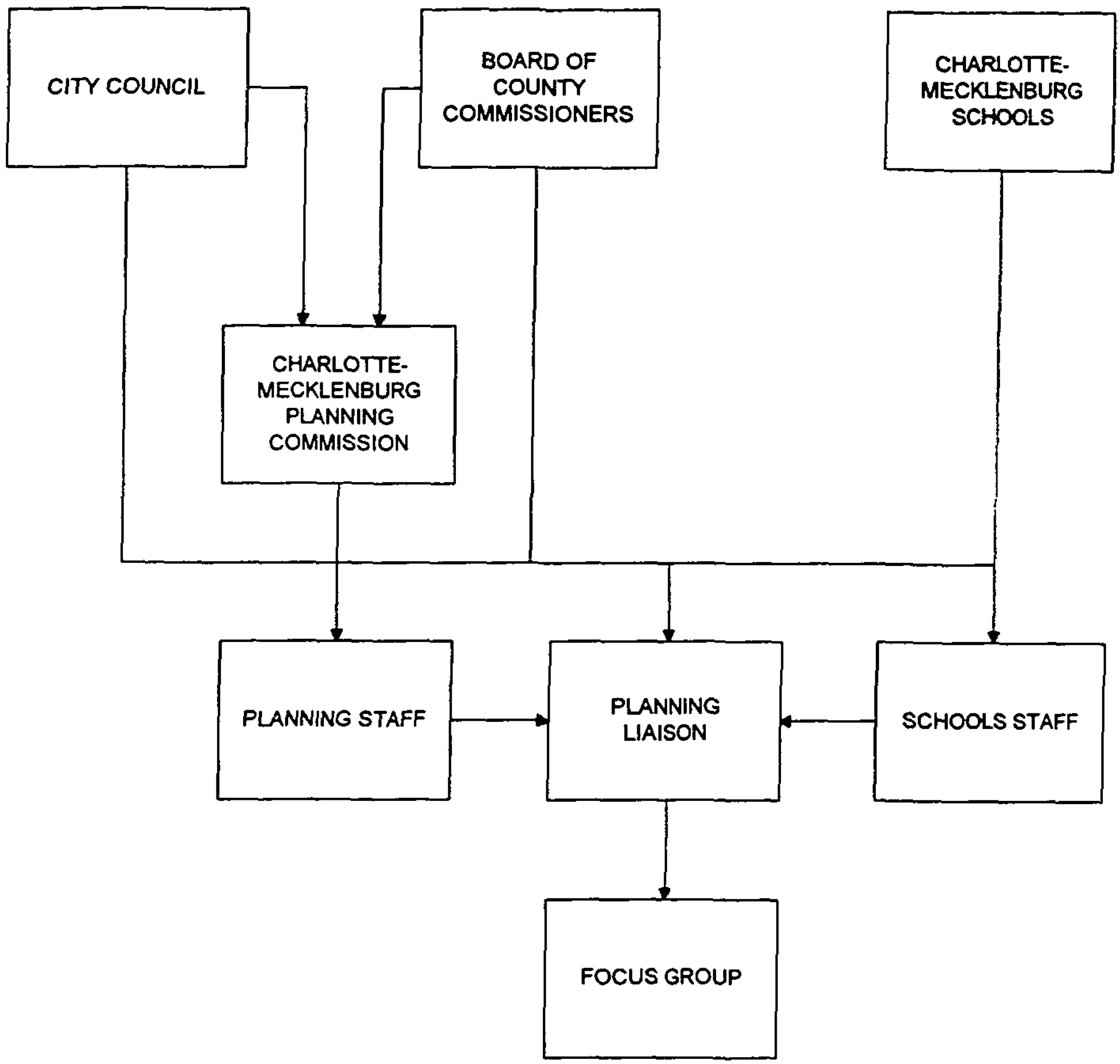
Attached is a suggested organizational alignment, staff support arrangements and reporting relationships for the focus group The selection process for the focus group participants will be recommended to the Elected Officials at a later date by the Planning Liaison Committee It is anticipated that the review process will take about 90 days and began in September, 1994

OPTIONS:

COUNCIL DECISION OR DIRECTION REQUESTED: City Council is requested to consider a resolution to participate in the focus group review and authorize the Planning Staff along with the School Staff to provide group facilitation and staff support to the focus group

ATTACHMENTS: Resolution of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School Board, Housing Strategies Report To Racially Integrated Schools Report To the Charlotte City Council, Board of County Commissioners and Board of Education (prepared by the Planning Commission), and Demographic Changes in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Implications for School Integration (prepared by the Schools)

HOUSING STRATEGIES FOR INTEGRATING SCHOOLS



FOCUS GROUP

JOINTLY ESTABLISHED BY CITY, COUNTY, & SCHOOL BOARD

REPORTS TO PLANNING LIAISON

STAFF SUPPORT JOINTLY BY PLANNING / SCHOOLS

Focus Group Facilitator - Martin Cramton / Jeff Schiller

Primary Staff - Debra Campbell / Jonathan Wells

REVISED
4/12/94

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System has long been committed to an integrated school system and has provided leadership to the community with respect to integrated educational opportunities;

WHEREAS, on October 10, 1989, Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System's Board of Education unanimously approved a vision statement that all children in Charlotte-Mecklenburg have equal access to educational opportunities appropriate for their needs in a racially integrated system;

WHEREAS, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System and its Board of Education have reaffirmed this commitment and on September 10, 1991, incorporated it into their mission statement that the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System "become the premiere urban, integrated system in the nation" (the "Commitment");

WHEREAS, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System and its Board of Education are committed to pursuing the Commitment;

WHEREAS, given the continuation of existing housing patterns in the community, population growths and shifts, and other demographic changes, pursuit of the Commitment has become more complex;

WHEREAS, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System and its Board of Education recognize that the most effective pursuit of the Commitment mandates the involvement of the entire community and a community-wide commitment to racial and economic integration;

WHEREAS, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System and its Board of Education are prepared to continue their leadership role in pursuit of these objectives for the community;

WHEREAS, specifically the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System and the Board of Education request the assistance of the County and City governments and other interested profit and non-profit organizations with respect to the provision of ***affordable housing throughout the community as part of their pursuit of the "Commitment;"***.

NOW, THEREFORE, be it resolved by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education that:

1. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education and the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System staff will convene ***an affordable housing*** policy task force for the purpose of considering, evaluating and recommending means by which the community can provide support and assistance through housing policies and practices to the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System in pursuing the Commitment.

2. The Board of Education requests that the County Commission, City Council, Planning Commission, and Charlotte Housing Authority appoint two members each to serve with two of its members on ***an affordable housing*** policy task force and that the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Community Relations Committee, Habitat for Humanity and Charlotte Housing Partnership* ***shall appoint one member, and further, that the Board of Education shall appoint one representative member each from the housing, mortgage and banking industries.***

3. At the policy task force's initial meeting, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System staff will provide the data and information defining the issues from which the means of assistance and support can be clarified and understood by all agencies.

4. Through the facilitation of the Board of Education and school system staff and resources, and with the assistance of other agencies' staffs and resources, the policy task force will consider, evaluate and recommend to appropriate agencies and the community:

A. Policy initiatives and supporting practices that will encourage the maintenance of integrated neighborhoods.

B. Policy initiatives and supporting practices that will encourage ***affordable housing*** units to be included in newly designed suburban communities to enable integration of new schools.

C. Policy initiatives and supporting practices designed to reinvigorate the central city to promote integration therein.

HOUSING STRATEGIES TO RACIALLY INTEGRATE SCHOOLS:

REPORT TO THE CHARLOTTE CITY COUNCIL, BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS AND BOARD OF EDUCATION

February, 1994

Prepared for Mr. Arthur Griffin, School Board Member
by
Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Staff

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HOUSING STRATEGIES TO RACIALLY INTEGRATE SCHOOLS:

REPORT TO THE CITY COUNCIL, COUNTY COMMISSIONERS AND BOARD OF EDUCATION

I. Background

In October 1993, Mr. Arthur Griffin, a member of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School Board requested assistance from the Planning Commission staff to look at housing strategies and programs that could potentially be implemented to help promote racially integrated neighborhoods throughout Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The assumption is that certain housing programs can help increase opportunities for racially integrated neighborhoods resulting in more opportunities to have naturally integrated neighborhood based schools to reduce the reliance on busing. In November 1993, both the City Council and the Board of County Commissioners directed the Planning Staff to work with Mr Griffin to identify potential alternatives for the community.

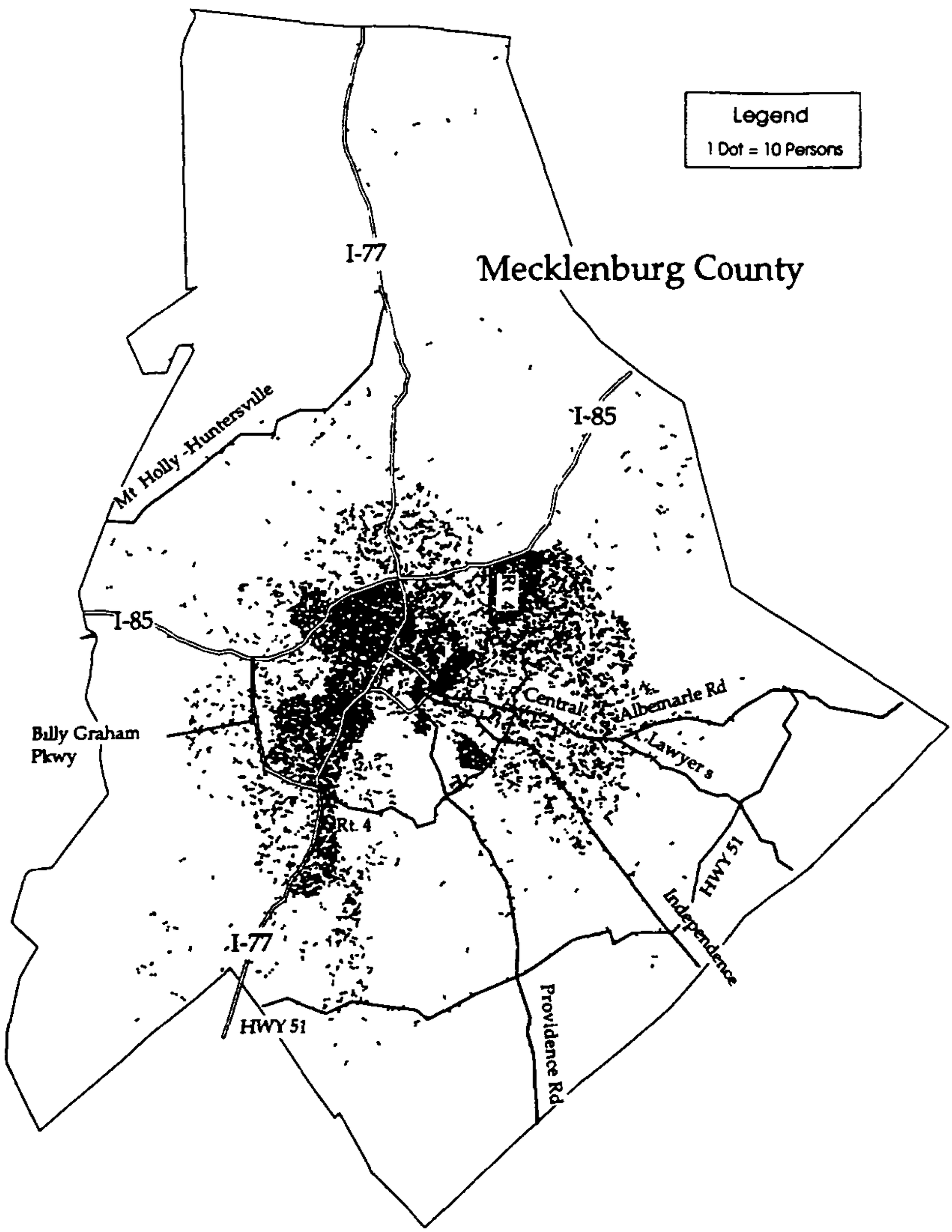
Over the past few months, staff has researched literature on housing and school integration, and collected information and ideas from various individuals and interested groups on how housing and school desegregation efforts can be coordinated. The following report gives a list of alternative housing strategies that could be considered to help create racially integrated neighborhoods which could led to racially integrated schools Planning Staff is not recommending any specific approach but, instead, presents a list of options that should be further studied and investigated to determine the best possible option or combination of options that could be used in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

II. Current Trends

In 1990, Blacks accounted for approximately 32% of the City of Charlotte population and roughly 26% of the population of Mecklenburg County. (See Map 1) In 1993, Blacks accounted for approximately 39% of the total student enrollment. Other minorities such as Asians, Indians, and Hispanics account for about 5% of the student population but are considered White under the School system's current policy.

Although some progress has been made over the years, Charlotte-Mecklenburg continues to be a city of segregated neighborhoods by most measures. Concentrations of Black households are generally located in the central city or within the area of Route 4, and in the southwest and northeast parts of the county. Population growth, however, is occurring in the south, southeast, north and east sections of the county. This growth is predominantly White. Based on existing and forecasted growth, the highest demand for new schools will be in the areas of growing population.

Black Population: Mecklenburg County



MAP 1

Additionally, it is projected that by the year 2002, the total number of Black students enrolled in Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools is expected to decrease to only 36% of the total student enrollment. Given this forecast, not only is this community expected to continue a segregated housing pattern but the number of Black students needed to integrate schools will also decrease. Consequently, the goal of racial balance in our schools will become increasingly difficult to attain.

III. Requirements for a Housing Based Strategy

In order to create neighborhood schools that are racially balanced, minimum Black or White population levels need to be achieved in school attendance areas. The required population will vary depending upon the school type and grade level. Data obtained from the *School Facilities Master Plan Draft* indicates that on average each Charlotte-Mecklenburg household yields .23 elementary students, .12 middle school students and .14 high school students The table below shows the minimum number of Black households needed to populate a predominantly White attendance zone to insure enough Black students to achieve 40%, 25% and 10% levels of integration.

Black Households Needed to Support School Integration

Schools Type	*Capacity*	*Total Housing Units Needed*	*Level of Black Integration*		
			40%	*25%*	*10%*
Elementary School	800	3,477	1,391	869	348
Middle School	850	7,120	2,848	1,780	712
High School	1,600	11,284	4,514	4,514	1,128

Source· 2002 School Facilities Master Plan Draft

For example, to obtain 80 Black students for a 800 student elementary neighborhood based school (10% integration level) you need to have 348 Black households reside within the attendance area. It should be noted that a number of factors influence the number of students generated from a household including the housing type - single family, town house and multifamily, income levels, etc.

IV. Current Strategies to Promote Racial Balance in Schools

A. Charlotte-Mecklenburg School Board of Education

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg School Board has primarily relied on busing and pupil assignments to racially balance schools in this community. Most of the current attendance areas were adopted in 1974 as part of a school desegregation plan approved by the District Court. While the majority of Mecklenburg county's students attend schools located within the attendance area where they live, approximately 20% of the students are bused out of their neighborhood's attendance area to another school in order to achieve racial balance.

In 1992, a new system of magnet schools was implemented as an alternative strategy to reduce reliance on busing for racial balance. These schools attract children from throughout the county. Racial balance in magnet schools is achieved based on a selective application and submissions process The School Board has also adopted 10% Census Tract rule regarding new school construction. The policy states that no new school will be constructed within a census tract with less than a 10% Black population unless a Black population base can be identified within the school attendance zone.

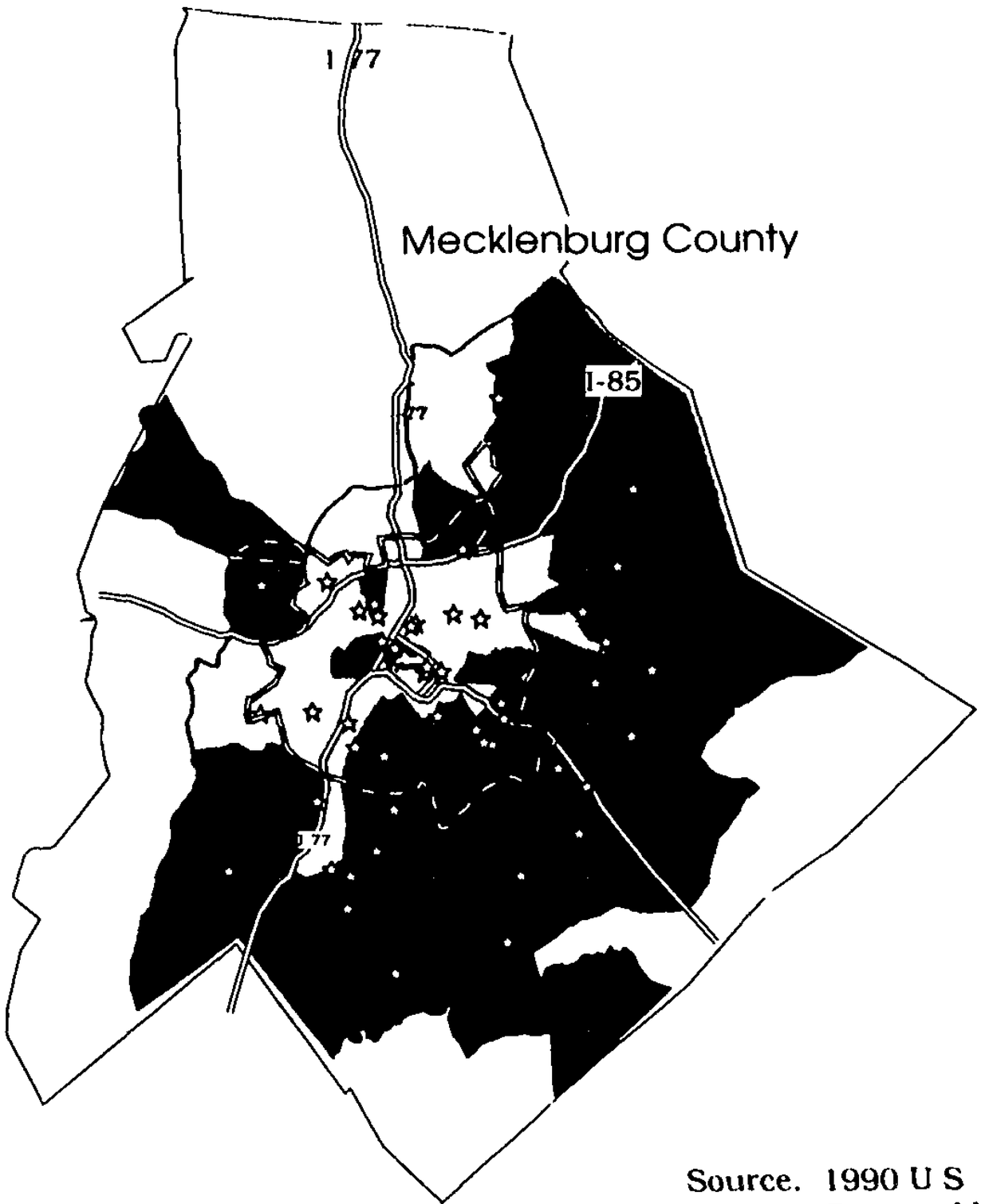
B. City of Charlotte's Locational Housing Policy

In 1987, City Council adopted a locational policy with objectives to disperse assisted housing, integrate neighborhoods and reduce the stigma felt by individuals residing in assisted housing. Permissible and/or priority areas to locate assisted housing include:

- Census tracts with less than 5% maximum number of assisted housing units
- Census tracts with less than 25% black population
- Census tracts where less than 50% or more of the households earn less than 80% of the median income
- Areas within a 1/4 mile radius of any assisted housing project greater than or equal to 25 units

The City maintains contracts with a number of non-profit housing agencies to deliver affordable housing units which must adhere to these guidelines. The Charlotte Housing Authority also adheres to these guidelines in placing housing in various areas of the community. (See Map 2)

Location Guidelines for Assisted Housing*



Legend

- ☐ Prohibited **
- ■ Permissable **
- ■ Priority **

★ Assisted Housing Complex

City Within A City Outline

* Location Guidelines approved by City Council in 1987 and revised in 1990 Policy is based on the number of existing assisted housing units and 1990 Census Tract information on race and income Median Income provided by HUD

** SPECIAL OBJECTIVE AREAS Any area can be considered for additional assisted housing by City Council on a case by case basis

Source. 1990 U S Census, Charlotte Housing Authority, City of Charlotte Prepared by City of Charlotte Community Development Dept and by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission

MAP 2

V. Housing Initiatives/List of Alternative Strategies

For a variety of reasons, both of the current approaches have been controversial in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The transportation costs, busing distances, unstable pupil assignments have caused parents and others to suggest alternatives to the pupil assignment program and demanded investigation of alternatives. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg School Board has responded by implementing mid-point schools and magnet schools.

Equally controversial, the placement of affordable and/or low and moderate income housing in predominantly White areas has not always garnered public support. Housing has not been explicitly linked to school integration in the past as an initiative that can help desegregate schools.

The above notwithstanding, the linkage between school desegregation and housing is an obvious one. Historically, busing was proposed as a short term approach to desegregate schools until neighborhoods could become more integrated. However, unlike pupil assignments where decisions are generally made by school administrators, housing choices are made by lots of individual home seekers. Consequently, housing programs that encourage racial integration are difficult and often just as controversial as busing to implement. However, proponents of school integration believe that housing desegregation is the most effective, long term solution to maintain racial balance in schools as well as promote greater understanding, respect and harmony among different racial groups.

This paper discusses three strategy areas designed to help promote racially integrated neighborhoods which in turn will help promote integrated schools. The strategies are designed to take a comprehensive approach but in themselves are not complete answers. They represent for the most part, beginning points where additional actions are needed on the part of the community to develop specific action plans to achieve these strategies.

A. *Strategy #1:* Continue to vigorously monitor and enforce Fair Housing Laws and procedures under the local Affirmative Marketing Agreement by:

1. **Conducting extensive public education and information campaigns for the general public, banking and real estate industries on fair housing laws.**

   A 1988 report commissioned by the Charlotte Community Housing Resource Board on housing discrimination in Charlotte's rental housing market found about 10% of renters who bought houses and almost 6% of those renting their homes in three year period preceding the study believed they had been treated unfairly. By applying their findings to the general population of renters in Charlotte, the study estimates that approximately 1,200 renters seeking new homes and 3,000 current renters during the

three year period experienced unfair practices. The study also suggested that many more residents may have experienced unfair practices but because of limited understanding and knowledge of fair housing laws never reported or were not aware of what to report.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Community Relations Committee's experience in administering the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Fair Housing Ordinance* supports the recommendation that more efforts need to be placed on education and awareness of the requirements of the law. Based upon their experience, they believe that additional resources also needs to be directed at preventing unfair practices as well as the resolution of complaints.

2. **Developing ways to monitor and gauge racial changes in neighborhoods, determining probable causes of changes, and making recommendations to address changes.**

The Charlotte Community Housing Resource Board serves as an advisory board to the Charlotte Board of Realtors on matters of affirmative marketing and the prevention of unlawful discrimination in housing practices. The Resource Board was established in 1987 under the *Affirmative Marketing Agreement*, a voluntary agreement between the Charlotte Board of Realtors and the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The agreement provides for the use of marketing practices which promote equal housing opportunities. An expanded role for the resource board could include periodically conducting studies, working with neighborhood groups and schools to regularly share information on neighborhood change and gauging racial changes in neighborhoods to determine if unfair housing practices are causing racial changes in neighborhoods.

B. Strategy #2: Promote and stabilize racially integrated neighborhoods by:

1. **Examining existing integrated neighborhoods to determine needs and providing needed infrastructure, support services and addressing other community needs to maintain these areas as desirable places to live and conduct business.**

There are a number of neighborhoods located primarily within Route 4 that are currently racially integrated. These neighborhoods have become racially integrated through a number of public and private actions. Most of the neighborhoods are in transition and are experiencing negative impacts such as business relocations, decaying infrastructure and other disinvestment activities.

To maintain racial balance in these neighborhoods and prevent further decline, these

areas should be targeted for public improvements and community services. Targeting transitional areas in advance of further decline represents an effective use of governmental resources. This will enable these communities to become examples of what the greater community should strive for.

2. **Providing quality neighborhood based schools in integrated neighborhoods as an incentive to remain integrated.**

   Naturally integrated neighborhoods should be rewarded for their success at becoming racially integrated. Often children in integrated neighborhoods are taken away to help integrate schools far removed from their homes. Some local groups believe schools in integrated areas are looked upon as having inferior quality when compared to other schools in the county. Neighborhood based schools should be created in integrated neighborhoods and those schools should be upgraded to a quality comparable to magnet schools so that they become schools of choice like magnet schools.

   In Palm Beach County, Florida, "Student Assignment Agreements" are utilized whereby developers, neighborhood associations, and the County agree to racially balance a neighborhood over specific time period, usually 5 years, in exchange for placement of a neighborhood school. The agreements exempt students in the neighborhood from distant school assignments during that time period.

3. **Developing programs to market racially integrated neighborhoods as neighborhoods of "choice."**

   Some individuals and groups in this community feel that integrated neighborhoods are desirable places, but the general public is not aware of where they exist or how they compare to other neighborhoods they may be considering. Similarly to a builder marketing a new community, marketing programs could acquaint community residents with the attributes of some of our older integrated neighborhoods in terms of quality, value, community services and overall liveability. A marketing program could be coupled with efforts of neighborhood organizations to showcase their community as a desirable place to live.

   In Shaker Heights, Ohio, the City has created a housing center to make housing purchasers aware of various housing locations. Whites are actively encouraged to move in predominantly Black areas and Blacks into predominantly White areas.

4. **Assisting neighborhood organizations to monitor, market and promote racially integrated neighborhoods.**

   Neighborhood organizations can play a major role in maintaining the quality and stability of neighborhoods. However, those organizations may lack the skills and

expertise to address major issues associated with neighborhood change and how to effectively present themselves to potential homebuyers. The City and County has a number of agencies and organizations in place - Community Relations Committee, Charlotte Housing Resource Board, Neighborhood Development Department, and Planning Commission - which could effectively help neighborhoods undergoing racial transition to identify trends, analyze those trends, and developing tentative plans to market neighborhoods. Where expertise is not available from governmental agencies, neighborhoods could be made eligible for *Neighborhood Matching Grants* or similar programs to purchase professional marketing services.

The SECO community in Toledo, Ohio organized to prevent white flight when Black families began moving into the commmunity They worked with the local Board of Realtors, local lending institutions and others to market their community. The organization engaged in active recruitment of white families to move into the area and help arranged financing and other support services for those new homeowners. Today, seventeen percent of the communities 650 families are Black.

C. Strategy #3: Increase the supply of affordable housing in strategic locations throughout Charlotte-Mecklenburg by:

1. Continuing to support and encourage development of affordable housing by for profit and non-profit agencies.

Since 1980, the Federal government has played a decreasing role in funding affordable housing options. This has required local governments which are committed to providing affordable housing to increase their local initiatives The City of Charlotte has augmented its limited federal dollars with the creation of Innovative Housing Fund to leverage private sector and non-profit housing agencies's dollars to build affordable housing. Since 1988, over 1,400 units of housing has been provided *within the City through this public/private partnership*

All over the nation communities are increasingly turning to non-profits to provide affordable housing. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Housing Partnership is the largest non-profit developer of affordable housing in Mecklenburg County. The Housing Partnership was formed principally to develop affordable single family and multi-family housing for low and moderate income families throughout Charlotte - Mecklenburg. Other local non-profits involved in developing affordable housing include Habitat for Humanity, the nation's largest chapter, and community based housing developers such as Community Development Corporations and for profit private agencies.

The efforts of these various non-profits and for profit groups could be more strategically aligned with placement of existing and new schools to further community integration efforts. This strategic housing placement could be coupled with a program to target minority housing seekers in areas dominated by members of another race.

2. **Strengthen linkage between schools and scattered site housing placement**

The Charlotte Housing Authority, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Housing Partnership and other non-profits develop affordable housing. The City of Charlotte's 1987 Locational Policy forbids City development of affordable housing units within certain census tracts which are already impacted with assisted housing, high Black concentrations and low income. (See Scattered Site Housing Policy discussed on page 4).

This particular program which primarily serves Blacks could be linked to the development of school sites in predominantly White areas to help integrate neighborhood.

3. **Explore the use of regulatory techniques and incentive programs to increase affordable housing in strategic areas**

A wide variety of regulatory techniques and incentive programs have been developed across the country to encourage the development of affordable housing. These techniques and programs include inclusionary zoning requirements, linkage policies, zoning incentives and financing incentives aimed at increasing the supply of affordable housing.

Inclusionary Zoning - This technique requires developers to set aside a portion of residential projects for low-and moderate-income housing. The programs are mandatory as well as voluntary. The set aside provision may require between five to 25 percent of the development. This portion of the development is targeted toward individuals who may earn anywhere between 30 and 120 percent of the local area median household income. The affordable housing units might be developed as part of the main project or off-site. Local governments usually employ deed restrictions to make sure the units remain affordable over time.

The integration of market units with affordable housing units raises issues about project design and access to services by occupants of the inclusionary housing units. Communities who have employed some form of inclusionary zoning include:

Boulder,Colorado	Hilton Head, South Carolina
Montgomery County, Maryland	Orange County, California
Dallas, Texas	Orlando, Florida

Linkage Policies - This technique requires that new nonresidential development that creates a demand for affordable housing pay a fee into a housing trust fund or construct or rehabilitate housing units. The linkage concept is similar to impact fees, dedications and fees in lieu of parks and recreation development. A rational nexus is established between the development creating the impact and measures by that development to mitigate the impact. Linkage programs of the type as in Nantucket, Massachusetts, requires that one affordable housing unit be provided by the developer for every 4,000 square feet of new commercial development

Zoning Incentives - This techniques provides zoning incentives to developers for development of affordable housing. Residential developers may be given density bonuses of 25 percent or more of the maximum residential density for the inclusion of affordable housing units in a project. Other requirements may include a reduction or elimination of zoning or site development standards such as setback, square footage limitations, parking, waiver of fees or dedication requirements, or preferential zoning districts such as a mixed-use district. Most zoning ordinances include some provision for incentives for certain types of development. The *City of Charlotte Zoning Ordinance* has a reduced parking standard for low income developments.

Financing Incentives - Financial incentive programs are aimed at encouraging potential buyers or renters to desegregate areas. These programs may take the form of low interest primary and secondary mortgage assistance, rehabilitation grants and rent subsidies to renters to improve integration.

Fund For An Open Society built a national model for resolution of segregation problems in Shaker Heights, Ohio. The organization approached individuals who were seeking housing and offered low interest loans as an incentive to integrate certain areas. Often Whites would be approached to integrate Black neighborhoods which would be losing their appeal due to the number of Black households. Alternatively, Blacks were approached to integrate predominantly White areas In the City of Oak Park, outside of Chicago, Illinois, racial integration is achieved through home equity assistance, rehabilitation grants to landlords and subsidies to renters to improve racial integration. The City has established a housing center to encourage incoming Whites to move into Black areas and Blacks to move into White areas.

4. Encourage the development of affordable housing which blends in with and is architecturally compatible with existing development

One sensitive issue is the appropriate design of affordable housing units located in market rate areas. Some communities have proposed flexible design standards rather than requiring identical exterior and interior features. For example, affordable units must have the same number of bedrooms but are permitted lower amenity standards.

The siting of affordable units within market areas is also a concern. Options range from requiring units to be dispersed within a development, clustered on site or allowing the units to be provided off-site. For example, Orange County, California allows units to be placed off-site through either in-kind construction or fees in lieu of.

5. **Encourage the development of joint uses such as schools, parks and housing**

The City of Charlotte, Mecklenburg County and School Board locally have attempted to employ joint purchase strategies for land needed for major government uses such as parks and school sites. To support school integration efforts, purchase of lands should be coordinated with land needed to construct affordable housing units. Then suitable land could be situated to address future housing when it is needed.

IV. Conclusion

A housing based strategy to integrate neighborhoods is not the total answer for integrating the community's schools. There are a number of hurdles to cross including logistical, financial and social. However, it may help provide integration for some of the new schools in outlying areas.

There are a number of possible strategies that can be explored to integrate schools All of the above strategies have merit but their are disadvantages associated with each. They will require coordination among a number of public and private agencies -- government, developers, banking and real estate community -- to be successful.

If the Elected Officials are serious about addressing this concern, a suggested next step would be to form a committee made up of City, County and Schools Elected Officials, members of the for profit and non-profit housing development community, banking community, real estate community and general citizenry to select appropriate measures for Charlotte-Mecklenburg County and develop them for the Elected Officials adoption. *The committee should select a target community where a school is planned to implement these concepts.* This will serve as a demonstration model for the remainder of the community.

Gary Orfield, Harvard professor and author of *Toward A Strategy For Urban Integration* writes "Charlotte school, housing and planning officials and local selected leaders now have the best development system for consultation and coordinated planning of sites for new construction of subsidized housing that I have found in any of the cities I studied."

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DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN THE CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG COMMUNITY: IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL INTEGRATION

A PROPOSED AGENDA FOR ACTION

I. The Issue in Charlotte-Mecklenburg

There are forces at work that are making it increasingly difficult for the school system, by itself, to maintain and increase the extent to which its schools are integrated

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) of Charlotte, North Carolina has a distinguished career in desegregation. It has experienced fairly consistent growth over the past 14 years with the ratio of white to black students remaining constant at approximately 60% white and 40% black[1]. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg court order that desegregated CMS has imposed an "ideal" 60/40 ratio for all but one elementary school in the entire district but allows elementary schools to have up to 55% black enrollment. This historic commitment to school integration was reinforced by the current school board on September 10, 1991 in which it adopted a mission which stated that "... the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System will become the premier urban, integrated system in the nation in which all students acquire the knowledge, skills and values necessary to live rich and full lives as productive and enlightened members of society."

Although CMS has actively worked to maintain this 60/40 ratio, **the percentage of black students attending predominantly black schools has increased when compared to the baseline year of 1986.** The purpose of this paper is to examine this increase, explore its origins, and to begin discussions that will lead to strategies to reverse this trend.

[1]As a result of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg court order, students are classified as black and "other" with all non-black minority group students included with the white statistics. Across the system, the percentage of non-black minority group students equals approximately 4%.

II. Background

Growing concern over reports of increased segregation in the nation's schools

In December of 1993, the Council of Urban Boards of Education received a report entitled, *The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty Since 1968* (Orfield, Schley, Glass, & Reardon, 1993). The report focused on changes in the number of minority students--primarily black and Hispanic--attending schools that are predominantly (more than 50%) minority. These changes formed the basis of an index that was used to measure the extent of segregation in a school system. Although the primary focus of the Orfield report is on demographic changes, the tone of that report, and others (e.g., Orfield & Thronson, 1993), implies that the increased numbers of minorities attending predominantly minority schools have been either the result of benign neglect, or possibly, the result of deliberate policy decisions intended to dismantle forty years of desegregation. For example, Orfield et al. (1993) state that, "given recent changes in the law and a widespread debate among southern school boards about ending desegregation plans, the increase in segregation shown here could foreshadow much larger moves toward racial isolation in the future." (p. 10) The implication is that there may be a growing tendency by school boards or others to allow or promote renewed segregation in American schools.

Although some school districts experiencing an increase in segregation have sought to become free of court-ordered mandatory desegregation, this does not necessarily mean that they intend "to rapidly resume local control, dismantle desegregation plans, and return to neighborhood schools, thus making the situation like that which existed outside the South before the desegregation era" (Orfield & Thronson, 1993, p. 759). On the contrary, for a long time many school districts, such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg, have done well in

implementing court orders and have no desire to return to the past or to any form of segregation. The possibility that these school districts could deliberately return to *de facto* segregation with impunity from their communities does not seem realistic.

From the late 1940s through the 1960s, the United States federal government systematically engaged in the dismantling of mechanisms that had been used to segregate blacks from whites. Among the milestones towards integration was *Brown vs. Board of Education*, 1954. In this decision the U.S. Supreme Court found racially segregated schools to be unconstitutional. One of the key arguments in the decision was that segregated schools were innately inferior (Carr & Zeigler, 1990).

The intent of the Brown decision was reinforced by the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prevented school districts that discriminated on the basis of race from receiving any federal aid (Carr & Zeigler, 1990). Over time--1968 through 1975--the federal courts were able to end *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, racial discrimination and to uphold the use of busing to achieve racial balance.

Among the tools developed to aid in the dismantling of racial segregation was the 1968 Fair Housing Law. This law guaranteed the rights of blacks to own, sell, lease, and dispose of property. It was anticipated that its effect would be to integrate neighborhoods, which, eventually, would also lead to integrated schools. Despite this law, however, the past three decades have not been marked by trends leading toward the reduction of residential segregation. Although there have been some noted exceptions to this, for example in the West among Hispanics (Massey & Denton, 1987), there has been no decrease in neighborhood segregation where the majority of blacks live (Weiher, 1991).

Although no one explanation is universally accepted, differences in socio-economic status are seen by many to be a primary reason for explaining the lack of neighborhood integration in the United States (Darroch & Marston).

III. The State of Integration in Charlotte-Mecklenburg: A Moving Target

Paired schools and satellites in well designed desegregation strategies are less effective in the face of unprecedented demographic changes

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS), a consolidated city and county system, is the 29th largest school system in the United States. It has a rich history in the quest for integration and was the first school system in the nation to operate a court-ordered busing plan approved by the U.S. Supreme Court (*Swann vs. the Board of Education, 1965*). CMS has approximately 82,000 students enrolled for the 1993-94 school year. (The system includes 78 elementary schools, 23 middle schools, and 11 senior high schools.) The ethnic distribution of these students is roughly 55% white, 40% black, 3% Asian, less than 2% Hispanic, and less than 1% American Indian. The overall percentage of black students has not varied more than 2% in the past twenty years. This is in stark contrast to other large urban systems throughout the country. Approximately 44% of all black students live within central Charlotte with the remaining 56% distributed throughout the County in mostly black enclaves. The vast majority of white students are scattered throughout the suburban areas. It is projected that within ten years about 110,000 students will be attending schools in the district with approximately the same ethnic distribution.

To provide the reader with an understanding of how CMS has responded to the complexity and implementation of its court-approved integration plan, a description of the current 1992 Student Assignment Plan (Plan) is in order. The Plan was designed to maintain and even improve the extent of integration in CMS while, at the same time, increasing the stability of assignments for children and finding ways of ensuring that neither black nor white children carried disproportionately the burden of making the Plan work.

The major purposes of the Plan are to reduce, eliminate, and prevent racial isolation and to contribute to conditions that will ensure that all students receive a quality and relevant education. The plan relies upon three key strategies to address the problem of racial isolation and to further the integration of schools.

- The first strategy is the creation of stand-alone schools. These schools, located in naturally integrated areas, serve students who live in those areas.
- The second strategy is the creation of mid-point schools. These existing or new schools are located approximately mid-point between majority and minority communities and serve students from these communities.
- The third strategy is the creation of magnet schools. These schools are ones that could not be desegregated effectively through the use of the first two methods. They are, therefore, converted to magnet schools, drawing racially integrated student bodies from throughout the district on a voluntary basis.

It is critical to note that it would be most desirable if all schools could be integrated "stand-alone" schools. However, the fact that there are relatively few integrated neighborhoods in Charlotte-Mecklenburg makes this desire difficult to achieve. Therefore, the mid-point and magnet schools should always be viewed as compensatory mechanisms--mechanisms that are used to compensate for the community's lack of residential integration -- strategies that reflect fairer and sounder educational practices than the extensive use of paired schools and satellites.

The timing required to implement the Plan is complicated by (1) the parallel need to change the grade structure of CMS (bringing all schools into a k-5, 6-8, 9-12 alignment), (2) moving away from the existing system of paired elementary schools (one school serving all the children from both

attendance areas in grades K-3 and the other serving all the children in grades 4-6) and (3) increasing enrollments.

IV. The Analysis: What the Data Show

There has been a change in school integration in CMS. And, changing and shifting population patterns are the primary cause.

To address the key issue of whether or not there have been any recent changes in school integration in CMS, elementary school enrollment data were closely examined (Note: Elementary school data were selected since those schools' enrollments are most sensitive to changes in neighborhood population changes.) Two basic questions were asked as a means of addressing the issue:

1. Have there been any changes, over time, in the percentage of black students who have been and are attending predominantly black schools?
2. What factors have and/or are still contributing to any changes in the percentage of black students attending predominantly black schools?

Question 1 Have there been any increases, over time, in the percentage of black students who have been and are attending predominantly black schools? *Although the answer to this question is "yes," the problem is significantly less problematic than it is nationally and, in the past year, there are signs of a turnaround.*

Two analyses were performed to answer this question. **The first included the 1986 and 1991 school years.** These periods were chosen because they are the ones that Orfield et al. (1993) used in their analysis of national trends stating "(t)he proportion of black students in schools with more than half minority students rose from 1986 to 1991,

reaching the level that had existed before the Supreme Court's first busing decision." (p 7) The 1991 analysis is also key in that it represents the school year prior to the implementation of the Plan. Therefore, it could be seen as the baseline to be used to eventually judge the effectiveness of the Plan.

The second analysis focused on the 1993-94 school year. This analysis was designed to provide an early indication of the Plan's impact.

There were eleven elementary schools in 1986-87 that had predominantly black populations. Ten of the eleven schools are located in the **central part** of Charlotte. These eleven predominantly black elementary schools contained 3,425 out of 15,298 black students or approximately **22% of all black students.** By 1991-92, there were eighteen elementary schools that were predominantly black, nine of which had also been predominantly black in 1986-87. Here too, seventeen of the eighteen schools are located in the **expanding central part of the city** (neighborhoods characterized by increased residential segregation accompanied with comparatively high unemployment and low income). These eighteen elementary schools contained 5,473 of the 17,347 black students or approximately **32% of the black students** in CMS. Thus, it is true that a larger proportion of black students in 1991-92 was in predominantly black schools than had been in 1986-87. However, the 1991-92 figure of 32% is still barely half the national average of 63% of black students attending predominantly black schools for that year as reported by Orfield et al. (1993) and substantially less than the 58% recorded by CMS prior to the 1971 Supreme Court ruling on mandatory busing.

In 1993-94, the second year of the five year student assignment plan, twenty-one elementary schools had predominantly black populations. These schools contained 5,816 of the 18,705 black students, approximately **31% of all black students**, a slight decrease in the percentage of black students attending predominantly black schools from the 1991-92 figure of 32% (see Table 1 below for a description of the yearly percentages as

well as changes over time). At the very least this represents a very substantial "flattening" of the trend toward an increase in black students attending predominantly black schools.

This slight reversal of the trend is even more important when the reader considers that during the same time period (1991-1994) the district's black elementary student population increased at a greater rate (approximately 8%) than the district's white elementary population (approximately 6%).

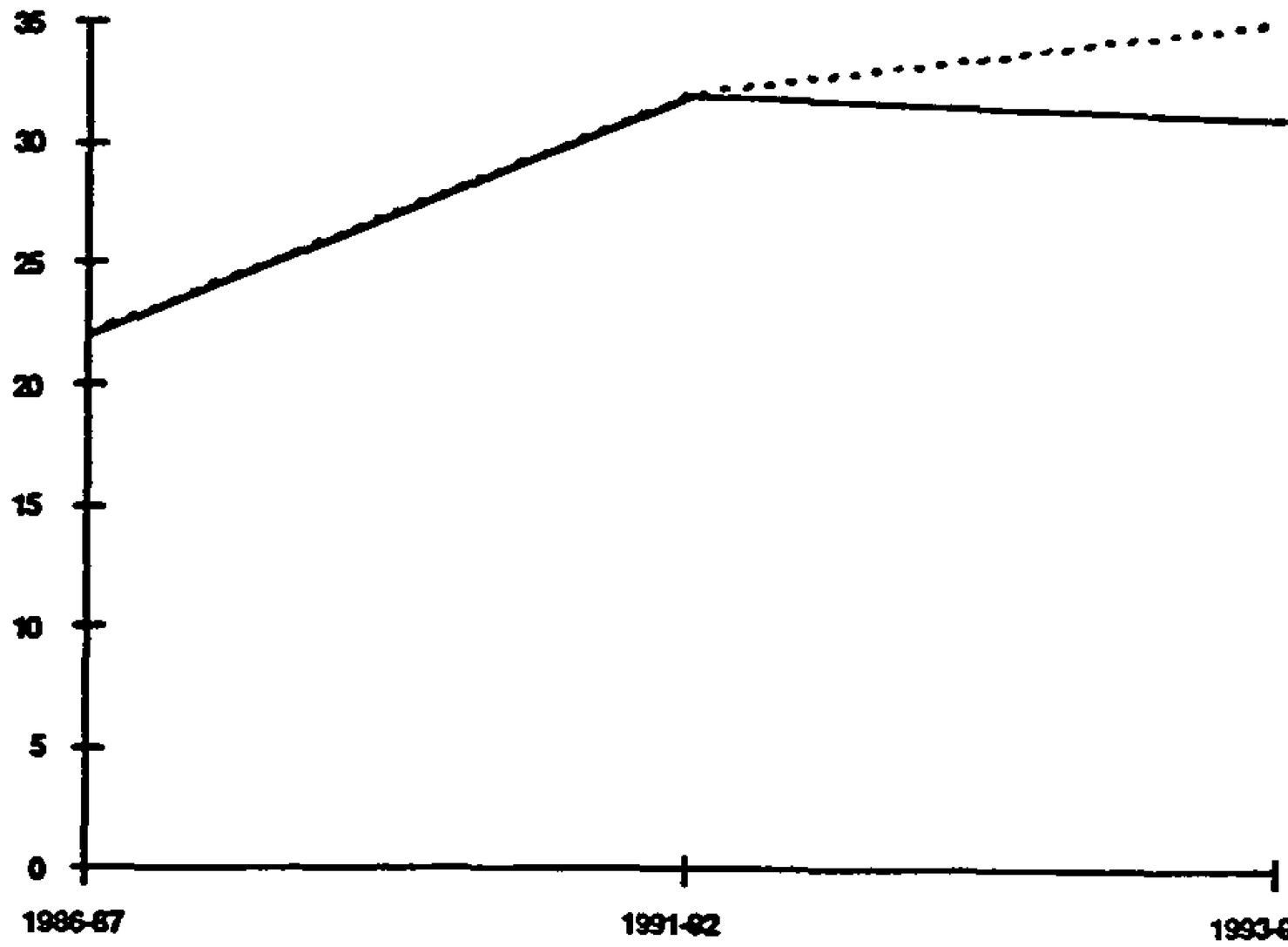
Table 1. Black students in Predominantly Black Schools (PBS).

School Year	Number of black students in PBS	Percent of all black students	Number of elementary schools
1986-87	3425	22	11
1991-92	5473	32	18
1993-94	5816	31	21

As noted , one of CMS' three strategies for integrating schools, is the creation of magnet schools. This strategy is used when the other two (stand-alone and mid-point schools) are not feasible. Although the magnet program did not begin until 1991, there are already signs that these schools can play a pivotal role in creating and/or maintaining integrated schools. The best way of estimating the impact of magnet schools is to analyze what *would* have happened had there *not* been magnet schools To analyze this question, an analysis was conducted in which those black students who would have attended one of the predominantly black schools, but chose to attend a magnet school were "returned" to the school that they would have attended had there not been magnet schools. The racial balance that "would have" existed at these schools had there not been any magnet schools, was then examined.

As indicated in Figure 1 below, 6524 or 35%[2] of all black elementary students would be attending predominantly black elementary schools instead of the actual 5816 (31%) if magnet schools were not in place. This decrease of 4% in a single year is a major reduction in what was an accelerating increase in the percent of black students attending primarily black schools.

Figure 1 illustrates the percentage of black students who attend predominantly black schools from 1986 through 1993 (solid line) and what the percentage would have been had the magnet schools not existed(dotted line).



[2]This number does not include the 163 black elementary students who chose to attend one of the four magnet schools that are not yet fully integrated. If they were included in the analysis, 36% of black elementary students would be attending predominantly black elementary schools.

Question 2 **What factors have and/or are still contributing to decreases in school integration?** ***Increases in the density of the black population in primarily black areas, and the white population in white areas, are making it more difficult to integrate many of CMS' schools.***

To understand the observed changes in black student enrollments noted above, the census tracts in which the attendance areas for the 1986-87 and 1991-92 predominantly black schools were located were examined to:

- determine population shifts,
- identify any changes in the racial make-up of the communities, and
- determine if any changes occurred in the socio-economic status of the population.

These analyses were accomplished by examining 1980 and 1990 United States Census data[3] to estimate the demographic changes in two types of geographic areas: (1) geographic areas from which students were assigned to the predominantly black schools, and (2) a geographic area with a large white population that has experienced extraordinarily large increases (census tracts that were in excess of 1,000 people in 1980 and at least doubled in population by 1990) in total population and are indicative of the suburban growth around Charlotte. In addition to the census data, free and reduced lunch data for the years 1988 and 1993 were examined. This information indicated if changes by race were accompanied by changes in socio-economic status as well (1988 data were used instead of 1987 data because that was the earliest year in which the information was available.)

[3]All census data were reported by 1980 census tracts; census tracts changed from 1980 to 1990, so the 1980 areas were chosen in order to retain the same geographic area for the 1990 comparison. These data included such information as. total population and population by race (1980 and 1990 census), the number of school age children by race (1990 census), the number of women of child-bearing age by race (1990 census); and, per capita income by race (1980 and 1990 census).

Analysis of the census tracts containing the eleven predominantly black schools in 1986-87.

The eleven census tracts that contained the attendance areas for the predominantly black schools were identified and investigated using 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census data (see Appendix A for maps of the census tracts as well as detailed data for each). The major findings of this analysis revealed that:

- Although the total population of these eleven tracts increased by approximately 7,400 people from 1980 to 1990, the white population decreased by 3,346 and the black population increased by 9,372,
- In 1990, approximately 21% (7,249) of the eleven-tract black population were school-age children, but only 11% (4,457) of the eleven-tract white population were school-age children,
- Even though white people were the majority (52%) of the eleven-tract population in 1990, black school-age children are 57% of the total number of school-age children,
- The ratio of women of child-bearing age to school-age children in the eleven-tract black population was 1.2 to 1. The ratio of women of child-bearing age to school-age children in the eleven tract white population was 1.7 to 1. The implication of this is that the black student population will most likely continue to grow in these areas at a faster rate than the white population.

There is also a notable difference in per capita income. The 1980 black per capita income for this eleven-tract area was approximately $5,000 while the white per capita income was almost $8,000. By 1990, the black per capita income in the eleven-tract area was just over $10,000 and the white per capita income was over 50% larger at just under

$16,000. An even more revealing view at the income issue results from looking at the receipt of free and reduced lunches in the eleven predominantly black schools. In 1988, these schools had an average of 48% of all students obtaining free or reduced lunch. By 1993, in only five years, this average had risen to 56%. These schools are serving more poor students in 1993 than they were in 1988. Therefore, these census tracts not only contain more black children than in 1986, but more black children from poor families.

Analysis of census tracts containing the eighteen predominantly black schools in 1991-92

The seventeen census tracts that contained the attendance areas for the predominantly black schools were identified and investigated using 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census data (see Appendix A for maps of the census tracts as well as detailed data for each). The trends that were evident in the above analysis are also evident here. Again, the racial distribution changed dramatically. The major findings of this analysis revealed that:

- Although the total population of these seventeen tracts increased by more than 9,900 people from 1980 to 1990, the white population decreased by 2,503 and the black population increased by 10,827,
- In 1990, approximately 19% (8,692) of the seventeen-tract black population were school age children, but only 11% (6,096) of the seventeen-tract white population were school-age children,
- Even though white people were the majority (52%) of the seventeen-tract population, black school-age children are over 55% of the total number of school-age children,
- The ratio of women of child-bearing age to school-age children in the eleven-tract black population was 1.4 to 1. The ratio of women of child-bearing age to school-age children in the eleven tract white population was 1 9 to 1. Once again,

the implication is that the black student population will most likely continue to grow in these areas at a faster rate than the white population

Again, the disparity in per capita income exists here as well. The 1980 black per capita income was about $5,500, while the white per capita income was just over $8,000. By 1990, the black per capita income was approximately $9,000 and the white per capita income was about $15,700 or almost 70% larger. Here too, it is apparent that although both groups' per capita incomes grew, the gap between black and white per capita incomes is still comparatively large and shows no relative improvement for the black population.

As was the case with the 1986-87 schools, these changes in per capita income do not fully illustrate the relative economic well-being of the children attending these predominantly black schools. This is better illustrated by examining the average percentage of students who qualified for free and reduced lunches in the eighteen schools that were predominantly black in 1991-92. In 1988, each school had an average of 41% of all students obtaining free or reduced lunch. By 1993, this average had risen to 56%. Thus, by this estimate, these schools are serving more poor students in 1993 than in 1988. Once again, it is fair to assume that these census tracts not only contain more black children than in 1980, but more black children from poor families.

Analysis of a suburban census tract

One cannot truly understand the extent to which the demographics are changing throughout the district without also examining the growth in the suburban portion of the community. To gain a better understanding of these growth patterns an examination, similar to the ones above, was performed on the census tract that is most demonstrative of suburban growth in Charlotte.

The census tract chosen for analysis was selected because it more than doubled in population from 1980 to 1990 and because it illustrates succinctly the dilemma faced by the

community as a whole. In 1980, this census tract in the southern part of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg had a total population of just over 20,000 people. The census tract population was 88% white and 10% black. The major findings of this analysis revealed that:

- By 1990, this census tract had experienced a 260% increase in population totaling over 52,200 people,
- Although both black and white populations in this tract grew, the white population increased in excess of 30,000 people making it 92% of the total census tract population while the black population increased by only 1,380, thus making it less than 7% of the total population in this census tract,
- White children were 87% of the school-age population, black children were 8%,
- The ratio of women of child-bearing age to school-age children in the eleven-tract black population was 1.1 to 1. The ratio of women of child-bearing age to school-age children in the eleven tract white population was 1.4 to 1. The implication is that although the black student population will probably continue to grow at a faster rate than the white student population, the relative size and growth of the white student population will most likely prevent the black student population from approaching 40% of the student population for years to come.

The disparity in income exists in this tract; however, the gap is not as profound as in other census tracts. The 1980 black per capita income was about $5,800 while the white per capita income was 43% larger at just over $10,100. By 1990, the black per capita income was approximately $15,000 and the 1990 white per capita income was almost 30% larger at about $21,200. In this instance, both groups' per capita incomes grew and the relative size of the gap between black and white per capita incomes narrowed slightly. However, the gap is still substantial.

As was the case with the schools mentioned above, these changes in per capita income do not fully illustrate the relative economic well-being of the children attending the elementary schools in this census tract. This is better illustrated by examining the average percentage of students who qualified for free and reduced lunches in the elementary schools in this census tract. In 1988, the schools in this tract had an average of 29% of all students obtaining free or reduced lunch. By 1993, this average had dropped to 19%. Thus, by this estimate, schools in this tract are serving a smaller percentage of poor students in 1993 than in 1988.

V. Discussion: What We Know

First and most importantly, there is no evidence that CMS policies or practices are responsible for the increase in the percentage of black students attending predominantly black schools. It is true that, in the Charlotte community, the number and density of black school-age relatively poor children are increasing in neighborhoods with already high concentrations of black children. While this may be reason for concern, blame for this development can not be placed on CMS. The increase in the percentage of black students attending predominantly black schools is mostly a result of black population growth in attendance areas that are already either integrated or predominantly black.

There seem to be three explanations for this. The first explanation is represented by schools that exist in long-time predominantly black neighborhoods.

The second, represented by a school like Briarwood, is located in a neighborhood that was 26% black in 1980 but 50% black in 1990. Black school-age children are now over 60% of the school-age population in this tract.

The third explanation is represented by those schools that are in integrated areas but where the size of their black satellite (residential areas where students living in those areas are assigned and bused to particular schools in other parts of the district to ensure

compliance with the court-ordered racial ratio) has increased, forcing the overall percent of black children in the school higher.

The reader should remember that the 1993-94 percentage of black students attending predominantly black schools decreased slightly from the previous years. Put another way, CMS' latest policy shift--the 1992 Plan--has had a small positive effect on desegregation. **As noted previously, the absence of magnet schools would have made things worse.** Orfield & Thronson (1993) believe that magnets such as these may be "the next stage of integration, in which much less coercion may be needed." (p. 761)

Although the 1980 and 1990 census data do not allow for absolute direct comparisons to be made between the years in question (1986-87, 1991-92, and 1993-94), they do confirm that there have been substantial changes in the number and ethnicity of the people who live in the predominantly black schools' attendance areas. We now know that the populations of these attendance areas are growing, yet, the growth occurred in the black population while the white population in these areas actually declined. We know that the number of school-age children in these areas no longer reflects the system wide ratio of 60/40. In fact, the ratio is almost reversed with black children becoming almost 60% of the school-age population. We also now have indications that the populations in these areas are poorer than they were in the past. Finally, we can assume that these trends have not abated and most likely have accelerated.

We also know that as the inner city neighborhoods became "blacker" their suburban counterparts became "whiter." The examination of the southern census tract that experienced extraordinary growth coupled with the examination of the census tracts encompassing the predominantly black school attendance areas demonstrates that as the black inner city school-age population grew disproportionately to the white inner city population, the white suburban school-age population grew disproportionately to the black suburban school-age population.

As Orfield et al. (1993) noted, "segregation by race is strongly related to segregation by poverty." (p. 1) It is commonly accepted that the intertwining of class and ethnicity is probably the most difficult problem facing the analysis of complex societies (van den Berghe, 1981). In Charlotte-Mecklenburg, just as in many other places, poverty and ethnicity are closely intertwined. The impact of this fact is understood when we review some of the differences in socio-economic status characteristics between black and white populations in the census tracts mentioned above. The black population, especially in the central city, is substantially poorer, has more school age children, and the women have more children per capita than the white population.

From these particular attributes we can infer that a substantial portion of the black population is represented by individuals who may be long-term working poor or unemployed (Glasgow, 1980). They are segregated in inner central city neighborhoods (Galster, 1992) and generally have comparatively little education, insufficient experience in the labor market, few options for social mobility, and often unstable family relationships (Clark & Nathan, 1982). Overall, they tend to exist outside the mainstream occupational system (Wilson, 1985). It should be noted that these characteristics are similar to those of low socio-economic white populations found elsewhere.

The implications here are two-fold, even in the face of vigilant efforts by the board to maintain integrated schools: First, as the number and percentage of black population in the inner city increases, the problem of growing numbers of black students attending predominantly black schools could get larger. Second, as the number and percentage of white students in given neighborhoods increase, the problems of schools in those areas becoming predominantly white also increase. The entire Charlotte-Mecklenburg community must understand this fact and also understand that it needs to take a fresh look at the issue and embark on a new set of

community-wide strategies to assist CMS achieve its commitment to an integrated school system.

VI. A Call to Community-Wide Action

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg community is faced with a daunting challenge: how to continue to effectively integrate its elementary schools when neighborhoods are becoming more segregated. It is clear that even more effective integration can be achieved with assistance from the community. The system has tried to integrate schools through a variety of strategies and will continue to do so. An examination of the student assignment records showed that no policy decisions were made to concentrate black students into particular schools. In fact, the opposite is true. Generally, elementary attendance areas were irregularly shaped in order to include, when possible, an appropriate number of black and white children to meet the court guidelines. When this was not possible, two schools were paired.

In other instances, satellite attendance areas were created, adjusted, or dissolved based upon the impact they had on the racial balance of their assigned school. In other words, the intent of the changes in student assignment was, in part, to ensure that the black ratios in schools met court guidelines. These methods of student assignment are indicative of the annual "tinkering" that occurred over the years with the various student assignment plans. Inherent in this "tinkering" are the problems associated with families not knowing what schools their children are likely to attend in the near future.

It is important to note that by 1990 the school district was aware that the annual adjustments to some school attendance areas were not going to be successful in drastically reducing the number of black students attending some predominantly black schools. Take, for example, a 1990 draft report to the CMS' Pupil Assignment Office from the district's research staff. It stated that, although re-assigning 180 students from Devonshire to

another school would reduce the black ratio in that school for the upcoming school year (1990-91), current trends caused them to believe that the minority ratio would continue to rise in the future. Thus, the continuing and cumulative effect of demographic shifts are making it more difficult to integrate the schools with student assignment policies alone.

The role that CMS plays has evolved substantially during the past three decades. Whereas previously the only responsibility of the school district was to deliver educational services to kindergarten through grade 12 populations; educational, economic, and social challenges of the late 20th century require CMS to cease operating in isolation from the larger community which it serves. Recent transformations of our society -- transformations that manifest themselves in the form of more segregated neighborhoods -- must be viewed as the interpretive context against which to evaluate new forms of intervention. **It is time to acknowledge that the overall solutions to what have traditionally been classified as *school problems*, must be redefined as *community problems* requiring community-wide solutions.** The school district can "move" students around with buses but cannot create policies and practices that determine where they live. For that to occur, the full power and influence of the broader set of community actors must be brought into play. CMS, other governmental institutions, and the private and not-for-profit sectors must be willing to create a system that leads to concerted efforts for integrating Charlotte as a whole, and, consequently CMS' schools.

The analyses in this paper make it clear that solutions must also be found to integrate overwhelmingly black and white schools. Selecting one set of schools to be integrated while ignoring others, is not sound public policy. However, the methods must not inadvertently "harm" any children by making them bear unreasonable burdens. The solutions must truly be "Solomon-like" and designed to bring about major changes in residential housing patterns throughout the community.

To develop and to begin to implement an action agenda designed to effectively integrate area schools, CMS suggests that a set of interrelated strategies be designed and

implemented. It is recommended that a special "neighborhood integration policy task force" be established to assist in developing and implementing strategies. This task force should consist of school system, City, and County representatives, land developers, builders, public relations firms, and other interested parties.

Strategy 1: The school system must "stay the course" as it implements its student assignment plan. The continued implementation of CMS' three-part student assignment plan designed to integrate schools provides the basic framework for improving the assignment plan of the past and for creating schools that are more integrated than they are now.

Strategy 2: The school system must continue to locate as many new schools as possible to:

- **house satellites of students who are now attending schools that are already integrated and can "stand-alone,"**
- **serve as mid-point schools, and**
- **serve neighborhoods that are already integrated.**

The appropriate siting of the new schools is also key to the effective improvement of the old assignment system – particularly as it relates to depairing.

Strategy 3: City/County officials must develop policies and practices that encourage the maintenance of integrated neighborhoods. In these neighborhoods, specific attention should be paid to identifying early signs of transition. These signs could include abnormal increases in property transactions, increased absentee property ownership, excessive residential and commercial vacancies, and decreases in the

level of investment property maintenance. If there is evidence of transition, then financial and other incentives should be offered to ensure necessary public and private sector participation to keep these neighborhoods integrated.

Strategy 4: Policy initiatives, as well as supporting practices, must be developed to encourage moderately priced housing units to be included in newly-designed suburban communities. In addition to building affordable and moderately priced housing, efforts must be made to market them to black families. Careful evaluations of approaches tried elsewhere must be conducted and accompany any final set of recommendations that are made to the Charlotte-Mecklenburg community.

These initiatives will require a combined multi-agency and private sector approach. The development of these policies and related practices must account for resistance to similar efforts that have been experienced throughout the country. The issue must be placed before the community in a forthright and aggressive manner, and appropriate debate and discussion must be held throughout the county. Unless all concerned are convinced that such new policies represent a "win-win" situation, they are not likely to ever become a reality. Citizens must come to understand that their housing decisions are closely linked to the identification of schools that their children will attend.

Strategy 5: Policies and practices designed to reinvigorate those parts of the central city that are, or are likely to become, predominantly black, must be developed. These policies should be designed to retain existing and attract additional white families, families with young school-age children, to the central city. Such policies could include new and perhaps higher than average priced housing, incentives to develop and expand retail businesses, and the care and improvement of infrastructure services. Recognizing that the implementation of policies with these goals could conceivably serve to

displace existing low-income residents, the development of inner city strategies should serve to minimize this displacement phenomenon.

VII. Conclusion

By itself, the school system will encounter much difficulty in trying to overcome and compensate adequately for the demographic changes that are occurring The broader community must now--along with the school system--take ownership of this problem and signal to its citizens that the desire to have schools serve children in their neighborhoods will be a function of the extent to which those neighborhoods are integrated. Policies to make this a reality must be put on the table and then connected to day-to-day practices.

Orfield et al. (1993) and Orfield & Thronson (1993) have demonstrated that segregation still exists nationally and, with the evolution of more segregated neighborhoods, population changes, and housing patterns, that the old solutions are no longer capable of reversing the current trends. The data presented above document that demographic changes are contributing to the reduction in integration in many CMS schools. Even with the high priority that the Charlotte-Mecklenburg community places on having integrated schools and other institutions, it is imperative that it find more effective means of enhancing community-wide integration. Whether these new solutions are represented by the five strategies noted above--or any other strategies--a community-wide effort must be made. Doing nothing new will only result in increased frustrations throughout our community, which unfortunately will seriously detract from the school system's central mission of providing every child with an effective and relevant education.

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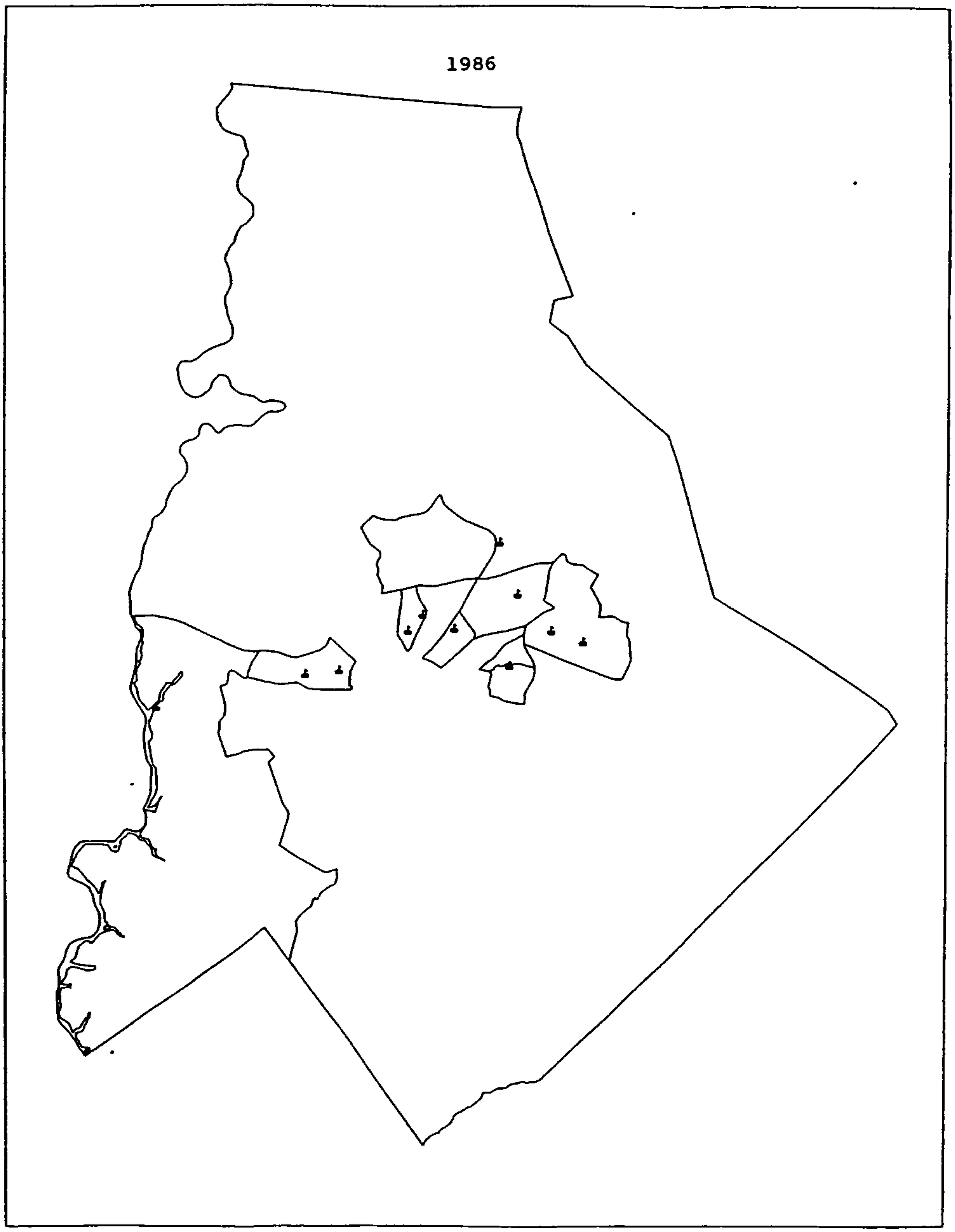
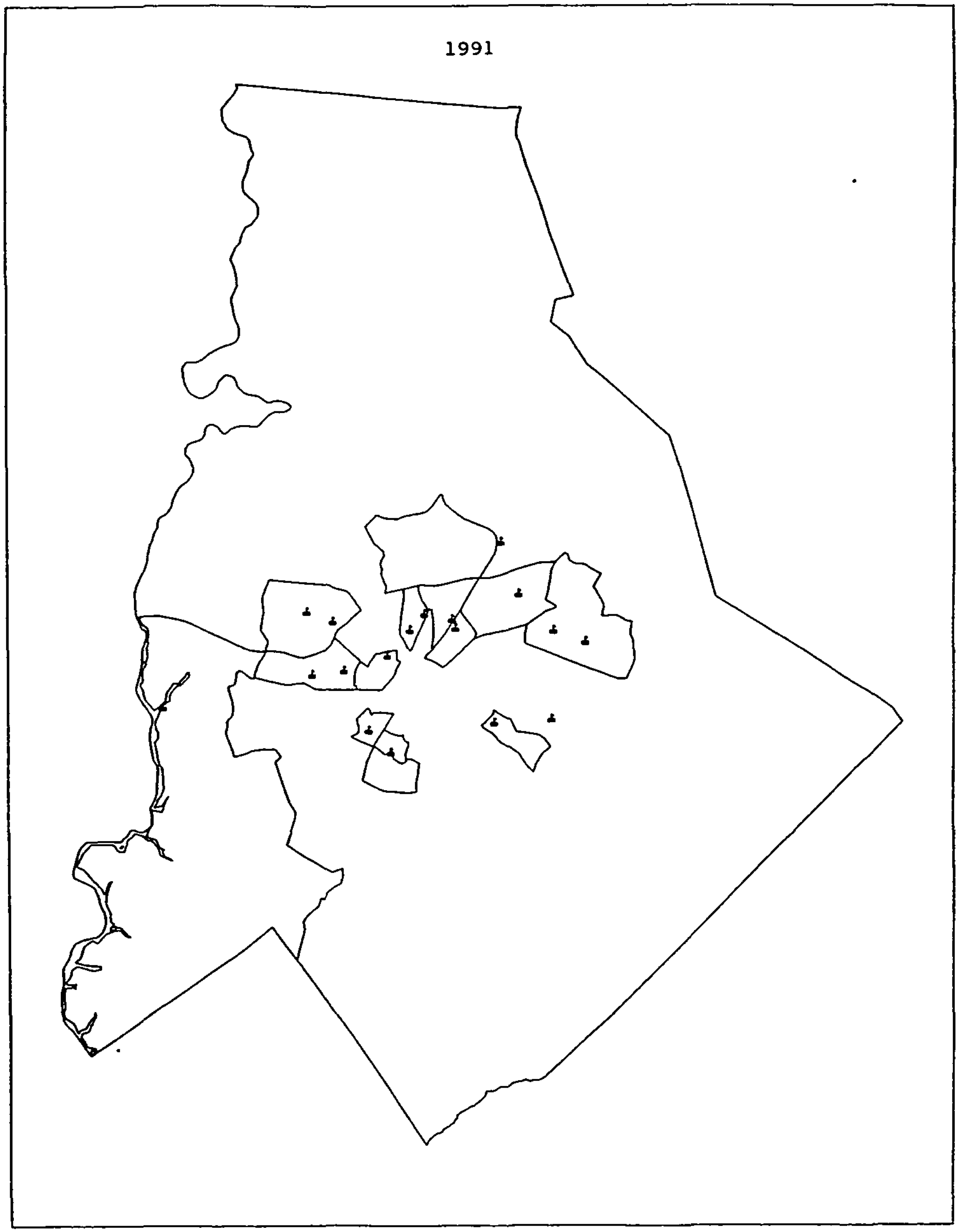
Census Maps and Census Tract Data

1986



1991



Eleven census tracts containing attendance areas for 1986-87 predominantly black schools.

	1980					1990				
Tract	Total	white	%	black	%	Total	white	%	black	%
12.00	4978	4661	92	314	6	4784	3770	78	844	18
13.00	4275	3674	86	527	12	4166	3004	72	974	23
15.01	6891	4231	61	2596	38	9260	4045	44	4939	53
15.03	5047	4292	85	714	14	7081	4197	59	2539	36
15 04	4728	3868	82	807	17	4629	2492	54	1902	41
40.00	5191	4411	85	673	13	4868	3398	70	1301	27
48.00	4645	29	1	4600	99	4097	35	1	4056	99
52.00	3200	175	6	3013	94	3216	167	5	3046	95
53.98	15208	5771	38	9192	60	13946	3403	24	10214	73
54 02	4473	3286	73	1128	25	5396	2847	53	2401	45
59.00	9858	8221	83	1559	16	14490	11855	82	2279	16
Total	68494	42559	62	25123	37	75933	39213	52	34495	45

Comparison of tracts reporting both 1980 and 1990 per capita income in 1986-87 eleven-tract area

	White		Black	
Tract	1980	1990	1980	1990
13.00	6499	11353	2704	11000
15.01	7037	14490	6816	12792
15.04	7983	14948	4669	10517
40.00	7005	11727	4283	8751
53.98	6892	12279	5469	10070
59.00	8679	18048	3819	10184
Average	7671	14847	4965	11151

Seventeen census tracts containing attendance areas for 1991-92 predominantly black schools

	1980					1990				
Tract	Total	white	%	black	%	Total	white	%	black	%
15.01	6891	4231	61	2596	38	9269	4945	44	4939	53
15.03	5047	4292	85	714	14	7081	4197	59	2539	36
15.04	4728	3868	82	807	17	4629	2492	54	1902	41
18.98	4341	3797	87	443	10	4589	3638	79	758	17
32.98	6403	5860	92	362	6	7594	6615	87	718	9
33.00	3020	2939	97	26	1	3123	2639	85	330	11
37.00	2562	6	1	2547	99	2331	12	1	2232	99
40.00	5191	4411	85	673	13	4868	3398	70	1301	27
41.00	4159	912	22	3228	78	3899	438	11	3397	87
43.01	5760	5449	95	269	5	7479	5853	78	1497	20
43.02	5219	3170	61	1971	38	4917	2304	47	2534	52
48.00	4645	29	1	4600	99	4097	35	1	4056	99
51.00	2883	60	2	2808	97	2661	30	1	2620	99
52.00	3200	175	6	3013	94	3216	167	5	3046	95
53.98	15208	5771	38	9192	60	13946	3403	24	10214	73
54.02	4473	3286	73	1128	25	5396	2847	53	2401	45
59.00	9858	8221	83	1559	16	14490	11855	82	2279	16
Total	93588	56471	60	35936	38	103576	53968	52	46763	45

Comparison of tracts reporting 1980 and 1990 per capita income in 1991-92 seventeen-tract area

	White		Black	
Tract	1980	1990	1980	1990
15.01	7037	14490	6816	12792
15.04	7983	14948	4669	10517
18.98	7721	13555	5314	11034
40.00	7005	11727	4283	8751
43.02	5883	9619	5605	8651
53.98	6892	12279	5469	10070
59.00	8679	18048	3819	10184
Average	8107	14622	5429	10797

COUNCIL WORKSHOP AGENDA ITEM SUMMARY

TOPIC: Police Facility Decentralization Plan and Police Bureau Station Site Selection

KEY POINTS: This presentation is to re-familiarize Council with the decentralization plan for delivery of police services which was developed by the Charlotte Mecklenburg Police Department and approved by City Council on December 14, 1992 The plan consists of the new downtown headquarters, three free-standing Bureau Stations, which will also contain other City service providers, District Stations, and smaller Police Service Centers We will also review the site selection process we used to locate the first bureau station As noted in the May 23, 1994 City Council update on the new LEC and Police Bureau Station, the first site will be on the City's west side This location was determined to be the most appropriate location based upon the workload in the west and northwest sections of the City and the southwest portion of the unincorporated portion of the County

OPTIONS: The initial options included a larger headquarters facility and less decentralization, however, once the decision was made to move to a more decentralized approach the options centered around the size and choice of locations for multiple facilities Substantial flexibility remains for future facility choices and these are under review by the new Chief and his staff

COUNCIL DECISION OR DIRECTION REQUESTED: Council approved the Police Department's decentralization plan on December 14, 1992 and we are proceeding under that direction Council is requested to review the site selection process and direct staff to proceed with the Phase II environmental assessment and the mandatory referral process for the site chosen by the Police and staff, on which we currently have an option We will be coming back to Council for formal approval of the purchase of this site on July 25, 1994 This process needs to move forward to enable us to meet our proposed completion date of summer 1996 for the first free-standing Bureau Station

ATTACHMENTS: None

COUNCIL WORKSHOP
AGENDA ITEM SUMMARY

TOPIC: "Committee of 100" Update Barton-Aschman's Review of New Transit Service Concepts

KEY POINTS (Issues, Cost, Change in Policy):

- In October 1993, Council awarded a $150,000 contract to Barton-Aschman Associates to provide technical assistance to the "Committee of 100" The consultant team has been working with the Transit Service Alternatives subcommittee of the "Committee of 100" since December

- One of Barton-Aschman's tasks involved the identification of opportunities for new transit service concepts in Charlotte-Mecklenburg The consultant will discuss the possibility of replacing little-used segments of several Charlotte Transit routes with neighborhood-based service as a way to improve service

- Another Barton-Aschman task involved assessing the need for public transit services between Charlotte and
  1) other Mecklenburg towns
  2) the 20-mile ring cities

  The consultant has reviewed regional commuting data from the 1990 Census and ridership to date on the Rock Hill-Charlotte CommuteRide service Barton-Aschman will discuss various transportation services to meet metro area travel demand

OPTIONS: Not applicable. Report is for information only.

COUNCIL DECISION OR DIRECTION REQUESTED: None at this time This information is part of the "Committee of 100's" development of a metropolitan land use/transportation vision Barton-Aschman will present their study recommendations to Council in August The "Committee of 100's" work will be completed by October

COUNCIL WORKSHOP AGENDA ITEM SUMMARY

TOPIC: Boards and Commissions Appointment Process

KEY POINTS (Issues, Cost, Change in Policy):

- At the February 28, 1994 Council Meeting, Council requested a workshop discussion on Boards and Commissions
- Council appoints 38 advisory boards and committees
- Council approved the current procedure for appointments by Resolution on March 27, 1989
- Council's established attendance policy was adopted by Resolution on April 8, 1974, and reiterated in 1993
- All Boards and Commissions submit periodic written reports on their activities

OPTIONS:

COUNCIL DECISION OR DIRECTION REQUESTED: This item is for Council discussion and any direction for change

ATTACHMENTS

- List of Boards and Commissions
- Council's Procedure for Appointments
- Current Year Quarterly Process Dates and Time Line
- Attendance Policy
- Other Requirements
- Application Form

LIST OF BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

ADVISORY ENERGY COMMISSION
AIRPORT ADVISORY COMMITTEE
AREA FUND BOARD OF DIRECTORS
AUDITORIUM-COLISEUM-CONVENTION CENTER AUTHORITY
BOXING COMMISSION
CERTIFIED DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
CITIZENS OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE FOR CABLE TELEVISION
CIVIL SERVICE BOARD
CLEAN CITY COMMITTEE
CMUD ADVISORY COMMITTEE
COMMUNITY HOUSING DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
COMMUNITY RESOURCES BOARD
COMPETITION ADVISORY COMMITTEE
CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU BOARD OF DIRECTORS
CRIME STOPPERS COMMITTEE
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVISORY BOARD
FIREMEN'S RELIEF BOARD OF TRUSTEES
HISTORIC DISTRICT COMMISSION
HISTORIC LANDMARKS COMMISSION
HOUSING APPEALS BOARD
HOUSING AUTHORITY
MINT MUSEUM BOARD OF TRUSTEES
NEIGHBORHOOD MATCHING GRANTS FUND REVIEW TEAM
PARADE PERMIT COMMITTEE
PAROLE ACCOUNTABILITY COMMITTEE
PLANNING COMMISSION
PRIVATE INDUSTRY COUNCIL
SISTER CITIES COMMITTEE
SPIRIT SQUARE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
STORM WATER SERVICES ADVISORY COMMITTEE
TAXICAB REVIEW BOARD
TRANSIT ADVISORY COMMITTEE
TREE ADVISORY COMMISSION
UPTOWN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION-BOARD OF DIRECTORS
VETERANS SERVICE COMMITTEE
WASTE MANAGEMENT ADVISORY COMMITTEE
YOUTH INVOLVEMENT COUNCIL ADVISORY BOARD
ZONING BOARD OF ADJUSTMENT

COUNCIL'S CURRENT PROCEDURE FOR NOMINATIONS AND APPOINTMENTS TO BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

THIS PROCEDURE WAS ESTABLISHED BY RESOLUTION APPROVED BY COUNCIL ON MARCH 27, 1989

1 ANNOUNCEMENTS

- At least four weeks prior to the quarterly date for nominations, the City shall publicize that nominations for appointment will be made by the Council, and solicit citizens of the community to apply for appointment

  The City Clerk's Office sets the advertised deadline for applications for Monday, one week prior to nominations, in order to meet agenda preparation deadlines. Normal practice for applications received after the deadline has been to copy them and give to Council as soon as possible.

- Terms expiring during any quarter shall remain filled by the person then holding the position until a successor is named

- Resignations received after the announcements shall be held over until the next quarter

2. NOMINATIONS

- At the first regular meeting of the first month of each quarter, (January, April, July and October, provided the meeting falls early in the month), each member of the City Council shall have the opportunity to nominate one person for appointment to each of the positions to be filled Forms are provided to Council on which to write nominations, and after Council has made nominations, the forms are handed to the City Clerk

- No nominations may be made after this meeting unless Council approves a motion to reopen nominations

- If there is only one nominee, the appointment may be made by voice vote at the same meeting

- Should the first regular meeting not fall early in the month, nominations shall be made the last regular meeting of the previous quarter

3 APPOINTMENTS

- At the next regular meeting following the closing of nominations, the Council shall vote on the nominees for the positions to be filled

  In past years Council would often meet in executive session to discuss appointments, however, it is entirely at Council's discretion to use the executive session procedure.

- The ballot containing the names of nominees, as well as a space for "none of the above", shall be provided to each Council Member by the City Clerk

- Each Council Member shall vote for a nominee, or for "none of the above", sign the ballot and return it to the City Clerk who shall tally and announce the votes, and the results

- No nominee shall be deemed appointed unless he or she receives at least six votes If no nominee receives at least six votes on the first ballot, the balloting process shall be repeated

- Only the top two vote getters shall be candidates for appointment on the second ballot If as a result of the first ballot, a tie vote produced more than two top vote getters (i e , 3-3-3-2, 5-3-3, 4-2-2-2-1), the Council shall conduct a separate tie ballot to narrow the field to two candidates

- The two top vote getters shall then be voted upon on the second ballot.

- If no nominee receives at least six votes after the tie ballot and the second ballot, each Council member shall have an opportunity to make one additional nomination at the next meeting All nominations made shall lay on the table for a period of two weeks, and the balloting shall be done at the third Council meeting following the date of nominations

CITY COUNCIL APPOINTMENTS - 1994

2nd Quarter, 1994	Expiration Date	Announcement	Nominations	Appointments
Auditorium-Coliseum - 2	04/25/94	03/14/94	04/11/94	04/25/94
Certified Development - 6	04/30/94	03/14/94	04/11/94	04/25/94
Civil Service Board - 1	05/15/94	03/14/94	04/11/94	04/25/94
Clean City Committee - 6	06/30/94	03/14/94	04/11/94	04/25/94
CMUD Advisory - 2	06/30/94	03/14/94	04/11/94	04/25/94
Historic Districts - 1	06/30/94	03/14/94	04/11/94	04/25/94
Planning Committee - 1	06/30/94	03/14/94	04/11/94	04/25/94
Sister Cities - 8	04/05/94	03/14/94	04/11/94	04/25/94
Spirit Square - 1	06/30/94	03/14/94	04/11/94	04/25/94

* *

3rd Quarter, 1994				
Airport Advisory - 2	07/31/94	05/23/94	06/27/94	07/11/94
Boxing Commission - 1	07/31/94	05/23/94	06/27/94	07/11/94
Domestic Violence - 1	09/21/94	05/23/94	06/27/94	07/11/94
Historic Landmarks - 2	07/16/94	05/23/94	06/27/94	07/11/94
Taxicab Advisory - 2	09/01/94	05/23/94	06/27/94	07/11/94
Uptown Development - 4	08/31/94	05/23/94	06/27/94	07/11/94

* *

CITY COUNCIL APPOINTMENTS - 1994

4th Quarter	Expiration Date	Announcement	Nomination	Appointment
Comm Resources- 1	12/31/94	09/12/94	10/10/94	10/24/94
Crimestoppers - 2	12/31/94	09/12/94	10/10/94	10/24/94
Housing Authority - 3	12/17/94	09/12/94	10/10/94	10/24/94
Tree Advisory - 3	12/13/94	09/12/94	10/10/94	10/24/94

* *

First Quarter, 1995				
Transit Advisory - 1	01/31/95	12/12/94	01/09/95	01/23/95
Parade Permit - 2	03/01/95	12/12/94	01/09/95	01/23/95
Zoning Board - 1	01/30/95	12/12/94	01/09/95	01/23/95

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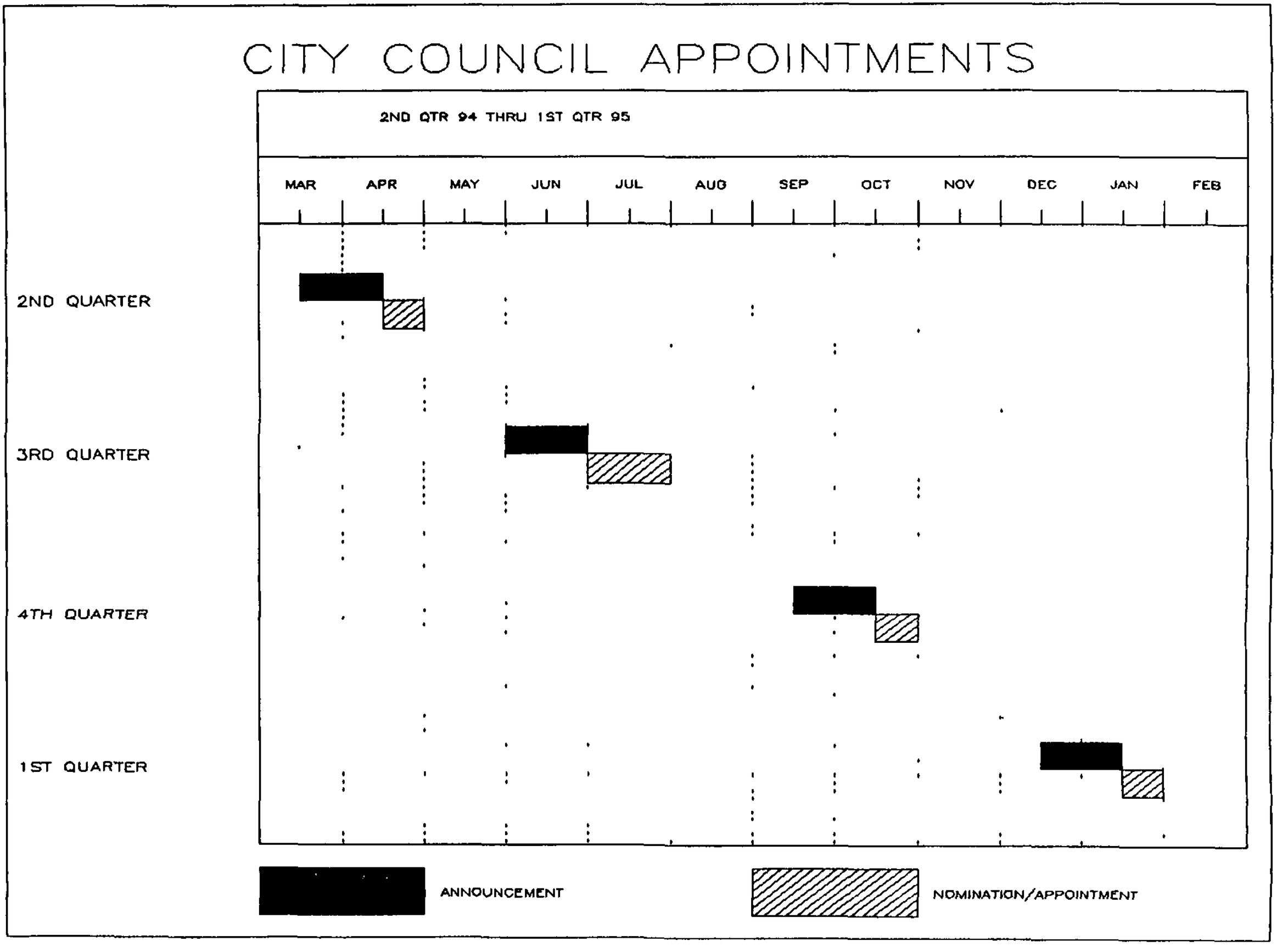
CITY COUNCIL APPOINTMENTS



ATTENDANCE REQUIREMENTS FOR BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

1 Council's established policy for attendance is 75% attendance at all regular and special meetings during any one-year period Anyone who does not meet this percentage shall be automatically removed from the committee This policy was first established by Resolution on April 8, 1974, and was reiterated in 1993 for all boards and committees not created by Interlocal Agreements with the County Commission

2 The Committee membership is to vote to officially excuse a member from attendance at a meeting **if he or she contacts the chairperson or Staff Advisor in advance** and indicates illness or business necessity as the reason for non-attendance Such officially excused absences would not be counted against the committee member's attendance record

3 The attendance requirement is stated to all new appointees in appointment letters These letters will come from the City Clerk for City Council appointees, the Mayor's Office for Mayoral appointees, and the City Manager's Office for Manager appointees

4 Attendance forms are prepared by the City Clerk's Office for all committees and is sent to the appropriate Staff Advisor to be completed and turned in on a quarterly basis for each calendar year The City Clerk's Office will make the appropriate tabulations, and analyze the attendance on a quarterly basis The committee Staff Advisor will keep the chairperson and the City Clerk aware of attendance of problems

5. Letters are sent from the City Clerk, Mayor's Office, or the City Manager's Office to those committee members who have violated the attendance policy informing them of their termination Copies will be given to the chairperson of the committee and the appointing body/person (The City Clerk wrote termination letters to three persons in 1993, but failed to send copies to Council) In the last six months, the City Clerk's Office has decided to send out reminder letters to members of committees who are in danger of violating the attendance policy

OTHER REQUIREMENTS

1 Some miscellaneous requirements are residency in the City or County, age, that the appointee must be a registered voter (elector), CWAC Tenant, CWAC Owner, West Side Resident, resident or owner in a Historic District, or appointee must have a certain occupation, etc

2 Council membership is required on the Area Fund Board of Directors and the Uptown Development Corporation

3 City Staff membership is required on the Certified Development Corporation, Neighborhood Matching Grants Review Team, and the Parade Permit Committee (3)

4 All boards and committees submit written reports to City Council on their activities Some Boards send annual reports to Council, and the remainder are included in the Periodic Review Process This process was adopted by Council resolution in 1983 and reaffirmed in 1990 It calls for periodic review of boards and commissions to assess whether they should be renewed, dismantled, expanded or their charge redefined Reviews occur on a staggered basis, five per year, over a four-year period, with boards submitting a written report

APPLICATION FOR BOARDS, COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES
CHARLOTTE CITY COUNCIL

Please complete each section

FULL NAME_____ Mr _____ Mrs _____
(please print or type) Ms _____ Miss _____

HOME ADDRESS_____ ZIP_____

BUSINESS ADDRESS _____ ZIP_____

HOME PHONE( )_____ BUSINESS PHONE( ) _____

SPOUSE'S NAME _____ SPOUSE'S EMPLOYER _____

_____ SPOUSE'S TITLE _____

PLEASE INDICATE Council District # _____ Date of Birth _____

MALE _____ BLACK_____ BOARDS/COMMISSIONS/COMMITTEES I AM MOST INTERESTED IN

FEMALE _____ WHITE_____ _____

HISPANIC _____ INDIAN _____ _____

OTHER_____

EDUCATION (including degrees completed) _____

_____

_____

CURRENT EMPLOYER _____

TITLE _____ YEARS IN CURRENT POSITION_____

DUTIES _____

_____

OTHER EMPLOYMENT HISTORY _____

_____

_____

_____

DO NOT SUBMIT RESUMES/ATTACHMENTS

(over)

INTERESTS/SKILLS/AREAS OF EXPERTISE/PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS/ACTIVITIES _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

AFFIRMATION OF ELIGIBILITY

To your knowledge, has any formal charge of professional misconduct, criminal misdemeanor or felony ever been filed against you in any jurisdiction?

Yes_____ No_____ If yes, please explain_____

_____

_____

If there any possible conflict of interest or other matter that would create problems or prevent you from fairly and impartially discharging your duties as an appointee of the City Council?

Yes_____ No_____ If yes, explain conflict _____

_____

_____

I certify that the facts contained in this application are true and correct to the best of my knowledge I authorize investigation of all statements contained herein and the references listed above to give you any and all information concerning my qualifications and any pertinent information they may have, personal or otherwise, and release all parties from all liability for any damages that may result from furnishing the same to you

This form will be retained on file for one year and must be updated after that, otherwise, it will be removed from the active file **PERSONAL CONTACT WITH A CITY COUNCILMEMBER IS RECOMMENDED.**

RETURN COMPLETED FORM TO

Office of the City Clerk
600 East Fourth Street
Charlotte, NC 28202-2857

Signature _____

Date _____

DO NOT SUBMIT RESUMES/ATTACHMENTS