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ABSTRACT

Demographic trends are developing in Connecticut that show increasing racial segregation and divided educational facilities in contiguous urban and suburban school districts. Racial balance on a statewide basis is not sufficient to counteract the effects of the growth of the state's minority populations, the residential clustering of racial/ethnic groups in the cities, and the move of whites to the suburbs. By 1990, the statewide student population will be comprised of 25 percent minorities, with a decline in the Black population and a sharp increase in the Hispanic population. By the year 2000, urban districts are projected to be comprised of 40 to 70 percent minorities. The Connecticut State Board of Education has rigorously monitored racial desegregation laws since 1980 but has been unable to provide a racially integrated environment that fosters academic achievement. Recent litigation in Missouri, Indiana, Virginia, and Ohio indicates that states should develop interdistrict collaboration to fulfill their responsibility to desegregate. The following recommendations are suggested: (1) the state should promote the concept of "collective responsibility" for integrating the public schools; (2) the state should make available financial incentives to encourage school districts that plan and implement voluntary programs that advance quality, integrated education; (3) the State Department of Education should provide technical assistance to school districts to develop and implement plans to achieve and maintain integrated schools; and (4) the State Department of Education should undertake planning with other agencies responsible for housing, transportation, and other factors that can help promote integration. Statistical data are included on two tables and seven graphs and maps. A list of 28 references is appended. (FMW)

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

A REPORT ON RACIAL/ETHNIC EQUITY AND DESEGREGATION IN CONNECTICUT'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Prepared for Presentation to
The Connecticut State Board of Education

by

The Committee on Racial Equity
Appointed by the Commissioner of Education
Connecticut State Department of Education

January, 1988

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A REPORT ON RACIAL/ETHNIC EQUITY AND DESEGREGATION
IN CONNECTICUT'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

The premise underlying this report of the Committee on Racial Equity is that segregation is educationally, morally and legally wrong. A trend is developing in Connecticut's public schools that is causing, according to the dictionary definition of segregation, the "isolation of the races..." with "divided educational facilities." Consider the following:

- o Minorities constitute 11% of Connecticut's population at large, but constitute over 21% of the state's student enrollment. As these children become adults, the growth in the minority population will accelerate.
- o Over 60% of the minority students are enrolled in the five largest school districts (see Table 1). Hartford, Bridgeport and New Haven now have minority enrollments that exceed 80 percent. Stamford and Waterbury enroll at least 45% minority students.
- o Of the 166 school districts in the state, 14 districts have minority enrollments of 25% or more, 37 districts have minority enrollments of from 5% to 25%, and the remaining 115 districts have minority enrollments of less than 5%.¹

As so aptly stated by James Coleman et al: "The emerging problem of school segregation in large cities is a problem of metropolitan area residential segregation, black central cities, and white suburbs, brought about by a loss of whites from the central cities. This loss is intensified by extensive school desegregation in those central cities, but in cities with high proportion of blacks and predominantly white suburbs, it proceeds at a relatively rapid rate with or without desegregation."²

TABLE 1
MINORITY STUDENT ENROLLMENT
IN CONNECTICUT'S LARGEST PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS³
1986-87

| Rank in Number of Students Enrolled | School District | Total Enrolled | Proportion of Minorities Enrolled in the District | Cumulative Proportion of State Minority Enrollment |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| 1 | Hartford | 24,289 | 90.4% | 20.9% |
| 2 | Bridgeport | 19,878 | 83.4% | 36.7% |
| 3 | New Haven | 16,726 | 81.2% | 49.7% |
| 4 | Waterbury | 13,178 | 48.6% | 55.8% |
| 5 | Stamford | 11,477 | 47.4% | 61.0% |
| | CONNECTICUT | 465,799 | 104,749 22.5% | - 100.0% |

¹There has been an enormous, long-term trend of whites leaving the central cities for the suburbs and blacks coming into the largest central cities. This trend began in many areas after World War I, gained momentum

throughout the nation after World War II, and represents a triumph of national housing policy.⁴ Thomas Pettigrew and Robert L. Green writing in the Harvard Educational Review stated that "...federal programs such as urban renewal, public housing, Model Cities, discriminatory mortgage programs, and even federal highway construction have furthered the separation of the races between city and suburb. This separation antedated school desegregation by decades. This trend toward residential segregation has been so massive that school desegregation could have at most a relatively small impact."⁵

The state's minority population is growing by 1.5% each year, with the Hispanic segment increasing the most rapidly. It is instructive to look at the school districts that have more than 25% minority enrollment and the districts contiguous to them (see Figure 1). While the state's five largest cities still enroll a disproportionately large and growing number of minority students, the mid-size cities and suburban communities are showing noticeable increases as well. For example:

- o Connecticut's minority populations live predominantly in a corridor from Danbury through Fairfield County to New Haven and northward to Hartford.
- o Additionally, two other geographical areas with growing minority populations are forming in the New London and Windham regions.
- o School districts with relatively few minorities continue to exist contiguous to school districts with high minority populations. Curiously, some even border more than one such concentration of minorities (e.g., Darien (1.9%) is located between Stamford (47.4%) and Norwalk (39.7%), and Newington (5.1%) shares boundaries with both Hartford (90.4%) and New Britain (49.0%).

Specifically with reference to Hartford, Bridgeport and New Haven, these additional facts are enlightening:

- o Wethersfield and Newington, neighbors of Hartford, each has a minority student population of less than six percent.
- o Fairfield, which is adjacent to Bridgeport, has a minority student population of approximately four percent.
- o East Haven, Woodbridge and North Haven, which are neighbors of New Haven, have minority student populations of less than nine percent.

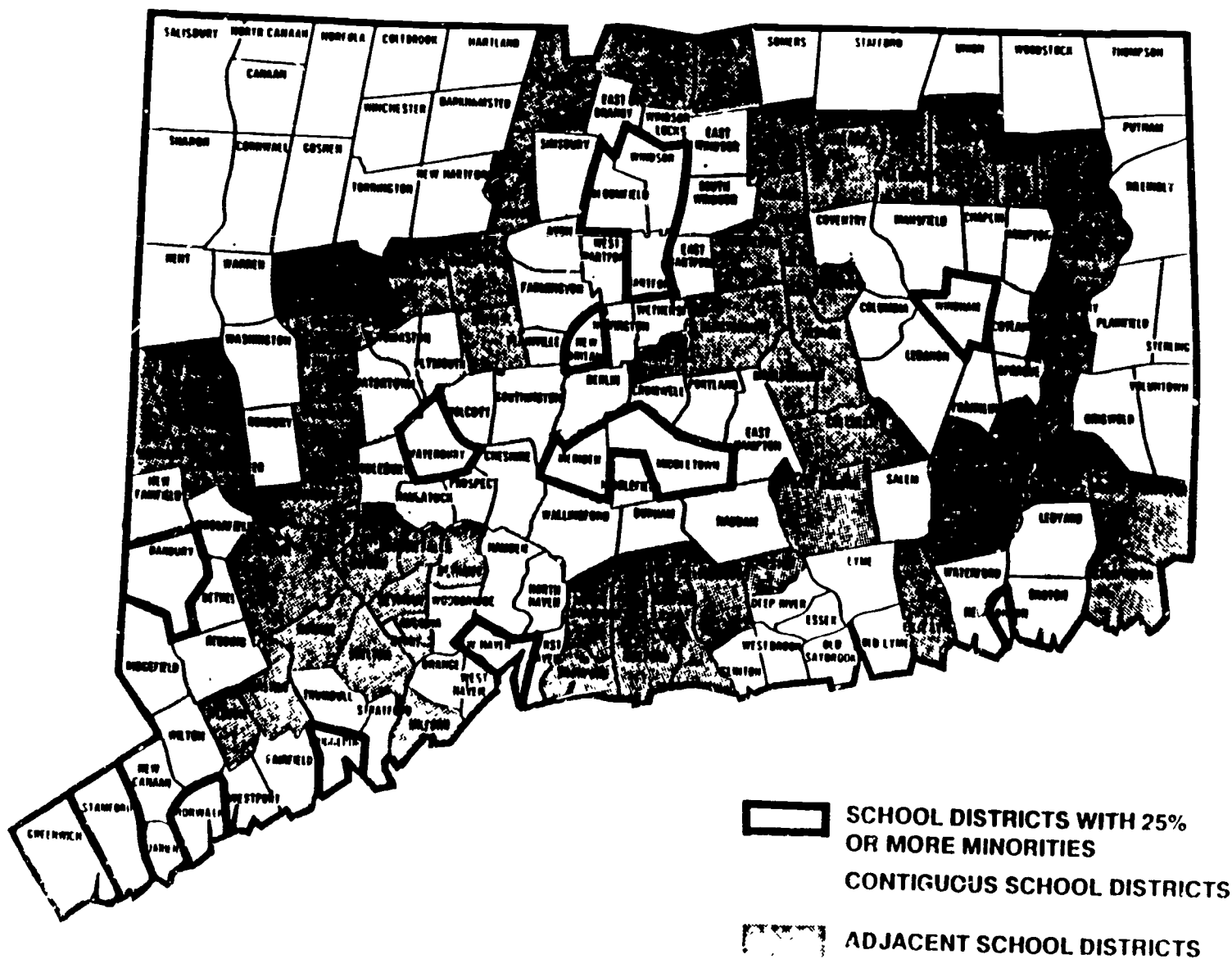
One must ask why these great differences exist in the enrollment of minorities in the schools of contiguous towns.

From an economic perspective, Connecticut boasts the highest per capita income in the United States. But, nationally, according to the 1980 census, Hartford is ranked the fourth poorest city in the country, New Haven the seventh, and Bridgeport is the twenty-sixth poorest city in the country.⁶ Poverty is a tragic reality for Connecticut.

Figure 1

Connecticut Public School Districts With Minority Student Composition of 25% or More, and Geographically Contiguous School Districts

Fall, 1986



-3-

Poverty is a common characteristic of many minority communities, whose residents often lack the education and training to fill the available jobs. Ironically, at present Connecticut has more job openings than it can fill. This is the result of low unemployment combined with rapid economic growth. Yet the unemployment rate among minorities continues to be disproportionately high. The state's schools must provide appropriate education and training to enable all students to assume productive roles in society.

The failure to provide equal educational opportunity is not just bad economic policy. Any state that does not address the existence of segregated schools is potentially vulnerable to legal action. The federal courts have repeatedly held states responsible for the establishment and continuation of racially segregated schools and for correcting the educational deficiencies resulting from past discrimination. Also, the courts continue to maintain that ignoring or not being involved in the operation of such schools does not absolve a state of its responsibility. For Connecticut, the period of grace is running out. There are no shortcuts to desegregation. It is a process that requires time, nurturing, patience and investment, both financial and human.

In response to all of these conditions--the statistical, the geographic, the economic, the legal, and the social--this report contains recommendations that seek to avoid a portrayal of the state as two Connecticut--the affluent and the poor, participants and nonparticipants, white and minority. With the four broad-based recommendations contained herein, a constructive program of corrective measures that focus on the public schools is presented.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Connecticut's public school population has changed markedly since the 1969 racial imbalance law was passed. The remedy it prescribes--i.e., achieving racial balance in the schools on a districtwide basis--has come to be recognized as an insufficient method of counteracting the effects of the growth of the state's minority populations, especially when combined with a pattern of residential clustering of racial/ethnic groups in the cities and the tendency of white populations in the cities to move to the suburbs. In spite of the state's racial imbalance law, most schools in Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven are predominantly minority.

Many of the state's school districts that have larger proportions of minority students continue to show steady increases in these proportions. From October, 1985 to October, 1986, all but two of the fourteen school districts over 25% minority showed increases of at least one percentage point (see Table 2). This may not seem substantial until one compounds this rate of growth over a ten or twenty-year period. Of the 25 school districts with 10% or more minority enrollment, all but two reported increased minority percentages in 1986 over the prior year.

TABLE 2
 MINORITY STUDENTS ENROLLED IN SELECTED SCHOOL
 DISTRICTS EXPRESSED AS A PERCENT⁷
 OCTOBER, 1971 THROUGH OCTOBER, 1986

| RANK ORDER LISTING | | | | | | | | PROJECTED RATE OF INCREASE* |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------------------------|
| | TOWN | 1971 | 1976 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | |
| HARTFORD | 69.1 | 78.8 | 86.6 | 87.6 | 88.3 | 89.2 | 90.4 | 0.9 |
| BRIDGEPORT | 53.3 | 63.1 | 77.4 | 79.2 | 80.6 | 82.2 | 83.4 | 1.5 |
| NEW HAVEN | 65.7 | 73.6 | 79.2 | 79.7 | 80.2 | 80.6 | 81.2 | 0.5 |
| BLOOMFIELD | 22.1 | 38.0 | 56.0 | 59.0 | 61.9 | 65.0 | 66.3 | 2.8 |
| NEW LONDON | 30.6 | 37.7 | 48.1 | 52.5 | 52.5 | 52.6 | 54.0 | 1.2 |
| NEW BRITAIN | 17.6 | 26.9 | 41.5 | 43.9 | 46.0 | 46.9 | 49.0 | 1.8 |
| WATERBURY | 28.5 | 32.3 | 41.7 | 43.3 | 45.0 | 46.5 | 48.6 | 1.7 |
| STAMFORD | 25.9 | 32.2 | 41.9 | 43.7 | 45.0 | 46.3 | 47.4 | 1.4 |
| NORWALK | 21.6 | 27.5 | 34.8 | 36.5 | 37.8 | 38.3 | 39.7 | 1.2 |
| MIDDLETOWN | 14.3 | 19.7 | 27.4 | 29.3 | 29.8 | 31.7 | 30.8 | 0.9 |
| WINDSOR | 5.1 | 11.8 | 24.0 | 24.7 | 26.5 | 28.5 | 29.5 | 1.5 |
| MERIDEN | 11.6 | 17.8 | 24.5 | 25.9 | 26.5 | 27.7 | 29.0 | 1.1 |
| WINDHAM | 8.3 | 11.5 | 20.1 | 21.2 | 23.3 | 26.3 | 27.3 | 2.0 |
| DANBURY | 10.8 | 12.5 | 19.9 | 21.4 | 22.0 | 24.3 | 25.3 | 1.4 |

*Straight line projection of 1982 to 1986 percentages.

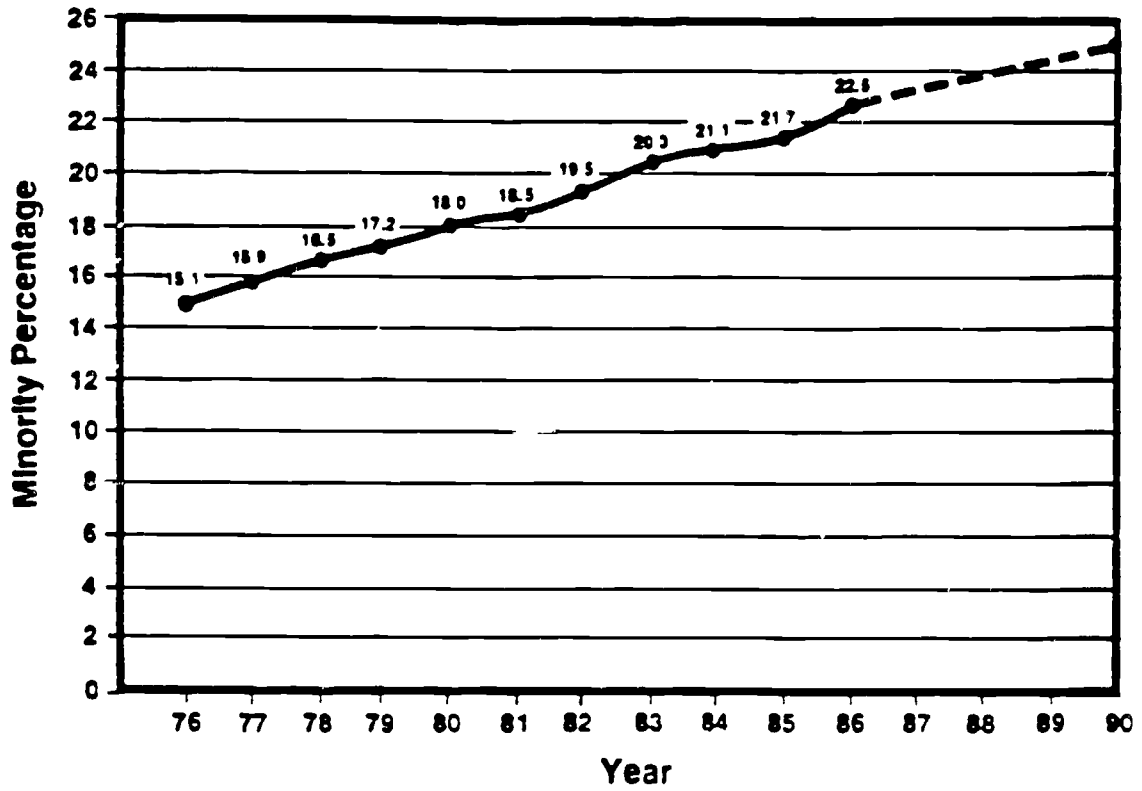
TRENDS

If current trends continue, Connecticut can expect significant changes in its minority student population. Statewide, by 1990, it is likely that Connecticut's total school population will be comprised of over 25% minority students (see Figure 2). Projecting to the year 2000, school districts now with 20% to 30% minority students--in particular, Meriden, Danbury, Middletown, Windsor, and Windham--may be in the 40% to 55% range. Those currently in the 40% to 50% range (i.e., Stamford, New London, Waterbury, and New Britain) will move into the 60% to 70% range. And those currently having over 60% minority students (i.e., New Haven, Bloomfield, Bridgeport, and Hartford) will become effectively all-minority school districts.

The shifting composition of Connecticut's public school minority population is most interesting. Over the last ten years, in all but the most recent year, the black student population has been gradually declining (from 62,619 students in 1976 to 56,208 in 1986). Over the same time, the Hispanic student population has grown at a rate of three or four percent per year (or from 28,882 in 1976 to 39,737 in 1986). The number of Asian American students in the public schools has grown more rapidly on a percentage basis but, from a substantially smaller base (approximately 2,800 in 1976 vs 7,994 in 1986)

Figure 2.

Percentage of Minority Students in Connecticut Public Schools, 1976-1986 & Projection to 1990



Overall, these growth patterns have caused both the number and the proportion of minority students to increase. In 1985 for the first time, the total minority student enrollment in Connecticut public schools exceeded one hundred thousand students of a total public school population of 465,000. Currently, among the large cities, both Bridgeport and Hartford enroll more Hispanic students than black students.

The geographical distribution pattern for Asian American students is somewhat different than for the other racial/ethnic groups. While their statewide number has grown in 1986 to 7,994, they are more widely dispersed throughout the state's school districts than are either black or Hispanic students. Fifty-four school districts enroll more Asian American students than either black or Hispanic. Other than the five largest cities, those that enroll one hundred or more Asian American students are: Danbury, East Hartford, Fairfield, Glastonbury, Greenwich, Groton, Hamden, Manchester, Middletown, New Britain, Norwalk, Simsbury, South Windsor, Trumbull, Vernon and West Hartford. Seven of these sixteen enroll more Asian American than black or Hispanic students.

Many minority children are forced by factors related to economic development, housing, zoning and transportation to live in poor urban communities where resources are limited. They often have available to them fewer educational opportunities. Of equal significance is the fact that separation means that neither they nor their counterparts in the more affluent suburban school districts have the chance to learn to interact with each other, as they will inevitably have to do as adults living and working in a multi-cultural society. Such interaction is a most important element of quality education, and it benefits both minority and nonminority students alike. Like their counterparts in predominantly minority schools, children in suburban districts lack cultural diversity as they are educated and prepared to be members of society.

PREVIOUS EFFORTS

Connecticut's racial imbalance law, Section 10-226a-e, of the Connecticut General Statutes, passed in 1969, represented a significant attempt to address the problems of racial imbalance at a time when none of Connecticut's cities had more than 60 percent minority student enrollment. Regulations, however, were not adopted until 1980, in large measure as a result of resistance to their promulgation from various quarters. It was in the spring of 1980 that the first monitoring of school districts under these regulations began. At that time, Bridgeport, Hartford and New Haven had minority enrollments above seventy percent.

The State Board of Education has not been simply a spectator. It has repeatedly advanced equal educational opportunities for all Connecticut residents. Through legislation, financial aid and incentives, program initiatives, monitoring for racial balance and the deployment of department staff, it has attempted to assist local school districts to better serve all of their students. The board's recently adopted definition of equal

educational opportunity must serve as a driving force in the implementation of the recommendations of this report.⁸

Over the past eight years, the State Department of Education has rigorously monitored local school districts for compliance with the state's racial imbalance law. A total of nine districts have been cited for noncompliance, and required to develop and implement plans to correct racial imbalance. Six of the cited districts have successfully balanced their schools in keeping with their approved plans.

Project Concern, which is Connecticut's only state-sponsored program for enrolling inner-city minority students in suburban schools, served only 758 students in 1986-87. This compares to the nearly 1,300 students who participated in the program in the mid nineteen seventies. During the past year Bridgeport enrolled 45 students in the schools of Westport and Wilton. Hartford sent 713 students to 13 cooperating suburban school districts, the largest of which was West Hartford which educated 254 students.

The academic achievement of children participating in Project Concern has been more than satisfactory. However, in addition to moving minority students to the suburbs, the original design of the program was also intended to bring students from the suburbs to city school districts. This, it has never succeeded in doing.

The statistics demonstrate that Connecticut's efforts to date have not been able to provide the state's minorities with an integrated environment that fully nurtures learning. A new approach would seem to be in order. Appropriately, as will be elaborated in the next section, new directions are being demanded by the courts. As the examples from other states illustrate, achieving the goals of school desegregation and equal educational opportunity will require a major rethinking of Connecticut's public education system.

LEGAL PRECEDENTS

The early focus of desegregation was on eliminating barriers and ending ongoing discriminatory practices. However, by 1968, the courts began to move from this first step of opening schoolhouse doors to charging government and school authorities with the obligation to come forward with plans both to end discriminatory practices and to eliminate all vestiges of any prior state-imposed segregation. These "second generation" remedies require a more substantial commitment of resources and greater expertise and coordination than did the first generation desegregation remedies.

A 1986 study by David S. Tatel, (et al.)⁹ documents numerous legal decisions in other states related to the responsibility of state officials to desegregate urban public schools under the U. S. Constitution. For example, in 1985, in the decision of Jenkins v. Missouri,¹⁰ the court stated, "It is equitable to place the greatest burden of removing the vestiges of such discrimination and the continued effects of same on the state rather than on those who are the victims."

An instance in which the state can be held liable for not desegregating occurs when district lines have been deliberately drawn on the basis of race. In the decision of United States v. Missouri,¹¹ the district court found that, because a small suburban school district in St. Louis was operated, supported and supervised by both state and local officials in a way that denied equal educational opportunity, state officials were held responsible for developing a desegregation plan that would work.

In both St. Louis¹² and Kansas City,¹³ the State of Missouri was ordered to contribute to the cost of implementing desegregation programs. A 1983 settlement provided for voluntary interdistrict transfers between city and county schools, including fiscal incentives that would encourage the transfer of black city students to county schools. The settlement package included provisions for the creation of interdistrict magnet schools and voluntary teacher transfers. Moreover, the courts required the state to fund more than one-half of the total costs of the desegregation components, including capital improvements to the existing schools and all of the costs for the voluntary interdistrict transfers. In Kansas City, the court ordered the state to fund \$27 million in "priority" capital improvements. In addition, under a court-approved plan, the state was required to fund \$7 million of the \$13 million operating cost of six magnet schools.

In Indianapolis,¹⁴ where the court ruled that discriminatory intent contributed to segregation of students, the school system was excluded from a state legislative reorganization scheme which had extended the city's boundaries to include surrounding areas of the county for all purposes except education. This left a large share of the growing black population within a predominantly black inner-city school district.

In Virginia,¹⁵ state-assisted student transfers were found to be in violation of the federal constitution. The transfers, it was decided provided funds for students to attend schools outside their district in a way that would allow them to avoid attending desegregated schools.

And in other cases,¹⁶ the courts have ruled that dismantling a dual system cannot be carried out through pupil reassignment within the district but must be remedied by interdistrict desegregation. One ruling pointed out that children who are "educationally and culturally set apart" will inevitably acquire "habits of speech, conduct, and attitudes reflecting their cultural isolation" and consequently will be less able to "function and compete" in the larger community.¹⁷ Thus, states have been ordered to share with local school districts in the responsibility for, and the cost of achieving, desegregation through student assignments. The obvious advantage of interdistrict remedies, voluntary or mandatory, is that courts are able to include suburban districts in a desegregation remedy.¹⁸

A number of desegregation remedies place increasing reliance on the development of magnet schools and magnet programs. They are acceptable as a desegregation tool, however, only if they are not used to siphon off all the most able minority students.¹⁹

Ohio is among the several states that have been required by the courts to share the financial responsibility for desegregating local schools. In Cleveland, the court concluded that the state's failure to act and its continued funding of the Cleveland Public Schools, that it knew to be segregated, constituted "intentional racial segregation."²⁰ In a similar situation in Columbus, the court held that the State Board of Education and the state Superintendent of Public Instruction were to share equally with the local board of education in the cost of remedies. These were designated to include remedial and compensatory programs, development of a multicultural curriculum for elementary schools, a parent involvement program and a human relations program for students, parents and staff.²¹

In the case of Dayton, the State of Ohio was ordered to share the cost of remedying the unconstitutional segregation in the city's school system.²² In 1985, the State of Ohio entered into an agreement with the Cincinnati Public Schools in which the state agreed to fund 50% of the cost of designing, implementing and maintaining magnet schools in Cincinnati and a percentage of the expenses of transporting students to these schools through 1990-91.²³

Based on the case law to date, it seems certain that states that develop and implement programs of interdistrict collaboration will put themselves in a significantly better position to demonstrate that they have attempted to fulfill their responsibility to deal with the problems arising from segregated conditions. However, a prerequisite to the achievement of desegregated schools is the commitment by state officials to the elimination of racial/ethnic isolation. Without some overt action by the State Board of Education, supported by appropriate legislation, change will continue unmanaged and further segregation, or in some cases resegregation, of the schools will continue.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CONNECTICUT

In the remainder of this report, the Committee on Racial Equity presents four recommendations for action. Each is accompanied by the rationale for the recommendation and explanation, where needed, of suggested alternatives.

RECOMMENDATION ONE

That the state, through administrative and legislative means, endorse the concept of "collective responsibility" for desegregating the public schools of Connecticut.

Collective responsibility means the sharing of responsibility to desegregate schools by the state, the school district identified as having racially imbalanced schools, as well as geographically contiguous school districts and those school districts which border the contiguous districts, here referred to as adjacent districts. This is a departure from the current practice of placing sole responsibility for correcting instances of racial imbalance on a single, cited school district. The principle of collective responsibility applies only in certain instances. Specifically, if any public school districts' minority enrollment exceeds a certain established percentage the district shall be deemed racially imbalanced and school districts determined to be contiguous and adjacent shall be joined with the cited district in being required to develop a plan to racially balance schools and achieve quality integrated education. On the other hand, when a public school district with less than the established percentage of minority students is cited for having one or more racially imbalanced school pursuant to Section 10-226b of The Regulations of Connecticut State Agencies, such school district will be given the option of pursuing intra or interdistrict means for racially balancing its schools. The principle of collective responsibility shall not apply in the later case.

First, it is recommended that the school districts affected, following state guidelines, would be required to prepare a corrective action plan to eliminate racial imbalance. Each school district in a region, including those deemed to be contiguous and adjacent, shall participate in the plan development and implementation. Boundary lines separating school districts, often perceived as barriers that prohibit or discourage the reduction of racial isolation, should not be allowed to defeat the school integration efforts.

Second, it is recommended that solutions contained in the desegregation plan should initially be nonprescriptive and voluntary, such that the affected school districts might themselves find remedies appropriate to their own unique situations. Nevertheless, to ensure that solutions are found and progress is made, the State Board of Education should be empowered to impose a mandatory desegregation plan at such time as it might judge the voluntary approach, in whole or in part, to be ineffectual.

Third, it is recommended that the State Board of Education, at the very outset of this new process, adopt a carefully considered set of optional desegregation methodologies. These methodologies would provide a "menu" of

various state-sanctioned approaches toward intra- and interdistrict desegregation. They would therefore be useful to the school districts as possible plan components. They might include, for example, the development of magnet schools, magnet programs, educational parks straddling school district boundaries, and voucher programs that would extend traditional public school access.

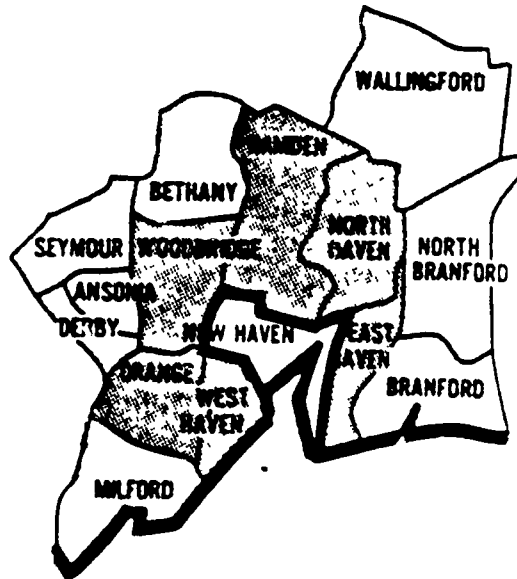
Fourth, it is recommended that high quality educational programs should serve as the common thread in all desegregation plans. Indeed, the State Department of education should be directed by the State Board of Education to lead by its own example in this continuing quest for quality education. To do this, consideration should be given to establishing one or more state-sponsored "regional" schools that would operate both to provide an exemplary integrated environment and to offer quality educational programs in the sciences, math, humanities, etc.. The administration of such regional schools could fall to the regional education service centers, regional boards of education established for this purpose, individual boards of education or the State Department of Education. As "centers for excellence," they could serve as a model for others to follow. They should:

- o be diverse in student characteristics, draw students across town boundaries and have heterogeneous student groupings,
- o be exemplary with regard to policies of affirmative action and standards for staffing,²⁴
- o offer extended day kindergarten, day care and early childhood education programs,
- o demonstrate the best practices of schooling, such as those presented in the department's own publication, "Research Based School Improvement Practices,"²⁵ in its series of curriculum guides, in the general literature on effective schools, and in the widely distributed federal publication, "What Works,"²⁶
- o provide an exemplary implementation of "Connecticut's Common Core of Learning."²⁷

Examples of geographical groupings of school districts are given in figures 3 through 7. As an example of a major urban school district, figure 3 describes New Haven and its surrounding towns. Those which share a common border have been identified as contiguous to New Haven. Those which border on the contiguous towns are identified as adjacent. Similarly, representing a small urban area, New London (See Figure 4) is presented with its contiguous and adjacent towns. Groupings of this type represent the geographical areas that might be affected by implementation of the collective responsibility concept. For other areas of the state, groupings should be constructed to appropriately deal with issues of geographical proximity, historical patterns of urban-suburban association, transportation routes, and economic ties.

Figure 3

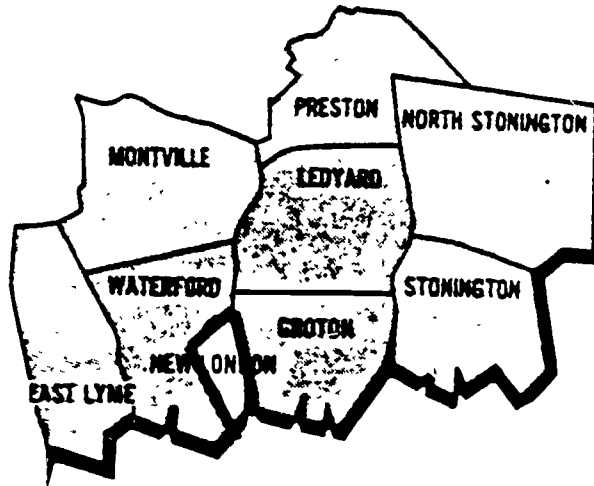
**NEW HAVEN PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT
WITH CONTIGUOUS AND ADJACENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1986**



| <u>SCHOOL DISTRICT</u> | <u>TYPE</u> | <u>MINORITY STUDENTS</u> | <u>TOTAL STUDENTS</u> |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| New Haven | Core | 13,588 | 16,726 |
| West Haven | Contiguous | 1,382 | 6,213 |
| Orange | Contiguous | 67 | 1,075 |
| Woodbridge | Contiguous | 57 | 666 |
| Hamden | Contiguous | 976 | 5,383 |
| North Haven | Contiguous | 217 | 3,152 |
| East Haven | Contiguous | 59 | 3,023 |
| Milford | Adjacent | 325 | 6,638 |
| Derby | Adjacent | 165 | 1,391 |
| Ansonia | Adjacent | 428 | 2,134 |
| Seymour | Adjacent | 35 | 2,170 |
| Bethany | Adjacent | 17 | 440 |
| Wallingford | Adjacent | 295 | 6,011 |
| North Branford | Adjacent | 40 | 2,126 |
| Branford | Adjacent | 102 | 3,202 |

Figure 4

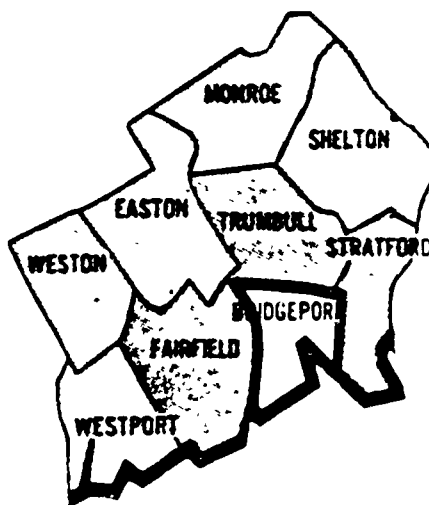
**NEW LONDON PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT
WITH CONTIGUOUS AND ADJACENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1986**



| <u>SCHOOL DISTRICT</u> | <u>TYPE</u> | <u>MINORITY STUDENTS</u> | <u>TOTAL STUDENTS</u> |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| New London | Core | 1,681 | 3,111 |
| Waterford | Contiguous | 156 | 2,433 |
| Ledyard | Contiguous | 140 | 2,951 |
| Groton | Contiguous | 762 | 5,796 |
| East Lyme | Adjacent | 94 | 3,023 |
| Montville | Adjacent | 230 | 2,653 |
| Preston | Adjacent | 7 | 474 |
| North Stonington | Adjacent | 11 | 847 |
| Stonington | Adjacent | 31 | 2,185 |

Figure 5

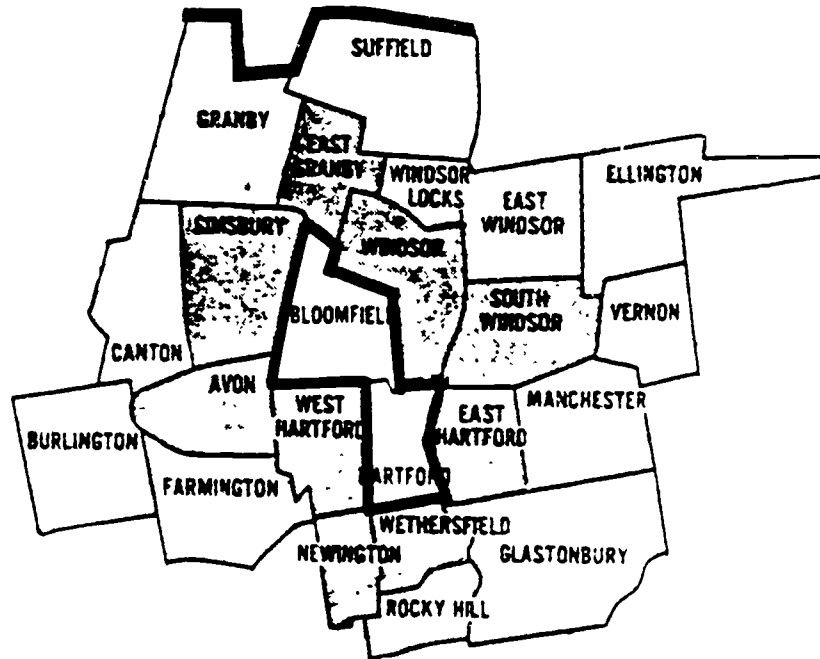
**BRIDGEPORT PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT
WITH CONTIGUOUS AND ADJACENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1986**



| <u>SCHOOL DISTRICT</u> | <u>TYPE</u> | <u>MINORITY STUDENTS</u> | <u>TOTAL STUDENTS</u> |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Bridgeport | Core | 16,580 | 19,878 |
| Fairfield | Contiguous | 264 | 6,330 |
| Trumbull | Contiguous | 294 | 4,887 |
| Stratford | Contiguous | 940 | 6,002 |
| Westport | Adjacent | 201 | 3,644 |
| Weston | Adjacent | 52 | 1,535 |
| Easton | Adjacent | 22 | 688 |
| Monroe | Adjacent | 164 | 3,248 |
| Shelton | Adjacent | 248 | 4,756 |

Figure 6

**HARTFORD AND BLOOMFIELD PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS
WITH CONTIGUOUS AND ADJACENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1986**

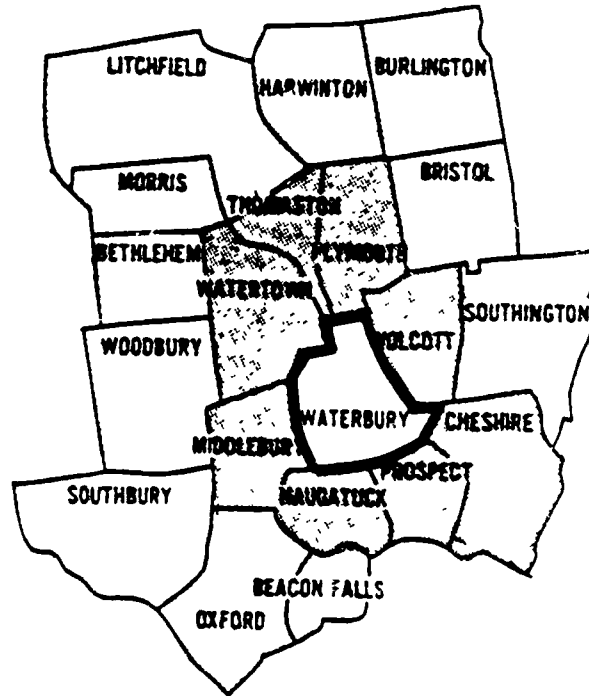


| <u>SCHOOL DISTRICT</u> | <u>TYPE</u> | <u>MINORITY STUDENTS</u> | <u>TOTAL STUDENTS</u> |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Hartford | Core | 21,954 | 24,389 |
| Bloomfield | Core | 1,729 | 2,589 |
| Wethersfield | Contiguous | 78 | 2,985 |
| Newington | Contiguous | 194 | 3,813 |
| West Hartford | Contiguous | 826 | 7,197 |
| Avon | Contiguous | 65 | 2,095 |
| Simsbury | Contiguous | 176 | 4,053 |
| East Granby | Contiguous | 12 | 666 |
| Windsor | Contiguous | 1,213 | 4,114 |
| South Windsor | Contiguous | 248 | 3,485 |
| East Hartford | Contiguous | 1,098 | 6,091 |
| Manchester | Adjacent | 626 | 7,090 |
| Glastonbury | Adjacent | 216 | 4,577 |
| Rocky Hill | Adjacent | 98 | 1,799 |
| Farmington | Adjacent | 114 | 2,439 |
| Burlington | Adjacent | * | * |
| Canton | Adjacent | 27 | 1,167 |
| Granby | Adjacent | 25 | 4,577 |
| Suffield | Adjacent | 42 | 6,002 |
| East Windsor | Adjacent | 113 | 1,269 |
| Ellington | Adjacent | 46 | 1,833 |
| Vernon | Adjacent | 317 | 4,512 |
| Windsor Locks | Adjacent | 52 | 1,548 |

* Participates in a regional school district

Figure 7

**WATERBURY PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT
WITH CONTIGUOUS AND ADJACENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1986**



| <u>SCHOOL DISTRICT</u> | <u>TYPE</u> | <u>MINORITY STUDENTS</u> | <u>TOTAL STUDENTS</u> |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Waterbury | Core | 6,404 | 13,178 |
| Prospect | Contiguous | * | * |
| Naugatuck | Contiguous | 298 | 4,569 |
| Middlebury | Contiguous | * | * |
| Watertown | Contiguous | 70 | 3,009 |
| Thomaston | Contiguous | 13 | 1,008 |
| Plymouth | Contiguous | 45 | 1,981 |
| Wolcott | Contiguous | 84 | 2,591 |
| Cheshire | Contiguous | 132 | 4,379 |
| Beacon Falls | Adjacent | * | * |
| Oxford | Adjacent | 23 | 1,025 |
| Southbury | Adjacent | * | * |
| Woodbury | Adjacent | * | * |
| Bethlehem | Adjacent | * | * |
| Morris | Adjacent | * | * |
| Litchfield | Adjacent | 29 | 1,157 |
| Harwinton | Adjacent | * | * |
| Burlington | Adjacent | * | * |
| Bristol | Adjacent | 561 | 7,756 |
| Southington | Adjacent | 159 | 6,001 |

* Participates in a regional school district

Finally, it is recognized that implementation of a policy of collective responsibility will require modification of:

- o leadership patterns that, while recognizing the existence of racial/ethnic isolation, are insensitive and unresponsive to any initiatives for change;
- o traditions and practices that place the concept of "the neighborhood school" and "local autonomy" above the desired goal of quality integrated education;
- o public laws and ordinances whose interpretation, if unchallenged, may discriminate against ethnic groups;
- o foregone conclusions that find de facto segregation to be caused by segregated housing and, consequently, to be unalterable;
- o jurisdictional restrictions that cause segmented finances, resources and operations to impede comprehensive solutions to major educational and social problems.

None of these barriers is insurmountable for citizens ready to accept the challenge to racially balance their schools.

There are many precedents, in Connecticut and elsewhere, for interdistrict collaboration and coordination. Among others, Connecticut's regional educational service centers (RESC's) are noted for the quality of service they make available to member school districts and their students. It may even be possible to tap the creative abilities and experience of the RESC's in order to help resolve boundary issues, to promote regional planning and collaboration, to design and develop interdistrict programs for students and staff, and to find nontraditional ways for the utilization of facilities

RECOMMENDATION TWO

That the state, through the State Board of Education, make available substantial financial incentives to school districts that plan and implement voluntary interdistrict programs and advance desegregation, racial balance and integrated education in Connecticut's public schools.

First, it is recommended that, under a voluntary plan to transfer students, any participating school district, whether it sends or receives students, should receive financial incentives.

- o The school district sending a student(s) to another school district will continue to include the student(s) in its student count on a prorated basis for purposes of receiving aid.
- o In turn a school district receiving a student from another school district will receive an additional desegregation grant. This

grant will be a prorated share of the larger of the sending district's equalization aid per pupil or the receiving district's equalization aid per pupil.

Second, it is recommended that there should be state funding for magnet schools and magnet programs. To the extent that the student transfer incentive, outlined above, might not cover the costs, especially in the beginning, of a magnet school or program, additional state funds should be made available.

Third, it is recommended that a funding provision be established that would allow the operation of a number of regional schools, as outlined in recommendation one, above.

Fourth, it is recommended that there should be an increase in the number of State Department of Education staff who work directly in the area of school desegregation.

RECOMMENDATION THREE

That the State Department of Education provide technical assistance to school districts in the development and implementation of plans to achieve and maintain desegregated schools.

It is recommended that state-sponsored technical assistance be expanded to facilitate local efforts at voluntary interdistrict collaboration. If current demographic trends continue, school districts will need substantial expert assistance in meeting the needs of diverse student populations. The state must be prepared to assist local school districts in developing agendas for action, for research, for evaluation, and for dissemination of successful practices.

Additionally districts whose minority enrollments exceed the statewide average for two consecutive years shall be eligible for state assistance in the form of human and fiscal resources.

RECOMMENDATION FOUR

That the State Department of Education undertake broad-based planning with other agencies concerned with housing, transportation and other factors that contribute to segregation in the public schools, to find ways to counteract adverse influences on integration.

Public education will not alone solve the problems posed by the separation of racial/ethnic groups. If properly directed, other governmental bodies can help develop policies that affect urban revitalization, housing development, public transportation, jobs creation, and employment training.

First, it is recommended that local governments, the state legislature and appropriate state agencies and regional planning authorities be made aware of the recommendations of this report so that they too can contribute to the broader objectives of reducing racial/ethnic isolation.

Second, it is recommended that the following possible long-term beneficial effects on housing be explored:

- o Attempts should be made to influence the location of new housing as described in the State's current housing initiative.
- o The creation of housing and counseling centers to give urban families advice on moving to houses in the suburbs where their presence would increase racial integration. This could be coupled with a state sponsored mortgage assistance program to help minorities move to the suburbs and to help whites move to the cities.
- o Legislation should be pursued that would require municipalities to undertake, with local boards of education, a study of the potential impact of any new housing development on the racial balance of school attendance zones.

In 1976, Pettigrew and Green wrote that, "...state liability for segregation of the schools may be based on actions not directly related to its public education policies. For example, the Supreme Court on a number of occasions has recognized the interrelated nature of school and housing segregation. Although courts have been reluctant to order 'otherwise innocent' school officials to undertake desegregation activities based solely on the discriminatory practices of government officials responsible for housing-related policies, they have been willing to order school desegregation relief where plaintiffs show that some meaningful connection exists between the policies of public housing officials and the policies of school board officials."²⁸

Since segregated housing is one of the primary causes of segregation, Connecticut's desegregation efforts must include coordination with government agencies that are responsible for housing and economic development.

MOVING FORWARD

Once again the State Board of Education is being asked to demonstrate its leadership to ensure "that each child shall have...equal opportunity to receive a suitable program of educational experiences." Taking a position on issues that are as much social and economic as educational is not new to the Board. The public schools have responded repeatedly to student needs which go beyond the bounds of traditional school responsibility; examples are school lunch and breakfast programs, special services and school-based health clinics. The arguments for developing strategies to combat racial isolation in the schools are even more compelling.

States that initiate policies and programs to deal directly with segregated conditions wherever they are manifest and to correct the related inequities will be in a better position to meet the demands of the next century.

The concept of voluntary desegregation, research shows, is workable. In a 1987 report to the National Institute of Education, entitled "The Carrot or the Stick in School Desegregation Policy," Christine H. Russell and Ruth C. Clarke of Boston University argue for "interracial exposure" rather than "racial balance." They conclude that:

- o Voluntary desegregation plans work, although some minimal mandatory reassignments are generally necessary.
- o Voluntary plans produce more interracial exposure than the primarily mandatory plans.
- o Mandatory desegregation plans are not failures; they produce more interracial exposure than if nothing at all had been done.
- o Voluntary magnet school plans appear to enhance the reputation of the school system in which the magnet school is located.

Other researchers (Tatel, Sneed, Lanigan and Routh) in their study of the responsibility of state officials to desegregate urban public schools, maintain that state governments have the power to reorganize and consolidate school districts and to improve the quality of education without the prodding of federal courts. They also point out that, since segregated housing is one of the primary causes of school segregation, a state's efforts must include those agencies responsible for housing and economic development.

Some may say that, in acting to correct and prevent racial isolation in Connecticut's public schools, the State Board of Education is exceeding its authority. The Committee on Racial Equity maintains that, legally and educationally the Board is within its' authority to eliminate the arbitrary barriers that limit educational opportunities for a large segment of the state's student population.

The true potential of our children will not be realized until they are freed from racial isolation and the resulting educational inequities.

ENDNOTES

- ¹State of Connecticut, Board of Education, "Minority Students and Staff Report", 1987 (pre-publication).
- ²Coleman, James S., Sara D. Kelly, and John A. Moore, "Trends in School Segregation, 1968-73," unpublished paper, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C., 15 Aug. 1975. Hereafter referred to as Paper III.
- ³State of Connecticut, Board of Education, Minority Students and Staff Report, 1987 (pre-publication).
- ⁴Orfield, Gary, "White Flight Research: Its Importance, Perplexities and Possible Policy Implications," paper presented at the Symposium on School Desegregation and White Flight, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 15 Aug. 1975, p.18-20.
- ⁵Pettigrew, Thomas F., Green, Robert L., School Desegregation in Large Cities: A Critique of the Coleman "White Flight" Thesis, Harvard Educational Review Vol. 46, No. 1, February 1976.
- ⁶U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Cities with a 1980 Population of 100,000 or More, Ranked by Persons, Poverty Rate in 1979", U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1980.
- ⁷op. cit., State of Connecticut, Board of Education, 1986 and 1987.
- ⁸State of Connecticut, Board of Education, "Policy Statement on Equal Educational Opportunity", May 7, 1986.
- ⁹Tatel, David S., Maree F. Sneed, Kevin J. Lanigan, and Steven J. Routh, "The Responsibility of State Officials to Desegregate urban public Schools under the United States Constitution", November 12, 1986 (draft). All references to legal precedents have been drawn from the Tatel paper, in which the reader will find many detailed citations of court cases and greater elaboration of issues.
- ¹⁰ibid., pp. 6, 40.
- ¹¹ibid., pp. 6, 9, 10.
- ¹²ibid., pp. 8, 35.
- ¹³ibid., p. 34, 39, 40.
- ¹⁴ibid., pp. 7, 11, 23, 24, 25.
- ¹⁵ibid., p. 12.
- ¹⁶ibid., pp. 9, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22..

17 ibid., p. 21

18 ibid., p. 22, 23, 24.

19 ibid., pp. 24.

20 ibid., p. 29.

21 ibid., p. 31, 32.

22 ibid., p. 33.

23 ibid., p. 34

24 State of Connecticut, Department of Education, "Standards for Staffing and Instructional Resources," a document in draft form, September 21, 1987.

25 State of Connecticut, Department of Education, "Research-Based School Improvement Practices", 1984.

26 U.S. Department of Education, What Works, Research About Teaching and Learning", 1986.

27 State of Connecticut, Board of Education, "Connecticut's Common Core of Learning", January, 1987.

28 Pettigrew, Thomas F., Green, Robert L., School Desegregation in Large Cities: A Critique of the Coleman "White Flight" Thesis, Harvard Educational Review Vol. 46, No. 1, February 1976.

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