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#### ABSTRACT

A third generation of school segregation has evolved, with the following problems: (1) renewed physical segregation; (2) limited teacher expectations for minority students; (3) culturally biased instructional methods; (4) persistence of sex stereotyping and bias; and (5) ability grouping that isolates students on the basis of race, national origin, or sex. These third Goneration problems overlap with a set of second generation problems involving equal education during a preiod when federal commitment to the elimination of first generation problems of physical separation has declined. The following current conditions are discussed: (1) desegregation effectiveness; (2) alarming conditions; (3) practices that exacerbate desegregation; (4) effective practices; and (5) segregation on the classroom level. The following tremak are discussed: (1) increasing segregation; (2) dormant desegregation activities; (3) innovations in desegregation; and (4) changing demographics. The Federal regional Desegregation Assistance Centers (DACs) have the potential to develop a systematic program of training and advisory services to help overcome segregation and the problems associated with desegregation. The appendices comprise the following tables of national statistical data: (1) Enrollment by Race and Percentages by Race; (2) Limited English Proficient (LEP) Students; (3) Enrollment by Sex; (4) Special Education Enrollment; (5) Suspensions: and (6) Graduates. A 34-item bibliography and a directory of DACs are also appended. (FMW)

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### BY THE NETWORK OF REGIONAL DESEGREGATION ASSISTANCE CENTERS

**JUNE 1989** 





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The authors of this report are the directors of the 10 Title IV Desegregation Assistance Centers. Collaboration on this report allowed the directors to present the condition of desegregation in public schools from a national perspective. The names of the directors, the institution at which each Center is located, and the states and jurisdictions served by each Center are listed on the inside back cover.

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# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION THE JOB IS NOT FINISHED

Thirty-five years ago, some previously all-white schools admitted Black children only because they had to. Federal marshals stood on schoolhouse steps and said desegregation is the law of the land and that is the way it is going to be from now on. Three decades ago we thought the racial separation of American school children was going to come to an end. We were wrong. It hasn't. In fact, it is getting worse.

More children today attend racially isolated schools than in the early 70s. Forty years ago we would have called them "Jim Crow" schools... schools that enrolled only minorities. Today if we wanted to tag them with a label, "urban schools" would be as descriptive as any.

But that is not to argue that all segregation is confined to urban schools. It isn't. Segregation of races—and sexes as well—occurs all over the country generally within the school buildings themselves.

Segregation, in other words, is alive and as ugly as ever. It continues to deprive thousands of school children of their civil rights and to force an ever-growing number of minorities to a life of second-class status and well-being. This report talks about that problem...the problem of school segregation today and tomorrow. We have entered the "third generation" of desegregation.

We talk about school desegregation as a three-generational issue. The first generation is well understood—the physical segregation of students by race. That practice led the Supreme Court 35 years ago to rule that school buildings segregated by race were in fact unequal and therefore had to desegregate. The federal government got involved in the act and a lot of energy went into changing the situation.

The second generation came about because schools—sometimes unintentionally—were segregating children by race and by sex within classrooms. Good intentions are not a sufficient antidote for what happens to children inside schools. Some children received unequal access to courses, teachers, and instruction. Educators and parents alike began to recognize that providing instruction in English to limited-English-speaking children denied them an equal opportunity to benefit from public schooling. Others realized the existence of segregation problems associated with gender. Students were being denied equal educational opportunities and equitable treatment because of their sex, race, or national origin.



A third generation of school desegregation has now evolved. It has grown out of a recognition that a new mix of problems had surfaced—renewed physical segregation coupled with desegregation related problems such as teachers' limited expectations for minority children, cultural bias of many instructional methods, persistence of sex stereotyping and bias, and ability-grouping that isolates students on the basis of race, national origin, or sex. The third generation is particularly perplexing because it rolls in on top of the second generation problems before they have been eliminated. To complicate matters, the federal commitment to rid the country of first-generation school segregation problems has waned; consequently, the physical separation of children into separate but unequal schools still exists.

#### REGIONAL CENTERS ASSIST DESEGREGATION EFFORTS.

This report on the condition of desegregation in America's public schools has been prepared by the 10 federally funded regional Desegregation Assistance Centers (DACs). The Centers exist because of a provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that instructed the federal government to assist schools and communities involved in school desegregation.

For years the main effort of the Centers was to help schools write and implement desegregation plans. The Centers then moved on to deal with the problems of in-school segregation. Having identified the third-generation problems, the Centers are now turning attention to them. Today, the Centers constitute the federal government's primary effort to ensure all public school children equal educational opportunities and equitable treatment. As such, their role is critical; call them the "basic infrastructure" of the federal school desegregation effort. By implication, they are essential. But by further implication, they are insufficient.

The Centers' staffs know how to write effective desegregation plans and involve parents and the community in the desegregation process, and provide effective instruction in diverse classrooms. But they also know how difficult it is to transfer these proven techniques into the nation's schools. They continue to work diligently to provide public school personnel and communities with information and skills needed to incorporate these practices. They also provide information about the pros and cons of implementing alternative programs, such as magnet schools, as schools pursue desegregation efforts.

These efforts pale in comparison to the challenge at hand. Consider, for a moment, the situation in many of the nation's large-city school systems. Years ago the courts struck down mandatory urban-suburban school desegregation plans. That decision all but insured that big-city schools



would be left to educate large concentrations of poor minority students. Today the trend is toward more and more severe racial school and class isolation in the inner-city. Children in these city barrios and ghettos—particularly Hispanics and Blacks—are attending almost totally segregated schools. Again we see unequal educational opportunities and inequitable treatment of these children. The Centers' staffs are working to share with urban educators ways they can come to grips with the challenges of educating these children. That does not mean, however, that Centers can do anything to change the composition of the school populations. That will occur only when and if a new, forceful national desegregation initiative is put in place.

### THERE IS SOME GOOD NEWS, BAD NEWS, AND ALARMING TRENDS.

This report presents current facts about the status of school desegregation as well as some trends. It is not entirely a bad news report. There are facts to support saying, "School desegregation works for Black children." They have higher achievement gains, they are more likely to attend desegregated colleges and universities, they are better prepared for adult roles, and they tend to end up in better jobs. Whites benefit, too. Students in desegregated schools are more likely to live, work, and develop friendships with individuals of different races. Given the growth in the minority population and the declining birth rate among whites, working, living, and playing with folks of a different race is something everyone needs to get used to now.

This report also contains bad news. As a country, Americans have allowed their outrage about school segregation to wane. Many want to deny it is a problem, or that the problem even still exists. Unbelievable as it may seem, recalling all the pain and anguish that accompanied early desegregation efforts, school buildings in many cities are resegregating. Even more are resegregating within the classroom.

The subsequent sections of this report describe the historical quest for desegregation, the current status of desegregation, and trends in school desegregation.

Dr. Ethel Simon-McWilliams, Director Center for National Origin, Race, and Sex Equity Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory



# VIGNETTES: SEGREGATION TODAY

### WHAT DOES SEGREGATION LOOK LIKE IN PRACTICE TODAY?

Here are some examples of what one might typically observe when visiting schools. These are actual practices observed, however, certain details are omitted to allow confidentiality.

#### **EVERYONE KNOWS...**

Analysis of student test scores of a large, urban school district was being reported to school personnel by DAC staff. They illustrate that Anglo students scored at the 60th percentile; Hispanic students scored at the 40th percentile; and Black students scored at the 20th percentile. The group was asked to consider why these results had been achieved.

A teacher quickly spoke up and said, "Well, everyone knows those kids can't learn as well as white kids." The group was silent and the teacher quickly added, "Well, they can't learn as fast as other kids." While the group appeared uncomfortable with this conclusion, no one spoke up to challenge the comment until the Desegregation Assistance Center team opened a discussion of effective schools research and how attitudes, instructional methods, curriculum, interpersonal skills, and an insensitivity to cultural differences can limit the achievement of minority students.

#### STUDENTS AT THE FRINGES...

As two DAC staff approach a suburban high school, they find two groups of male students standing at the fringes of the school campus. One group is Hispanic male students who are speaking in Spanish. When approached, they speak to the visitors who inquire why they are not in classes. They report that they are supposed to be in a study class for remedial Algebra and remedial reading. They have difficulty with their English, and there are no provisions for bilingual instruction or for improving their English.

The other group is Black male students who also inform the visitors that they are supposed to be in independent study, but no one has really given them any help. They report a series of experiences they consider to be racist and several report suspensions for "nothing."



As the visitors continue their observations of the school and other schools in the district, it is clear that while students are no longer assigned to schools on the basis of race or ethnic group, the patterns of racial-ethnic segregation are alive and well in the classroom assignments of students.

#### AFTER ALL, THEY CAN'T READ...

A large, urban school district is complying with its court-ordered desegregation plans. Black and white students are bused across town for physical desegregation purposes. Hispanic and Asian students tend to live in a corridor between the Black and white sections of town, and they are reasonably well integrated in formerly white schools.

Although physical desegregation has been reasonably well achieved, desegregation-related problems remain. These problems are evident as early as first grade when Black students are required to repeat first grade at a ratio of two-to-one compared to their white, Asian, or Hispanic counterparts. Teachers express their attitudes to DAC staff when they say, "After all, they can't read when they come to first grade."

#### IT WOULD REALLY BE LESS OF A HASSLE...

Six female students have signed up for a program in computer programming and technology. During the first class meeting, the instructor informs them that girls have typically not done well in this class and that the word processing class would be more appropriate for them.

When they go to talk to the school counselor about the problem, they are told that under the law they can stay in the class if they like, but it would really be less hassle for them if they simply changed classes and took the word processing course.

#### WE'VE GONE BEYOND WHAT'S NECESSARY...

The student population of a small town is approximately 30 percent white, 50 percent Black, and 20 percent Hispanic. For the past three years, the school district has been under court order to implement a "negotiated" plan which involves the development of a magnet middle school (grades 5-6) and a magnet junior high school (grades 7-8).

After one planning year, the magnet schools have operated for two years with a student population approximately 65 percent white, 20 percent Black, and 15 percent Hispanic.



District officials maintain that they cannot be held responsible if the court or the Justice Department find the schools out of compliance, since they have done everything that the court ordered. In fact, school officials and the chairperson of the school board state that: "The district has gone beyond the mandated court order to try and make this plan work. We have set fair and equitable eligibility criteria, sent letters to all homes each year by the children announcing the magnets, and we regularly (twice each year) make presentations at the PTA meetings of all other elementary, middle, and junior high schools."

Upon investigation, it was found that the district does not provide transportation for the magnets. To be eligible, students must be above grade level on all components of the standardized test given in fourth grade reading, math, reference skills, science, and social studies. Students must be in the top 25 percent of their school in grade point average. Parents must agree to provide transportation to school before 8:00 a.m. and from school no later than 3:45 p.m., volunteer to work at the school at least three hours each week, help with homework at least three nights each week, and pay lab fees of \$35 each semester.

#### FOUR POINTS OF VIEW...

The U.S. Justice Department, intervenes in school desegregation litigation which was originally initiated in 1969 by local plaintiffs, recently reactivated the case and retained an expert. The school district has hired a team of desegregation experts. The Legal Defense Fund hired an expert.

The student population in the district is 65 percent Black and 35 percent white. The school district operates 12 schools. Six are 98-100 percent Black and accommodate over 60 percent of all Black students in the district, grades K-12. Two schools are desegregated with a 60-75 percent Black student population. Four schools are 70-85 percent white. The district encompasses a small town and the county surrounding it. In town, the housing patterns are sharply drawn, while outside of town, both Blacks and whites are scattered over all parts of the county.

The superintendent's position is: "We're in compliance with what the court ordered in 1969 and really have no problems. Everyone gets along just fine."

A prominent member of the Black community says: "Our Black schools have a long history and a tradition of providing a good education. Some community folk want to see the old schools continue as all Black schools. Others want all of the schools to be integrated. Others aren't exactly sure what they want. But, we all want a good education for our children."

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The position of a Black school administrator is: "It's about time we stop fighting to keep our older (1901, 1908) Black schools open and start working for better schools."

A white school administrator says: "We just try to give everybody the best education that we can. We don't see color at this school, we just see students who need our help. We have a good faculty and treat everybody the same. No, I don't know why we don't have more Black teachers at this school, the district office makes those decisions.



# THE EVOLVING QUEST FOR EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

The word desegregation is likely to produce images of busing, dual school systems (Black schools and white schools), court cases, restrance to school integration, community action, and the host of issues that followed the 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown v. The Board of Education. The importance of the Brown decision cannot be overstated. It was an essential first step in preparing for the increasingly heterogeneous nature of today's society. Without the decision, a society where the American Dream of people being able to work and achieve solely on the basis of effort would be possible.

## EFFORTS TOWARD PHYSICAL DESEGREGATION ARE TYPICALLY KNOWN AS "FIRST GENERATION" PROBLEMS.

The <u>Brown</u> decision opened the door for dismantling the dual systems of Black and white schools, the process known as physical desegregation. Efforts toward physical desegregation are typically known as "first generation" problems. Physical desegregation and first generation problems remain today. Even in school districts where some racial balance was achieved, there are more signs of resegregation and children attending racially isolated schools than in the early 1970s.

### AFTER TEN YEARS OF EXPERIENCE, A "SECOND GENERATION" OF PROBLEMS WAS RECOGNIZED.

After some 10 years of desegregation experience, the limitations of physical integration began to be realized. The dual systems were evident in the attitudes, policies, practices, and programs provided by schools even when they were physically integrated. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act attempted to deal with new understandings of desegregation problems. The issues of unequal access to classrooms, teaching bias, and ability grouping were recognized as issues that had to be considered as part of the desegregation process.

Also realized during this period was the denial of equal access and equitable treatment for language minority students, many of whom are limited or non-English speakers. When combined with physical isolation, ethnically



identifiable patterns of school assignment, class and program placement, and differential educational outcomes, there was a further expansion of desegregation problems on the basis of national origin.

Similarly, gender was identified as a basis of segregation. Gender segregation begins with the assumption that certain groups of students must fit socially approved roles. Even though gender roles for females and males have undergone a level of change that has transformed societal institutions, schools tend to continue to deny access and equal educational opportunity to students on this basis.

### TODAY, WE FIND OURSELVES DEALING WITH A "THIRD GENERATION OF DESEGREGATION."

These third generation problems might be described as the persistent barriers to integration and equity or the attainment of equal education outcomes for all groups of students. Even when physical integration and a reasonable level of equal access is achieved, there exists a differential achievement of students, and subtle attitudinal and structural elements that limit equal opportunity. In addition to the continuing physical desegregation (and resegregation problems) and the limited access to programs, there is a need to face issues such as the growing problems of teachers' limited expectations for minority students, the cultural bias of the overwhelming use of didactic methods of teaching, and the lack of a variety of instructional methods that meet culturally different learning styles: the limitations of current "drill and practice" retardation of disadvantaged children; the persistence of sex stereotyping; and the increasingly subtle but damaging ability grouping programs that result in segregation on the basis of race, sex, or national origin. These are evolving manifestations of racism and sexism. They are not only barriers to equal educational opportunity, but also to the attainment of a national standard of educational excellence.

Desegregation programs are the only place where race, ethnic group, and gender are used as the units of analyses for providing services and for measuring progress toward educational excellence. Continuing to understand and overcome the barriers to desegregation is the only way that educational excellence can be achieved.

Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision of <u>Brown v the Board of Education</u>, much has been achieved in improving opportunities for all groups of children and we enjoy a freer and more open society today. However, much remains to be done.



### WE ARE SUBJECT TO THE PROBLEM OF THE "MOVING TARGET."

As schools and society moved ahead to deal with the problems of school desegregation, society experienced a transformation that continues to shape our institutions and our lifestyles. This transformation, known as the Information Age, requires the restructuring not only of our economic institutions but also our schools, our communities, our families, and our personal behaviors. It also requires that we refocus our understandings of desegregation and the continued need for training and advisory services that can achieve the goals of desegregation.

This profound restructuring of the larger society has created the evolution of understandings of desegregation and of educational excellence. We began with the conviction that physical desegregation would result in equal opportunity. Physical desegregation has, in fact, achieved a more open society and increased opportunities for many minority children. It did not, however, meet the needs of expanded numbers of minority children nor did it climinate the long entrenched assumptions of individuals and institutions.

As we moved to work with second generation problems, it became evident how institutional policies and practices reflect individual and societal prejudices and biases, and how the "system" can promote or inhibit equal opportunity.

Third generation problems leave new understandings of the difficulty of change and a new context or environment for the attainment of equal educational outcomes. Third generation problems focus on the problems of learning and equal outcomes for all groups. They recognize the need for cultural sensitivity and the need for curriculum and instruction to be adapted to take into account the different learning styles of individuals and cultural groups. A summary of the three generations of desegregation efforts follows:



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	First Generation	Second Generations	Third Generation
FOCUS	Physical desegregation	Equal treatment and equal access within school achievement	Physical resegregation  Equal opportunities to learn
			Equal outcomes- achievement, attitudes, and behaviors
	***		
DESEGREGATION CONCERNS	Physical assignment plans	Access to courses and programs	Culturally-sensitive, bias-free curriculum and instruction
	Elimination of racial isolation	Access to language development	Use of varied instructional methods for different cultural and learning styles
	Elimination of bias and stereotypes	Elimination of practices which lead o isolation	Heightened teacher expectations
	2	or differential treatment based on rare, sex, and national origin	Development of positive self-concept
		1.001.10 0.16u	Elimination of achievement gaps
DESEGREGATION	Writing plans	Collecting and	Collecting,
ASSISTANCE SERVICES	Withing plants	analyzing data	disaggregating, analyzing, and
	Providing consultation	Providing consultation	reporting relevant achievement and outcomes data
	Training educators about plan implementa- tion stereotyping and bias	Training educators about legal requirements and forms of bias and stereotyping	Training educators about legal requirements, bias and siereo-typing, and gender, national
		Developing training models and materials about legal requirements, bias and stereotyping, and multicultural education	origin, and race-fair curriculum and instruction

Awareness must continue of the persistent problems remaining from each generation. For example, physical desegregation is still a strong concern. As of January 1989, the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, had almost 500 active school district case files. In addition, many school districts fall under "statewide desegregation cases" as in, for example, Georgia and Texas.



Second generation problems continue to be apparent in practices such as:

- School policies and procedures that result in racially or sexually identifiable outcomes (discipline referrals, suspension, and expulsion rates, limited competitive sports for females)
- Program counseling or assignment by staff that creates classes that are racially, ethnically, or sexually identifiable (assignment to special education as gifted programs; vocational programs vs. college prep programs; single sex classes; tracking of LEP students; etc.)
- Denial of adequate language instruction or provision of adequate levels of English instruction and preparation
- Grouping practices between classes or within classes that create racial, ethnic, or single sex identifiable groups for extended periods of time
- Extra-curricular activities that evolve into racial, ethnic, or single sex identifiable groups (National Honor Society, Chemistry Club, cheerleading, competitive sports, school-sponsored clubs)
- School faculty that can be identified by race, ethnic group, or sex for consistent assignment to specific academic courses or positions (administrators, mathematics and science teachers, coaches, vocational teachers)

The focus of third generation problems is on learning and student outcomes, and the effects on these when restructuring schools. Examples of third generation challenges include the following:

- Development of teacher attitudes and beliefs that all children can grow and achieve:
  - Sensitivity to cultural similarities and differences
  - Systematic provision of interpersonal skills that promote positive student self-concept
- Extension of instructional strategies to take into account:
  - Culturally based learning style differences
  - Interactive learning essential for developing thinking skills
  - Technological advances
- Curriculum revision to reflect:
  - Multicultural curriculum
  - Metacognition
  - Higher order thinking skills



- Reform of testing to overcome problems of:
  - Culture and gender bias
  - Testing for higher cognitive processes at every grade level
  - Expansion of areas of performance based learning assessment to identify cultural strengths not usually recognized
- Reform of grouping and tracking processes to reflect needs of an information society rather than an industrial society
- Reform of administrative processes to eliminate race, sex, and national origin discrimination, stereotyping and bias, and to increase principal and teacher participation and autonomy in decision making

In many instances, school districts continue to experience the problems associated with all three generations of desegregation. As important as any of these desegregation issues may be, their importance becomes even more pressing when we realize the problems associated with the transformation of our society, and the educational and societal problems facing all of us. Some of the critical issues which must be confronted are the following.

American public schools fail low-income and minority students in the most serious ways, but they are also failing the majority students as well.

The educational requirements of our society continue to increase, yet large numbers of students are unable to meet the basic skills requirements of numeracy and literacy. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reported that while most young Americans (21-25 year-olds) can perform routine reading tasks typically associated with a fourth-grade education, their performance—particularly that of minorities—drops sharply when they attempt tasks that combine reading with comprehension and quantitative skills. While nearly 95 percent of the 3,600 young adults surveyed could read a simple newspaper article, fewer than 40 percent could understand an article appearing on the opinion page of a newspaper; fewer than 10 percent could interpret a four-line poem by Emily Dickinson.

Another NAEP assessment revealed that half of the 17-year-olds who attend the nation's high schools are unable to perform math problems normally taught in junior high. Roughly one-third of the 13-year-olds had not mastered skills normally taught in elementary schools. NAEP also cites the achievement gap between minority and white students. The gap widens in both reading and math from an average difference of 10 points for Black and white 9-year-olds to a gap of over 40 points in math and 50 points in reading for 13-year-olds.

These findings suggest problems for all students but the most serious achievement gaps are those based on race and national origin.



Societal changes provide a new context and a need for basic restructuring of our education systems. Societal forces significantly shape the directions for educational change. Some of these forces include economic restructuring that requires workers with higher levels of basic skills and higher order thinking skills. Demographic changes include the increasing racial and ethnic heterogenity of society and the change in the nature of the family that shapes the nature of school programs and services.

These changes call for new approaches to instruction and curriculum that can lead to better comprehension and thinking skills. Too often these approaches to learning are not made available to the poor or minority child.

The problems of limited achievement for minority students and the limited achievement and aspirations of female students are priority issues for the future of America. Nearly 80 percent of America's entering workers will be immigrants, minorities, and women. The quality of the work force will determine the nation's competitiveness and economic well-being. A poorly educated work force ensures a decline in our national productivity. We must make the sacrifice and commitment to invest in a program of educational excellence for all groups of students.

American schools must be changed in ways that respond to a changed economy, a changed student body, a changed community support system and changed family support patterns. The need for this change may be summarized as the economic imperative. While high levels of educational excellence are required for all groups, it adds another critical dimension to the attainment of desegregation. Not only is desegregation important for the attainment of social justice, but also for economic security.

### THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT RECOGNIZED SCHOOL DISTRICTS' NEED FOR ASSISTANCE.

The year following <u>Brown</u>, the Supreme Court issued <u>Brown II</u> and placed the enforcement of school desegregation in the hands of federal judges in the South. In 1955, <u>Brown II</u> established the doctrine of "all deliberate speed" and the concept of "equitable principles." In practice, the strength of <u>Brown II</u> was in the flexibility allowed to deal with particular situations. However, the weakness was in the lack of uniformity and the absence of a common set of standards.

Ten years of resistance followed that <u>Brown</u> decision. The Supreme Court seemed reluctant to set minimum standards that by default began to evolve out of the growing number of cases handled by federal district judges. State legislators and state executive officers, particularly in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi, tested federal authority by passing "segreț'ationist" state

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laws. The attempts to circumvent <u>Brown</u> forced the executive branch of government to become involved in enforcement to maintain civil order.

The first major procedural change following <u>Brown II</u> was set forth in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title VI prohibited discrimination on the basis of race in schools, and it gave the executive branch the right to initiate school desegregation suits and the right to withhold federal funds from school districts found to be in noncompliance. From this point on, desegregation policy and enforcement became the responsibility of the judicial and the executive branches of government.

Title IV of the Civil Rights Act recognized school districts' need for technical assistance to:

- Prepare and implement desegregation plans
- Train school personnel to work in desegregated settings
- Develop effective methods for dealing with problems occasioned by or related to desegregation
- Eradicate all vestiges of a segregated dual system

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare devised four major strategies to accomplish this mission: desegregation specialists were placed in the HEW regional offices; desegregation and technical assistance centers were funded; funds were provided to state education agencies for desegregation specialists; and funds were provided directly to school districts for developing and implementing desegregation plans.

This was the beginning of a national network of Desegregation Assistance Centers to provide objective leadership and technical assistance to assist school districts in:

- Developing desegregation plans
- Training personnel (school boards, administrators, teachers, school support personnel, parents, and student leaders)
- Revising curricula and materials
- Developing appropriate policies and procedures (in areas such as discipline, student participation in co-curricular activities, student access to classes)
- Resolving confrontations related to desegregation issues

Hundreds of physical desegregation plans were developed by Desegregation Assistance Center personnel. Many of these were highly successful. Desegregation Assistance Centers were active in providing plan development, training, and other assistance to large, urban metropolitan centers such as Jackson, Montgomery, Birmingham, Mobile, Raleigh,



Greensboro, Columbia, Greenville, Little Rock, Tulsa, St. Louis, and Dayton to mention a few—as well as in much smaller communities such as Fayette and Hardeman Counties, Tennessee; Ferndale, Michigan; Abbeville and Timmonsville, South Caroline; and Macon, Georgia.

This first generation of school desegregation initially focused on the 12 southern states. As federal court orders were issued in other parts of the nation, Desegregation Assistance Centers helped develop, as is frequently the case today, revise and update the plan to incite changing conditions.

Second generation problems emerged as a major problem in the 1970s, and continue to pose a subtle, pervasive form of segregation and discrimination. During the 1970s and into the 1980s, Desegregation Assistance Centers and state education agency staff concentrated a majority of their efforts on these second generation problems.

Centers and states offered a wide variety of workshops; developed institutes, graduate courses, and conferences designed to focus awareness on actual and potential problems; and generated alternative solutions that might be applied in a variety of settings. Attention is now given to develop local capacity to identify and eliminate potential problems before they become critical community issues.

In the 1970s the passage of Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments, the Supreme Court Decision of Lau v. Nichols (1974), and the subsequent development of the Lau Guidelines raised the need for expanding the scope of desegregation assistance services. By 1974 sex desegregation services had been added to the responsibilities of the Desegregation Assistance Centers, and by 1975 National Origin Desegregation Assistance services were provided. The addition of sex and national origin desegregation to the network of Desegregation Assistance Centers was an acknowledgement of the various ways that equal opportunity may be denied. Today, the 10 regional Desegregation Assistance Centers and some state agencies are the only source of technical assistance and training for the more than 16,000 local school districts across the nation. And yet the problems are increasing.

Many of the schools and school districts that had created unitary, nonsegregation in the 1960s and 1970s are rapidly becoming resegregated. Populations and housing patterns continue to shift and many districts are not taking the "affirmative" action necessary to readjust school assignments and maintain the progress of the past 35 years.

In other districts, school desegregation plans that appeared on paper simply did not work upon implementation. Whether through a faulty plan, the lack of community and school leadership, or a lack of vigilance, the result



is the same—large numbers of minority students continue to suffer from a lack of equal educational opportunities in desegregated schools. There is also a significant need to improve educational quality and achievement in racially isolated schools.

Desegregation tasks are evolving. There is a greater attention to the nature of the learning process itself and how the needs of various groups of children are not met. This has meant giving greater attention to the within-classroom variables and the ways that biases, stereotypes, and discrimination are manifested on the basis of race, sex, and national origin.

For example, if educational improvement and restructuring efforts are to be successful, all educators must understand the strengths that students of all cultural groups bring to the educational process and the patterns of socialization on the basis of race, national origin, and sex.

# THE AGE OF DESEGREGATION IS NOT OVER. IN FACT, MEETING THE NEEDS IS EVEN MORE ESSENTIAL TO THE ATTAINMENT OF EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE.

Educational programs and educators who do not understand or value the diversity of our society and the challenges posed by this diversity are unlikely to provide students with the experience they will need for our ever-changing, technological, information society.

Students must learn how to work and live with people from different racial, ethnic, and economic experiences. They must also learn to think, problem solve, and to be productive.

These goals must be achieved under the following conditions:

- All groups of students must be provided with high levels of academic skills.
   Sorting students and not making the effort to ensure that all our youth will be prepared for adult roles is to ignore economic needs, the needs of a democratic society, and the meaning of social justice.
- High levels of achievement may only be attained when school decision makers and school personnel are fully aware of diverse needs of students, have the skills to build on the strengths of diversity, and believe that all students can achieve.

Even today, teachers and administrators are seldom provided with information regarding legal requirements, the history of desegregation, or strategies for overcoming school building and within-classroom desegregation in their preservice or graduate education programs. Consequently there is a strong, continuing need for:



- Increasing general awareness of cultural and gender differences and their relationship to discrimination; stereotyping and bias, and the impact of these barriers on the learning process and the ultimate segregation or sorting of children
- Understanding how current educational policies, practices, and programs may limit the opportunities of children based on race, sex, and national origin
- Developing models of educational programs, practices, and behaviors that can overcome the effect of segregation
- Training to provide knowledge and skills necessary to better work with heterogeneous groups of children and ensure high levels of achievement for all groups of students
- Providing resources that can support desegregation efforts
- Recognizing progress and providing reinforcement for schools that achieve high levels of excellence for all groups of students

It is essential that the central network in the United States performing these functions—state agencies and regional Desegregation Assistance Centers—continue to be funded under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to assist in meeting these needs.



# FACTS ABOUT THE CURRENT CONDITION OF DESEGREGATION

### 1. School Desegregation Works

Benefits to Black students are conclusive.

The public supports the concept.

The future well-being of the country demand more of it.

#### DESEGREGATION BENEFITS STUDENTS AND SOCIETY.

Planned school desegregation programs are an investment in the future. That is, graduates of desegregated schools are more likely as adults to freely choose desegregated colleges, neighborhoods, places of work, and schools for their children, reducing the need for future public policies in this area. ("The Impact of Desegregation on Going to College and Getting a Good Job" by James M. McPartland and Jomills H. Braddock, II)

### RESISTANCE TO DESEGREGATION IS DECLINING.

Despite contemporary manifestations of racism that are all too apparent, the overall picture is positive. Nevertheless, it is obvious that policy makers are not about to undertake massive, or even minor, reallocation of resources to promote school desegregation. There are four reasons why people won't believe the research on the benefits of desegregation:

- 1. People intuitively believe desegregation should not work. Unfortunately, the reasons why desegregation generally has positive consequences are complex and not as easily understood as explanations for why it will not work.
- 2. We do not have success stories that everyone knows about, of kids who experienced desegregation and went on to achieve great goals. If you ask someone what community has done a great job with school desegregation, it is very hard to get an answer with which anybody feels very comfortable. One of the reasons is because we ask more of segregated schools than we ask of other schools. The problem, then, is to get into some reasonable way of explaining why a school system is sensible and to array a set of things we can point to, give examples from, and therefore enrich the context of our understanding of desegregation.



- 3. The evidence is reasonably thin. While the findings on some key issues are consistent, the number of quality studies is small. And we are not learning much more because there is very little research being done on school desegregation. There is almost no federal money being spent on desegregation research except an occasional study aimed at showing that desegregation does not work.
- 4. There remain some critical problems that need to be resolved if we are going to be more effective. Three are particularly difficult in desegregated schools, or schools undergoing desegregation:
- Instructional management in diverse classrooms is a problem. Evidence attesting to the effectiveness of strategies such as cooperative learning, peer tutoring, and mastery learning is overwhelming; but these techniques are also difficult to implement. Also, they are not part of the experience that most teachers have in their own education, so we have a massive job to do that goes beyond the task of developing the models and showing that they work.
- Involvement of parents in the education of their own children is a very powerful education strategy. It is not easy to implement, however. Desegregation complicates the process. Teachers need to be more proactive, to go to the client, as it were, and to use proven strategies, such as home-based reinforcement, to engage parents.
- The lives of many urban children are in continual flux. Moreover, teacher turnover is often high in urban districts and this introduces further instability that might be reduced by teacher incentives and teacher assignment policies. ("Why It is Hard to Believe in Desegregation" by Willis D. Hawley)

### DESEGREGATION MAY BE NECESSARY IF SOCIETY WANTS TO OPEN UP MORE CAREER OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES.

School desegregation may be a uniquely necessary ingredient to open up career opportunities for minorities, to penetrate barriers to Black and white adult desegregation, and for Black and white students to develop skills at working successfully in multiracial settings. A good deal of practical knowledge about how to establish the best conditions in a desegregated school to obtain these desirable outcomes exists. ("The Social and Academic Consequences of School Desegregation" by Jomills Henry Braddock, II and James M. McPartland)



# NINE OUT OF TEN CITIZENS BELIEVE WHITES AND BLACKS SHOULD GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS. THEY JUST DON'T WANT SCHOOL BUSING.

National public opinion surveys show continued widespread approval of the principle of desegregated schooling. Analyses of recent surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center show that nine out of ten citizens of both races favor the idea that white and Black students should go to the same schools. Despite overwhelming public support for the principle of integrated schooling, only one out of five whites and three out of five Blacks favor busing to attain this broadly shared goal. ("The Social and Academic Consequences of School Desegregation" by Braddock and McPartland)

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION HAS MANY, VARIED POSITIVE OUTCOMES FOR MINORITY STUDENTS.

Much has been learned about the academic outcomes and long-term social consequences of school desegregation.

- 1. Achievement gains are strongest when desegregation begins in the early grades, has a metropolitan-wide plan, and takes place in predominantly white schools with a critical mass of Black students.
- 2. Blacks are scoring higher on achievement tests, and the most significant gains have come in the South where school desegregation has had its greatest impact.
- 3. Students who graduate from racially mixed schools often are better prepared for adult roles, and will encounter better career opportunities and less segregation in their adult lives.
- 4. Black students who attend desegregated schools are more apt to attend desegregated institutions of higher education. Furthermore, in predominantly white two-year colleges, Black students from majority-white high schools are more likely to major in scientific or technical fields than are Black students from majority-Black schools.
- Blacks from desegregated schools are more likely to be located in desegregated occupational work groups.
- 6. Blacks from desegregated school backgrounds make fewer racial distinctions about the friendliness of their co-workers or about the competence of their work supervisors, as opposed to Blacks from segregated schools.
- 7. Both Blacks and whites from desegregated elementary and secondary schools are more likely, than their Black and white counterparts from segregated schools, to work in desegregated environments.
- 8. Black graduates of desegregated schools are more likely to live as adults in integrated neighborhoods and to have white friends than are black graduates of segregated schools.
- 9. Desegregated schools reduce white students' negative racial stereotypes and fears of hostile reactions in interacial settings.

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### 2. Current Conditions Are Alarming

Resegregation of Black students is occurring in many states.

Desegregation of Hispanic students is almost nonexistant and getting worse.

The trends are toward more severe racial and class isolation of minorities.

# THE MOST SEGREGATED STATES ARE IN THE NORTH—ILLINOIS AND NEW YORK. TWO SOUTHERN STATES ARE ALSO HIGH ON THE NEGATIVE LIST—ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI.

The most segregated states are Illinois and New York. Illinois has remained the most segregated state for Blacks throughout the decade. New York had the second worst record for all minority groups. In Illinois, 84 percent of Black students attend predominantly minority schools. In Michigan, 83.8 percent of Black students are in predominantly minority schools, and in New York, 81.7 percent are in predominantly minority schools. The problem is these states' big cities. The story is similar throughout the country. These predominantly Black inner cities have been unable or unwilling to mount successful city-suburban desegregation plans. ("School Desegregation in the 1980s" by Gary Orfield)

# BLACK AND HISPANIC STUDENTS ARE LESS WELL PREPARED AND COUNSELED TO CONTINUE THEIR EDUCATION AT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AFTER HIGH SCHOOL.

Of all students enrolled in higher education, 79.9 percent are white, 16.2 percent Black, 9.8 percent Hispanic, 3.6 percent Asian, and 2.8 percent Indian. Postsecondary enrollment of white, Asian, and Indian students is higher than their high school graduation rate. Postsecondary enrollment of Black and Hispanic students is lower than the high school graduation rate. (National Coalition on Advocates for Students' analysis of 1986 elementary and secondary school civil rights survey.

# BOTH RACE AND SEX DISCRIMINATION ARE EVIDENT FROM TEACHER AND ADMINISTRATOR SCHOOL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES.

All minorities are underrepresented in the teaching force. Seven percent of all teachers are Black compared to a 16 percent Black student enrollment. Nearly 10 percent of all students are Hispanics, but only 3.5 percent of teachers are. Asian students comprise 2.7 percent of enrollment,



while Asian teachers constitute 2.6 percent of the teachers. Indians represent .9 percent of students and .4 percent of the teachers. Sixty-nine percent of the nation's teachers are female, while 31 percent are male. However, only 33 percent of the nation's building principals are female. (National Coalition on Advocates for Students' analysis of 1986 elementary and secondary school civil rights survey data)

### EVERYWHERE YOU LOOK, HISPANIC STUDENTS ARE SEGREGATED.

In spite of their many differences, in all regions Hispanic students are segregated. And they face high and increasing levels of segregation in all parts of the country. New York remains the most segregated state for Hispanics. Texas, where nearly a third of the students are Hispanic, is the second most segregated state. The data for segregation of Hispanic students within metropolitan America in the 1980s are grim. For the areas with adequate data, there is a clear pattern of growing segregation. Metropolitan New York; El Paso and San Antonio, Texas; Los Angeles, California; and Chicago, Illinois—all areas with very large numbers of Hispanics—lead the list of the most segregated areas. There are very large levels of segregation in booming southern California communities where Hispanic enrollment is growing rapidly. ("School Desegregation in the 1980s" by Orfield)

### SCHOOL DISTRICTS ARE KNOWINGLY DENYING LIMITED-ENGLISH-PROFICIENT STUDENTS THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS.

Failure to provide language services that ensure that language minority students have access to the teaching and learning process is a denial of these students' civil rights, as required by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. School districts are aware that not providing appropriate services to their LEP student population is a violation of these students' civil rights. However, since many state education agencies' bilingual education/ESL units do not monitor for compliance with Title VI requirements, these SEA units have "assumed" that school districts are providing services to all students identified. This is likely the case in at least four of the states that reported 100 percent of LEP students in the state are served. Based on our knowledge of the problems and difficulties encountered at the local level with assessment and placement of LEP special education students, the reported figures should be viewed with some alarm and should spur more vigorous state-level action on these issues.

### SCHOOL INTEGRATION PROGRESS PREVIOUSLY MADE IN THE SOUTH NOW APPEARS TO BE ERODING.

The South remained the nation's most integrated region in 1986, showing the enduring consequences of the court orders and federal compliance plans of the late 1960s and early 1970s. There are clear signs, however, that the long-standing achievements in the South and in parts of the Border states are beginning to erode. This is particularly true in the cases of Alabama and Mississippi. They show major increases in segregation and have joined the list of the nation's most segregated states for Black students. Other states, including Florida, are experiencing gradual declines in relatively high levels of integration, declines that may well reflect the failure of many districts in those states to update their desegregation plans in the past 15 years as vast demographic changes have occurred. ("School Desegregation in the 1980s" by Orfield)

### SEGREGATION OF HISPANICS IS NOW WORSE THAN THAT SUFFERED BY BLACKS—AND THE PROBLEM IS GETTING WORSE.

Hispanic students today are more likely to attend a predominantly minority school than their cohorts were 20 years ago. In 1986 71.5 percent of Hispanic students attended minority schools, while only 56.6 percent did in 1972. Hispanics have the highest percentage of high school dropout rates of any ethnic group. ("Integration Efforts Foundering for Blacks, Hispanics, Study Says" by Edwin Darden)

In California, the number of Hispanic students—majority white schools dropped from 61 percent in 1968 to 32 percent in 1984 and the percentage dropped from 50 to 32 percent in Florida. ("School Desegregation in the 1980s" by Orfield)

### MINORITY AND WHITE SCHOOLS IN URBAN AREAS ARE UNEQUAL.

Full desegregation for inner-city minority children would normally require suburban-city pupil exchanges. Mandatory desegregation produces strong white opposition, particularly at the outset. And voluntary desegregation plans generally leave minority schools almost totally segregated. Moving toward better opportunities for minority students requires difficult educational reforms. But such reforms cost a good deal of money. And money is not readily available in inner-city school budgets. ("Knowledge, Ideology, and School Desegregation: Views Through Different Prisms" by Orfield)



### CHILDREN LEFT BEHIND TEND TO BE FROM POOR FAMILIES.

While our publicly financed educational system works for most American children, it is failing to educate well a substantial segment of our youth. Those left behind by our schools are disproportionately from poor and minority families. Many of these young people drop out of high school and then face a high risk of long-term unemployment or welfare dependency. Regardless of race, students from poor families are three to four times more likely to drop out than those from more affluent households. In large public school districts in our major cities, where the great majority of students come from poor families, dropout rates frequently exceed 40 percent. ["Children Left Behind," by Marian Wright Edelman)

### 3. Schooling Practices Exacerbate Desegregation

Magnet schools frequently hurt minorities.

Limited-English-Proficient students are dead-ended into Special Education.

Instructional grouping resegregates classrooms.

# MAGNET SCHOOLS, SEEN BY MANY AS A SOLUTION TO DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS, FREQUENTLY MAKE THE PROBLEM WORSE.

Magnet schools, such as those in Chicago and Los Angeles supported by the Reagan Justice Department, have left the pattern of segregation virtually untouched and often have failed even to integrate the buildings in which they operate. A major study of metropolitan Milwaukee schools shows that to an extraordinary degree Black students are enrolled in low-income schools and low-income schools have poor achievement levels. The apparent success of Milwaukee's nationally famous magnet school program may be because it draws away from neighborhood schools the higher socio-economic status, minority students. Thus the students left behind are worse off than before. ("Knowledge, Ideology, and School Recognition" by Orfield)

A four-city research study found that "magnets consistently tended to admit students with high basic skills test scores, good attendance, good behavior records, a mastery of English, no record of being held back, and no special learning problems. When magnet schools and optional programs have stringent admissions criteria, they drain the neighborhood schools of their high-achieving and well-behaved students, leaving the neighborhood school to face even higher concentrations of the students with serious problems, low basic skills achievement, truancy, behavior



problems, handicaps, and limited English proficiency. Furthermore, the neighborhood school frequently loses many of its best teachers to the magnets and receives in return those teachers the magnets don't want. Neighborhood schools face a host of problems requiring additional resources. Yet neighborhood schools frequently come off second-best in the allocation of school system resources, as compared with magnet schools and programs. The growth of selective magnet schools and programs has created a prevalent feeling of demoralization among educators, students, and parents. Many have grown to believe that the students who do not make it into a selective school or program are by and large "losers" from whom little can be expected. ("High School Choice and Students at Risk" by Donald R. Moore and Suzanne Davenport)

So-called 'school choice' plans are the latest attempt to ignore long-standing structural barriers to the academic achievement of minority youth. Choice plans are a 'lottery' and they may worsen the gap in educational opportunities between white and minority students. (Asa Hilliard, 1989)

## FOUR BARRIERS HINDER SCHOOLS ABILITY TO DELIVER SERVICES TO LIMITED-ENGLISH-PROFICIENT STUDENTS.

Key findings from a national survey of state education agencies reveal that the top four barriers that hinder the provision of appropriate services to LEP students are: lack of funding, shortage of qualified school personnel, constraining regulations or lack of regulations, and insufficient state-level personnel to conduct appropriate oversight and technical assistance efforts.

There appears to be a significant number (at least 25 percent) of LEP students that remain unserved by LEAs in 19 of 33 states. An overwhelming majority of states (28 out of 44 respondents) have not developed guidelines for local districts on procedures for identification and placement of LEP students in special education classes. LEP students appear to be inappropriately placed in the learning disabled and speech impaired categories of special education. ("A Concern About Educating Limited English Proficient Students: A CCSSO Survey of State Education Agency Activities")

### HOLDING STUDENTS BACK A GRADE ONLY CREATES AN ILLUSION OF PROGRESS.

A growing tendency to hold students back while keeping them in school also has created illusions of progress without actually boosting student achievement. Every year some 10 million children are held back a grade. Between 1977 and 1983 the segment of the student population that had



repeated or was repeating a grade grew by one-fourth (from 17.6 percent to 22.1 percent) and among Black students that increase was even more dramatic (from 23.8 percent to 30.8 percent). Black students ages 16-17 now are nearly twice as likely as white students to be at least one grade behind in school, and more than three times as likely as white students to be two years behind. ("Children Left Behind" by Edelman)

## FOR SOME CHILDREN, SCHOOL IS SO BAD THEY ACTUALLY IMPROVE THEIR SELF-CONCEPT BY DROPPING OUT.

Researchers find that dropouts actually enjoy a short-term improvement in their self-esteem compared to non-college-bound students who stay in school. This fact alone tells us something about the school experience of our dropouts. ("Dropping Out: What the Research Says" by Anne Wheelock)

Teenagers who fail to complete high school often face bleak futures with limited prospects for self-sufficiency. More than half of all Black youths and more than one-fourth of all white youths who lack high school diplomas are unemployed. For many, the combination of dropping out of school, early parenthood, and narrowing job opportunities adds up to a life of poverty and deprivation for themselves and their children. ("Children Left Behind" by Edelman)

# INSTRUCTIONAL GROUPING PRACTICES FREQUENTLY RESULT IN IN-SCHOOL RESEGREGATION. TEACHERS HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO CHANGE THESE PRACTICES.

Most of the classroom resegregation is produced by instructional grouping practices that assign students to classes on the basis of their level of academic achievement. Classroom resegregation occurs most often in high schools. Majority-white desegregated schools—that comprise about three-quarters of all desegregated schools and enroll about half of all Black students attending desegregated schools—seem especially prone to extreme cases of classroom resegregation that produce all-white or all-Black classes.

Educators have demonstrated that it is possible to allow teachers to focus instruction on students' current learning needs without undoing the benefits of a desegregated student environment. In general, grouping by current achievement levels should be used flexibly and should be restricted to a limited segment of the curriculum for a limited period during the school day, so as to maximize learning benefits and to minimize the resegregative aspects.



Educators have demonstrated that teachers can do things within their classrooms that reduce the likelihood that students will develop a perception of classmates' ability. ("The Social and Academic Consequences of School Desegregation" by Braddock and McPartland)

### 4. Effective Practices Aid Desegregation

In-class instruction practices can benefit all students.

Extracurricular activities promote cross-race integration.

Urban-suburban plans benefit entire communities.

Communities under desegregation pressures do change for the better

### A PLAN THAT INVOLVES CITY AND SUBURBAN SCHOOLS HAS HIGH PAYOFF.

The experience of the Charlotte, North Carolina, plan shows clearly that a metropolitan mandatory plan involving city and suburban schools can produce the highest level of desegregation with considerable stability if properly designed. ("Knowledge, Ideology, and School Desegregation" by Orfield)

All of the most integrated metropolitan areas in the southern and border states have mandatory city-suburban busing plans. The same is true elsewhere. Even where the plan was implemented through a very explosive process of combining previously separate city and suburban districts, and implementing mandatory two-way busing, the reductions in segregation are dramatic and lasting. ("School Desegregation in the 1980s" by Orfield)

### MORE MONEY SPENT ON DESEGREGATION IS NOT SUFFICIENT, BUT IT IS NECESSARY.

Lots of money is necessary if significant headway is to be made on a problem of such large proportions. This is not to say that more money is enough. It surely is not sufficient, but it is necessary. ("Looking for an Ecological Solution: Planning to Improve the Education of Disadvantaged Children" by Don Davies)

More than a million babies will be born this year who will never complete their schooling and as they reach adolescence, many will be only marginally literate and virtually unemployable. Poverty and despair will be their constant companions. Each year's class of dropouts costs the nation more



than \$240 billion in lost earnings and foregone taxes over their lifetimes. Billions more will be spent on crime control, and on welfare, health care, and social services. (Committee for Economic Development's report, "Children in Need: Investment Strategies for the Educationally Disadvantaged")

### EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES CAN FOSTER GOOD CROSS-RACE INTERACTION.

Extracurricular activities can offer important opportunities for positive cross-race contacts among students if the various individual clubs and teams recruit their memberships from all groups and permit leadership roles to be held by both Blacks and whites. Generally speaking, though, in desegregated schools whites do not match Black student participation in athletic teams or music and drama clubs. By the same token, Blacks are underrepresented in honorary clubs and honorary societies. At the same time, the overall level of participation in school clubs and teams is high for students of both races in the typical desegregated school, and no category of activities only recruits exclusively from one race group. Extracurricular activities appear to serve as a very valuable method for cross-race contact in most desegregated schools. Good race relations among students is usually due, at least in part, to extracurricular activities where participation by Blacks and whites is high in common teams and School officials in desegregated schools should work at ways to further increase overall participation rates and reduce any major racial bias in memberships in each category of activities.

# HISTORY OF DESEGREGATION INDICATES THAT SUCCESS OCCURS WHEN EDUCATORS AND COMMUNITIES HAVE CLEAR MANDATES, SPECIFIC FUNDING, AND EASY ACCESS TO EFFECTIVE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

The many successful efforts conducted by the 10 regional Desegregation Assistance Centers demonstrate the payoff of this federal commitment to school desegregation. Successful activities include cross-agency collaboration that brings to bear on the problem multiple approaches and assistance efforts; helping communities and schools write clear desegregation policies that guide their implementation efforts; and training staff to eliminate bias in their curriculum and in the way they teach students.



### 5. Segregation Moves To the Classroom

States that have desegregated buildings are now resegregating classrooms.

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Many instructional practices separate students by face and sex.

# MINORITIES AND FEMALES ARE NOT TREATED EQUALLY IN COUNSELING AND ENCOURAGING THEM TO ENROLL IN COURSES SUCH AS ADVANCED MATHEMATICS, SCIENCE, AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

Eighty percent of the students enrolled in high school physical science classes are male and 20 percent are female. Examples of female under-enrollment in vocational education are in engineering, where 86.2 percent of all students are male; agriculture, where 67.9 percent are male; and construction trades, where 63.2 percent are male.

### UNWARRANTED NUMBERS OF MINORITIES AND MALES ARE DIAGNOSED AS NEEDING SPECIAL EDUCATION.

Three-and-one-half million students, or 8.8 percent of all of them, are enrolled in special education. Of this number, 66.7 percent are male. By race, 10.1 percent of Black students are enrolled in special education, 10 percent of Indian students, 8.8 percent of white students, 7.6 percent of Hispanic students, and 3.7 percent of Asian students.

### BLACK STUDENTS FACE GREATER LIKELIHOOD OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS.

Black students are suspended from school at a rate nearly double the average rate for all students. Two million, or 4.9 percent, of all elementary and secondary students were suspended from school in 1986. However, 9.1 percent of all Black students were suspended. (National Coalition of Advocates for Students' analysis of 1986 elementary and secondary civil rights survey data)

### INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS AND TEACHERS' EXPECTATIONS DETERMINE EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES FOR CHILDREN.

The average performance of Black and Hispanic students on Scholastic Aptitude Tests is over 50 points lower than the mean for white students. Female students still score 50 points below male students on the mathematics section of the SATs and 11 points below male students on the



verbal section. Based on a national average composite ACT score of 18.6, white and Asian students score slightly above average. Scores of other minority groups are below average, ranging from 17.1 for Hispanics to 14.0 for Blacks. The national average SAT verbal score is 430 and average math score is 47. Female students score lower than male students in both areas. All minority groups score below the average on the verbal SAT test, and all minority groups except Asian students score below average in math.



# TRENDS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

## 1. Segregation Is Getting Worse

States that had desegregated schools are moving backwards.

Northern states remain segregated.

Hispanics are in worse shape than ever.

Classrooms are resegregating.

# THE COURTS HAVE BEEN SILENT ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION FOR YEARS, BUT THERE IS NO REASON TO BELIEVE THE ISSUE IS DEAD.

There is growing evidence that future school desegregation litigation will involve both state and local education officials. Because of the erosion of federal financial support for school desegregation and because of the nature of new desegregation plans that call for expensive educational improvements, such as magnet schools, more states are finding themselves involved in desegregation cases. ("Toward a More Effective State Role in Desegregation Enforcement" by Michael J. Alves)

Contrary to the idea that desegregation will disappear inch by inch over time is the more accurate notion that school desegregation, litigation, and implementation will live on, for a number of constitutional, democratic, and theoretical reasons. The movement hasn't begun to finish its work. ("Desegregation Lives On" by Robert Dentler)

# THE SUPREME COURT'S 1954 CONCLUSION THAT INTENTIONALLY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS ARE 'INHERENTLY UNEQUAL' REMAINS TRUE TODAY.

The United States is a nation with a shrinking proportion of white students and a rising share of Black and Hispanic students who experience far less success than whites in American public education, and are concentrated in schools with lower achievement levels and less demanding competition. Should the trends of the last two decades continue, United States education will become a primarily 'minority' system in which Hispanics will outnumber Blacks. Many states and metropolitan areas will confront predominantly non-white public school enrollments. Should the country



continue to have seriously segregated and unequal schools for Blacks and develop even more intensely segregated and unequal schools for Hispanics, the social and economic impacts may be extremely severe. ("School Desegregation in the 1980s" by Orfield)

## THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF MAJOR INCREASES IN INTEGRATION IN ANY METROPOLITAN AREAS TODAY.

Levels of school desegregation changed very little between 1980 and 1984. In fact, the percentage of Black students attending majority Black schools today is about what it was in 1970. Hispanics, who are not considered in most desegregation plans, attend schools vastly more segregated than the schools they attended 16 years ago. ("School Segregation in the 1980s: Trends in the States and Metropolitan Areas")

By the time Hispanic students become the largest minority in American schools, the existing trends strongly suggest that they will be the most segregated by a substantial margin. ("School Segregation in the 1980s: Trends in the States and Metropolitan Areas" by Orfield)

## THE BASIC PROBLEM OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION TOMORROW WILL BE THE PROBLEM OF THE CITIES.

Most Black and Hispanic children in the large urban districts, where they are so heavily concentrated, face severe segregation and inequality. The trends are toward more and more severe racial and class isolation in inner-city schools, and toward an increasing detachment of inner-city high schools from access to any higher education opportunities save enrollment in dead-end urban community colleges. The trend is toward a decreased capacity of large city systems to maintain existing services, as their share of the tax base continues to decline. The trend is toward an increasingly severe set of problems which cannot be solved at the local school district level. In educational terms, our metropolitan community is becoming a 'house divided against itself,' and we must wonder whether it can endure permanently half minority and half white, half middle class and half poor, half connected to the growing sectors of knowledge and job opportunities and half struggling against high odds to teach students basic skills in reading and mathematics, only to see terrifying percentages of them lost from a high school system that too often leads nowhere even for those who survive.

Any major reduction of educational segregation in the large cities will require a third phase of forceful national policy directed toward a problem that has largely been ignored up to now. ("Knowledge, Ideology, and School Desegregation" by Orfield)



THE PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS ATTENDING MAJORITY BLACK SCHOOLS TODAY IS ABOUT WHAT IT WAS IN 1970. HISPANICS, WHO ARE NOT CONSIDERED IN MOST DESEGREGATION PLANS, ATTEND SCHOOLS VASTLY MORE SEGREGATED THAN THE SCHOOLS THEY ATTENDED 16 YEARS AGO.

There is a deepening isolation of children growing up in inner-city ghettos and barrios, who attend schools almost totally segregated by race and class. The children from these schools usually have almost no real connection to any paths of mobility in education and employment. It may well be that they are even more totally isolated from the mainstream middle-class society and economy than were southern Black children during Jim Crow segregation. Perhaps if separate and unequal schools aroused this nation to act against Jim Crow in the 50s and 60s, the public should be no less ready today to help the most needy in urban ghettos and barrios growing more and more segregated with each passing school year. School desegregation is far from a panacea for unequal education. But no urban community has yet been able to produce segregated schools that are equal. ("School Desegregation in the 1980s" by Orfield)

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION REMAINS AS TODAY'S MAJOR PROBLEM. BUT RESOLVING IT WILL BRING CLASSROOM RESEGREGATION TO THE FOREFRONT AS THE NEXT MAJOR PROBLEM.

Classroom resegregation comes about because of the growing tendency to separate students into rigid academic "tracks" in high schools. ("The Social and Academic Consequences of School Desegregation" by Braddock and McPartland)

States where segregation was a matter of law before 1954 now are more integrated than some states that have always prided themselves on being color blind. Typically, these states have also been under extensive court orders. ("School Segregation in the 1980s—Trends in the States and Metropolitan Areas")

But many of those states that moved to school desegregation are now experiencing greatly increased classroom resegregation. That is, we find more classroom resegregation in the South and at the secondary school levels, where school desegregation has been reported to be better accomplished than in other regions or levels. In other words, when Black students find a greater chance of school desegregation they are also likely to find a somewhat greater chance of classroom resegregation. ("Assessing School Desegregation Effects: New Directions in Research" by Jomills H. Braddock, II and James M. McPartland)



## IRONICALLY, AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION SUPPORTS THE GENERAL IDEA OF INTEGRATED EDUCATION. THE PUBLIC IS NOT AS OPPOSED TO SCHOOL BUSING AS IT ONCE WAS.

There are at least three reasons to think that the time has come to again place school desegregation in the forefront of national politics. First, there is very broad support in American public opinion for the general idea of integrated education. Second, national surveys have revealed major shifts in public opinion in favor of school busing, particularly among those who have been bused and among the young. Third, a growing body of research shows that integrated education has positive effects on college attendance and college completion, on obtaining jobs in growth sectors of the economy, and on the likelihood of living in integrated community as adults.

## 2. Desegregation Activities Dormant

Courts are silent.

Past administrations are negative.

No recent city-suburban district desegregation is occurring.

# THERE HAVE BEEN NO IMPORTANT, POSITIVE, GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS SUPPORTING SCHOOL DESEGREGATION SINCE 1972. AND THAT PROPOSAL HAS BEEN OVERTURNED.

Four of the five administrations since 1968 have been openly hostile to urban desegregation orders, and the Carter administration (the single exception) took few initiatives. There have been no important positive policy proposals supporting desegregation from any branch of government since passage of the Emergency School Aid Act desegregation assistance program in 1972 and it was repealed in 1981.

There is a basic stability in the situation of Blacks at the national level that has now lasted almost two decades and a continuing steady increase in isolation for Hispanics. Underlying these general patterns, however, are important regional, state, and local variations. The most consequential regional trend is one toward increased segregation of both Blacks and Hispanics in the region where they are most heavily concentrated—Blacks in the South and Hispanics in the West.

During the 1980-86 period, the only region to experience an increase in segregation of Black students was the South, which has long been the most integrated region in the country. In spite of the negative trend, however, during the 1986-87 school year, the South remained the most integrated



region though its schools have by far the largest proportion of Black students.

The statistics from Florida provide a good example of the gradual increase in segregation that is developing in the South. The state's extensive countywide busing plans implemented in most of the state in 1971 made it one of the most integrated states with a substantial Black population in the contry. The basic pattern in Florida is one of gradual decline. This is probably related to the failure of the school districts to update their plans to take into account the rapid expansion of both Black and white residential areas in booming housing markets. In rapidly changing areas unchanged desegregation plans will produce increased segregation over time. ("School Desegregation in the 1980s" by Orfield)

## 3. Innovations May Foster Desegregation

State policy makers are recognizing the need to take the initiative.

The business community is calling attention to problem.

New ways of instructing children could aid in classroom desegregation.

## NEW WAYS OF EDUCATING CHILDREN MAY FOSTER A NEW WAVE OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION EFFORTS.

The school integration movement has not anywhere near finished its work. It lives on. Some local districts and state education agencies are making commitments to better take the initiative in desegregating schools. Many of the school reform efforts, if implemented properly, should lead to greater desegregation in the schools and classrooms. ("Desegregation Lives On" by Dentler)

## 4. Changing Demographics Bringing On Crisis

Most Black and Hispanic students live in cities where they face severe segregation and inequality.

Policy makers question if cities can cope with schools' failures.

Major new national policy is required.



## ENROLLMENT TRENDS ARE CHANGING THE PICTURE OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION NATIONWIDE.

Enrollment statistics from fall 1968 to fall 1986 show that the proportion of Black students is growing most substantially in the old industrial belt of the North, not in the South. The Black proportion in some Northern regions is growing primarily because whites are migrating away and having few children. The West now has almost as high a fraction of minority enrollment as the South, primarily because of the surge of Hispanic population.

## ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IS INCREASING.

in 1950, 15 percent of those under 18 year of age were minorities; by the year 2000, about 38 percent will be minorities. (Report of the National Association of State Boards of Education)

#### POVERTY IS GROWING.

Twenty-five percent of the children in the United States currently live below the poverty line. This is the highest proportion in 20 years and the proportion is growing. ("All One System" by Harold Hodgkinson)

## ROCKWELL'S PORTRAIT OF AMERICAN FAMILY IS CHANGING.

Only 4-7 percent of American families have an employ of father, full-time homemaker mother, and two children. (National Co. . . ssion on Working Women)

### UNMARRIED MOTHERS ARE ON THE INCREASE

From 1950 to 1980, there was a 369 percent increase in the number of births to unmarried mothers. ("Education and the Teenage Pregnancy Puzzle" by J.E. Reid and M.C. Dunkle)

## LATCHKEY CHILDREN ARE INCREASING IN NUMBERS.

Between one-fourth and one-third of today's schoolchildren have no adult at home after school. ("Forces of Change" by John B. Kellogg)

#### THE SKILL LEVEL OF THE WORKFORCE MUST INCREASE.

Levels of literacy considered satisfactory in 1950 will be marginal at best in the year 2000. (Report on the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession)



# POTENTIAL OF THE DESEGREGATION ASSISTANCE CENTERS

The age of desegregation is not over. In fact, meeting today's desegregation needs is even more essential to the attainment of educational excellence. For without equity, excellence cannot be attained in our schools. Educational programs or educators who do not understand or value the diversity of our society, and the challenges posed by this diversity, are unlikely to provide students with the experiences that they will need to be successful in our ever changing, technological, information society.

Centers provide a high level of leadership for public school personnel and communities, and collaboration with state level agencies to support their attainment of new levels of desegregation and equity in schools. They support equity advocates and parents through the schools, providing them with information and skills for their empowerment to assist with these efforts.

Desegregation Assistance Centers, as training and advisory service resources, are out of the mainstream of regulatory or enforcement responsibility. Local districts can turn to Desegregation Assistance Centers in an open and nonthreatening manner. Centers enjoy a high level of respect and credibility with local districts.

Because equity and desegregation is the unit of analysis for the Desegregation Assistance Centers, they collect and disaggregate data on the basis of race, sex, and national origin. This approach enables Centers to identify and suggest ways of overcoming segregation and problems related to desegregation. They have developed effective models and nonthreatening strategies for overcoming such problems.

If we want to achieve educational excellence, it is essential that we continue to develop and expand the expertise which is essential for attainment of desegregated, equitable school settings. Expertise can only be developed when there is a systematic program of training and advisory services available to educators. The Desegregation Assistance Centers play this unique and critical role in this change process.

School segregation still exists—the job is not finished.



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	Indian	Asian	Hispanic	Black	White	Total
Alabama	3,954	2,775	897	279,846	468,352	755,824
Alaska	24,748	3,222	1,637	4,239	64,762	98,608
Arizona	40,138	8,693	137,653	24,790	406,952	618,226
Arkansas	995	2,732	1,651	113,712	351,134	470,224
California	32,383	415,739	1,294,224	404,794	2,230,849	4,377,989
Colorado	4,274	11,902	86,708	28,286	429,066	560,236
Connecticut	1,059	7,594	43,827	59,509	380,036	492,025
Delaware	132	1,187	2,158	24,056	59,222	86,755
D.C.	49	812	3,320	78,466	3,478	86,125
Florida	2,692	19,483	149,542	373,143	1,031,352	1,576,212
Georgia	569	9,405	6,885	451,546	722,753	1,191,158
Hawaii	485	107,595	9,296	3,945	32,175	153,496
Idaho	2,759	1,734	10,178	54 <del>6</del>	190,926	206,143
Illinois	2,186	38,905	156,951	320,313	1,195,270	1,713,625
Indiana	957	5,727	19,421	103,183	1,015,202	1,144,490
lowa	1,286	5,916	4,150	14,511	456,585	482,448
Kansas	2,670	8,558	20,073	35,032	392,774	459,107
Kentucky	192	3,071	899	64,440	564,383	632,985
Louisiana	2,731	8,710	6,219	324,416	444,366	786,442
Maine	374	1,510	481	1,006	195,820	199,191
Maryland	1,321	18,761	10,082	214,235	362,042	606,441
Massachusetts	1,056	21,357	45,979	56,320	638,462	763,174
Michigan	13,410	18,803	29,241	321,642	1,243,636	1,626,732
Minnesota	10,872	12,669	6,456	15,179	693,324	738,500
Mississippi	317	2,009	567	299,393	236,888	539,174
Missouri	1,479	7,249	6,562	134,058	750,824	900,172
Montana	20,029	1,232	1,694	462	129,420	152,837
Nebraska	3,048	2,501	7,297	13,641	280,619	307,106
Nevada	3,713	5,209	11,997	15,342	124,178	160,439
New Hampshire	98	1,231	762	1,119	153,792	157,002
New Jersey	1,328	33,059	131,995	214,755	853,294	1,234,431
New Mexico	25,003	2,238	128,910	6,682	123,222	286,055
New York	5,679	83,376	384,650	518,004	2,146,498	3,138,207
North Carolina	17,494	6,679	4,405	301,456	713,775	1,043,809
North Dakota	8,192	868	782	817	117,033	127,692
Ohio	1,684	11,741	16,230	240,096	1,328,097	1,597,848
Oklahoma	68,192	6,712	10,511	50,455	510,048	645,918
Oregon	7,469	6,524	14,161	10,603	404,011	442,768
Pennsylvania	1,316	18,427	28,408	199,176	1,339,555	1,586,882
Rhode Island	503	3,424	5,437	8,184	127,851	145,399
South Carolina	601	3,167	1,180	249,365	306,220	560,533
South Dakota	10,107	895	803	728	121,267	133,800
Tennessee	365	4,580	1,474	168,495	570,624	745,538
Texas	5,314	66,172	1,086,249	480,255	1,704,118	3,342,108
Utah	5,586	7,327	15,187	1,948	393,286	423,334
Vermont	432	436	148	242	75,239	76,497
Virginia	977	25,482	9,870	235,080	721,767	993,176
Washington	17,541	35,479	29,903	28,435	638,620	749,978
West Virginia	77	1,175	362	12,430	326,335	340,379
Wisconsin	6,523	11,170	13,060	60,068		676,248
Wyoming	1,790	602	5,713	848		96,153
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Nation	366,149	1,085,824	3,966,245	6,569,292	28,442,129	40,429,639
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	Indian	Asian	Hispanic	Black	White
Alabama	0.5%	0.4%	0.1%	37.0%	62.0%
Alaska	25.1%	3.3%	1.7%	4.3%	65.7%
Arizona	6.5%	1.4%	22.3%	4.0%	65.8%
Arkansas	0.2%	0.6%	0.4%	24.2%	74.7%
California	0.7%	9.5%	29.6%	9.2%	51.0%
Colorado	0.8%	2.1%	15.5%	5.0%	76.6%
Connecticut	0.2%	1.5%	8.9%	12.1%	77.2%
Delaware	0.2%	1.4%	2.5%	27.7%	68.3%
D.C.	0.1%	0.9%	3.9%	91.1%	4.0%
Florida	0.2%	1.2%	9.5%	23.7%	65.4%
Georgia	0.0%	0.8%	0.6%	37.9%	60.7%
Hawaii	0.3%	70.1%	6.1%	2.6%	21.0%
Idaho	1.3%	0.8%	4.9%	0.3%	92.6%
Illinois	0.1%	2.3%	9.2%	18.7%	69.8%
Indiana	0.1%	0.5%	1.7%	9.0%	88.7%
lowa	0.3%	1.2%	0.9%	3.0%	94.6%
Kansas	0.6%	1.9%	4.4%	7.6%	85.6%
Kentucky	0.0%	0.5%	0.1%	10.2%	89.2%
Louisiana	0.3%	1.1%	0.8%	41.3%	56.5%
Maine	0.2%	0.8%	0.2%	0.5%	98.3%
Maryland	0.2%	3.1%	1.7%	35.3%	59.7%
Massachusetts	0.1%	2.8%	6.0%	7.4%	83.7%
Michigan	0.8%	1.2%	1.8%	19.8%	76.4%
Minnesota	1.5%	1.7%	0.9%	2.1%	93.9%
Mississippi	0.1%	0.4%	0.1%	55.5%	43.9%
Missouri	0.2%	0.8%	0.7%	14.9%	83.4%
Montana	13.1%	0.8%	1.1%	0.3%	84.7%
Nebraska	1.0%	0.8%	2.4%	4.4%	91.4%
Nevada	2.3%	3.2%	7.5%	9.6%	77.4%
New Hampshire	0.1%	0.8%	0.5%	0.7%	98.0%
New Jersey	0.1%	2.7%	10.7%	17.4%	69.1%
New Mexico	8.7%	0.8%	45.1%	2.3%	43.1%
New York	0.2%	2.7%	12.3%	16.5%	68.4%
North Carolina	1.7%	0.6%	0.4%	28.9%	68.4%
North Dakota	6.4%	0.7%	0.6%	0.6%	91.7%
Ohio	0.1%	0.7%	1.0%	15.0%	83.1%
Oklahoma	10.6%	1.0%	1.6%	7.8%	79.0%
Oregon	1.7%.	1.5%	3.2%	2.4%	91.2%
Pennsylvania	0.1%	1.2%	1.8%	12.6%	84.4%
Rhode Island	0.3%	2.4%	3.7%	5.6%	87.9%
South Carolina	0.1%	0.6%	0.2%	44.5%	54.6%
South Dakota	7.6%	0.7%	0.6%	0.5%	90.6%
Tennessee	0.0%	0.6%	0.2%	22.6%	76.5%
Texas	0.2%	2.0%	32.5%	14.4%	51.0%
Utah	1.3%	1.7%	3.6%	0.5%	92.9%
Vermont	0.6%	0.6%	0.2%	0.3%	98.4%
Virginia	0.1%	2.6% 4.7%	1.0%	23.7%	72.7% 85.2%
Washington	2.3%	4.7%	4.0%	3.8% 3.7%	85.2% 95.9%
West Virginia	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%	3.7% 8.9%	95.9% 86.6%
Wisconsin	1.0%	1.7%	1.9%	8.9% 0.9%	86.6% 90.7%
Wyoming	1.9%	0.6%	5.9%		
Nation	0.9%	2.7%	9.8%	16.2%	70.3%



	Indian	Asian	Hisp	Black	White	Total
Alabama	9	513	38	360	1,062	1,982
Alaska	7,135	1,052	427	7	396	9,017
Arizona	9,191	1,538	25,127	56	1,295	37,207
Arkansas	10	742	170	134	542	1,598
California	250	161,539	519,206	1,465	27,939	710,399
Coiorado	205	3,659	12,350	465	1,831	18,510
Connecticut	12	1,700	13,387	424	1,988	17,511
Delaware	0	37	400	35	90	562
D.C.	0	200	903	394	18	1,515
Florida	30	3,209	27,579	4,619	2,051	37,488
Georgia	13	2,219	897	376	718	4,223
Hawaii	4	7,866	124	10	64	8,068
Idaho	50	179	1,494	1	419	2,143
Illinois	20	5,848	33,540	253	6,013	45,674
Indiana	0	485	2,751	124	981	4,341
lowa	1	1,450	266	9	503	2,229
Kansas	11	2,716	2,845	59	694	6,325
Kentucky	2	744	86	309	2,550	3,691
Louisiana	448	2,463	1,508	434	1,244	6,097
Maine	1	526	47	10	477	1,061
Maryland	2	3,327	2,304	441	895	6,969
Massachusetts	70	7,900	16,877	2,213	4,290	31,350
Michigan	138	3,151	4,797	1,669	4,101	13,856
Minnesota	259	3,907	310	36	320	4,832
Mississippi	0	353	9	2,576	562	3,500
Missouri	10	1,022	415	961	3,732	6,140
Montana	376	93	18	2	575	1,004
Nebraska	1	327	207	9	1,091	1,635
Nevada	14	941	2,465	18	223	3,661
New Hampshire	0	280	86	9	296	671
New Jersey	0	5,269	30,454	1,110	6,702	43,535
New Mexico	5,677	487	19,513	52	531	26,260
New York	42	18,096	75,907	7,582	15,999	117,626
North Carolina	3	1,099	556	351	839	2,848
North Dakota	1,451	90	39	5	701	2,286
Ohio	18	2,963	2,738	318	3,437	9,474
Oklahoma	1,903	1,263	1,296	94	1,256	5,812
Oregon	136	4,637	3,574	420	1,962	10,729
Pennsylvania	6	4,006	5,522	219	1,196	10,949
Rhode island	0	1,426	1,737	126	2,261	5,550
South Carolina	0	200	89	428	382	1,099
South Dakota	257	64	21	9	673	1,024
Tennessee	9	1,370	82	269	1,223	2,953
Texas	142	14,883	246,211	820	2,841	264,897
Utah	839	661	731	15	197	2,443
Vermont	32	51	7	2	638	730
Virginia	10	4,721	2,171	693	2,430	10,025
Washington	90	7,914	7,257	111	1,529	16,901
West Virginia	2	28	18	18	1,184	1,250
Wisconsin	59	4,121	1,943	81	1,804	8,008
Wyoming	1	30	172	0	188	391
Nation	28,879	293,365	1,070,671	30,201	114,933	1,538,049



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	Male	Female	Total
Alabama	389,553	366,272	755,825
Alaska	51,255	47,359	98,614
Arizona	300,837	285,749	586,586
Arkansas	243,191	227,031	470,222
California	2,583,810	2,442,832	5,026,642
Colorado	319,381	302,905	622,286
Connecticut	251,017	241,008	492,025
Delaware	45,225	41,531	86,756
D.C.	43,799	44,107	87,906
Florida	810,237	765,975	1,576,212
Georgia	613,662	577,500	1,191,162
Hawaii	85,182	79,312	164,494
Idaho	106,030	100,121	206,151
Illinois	875,641	838,017	1,713,658
Indiana	591,037	553,463	1,144,500
lowa	248,175	234,268	482,443
Kansas	237,095	222,013	459,108
Kentucky	326,507	306,493	633,000
Louisiana	403,081	382,740	785,821
Maine	102,325	96,873	199,198
Maryland	311,971	294,479	606,450
Massachusetts	388,090	375,093	763,183
Michigan	826,873	785,326	1,612,199
Minnesota	381,058	357,456	738,514
Mississippi	276,562	262,614	539,176
Missouri	467,027	433,138	900,165
Montana	94,159	86,306	180 465
Nebraska	157,351	149,761	307,112
Nevada	82,298	78,146	160,444
New Hampshire	80,173	76,835	157,008
New Jersey	635,026	599,431	1,234,457
New Mexico	147,007	139,050	286,057
New York	1,610,909	1,527,334	3,138,243
North Carolina	535,326	508,482	1,043,808
North Dakota	61,392	58,696	120,088
Ohio	824,990	772,890	1,597,880
Oklahoma	334,347	311,560	645,907
Oregon	254,903	239,025	493,928
Pennsylvania	818,424	770,262	1,588,686
Rhode Island	74,446	70,960	145,406
South Carolina	287,149	273,292	560,441
South Dakota	71,921	68,321	140,242
Tennessee	383,680	361,868	745,548
Texas	1,719,292	1,622,723	3,342,015
Utah	217,012	206,322	423,334
Vermont	39,237	37,265	76,502
Virginia	510,270	483,741	994,011
Washington	403,746	379,982	783,728
West Virginia	175,359	165,016	340,375
Wisconsin	348,074	328,182	676,256
Wyoming	49,302	46,852	96,154
aryon mig	70,000	70,002	00,107
Nation	21,194,414	20,025,977	41,220,391



	Indian	Asian	Hisp	Black	White	Male	Female	Total
Alabama	237	55	64	34,248	44,352	53,470	25,484	78,954
Alaska	3,703	154	139	617	5,638	6,776	3,479	10,255
Arizona	3,466	309	14,299	2,611	29,079	32,813	16,870	49,683
Arkansas	52	56	101	14,186	29,612	29,252	14,855	44,107
California	2,878	14,660	102,345	34,505	206,771	248,206	123,103	371,309
Colorado	488	426	6,833	3,149	34,476	31,525	15,154	46,679
Connecticut	56	215	4,127	7,001	41,554	38,013	17,838	55,851
Delaware	9	55	358	4,485	5,265	6,726	3,854	10,580
D.C.	5	2	81	3,949	167	2,970	1,388	4,358
Florida	135	778	10,804	37,912	91,830	103,127	48,696	151,823
Georgia	13	193	317	27,195	46,268	66,375	28,455	94,830
Hawali	52	7,903	431	270	2,854	7,944	3,559	11,503
Idaho	321	90	937	65	10,677	10,801	5,297	16,098
Illinois	136	1,008	12,011	32,195	127,515	114,349	60,569	174,918
Indiana	21	287	1,090	11,750	96,501	72,218	38,121	110,339
lowa	152	263	418	2,257	34,569	24,304	14,770	39,074
Kansas	326	284	1,567	3,080	22,197	25,203	12,256	37,459
Kentucky	13	212	88	8,280	59,296	44,484	23,497	67,981
Louisiana	347	139	290	30.021	29,491	43,800	19,470	63,270
Maine	44	60	49	159	19,959	13,789	6,370	20,159
Maryland	114	626	695	30,778	35,972	45,915	22,524	68,439
Massachusetts	513	220	179	414	18,823	15,415	7,599	
	888	571	1,898	28,418	103,046	91,258		23,014
Michigan Minnesota	1,812	777	852	2,229	68,172		42,997	134,255
	1,812	39	20	37,016	19,942	52,522 37,189	25,335	77,857
Mississippi Missouri	162	427	611	20,790	90,623	89,300	22,813 56,472	60,002
Montana	1,110	53	202	20,7 <del>9</del> 0 53	13,655	10,049	5,209	145,772
Nebraska	516	135	722	1,913	26,746	15,859	•	15,258
Nevada	258	250	919	2,163	8,759		10,284	26,143 42,575
New Hampshire	236	48	86	153	14,804	8,638 10,227	3,937 4,870	12,575
New Jersey	47	1,680	14,153	24,917	116,679	· ·		15,097
New Mexico	2,232	94	12,715	796	9,976	88,960 10,764	38,904	127,864
New York	312	747	11,041	32,597	125,993	98,046	8,168 57,050	18,932
North Carolina	1,791	139	214	38,617	51,018	66,614	30,135	155,096
North Dakota	897	78	113	108	11,286	7,981	4,022	96,749 12,003
Ohio Chio	93	445	1,111	20,899	112,926	89,979	43,505	
Oklahoma	7,179	261	907	6,801	51,966	43,046	24,052	133,484 67,098
Oregon	910	464	1,648	596	39,539	24,588	14,289	38,877
Pennsylvania	103	605	2,856	22,304	143,473	94,017	45,795	139,812
Rhode Island	60	86	314	1,086	16,240	11,765	5,020	16,785
South Carolina	73	146	72	31,660	26,475	39,076	19,312	
South Dakota	1,313	68	56	73	11,955	8,496	4,997	58,388 13,493
Tennessee	39	173	114	18,464	62,308	54,231	26,8 <b>6</b> 9	•
Texas	264	1,561	88,262	47,983	132,113	182,769	87,445	81,100
Utah	544	248	1,177	217	26,002	18,786	9,407	270,214
Vermont	71	19	-	12				28,193
Virginia	62	1,437	9 880	26,119	7,748 66,702	5,576 65,045	2,504	8,080 05.340
	1,947	•		•	-		30,165	95,210 57,707
Washington West Virginia	7	1,209 46	2,244 24	3,979	46,418	39,850	17,877	57,727
Wisconsin	720			1,559	39,998	28,300	13,357	41,657
Wyoming	200	377 38	1,140	C,348	50,257	40,254	18,748	59,002
44301111189	200	30	636	107	8,126	6,085	3,206	9,291
Nation	36,707	40,216	302,219	667,104	2,495,811	2,376,745	1,189,952	3,566,697



	Indian	Asian	Hisp	Black	White	Total
Alabama	73	56	30	18,716	18,894	37,769
Alaska	634	122	139	529	3,692	5,116
Arizona	1,681	115	5,972	1,646	11,932	21,346
Arkansas	34	18	27	6,421	9,705	16,205
California	2,543	10,510	82,893	58,839	127,002	281,787
Colorado	183	243	5,424	2,717	15,399	23,966
Connecticut	43	107	4,651	7,850	20,966	33,617
Delaware	6	21	169	2,757	3,698	6,651
D.C.	Ō	0	30	845	23	898
Florida	97	391	7,291	46,666	71,754	126,199
Georgia	15	156	199	34,064	29,331	63,765
Hawaii	44	8,384	431	303	3,116	12,278
Idaho	77	25	349	22	3,380	3,853
Illinois	77	426	6,689	29,312	45,479	81,983
Indiana	38	44	1,458	11,761	41,714	55,015
lowa	35	95	178	1,484	11,489	13,281
Kansas	76	173	1,031	3,972	11,669	16,921
Kentucky	6	13	8	3,644	15,550	19,221
Louisiana	205	169	344	32,651	26, <del>9</del> 65	60,334
Maine	20	20	8	29	5,664	5,741
Maryland	107	367	420	26,235	24,018	51,147
Massachusetts	26	134	2,990	2,366	26,253	31,769
Michigan	478	268	2,730	35,756	68,863	108,095
Minnesota	1,118	231	337	2,403	33,835	37,924
Mississippi	7	41	8	13,250	8,551	21,857
Missouri	25	106	335	18,045	28,104	46,615
Montana	355	16	83	9	3,148	3,611
Nebraska	162	38	277	1,452	5,095	7,024
Nevada	340	64	383	660	3,881	5,328
New Hampshire	3	11	57	73	7,548	7,692
New Jersey	40	336	7,248	22,024	38,872	68,520
New Mexico	1,372	_70	8,156	509	5,045	15,152
New York	153	594	12,550	34,166	84,129	131,592
North Carolina	506	79	85	21,004	26,641	48,315
North Dakota	95	5	6	17	1,070	1,193
Ohio	88	304	1,547	38,410	63,772	104,121
Oklahoma	969	61	231	2,883	10,046	14,190
Oregon	496	157	751	708	19,942	22,054
Pennsylvania	47	264	2,817	29,872	58,717	91,717
Rhode Island	19	25	136	521	7,298	7,999
South Carolina	31	38	31	21,883	17,670	39,653
South Dakota	279	5	16	16	1,240	1,556
Tennessee	17	41	46	12,960	20,027	33,091
Texas	52	308	18,608	14,419	13,329	46,716
Utah	99	102	703	128	5,859	6,891
Vermont	72	3	7	15	2,295	2,392
Virginia Washington	43	644	478	24,915	40,253	66,333 44,544
Washington Wash Viminia	1,242	1,146	1,475	3,798	36,883 12 193	44,544 12,972
West Virginia	2 448	11 66	4 728	762 6,982	12,193	12,972
Wisconsin Wysming	16	6	726 179	53	15,419 1,591	23,641 1 8.45
Wyoming	10	Ø	1/9	53	1,591	1,845
Nation	14,594	26,629	180,741	600,522	1,169,009	1,991,495



	Indian	Asian	Hisp	Black	White	Male	Female	Total
Alabama	134	130	45	12.069	26,596	18,811	20,169	38.974
Alaska	1,083	128	58	158	3,393	2,394	2,406	4,820
Arizona	1,894	401	5,397	946	19,807	13,741	14,510	28,445
Arkansas	29	116	65	6,322	21,704	14,059	14,176	28,236
California	1,680	24,768	42,647	20,258	151,200	118,478	122,112	240,553
Colorado	215	719	3,159	1,236	31,275	18,580	18,026	36,604
Connecticut	11	379	1,371	2,948	25,636	14,171	16,179	30,345
Delaware	4	59	84	1,140	3,792	2,441	2,540	5,079
D.C.	2	34	47	3,211	150	1,483	1,980	3,444
Florida	62	947	8,085	15,012	57,202	38,093	41,218	81,308
Georgia	11	421	260	22,679	2,222	31,555	34,047	25,593
Hawaii	24	10,567	197	128	2,575	8,696	6,780	13,491
ldaho	107	129	400	22	11,202	6,018	5,849	11,860
Illinois	223	2,055	5,253	14,969	94,259	57,137	59,634	116,759
Indiana	59	322	1,088	5,147	65,875	36,491	36,996	72,491
lowa	37	326	269	575	32,663	17,257	16,718	33,870
Kansas	125	411	834	1,724	24,169	13,639	13,409	27,263
Kentucky	4	160	64	3,038	33,215	18,144	18,331	36,481
Louisiana	66	380	248	13,531	23,227	17,829	19,627	37,452
Maine	23	50	36	25	11,819	5,941	6,010	11,953
Maryland	54	1,214	570	10,888	26,673	19,476	19,929	39,399
Massachusetts	60	951	1,322	2,966	48,752	26,430	28,522	54,051
Michigan	808	910	1,219	12,101	85,221	49,413	51,844	100,259
Minnesota	528	626	344	460	52,067	27,712	26,326	54,025
Mississippi	9	89	19	12.285	13,038	12,025	13,414	25,440
Missouri	44	392	297	6,525	49,115	29,174	27,625	56,373
Montana	362	80	72	58	11,056	5,889	5,715	11,628
Nebraska	96	225	388	648	19,503	10,422	10,435	20,860
Nevada	148	285	376	757	6,757	4,176	4,146	8,323
New Hampshire	5	37	42	32	9,701	4.752	5,064	9,817
New Jersey	110	1,767	5,127	11,277	67,820	43,563	42,556	86,101
New Mexico	1,263	173	6,524	314	7,257	7,482	8,051	15,531
New York	362	4,831	10,486	19,602	163,020	96,847	102,547	198,301
North Carolina	870	389	157	17,142	45,424	81,014	32,967	63,982
North Dakota	351	45	81	27	7,412	3,968	3,951	7,916
Ohio Okloba ma	17	581	805	11,721	91,454	82,492	82,433	104,578
Oklahoma	3,892	442	442	2,693	31,402	19,505	19,374	38,871
Oregon	435	917	855	389	27,036	14,824	14,809	29,632
Pennsylvania	237	1,077	883	9,751	103,961	57,704	58,200	115,909
Rhode Island	21	149	170	354	9,603	5,001	5,298	10,297
South Carolina	18	152	62	12,491	17,671	14,879	15,523	30,394
South Dakota	340	27	30	15	8,233	4,399	4,245	8,645
Tennessee	12	236	107	8,329	32,860	20,615	20,937	41,544
Texas Utah	172	3,362	42,044	21,817	98,321	82,705	83,030	165,716
Vermont	231	217	389	55	14,359	7,566	7,625	15,251
Virginia	11	26	11	11	5,176	2,635	2,606	5,235
Washington	50 690	1,477	500	11,252	48,138	29,060	32,487	61,417
West Virginia	689	2,579	1,141	1,372	42,729	24,532	23,996	48,510
Wisconsin	5	49	33	741	20,371	10,911	10,293	21,199
Wyoming	880	502	1,855	2,132	46,762	25,377	26,760	52,131 5.605
	93 47.066	23	293	34	5,252	2,940	2,727	5,695
Nation	17,966	66,332	146,251	303,377	1,858,125	1,202,440	1,204,102	2,546,598



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lllinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin

Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas

lowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska

Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming

Arizona, California, Nevada

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