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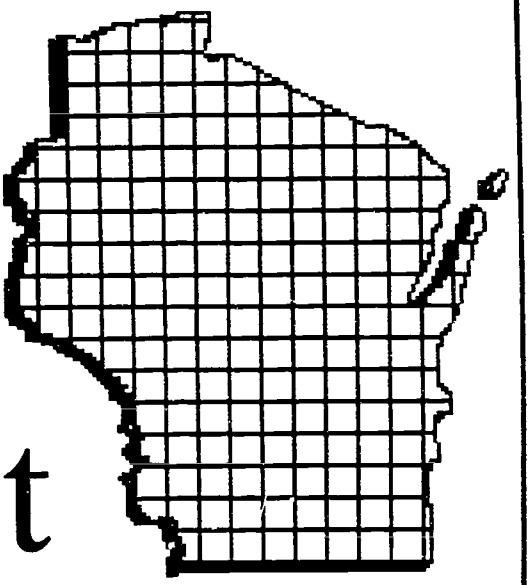
ABSTRACT

This 1994 report presents findings on Madison Metropolitan School District's dual system of education for White and African American students. Among the study's findings are the following: (1) African American dropouts outnumbered African American graduates; (2) students from low-income families scored higher on standard tests than African American students, even though the African American group included middle- and upper-income students; (3) in absolute numbers, the district imposed more suspensions on African American students than on White students, even though there were more than five times as many White students; (4) African American students in Madison were twice as likely as White students to be declared "learning disabled" or "emotionally disturbed" in 1991-92; (5) the ratio of African American teachers to African American students was 75 to 1, whereas White teachers to White students was 11 to 1; (6) 4 of 9 middle schools and 14 of 29 elementary schools operated without any African American teachers; and (7) the growth of enrollment in the district's schools has slowed to a halt while other areas are booming. The report recommends that the board begin to dismantle dual education, reexamine racial disparities in punishment and special education, engage African American parents, and desegregate the staff. An appendix provides an index of tables and a list of formal discrimination complaints against Wisconsin Schools. (GLR)

Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Report



February 1994 Volume 7, No. 2

Dual Education in the Madison Metropolitan School District

Report from the President:

In doing this report on the Madison Metropolitan School District, we asked Madison-based writer Steven Korris to do the research. Korris has unique credentials. He is a writer who published an article on the Madison Schools in *Isthmus* and also served as a legislative research director for the Governor of Minnesota. He is also a parent of two students who currently are in the Madison Public Schools.

What is surprising in this report is the lack of achievement among minority students. The perception of the Madison school district in Wisconsin and around the country is that it is one of the top urban districts. By any standard, no one thinks of Milwaukee as being a good public-school district. That is why it is so perplexing to find that black students are doing as poorly there as they are in Milwaukee and Racine.

It appears as though there is some sort of dual system in the Madison schools. If you are a middle-class white, you can apparently get a good education. However, if you are black, that is not going to happen. Madison also seems to be following a trend found in large urban districts around the country, where black students are placed in special-education classes in numbers disproportionately higher than white students. Korris's findings regarding this trend parallel those of a recent national examination of special education by *U.S. News & World Report* that found "Americans continue to pay for and send their children to classrooms that are often separate and unequal" (December 13, 1993).

Nothing can quite explain the enormous gap between black and white achievement in the Madison public schools. If this were a district in Mississippi, you would almost immediately say it was discrimination. This is not an explanation that jumps to mind when you think of Madison, Wisconsin. It is very difficult to understand how this lack of black achievement can be tolerated in a school district that many people point to as a national model. The answer may be Madison has no more idea on how to educate black students than Milwaukee. Considering that Madison over the next decade is going to see a large increase in black students, that does not bode well for Madison or the rest of Wisconsin.

James H. Miller

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Dual Education in the Madison Metropolitan School District

by

Steven J. Korris

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Madison Metropolitan School District operates a dual system of education for White and African American students. The outcomes for the less-favored group have been awful. Last year, African American dropouts outnumbered African American graduates, 96 to 94. African American grade-point averages in Madison have been about the same as African American grade-point averages in Milwaukee and Racine. The grade-point averages of White students in Madison, on the other hand, have been far ahead of the White grade-point averages in Milwaukee and Racine.

The problems are so strong that they overpower economic advantages. On last year's California Achievement Test in Madison, students from low-income families scored higher than African American students, even though the African American group included middle- and upper-income students.

One of the keys to dual education in Madison is an efficient system for removing, segregating, and punishing African American students. In absolute numbers, the district imposed more suspensions on African American students than on White students last year, although there were more than five times as many White students. More than half of the African American students in Madison's middle schools, 388 of 771, were suspended.

Suspensions have not been the only tool for removing, segregating, and punishing African American students. Often, special-education programs have served the same purposes. African American students in Madison were twice as likely as White students to be declared "learning disabled" or "emotionally disturbed" in 1991-92. African Americans were four times as likely to be declared "cognitively disabled."

Another key to dual education in Madison is keeping African American students away from what they need most — African American teachers. The district employed 46 African American teachers last year, or one for every 75 African American students. The ratio of White students to White teachers was 11 to one.

Every White student in Madison attended a school that employed White teachers, but 986 African American students attended schools that employed no African American teachers. LaFollette High, four of the nine middle schools, and 14 of the 29 elementary schools were operating without African American teachers.

Time is not on Madison's side as it struggles with the problems dual education creates. The growth of the district's enrollment has slowed almost to a halt, while enrollments in Dane County's suburban and rural communities have been booming. The number of White students in Madison has already begun to drop. Two years ago, it was 18,484. Last year, it was down to 18,376. This year, it was down again, to 18,253.

Madison's professional staff has joined in the outward movement. More than a fourth of them were living outside the district last year. Twelve of the 36 administrators at the top of the payroll were living in other districts.

African American families have been moving out, too. Their enrollment in suburban and rural districts nearly doubled in five years, from 215 in 1987-88 to 428 in 1992-93. African American enrollment in Verona has jumped from seven to 109 in 15 years. African American enrollment in Monona Grove has risen from three to 50 in 14 years.

Madison must do a better job of educating African American students. This report recommends that the board begin to dismantle dual education, with fairness and justice its explicit goals. It calls on the board and the staff to examine racial disparities in punishment and special education, to engage African American parents in two-way communication, and to desegregate the staff. It also urges the district to seek outside assistance in reaching these goals.

I. INTRODUCTION

This report describes a system of dual education for African American students and White students in the Madison Metropolitan School District. The purposes of the report are to measure the human costs of this dual education system and to convey a sense of urgency about putting an end to it.

Teachers appear to favor White students over African American students in Madison classrooms, and principals compound this inequity by favoring White teachers when hiring. Courses of study, too, are unequal.

The outcomes for the less-favored group have been low grades, low test scores, conflict, and alienation. Last year, African American dropouts outnumbered African American graduates, 96 to 94.

In the middle schools, more than half of the African American students, 388 of 771, were suspended. In absolute numbers, the district imposed more suspensions on African Americans than on Whites — 1,959 to 1,877 — though Whites outnumbered African Americans by more than five to one.

The school board and the administration have seen the distress signals and have tried to respond. Their efforts have fallen short, however, because they have not dug down to the root of the problem. They have not dismantled their dual system of education.

II. THE CORE ELEMENT

The results of Madison's dual education system are perhaps most evident in comparisons of the academic performances of its White and African American students with each other, and with students in other Wisconsin school systems.

For White students, Madison's advantages over Milwaukee are obvious. Last year, the grade-point average of White ninth-graders in Madison was 2.55, 66 one-hundredths better than the 1.89 average of ninth-graders in Milwaukee. (See Table 1 below.)

TABLE 1 **Grade-Point Averages of White and African American Ninth-Graders, Second Semester, in Madison, Milwaukee, and Racine**

1992-93	Madison	Milwaukee	Madison advantage
Whites	2.55	1.89	0.66
African Americans	1.19	1.15	0.04

1991-92	Madison	Racine	Madison advantage
Whites	2.52	2.21	0.31
African Americans	1.27	1.19	0.08

Source: Madison, Milwaukee, and Racine school districts

Madison's African American ninth graders, on the other hand, were only four one-hundredths ahead of Milwaukee's African American ninth-graders last year, 1.19 to 1.15.

White students in Madison also enjoy a clear advantage over White students in Racine. Two years ago, the grade-point average of Madison's White ninth-graders was 2.52, 31 one-hundredths better than the 2.21 average of Racine's White ninth-graders.

Again, however, there was very little difference between Madison and Racine as far as African American students were concerned. Madison's African American ninth-graders were only eight one-hundredths ahead of Racine's African American ninth-graders, 1.27 to 1.19.

Grade-point averages in Madison paint an unpleasant picture, but the disparity in achievement is even greater than the numbers show, for White students take more challenging courses. In a 1992 self-evaluation for the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, the district reported that "with few exceptions minorities are underrepresented in advanced classes of mathematics, science and computer science."

The chemistry/physics classes of East, West, and Memorial High Schools were 100% White in the first semester of 1991-92, as was the math/physics class at East. All of the students in computer/robots classes at West, Memorial, and LaFollette High Schools were White. At LaFollette, which was 87% White, the algebra, trigonometry, and advanced-algebra classes were 95% White. In calculus, 96% of the students were White.

The problems are so strong that they overpower economic advantages. On last year's California Achievement Test in Madison, students from low- income families scored higher than African American students, even though the African American group included middle- and high-income students. (See Table 2 below.)

TABLE 2 National-Percentile Rankings of African American and Low-Income Students in the Madison Metropolitan School District on the California Achievement Test, 1992-93

	Grade 3		Grade 5	
	Reading	*Math*	*Reading*	*Math*
African American students, all incomes	28th	37th	29th	34th
Low-income students, all ethnic groups	42nd	55th	39th	48th

Source: Madison Metropolitan School District

According to the district's human relations director, Herman Moody, "Often, there is a correlation between achievement and income, but we have middle- and upper-income Blacks who are not achieving." In 1991-92, Moody said, African American grades were highest at East, which had the largest number of low-income African American families. Memorial, with the worst African American grades, had a good number of middle-class African American families, he said.

Sylvester Hines, the district's affirmative-action director, said, "When you extract race from poverty, you get to the core element — race."

The district's self-evaluation stated that high-school, minority-service coordinators perceived differing treatment by race "in lower teacher expectations, in language use, in lessened efforts of motivation and encouragement." These coordinators, according to the self-evaluation, felt "faculty members do not sufficiently seek out minorities and encourage them, especially at an early period when it is necessary to enroll and achieve in prerequisites for advanced classes."

The self-evaluation also said there were many "expressions of unconscious biases on the part of well intentioned teachers." Sometimes, however, it seems some such expressions in Madison have been intentional.

Six times in six years, the district has remedied complaints filed by African American students and parents who felt they were treated differently because of their race. The rest of the districts in the state reported four such cases, giving Madison 60% of the total.

According to Barbara Bitters, chief of the equity and multicultural education section of the Department of Public Instruction, "You have to give Madison credit for an awareness of the problem and for committing a lot of money to minority achievement, but these things keep happening."

- In 1987-88, her records show, a Madison high-school staff member used improper language and behaved unprofessionally toward an African American student. The family moved away.
- In 1989-90, a parent of an African American high-school student complained of unequal discipline, retaliation, and exclusion. The district arranged mediation and paid for broken eyeglasses.
- That same year, a parent of an African American student complained that the student was in the wrong reading group. After an investigation, the district moved the student to a higher reading group.
- In 1990-91, an African American student complained of discrimination by a teacher. An investigation found the teacher's action and conduct had been inappropriate. The district ordered counseling and monitoring for the teacher.
- Last year, parents of an African American student complained that an educational assistant had physically restrained the student in an inappropriate manner. While the complaint was pending, another incident occurred. The educational assistant then offered to resign.
- Also last year, parents of an African American student complained that two custodians were harassing the student. An investigation confirmed the complaint. The district ordered counseling for the two and initiated training for all custodians.
- Still pending is a complaint filed against a teacher last year by an African American parent, charging prejudice. The district's report to the Department of Public Instruction indicates the parent has vowed to sue.

- Bitters's staff was mediating a Madison conflict, while this research was in progress, involving the exclusion of an African American student from a field trip. The department receives no reports when cases are informally resolved, as this one might have been.

Section 118.13 of the Wisconsin Statutes requires school districts to tell the department each year whether or not they have received formal discrimination complaints. When formal discrimination complaints of all kinds are taken into account, more than half have come from Madison. (See Appendix A, pp. 24-27.) "Only because I report them," Hines responded. "The other people have not reported them. ... The disparity is clearly that we have a response to the law. Overall, there is no compliance with 118.13."

He has a point. All but 29 of Wisconsin's 435 districts show a perfect record at the department, with no complaints of any kind in seven years. Large districts with no reports include Appleton, Beloit, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Janesville, Sheboygan, Waukesha, Wausau, and Wauwatosa.

Each year, dozens of officials fill out the reporting forms so carelessly that they mark "yes," that they received a discrimination complaint, when they did not receive any. Some errors have been corrected prior to mailing. Otherwise, department staff has spotted the errors, telephoned the districts, and altered the reports.

Superintendents have committed many of the errors. Each superintendent is supposed to designate a staff person to promote nondiscrimination and fill out the form, but many designate themselves. Hines said self-designation defeats the purpose of the law.

Many reports do not exist. Racine's 1991-92 report had not arrived as of September 1993. Most districts did not file at all for 1990-91, because department staff never mailed the forms. A few districts complied anyway. "I sent," Hines said. "I used a copy of the old form."

Hines laughed at the information that the Milwaukee Public Schools system has reported two discrimination complaints under § 118.13 in seven years. "I don't believe that," he said. "That is unbelievable."

"I will not deny — I will accept the fact that the complaint case load I have had shows that there is a problem in the district," Hines added. "I am very hard on discrimination when I find it. Don't penalize me for rooting it out. ... Discrimination is pervasive for life in general. It is no more pervasive here than life in general."

III. REMOVING, SEGREGATING AND PUNISHING

To maintain dual education in Madison, the district has developed an efficient system for removing, segregating, and punishing African American students.

In absolute numbers, the district imposed more suspensions on African American students than on White students last year, although there were more than five times as many White students. African American students received 1,959 suspensions, and White students received 1,877. More than half of the African American students in Madison's middle schools, 388 of 771, were suspended. The average African American middle-school student spent almost a day and a half on suspension. (See Table 3 on the next page.)

TABLE 3 Suspensions in Madison Metropolitan School District Middle Schools, 1992-93

	Enrollment	Students suspended	Percentage suspended	Students suspended	Suspensions per pupil
Whites	3,980	416	10.45%	1,084	0.272
African Americans	771	388	50.32%	1,104	1.432

Source: Madison Metropolitan School District

The district's self-evaluation recommended that staff in each school examine discipline for possible bias. It said the examination might show "harsher rules or consequences for minority students as opposed to non-minorities."

Researcher Betsy West found in 1978 that race influenced discipline. She reported that White female teachers referred more African American females and fewer White males for discipline than did African American female teachers. African American teachers referred more White females and fewer African American females. "Administrators and teachers in public schools have informally observed that Black teachers tend to 'handle their discipline problems in their own classes' to a greater extent than do White teachers," according to West.

The district's self-evaluation said staff members should ask themselves: Have they done enough to manipulate the environment to prevent the manifested aggressive behavior? Have they made a sufficient effort to understand the communicative intent underlying the behavior? And, have they unconsciously been caught up in a power struggle?

West, making the point more succinctly, wrote, "Though the student and classroom causes for disruptive behavior may be clear, let us also recognize the still small voice which speaks to us about our portion of the responsibility."

Self-examination, however, can be unsettling and painful. An easier way out has been to call anger and alienation "handicaps," caused by "defects" in the students. In Madison two years ago, African American students were twice as likely as White students to be declared "learning disabled" or "emotionally disturbed." (See Table 4 on the next page.)

TABLE 4 White and African American Placements in Three Madison Metropolitan School District Special-Education Programs, 1991-92

	Whites	African Americans
TOTAL ENROLLMENT	18,484	3,183
Learning disability	646	219
Percentage of enrollment	*3.49%*	*6.88%*
Emotional disturbance	279	95
Percentage of enrollment	*1.51%*	*2.98%*
Cognitive disability	127	87
Percentage of enrollment	*0.69%*	*2.73%*

Source: Madison Metropolitan School District

Too often, the district has placed students in special programs for purposes of removal and punishment, rather than for academic progress. Two years ago, special education and discipline overlapped so much that students in special programs received 46% of all suspensions. They were about eight percent of the total enrollment.

Federal officials found the overlap unacceptable, according to district researcher James Jirsa. He said all principals received training last year to correct the problem. Still, students in special programs received more than one-third of all suspensions last year.

The names of the handicaps are marvels of political correctness "Emotional disturbance," according to the self evaluation, is aggression. The Disability Rights and Education Defense Fund defines it as mental illness. Students in Wisconsin who used to be mentally retarded are now "cognitively disabled." The Legislature removed the old words from the statutes in 1991, declaring the new words "less pejorative." The new words, sounding no better than the old, have melted down to an acronym, "CD."

In Madison two years ago, an African American student was four times as likely as a White student to be declared "CD." Neutralizing the name has not lifted the stigma, of course, for "retarded" endures in the schoolyard vocabulary.

Many researchers have exposed inconsistencies and abuses in the identification of educational handicaps. According to one of them, G. V. Glass, "Special education diagnosis is a duke's mixture of politics, science fiction, medicine, social work, administrative convenience and what not."

A University of Oregon study called referral "very idiosyncratic." The only standard the authors found was that, "teachers refer students who are outside the range of tolerance." Referrals, the Oregon team wrote, "may well reflect the reaction to a constellation of student behaviors or characteristics, only some of which are obviously related to the reason for referral."

Madison's self-evaluation contained a candid summary of the behaviors behind the labels. It said frequent discipline in special programs was logical, "because of interference by poor social judgment, social immaturity, and impulsiveness."

According to a report from the Disability Rights and Education Defense Fund, "The confounding of cultural deprivation with limitation in mental capacity is found over and over again." The report said some students were declared emotionally disturbed for "taking charge, or being responsible through legitimate acts of self assertion."

Researchers Jane Kratovil and Susan Bailey wrote, "When some special education classes become merely places for students whose needs should be but are not met in the regular classroom, and when those students receive a label that may hamper rather than assist them in obtaining an appropriate education, educators must raise questions and examine new solutions."

According to a Department of Public Instruction report, some students are "inappropriately labeled, perhaps for life." It said, "They receive services which they do not need and which may be harmful."

Labels can impart their own reality, Jeremy Lietz of the Milwaukee Public Schools and Mary Gregory of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee contend. "[L]abeling of students as behaviorally deviant or academically deficient can reasonably lead others in the school to react to those pupils in a manner that confirms the label," they wrote.

The Disability Rights and Education Defense Fund report said students in special programs suffer from handicapism, "the dependent position in which society places disabled people, especially vulnerable disabled children, leading to the pervasive denial or non-recognition of the full humanity of persons with disabilities." Special programs intensify the isolation of minority-group children, according to the report. "Even more than minority children in regular classrooms, they lack culturally appropriate peers or adult role models."

This applies to Madison. The district employed 436 special teachers last year. Three of them were African Americans. For the start of school this year, the district hired two more African American special teachers.

The school board has not investigated the reasons for high African American enrollments in special programs. The Minneapolis public schools examined a similar imbalance and found unequal treatment. African American students evaluated for a certain set of characteristics in Minneapolis were four times as likely to be placed in a special program as were White students evaluated for the same characteristics. When White parents in Minneapolis met with teachers about special-education referrals, staff psychologists were present 58% of the time. When African American parents came for referral meetings, psychologists were present 41% of the time.

"Psychologists," the Minneapolis researchers wrote, "may be less comfortable in meeting with minority parents because of the possibility that racial issues may be introduced."

According to the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, parent meetings are often stacked against the parent. The parent is usually alone before a group, the fund's report said. The parent is usually female, and the person in charge is usually male. The parent is often not White, and the professionals usually are White.

In Madison last year, 35 psychologists were Whites, one was African American, and one was Hispanic. Hines said he was recruiting psychologists from minority groups to fill three positions. "These are the gatekeepers," he said. "We need them to make sure that we are looking at a disability and not a cultural difference."

Indeed, African American parents nationally do not share the view that their children are more handicapped. A 1988 survey by the National Center for Health Statistics found them less likely than Whites to report their children had developmental delays or emotional problems and about equally likely to report learning disabilities.

"Learning disability" is a catchall category, a pair of words that can mean whatever they need to mean. The Department of Public Instruction treats it in backward fashion, describing what it is not, rather than what it is.

Before school officials can declare a student learning disabled, they must determine that the student has the capacity for normal intellectual functioning. Down's syndrome, for example, would not be a learning disability. They must also establish that the cause of low achievement is not absence, lack of motivation, poverty, neglect, delinquency, social maladjustment, cultural isolation, or linguistic isolation. Finally, they must not declare a student learning disabled if the student has received "continuous inadequate instruction, curriculum, planning, or instructional strategies."

The department requires two positive findings along with all the negative ones. The student must show "a significant discrepancy between functional achievement and expected achievement," and the cause must be "a disorder existing within the child which significantly interferes with the ability to acquire, organize or express information."

Researcher James Ysseldyke and two associates cautioned that "pupil problems do not always indicate within-student pathology." They wrote, "Time spent having people learn 'the characteristics' might be better spent addressing attitudes and especially teacher tolerance for individual differences in students."

Ysseldyke found schools sometimes declared a disorder without identifying it. Reviewing 105 referrals, he found no attribution for 11. Among the attributions he found were, "I don't know, that's why I referred him" and "I'm not sure of the cause. I just feel he has the symptoms."

In an article subtitled *Why Bother With the Data?*, Ysseldyke and three associates observed, "[I]t looks as if decision makers use assessment data to support or justify decisions that are made independent of data. Why else would we find so many instances of identical data being used to support different outcome decisions?"

Michigan State University researchers who explored the meaning of "significant discrepancy failed to find it. Harvey Clarizio and S. E. Phillips told a national research conference that the only common characteristic of learning disabilities students was poor reading skill. "If low achievers in reading are indistinguishable from learning disabilities," according to Clarizio and Phillips, "the concept of learning disabilities as a separate category of disability is questionable as is the method for delivery of services."

Rather than question the category or the delivery, the Department of Public Instruction asserts that learning disabilities last forever. A department handbook reminds districts that they must reevaluate learning disabled students every three years, but it advises them to overlook academic progress. "Since the significant discrepancy criterion is an entry level criterion," the handbook advises, "it is not necessary for learning disability students to demonstrate a significant discrepancy on re-evaluation in order to continue in a learning disabilities program. Learning disability appears to be a permanent, rather than a temporary, educational condition."

In other words, a student of normal intellect, learning at a normal rate or faster, can still be classified as learning disabled. The policy is cruel to those who have made progress and want to learn with the regular students.

IV. SEGREGATION ON THE STAFF

Madison's system of dual education depends on keeping African American students away from what they need most — African American teachers. The district employed 46 African American teachers last year, or one for every 75 African American students. Among Whites, there was a teacher for every 11 students. In the four regular high schools, there were 722 African American students and five African American teachers.

Every White student in Madison attended a school that employed White teachers, but 986 African American students attended schools that employed no African American teachers. (See Table 5 below.) LaFollette High, four of the nine middle schools, and 14 of the 29 elementary schools were operating without African American teachers.

TABLE 5 African American Students in Madison Metropolitan School District Schools with no African American Teachers, 1992-93

	African American students		African American students
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS		**MIDDLE SCHOOLS**	
Thoreau	127	**Orchard Ridge**	72
Lapham	66	**Jefferson**	69
Franklin	60	**Gompers**	56
Muir	53	**Schenk**	24
Marquette	51		
Orchard Ridge	42	***Middle-school total***	*221*
Huegel	39		
Lake View	38	**LaFollette High School**	166
Sandburg	36		
Lindbergh	32	***TOTAL, ALL SCHOOLS***	***986***
Elvehjem	21		
Gompers	17		
Van Hise	10		
Crestwood	7		
Elementary-school total	*599*		

Source: Madison Metropolitan School District Staff Roster

In the last seven years, Madison has hired 1,098 White teachers and 39 African American teachers, for a ratio of 28 to one. (See Table 6 on the next page.) During a rapid expansion of the staff in 1991-92, the district moved backward, hiring 227 White teachers and three African American teachers. From that low point, the district has made some progress. Madison hired seven African American teachers last year and seven more for the start of school this year. In the same time the district hired 232 White teachers, for a ratio of about 17 Whites to one African American.

TABLE 6 White and African American Teachers Hired by the Madison Metropolitan School District, 1987-88 to 1993-94

	White	African American	Ratio of Whites to African Americans hired
1987-88	95	1	95.00
1988-89	149	7	21.29
1989-90	163	6	27.17
1990-91	232	8	29.00
1991-92	227	3	75.67
1992-93	143	7	20.43
1993-94*	89	7	12.71
Total	*1,098*	*39*	*28.15*

* Through Sep. 10, 1993

Source: Madison Metropolitan School District

There is a fundamental reason why Madison should desegregate its teaching staff. Segregation is wrong.

There is a practical reason, too. African American teachers know how to educate African American students. Sabrina Hope King, of the University of Illinois at Chicago, explained why in a recent magazine article summarizing the work of several researchers. African American teachers see education as a step toward a better life for all Americans, King wrote. They expect every student to succeed and become an asset to society. They connect what students know to what is unfamiliar. They hold themselves responsible and accountable for the achievement of the students.

African American teachers act as agents of change, she wrote, and they encourage students to be agents of change. They engage students in reflections about the status quo. They emphasize liberation, citizenship, personal value, collective power, and advancement. "Some of these teachers' pedagogical goals," according to King, "include teaching their students rigorous academics as well as providing them with the knowledge necessary to equip them with the ability to fight racial oppression."

The classroom of the African American teacher is "structured, yet eclectic," King wrote. The teacher gives encouragement, praise, and open affection. Some female African American teachers are "other mothers," treating African American students as part of their own families.

The presence of an African American teacher is also healthy for White students. A Carnegie Forum report, quoted by King, said that the races and the backgrounds of teachers shape the attitudes of White students on justice, fairness, and "their own and others' intrinsic worth." King found a similar sentiment in a U.S. Department of Education report. "The absence of a representative number of minority teachers and administrators in a pluralistic society is damaging," the report said, "because it distorts social reality for children."

A report of the Education Commission of the States, also quoted by King, said "a diverse teaching force allows all students to understand people who come from backgrounds different from their own and to see persons of different cultures in leadership

positions." The commission added, "Diversity in school personnel also allows different views to be heard and considered when decisions are made about instruction and curriculum."

One of the reasons Madison has had difficulty in desegregating the staff is a national shortage of African American teachers. King found African American women earned 10,509 bachelor in education degrees in 1976, and 2,905 in 1987, an approximately 72% decline.

"All districts would like to hire minority teachers, but there is not a large pool of candidates," said Tim McElhatton, senior researcher for the Public Policy Forum in Milwaukee. "If you look at minorities who were hired by school districts in the 1970s, maybe they did not have the educational opportunities that they would have today." Many minority students are choosing college courses that lead to private sector jobs, he said.

Virginia Henderson, assistant to the superintendent for equity in Madison, agreed. Her children, Henderson said, had chosen careers outside of education. In the African American professional community, "You do not have to teach to make a living any more," she said. To young African Americans, she added, "Education is not seen as welcoming. It is not exciting."

While Madison may have an excuse for having relatively few African American job candidates, there is no excuse for letting quality candidates get away, as the district has repeatedly done. The Verona school district has been diversifying its staff by hiring candidates Hines has recruited to Madison. "I try to do that any time I can," said Verona Superintendent Robert Gilpatrick. "Sorry about that."

Hines said he was angry, not at Gilpatrick but at some Madison principals. "We hire so late here," he said. "People get scared while they wait to hear from Madison. I have lost two or three to Verona that way. I lost one to Middleton this year. I lost one to Stoughton." He said he would continue to apply "heat and pressure" on White male principals to change their hiring patterns. "The principals manage 80% of your resources and 80% of your staff," he said. "You have to watch them."

If heat and pressure do not work, Hines might offer cash. He recently wrote to Superintendent Cheryl Wilhoyte that, "Performance reviews and merit pay are excellent tools to coach reluctant employees into change." Hines could only recruit candidates, he said, not get them hired. When the results are disappointing, he said, "Immediately, people come in and look right at me."

"I am winning the recruiting war," Hines said. Applications from members of all minority group for teaching positions rose from 31 two years ago to 61 last year and 78 this year. Expansion of the candidate pool had little effect on hiring, however. The district hired 11 minority teachers two years ago, 17 last year, and 15 for the start of this year. The number of minority applicants who did not get jobs rose from 20 to 44 to 63.

Another obstacle to staff desegregation is turnover. From 1983 to 1993, the retention rate for African American professionals was 61%, the lowest rate of any ethnic group on the staff. "The exit rate is too high," Hines said. "None have been fired. Sometimes you don't know why they go. The weather? The culture? But most of the ones who leave do it because of opportunities in business."

He said that on occasion, he has recruited minority teachers whose spouses have come to Madison for corporate jobs. When the private employer transfers the teacher's spouse, he said, the teacher moves on.

The district hired a consultant on retention this year, Hines said, to survey all minority professionals and interview some who have left. The consultant was to conduct focus groups not only with African American professionals, but also with Native American professionals, whose retention rate has been 69%.

Although Madison has been slow to expand its corps of African American teachers, the district has had more success in moving African Americans into administrative positions. Last year, six African Americans were principals and three were assistant principals. In the central office, the legal counsel, a department director, a program supervisor, the district psychologist, and five program coordinators were African Americans.

With those administrators at the high end of the salary scale and few newly hired African American teachers at the low end, a curious result has occurred. The average African American professional on the staff last year earned $41,919 — $1,361 more than the $40,558 salary of the average White professional. It is not customary for African Americans to earn more than Whites. Nationally, African Americans make about 60 cents for every dollar made by Whites. The gap might narrow for a given profession or in a single organization, but a gap of some size, in favor of Whites, is a natural feature of America's racial landscape.

Is Madison unique in paying the average African American professional more than the average White professional? No one can say, for school districts do not report salaries by ethnic group. The University of Wisconsin's data base might hold the answer, but a university researcher advised that extracting the information would take a lot of time.

Instead of desegregating the staff, the district has tried to change the attitudes and methods of White staff through the Minority Student Achievement program. In a survey of six schools in the program, 98% of the professionals said they had taken at least one course through the program in two years. The survey found 81% had taken courses at their schools, and 46% had taken courses at conferences or workshops. Approximately one-third had attended the district's annual multicultural conference. Most of those responding said they had spent more than 10 hours in minority- achievement courses. At Cherokee Middle School, 15 of 25 survey respondents said they had spent more than 20 hours in such courses.

The effort produced no measurable improvement. In fact, an interim report on Minority Student Achievement found grades were down and absences were up last year. The report was heavily qualified, but said "we have confidence that the overall finding of a decline in grade point average is reliable"

Staff professionals deflected most of the blame from themselves. In a section of the survey on attitudes, they gave higher scores to their efforts than they gave to the responses of students and parents. The survey listed 19 aspects of the program, giving five points for a response of "major impact," and one point for "minimal impact." A score above three indicated that most respondents said "major." Below three, most said "minimal." Staff gave themselves a 3.51 for increased commitment to needs of minority students, but gave minority students and families a 2.90 on greater commitment. Staff gave themselves a 3.37 on outreach to minority parents, but gave minority parents a 2.91 on involvement.

The score for increased academic opportunities for minorities was 3.37, but the score for higher minority achievement was 2.72. The score for increased multi-cultural awareness among students was 3.34, but the score for reduction of racism was 2.84. Frustration with the lack of progress showed through in a 3.30 score for "increased stress on staff related to minority student achievement expectations."

"Minority Student Achievement has been done poorly," Hines said. "You cannot do staff development first." He named small Wisconsin cities that are home towns of many White teachers in Madison. "If that is where I come from," he asked, "are you going to tell me that I have to divert a lesson plan that has worked for me for 20 years, for this child over here?"

"You get the most value by finding teachers who will serve as tutors and mentors. That is the most labor intensive and difficult way," according to Hines, who defined mentor as a surrogate parent and tutor as a surrogate teacher. Second in importance, he said, was getting parents more involved in the education of their children. Third was staff development and staff plurality. "When we get this equation right, we will be okay."

V. SCHOOL AND HOME CHOICES IN DANE COUNTY

Dual education is doomed education, for the results do not satisfy anyone. As divisions have deepened and tensions have heightened year by year in the Madison schools, more and more families have left the district. The only reason Madison has showed enrollment increases the last three years is that incoming kindergarten classes have been larger than outgoing 12th-grade classes. This natural enrollment boost was 702 two years ago, 715 last year, and 765 this year. Actual enrollment increases, however, have been 592, 417, and 229. The large kindergarten classes have camouflaged real losses of 110, 298, and 536 students.

Madison's registrar has projected increases of 176, 80, and 25 for the next three years. It takes little imagination to guess that negative numbers lie beyond. The number of White students in Madison has already begun to drop. In September of 1991, after three years of increases, their enrollment was 18,484. The number fell to 18,376 in September of 1992 and 18,253 last September.

Suburban and rural schools, meanwhile, have been booming. Enrollment in Dane County's non-metropolitan districts grew by 1,218 two years ago, 1,533 last year, and 1,123 this year. (See Table 7 on the next page.) The non-metropolitan enrollment increase from September 1990 to September 1993 was 13%, compared to five percent for Madison.

TABLE 7 **Enrollment Growth in Dane County School Districts, 1990-1993***

	Sep. '90	Sep. '93	Growth rate	Net change from previous year '90	'91	'92	'93
Belleville	614	709	15.5%	(10)	4	41	50
Cambridge	880	970	10.2%	(6)	18	53	19
Deerfield	617	634	2.8%	26	7	11	-1
DeForest	2,478	2,784	12.3%	77	122	62	122
Marshall	740	949	28.2%	15	54	96	59
McFarland	1,739	1,940	11.6%	32	82	49	70
Middleton-Cross Plains	4,075	4,476	9.8%	204	133	192	76
Monona Grove	1,888	2,115	12.0%	41	41	71	115
Mount Horeb	1,400	1,648	17.7%	27	80	104	64
Oregon	2,535	2,945	16.2%	85	93	130	187
Stoughton	2,907	3,137	7.9%	97	79	135	16
Sun Prairie	3,740	4,167	11.4%	(10)	223	181	23
Verona	2,735	3,316	21.2%	179	183	247	151
Waunakee	1,775	2,134	20.2%	50	99	111	149
Wisconsin Heights**	965	1,038	7.6%	(7)	0	50	23
Non-metropolitan total	*29,088*	*32,962*	*13.3%*	*800*	*1,218*	*1,533*	*1,123*
Madison	23,214	24,452	5.3%	807	592	417	229

* From third Friday in Sep. ** Black Earth and Mazomanie

Source: Department of Public Instruction, State of Wisconsin; Madison Metropolitan School District

The acceleration of the flight from Madison shows up vividly in three neighboring districts. In Oregon, the net enrollment increases for the last four years were 85, 93, 130, and 187. In Waunakee, the increases were 50, 99, 121, and 149. In Monona Grove, they were 41, 41, 71, and 115.

Waunakee's enrollment jumped 20% in three years, from 1,775 in September of 1990 to 2,134 in September 1993. Verona topped that with a 21% growth rate, from 2,735 to 3,316. The growth rate was 16% in Oregon, 12 percent in DeForest, McFarland, and Monona Grove, 11% in Sun Prairie, and 10% in Middleton-Cross Plains.

Rural communities are also growing rapidly. Marshall's three-year growth rate was 28%, highest in the county. Enrollments went up 18% in Mount Horeb, 15% in Belleville, and 10% in Cambridge.

African American families have joined White families in the outward rush. African American enrollment in the non-metropolitan districts nearly doubled in five years, from 215 in September 1987 to 428 in September 1992.

Some districts have been desegregating for more than a decade. The number of African American students in Verona has increased 1,457% in 15 years, from seven in 1978-79 to 109 this year. African American students are more than three percent of Verona's enrollment. The number of African American students in the Monona Grove school district has jumped 1,567 percent, from three in 1979-80 to 50 this year. African

American students are more than two percent of the district's enrollment. African American enrollment in Middleton-Cross Plains has more than tripled in 12 years, from 28 in 1981-82 to 88 this year. African American students are two percent of the district's enrollment.

Changes are also coming quickly in other communities. Sun Prairie's African American enrollment has increased from 45 to 75 in two years. The number in Stoughton has gone from 14 to 51 in four years. In both districts, African Americans are approaching two percent of the enrollment. Six years ago, there were four African American students in Waunakee and one in McFarland. This year, Waunakee had 17 African American students and McFarland had 10.

Moody, Madison's human relations director, said the African American enrollment surge in neighboring communities was sad. "I blame the parents," he said. "They should have stayed in the system and worked for change. People who do not fight for what they want deserve what they get." Moody said Whites, too, should work for change in Madison. "When the Whites are running," he said, "that is as bad as when the Blacks do it."

No matter where families move in Dane County, they will have Madison teachers and administrators as neighbors. Hundreds of the district's professionals live outside the district that employs them. The professional roster for April 16, 1993, showed 549 having addresses outside of the Madison postal area, including 72 who commuted from other counties. (See Table 8 on the next page.) Ninety professionals lived in Middleton, 57 in Verona, and 56 in McFarland. The average salary was higher for those outside the Madison postal area than for those inside.

TABLE 8 Madison Metropolitan School District Professionals' Places of Residence and Average Salaries*

	Professionals	Average salary
MADISON POSTAL AREA		
Madison/Fitchburg 53711	458	$42,013
Madison 53705	329	$41,080
Madison 53704	305	$39,294
Madison/Monona 53716	172	$41,981
Madison 53717	110	$41,935
Madison 53714	99	$40,845
Madison 53713	90	$37,377
Madison 53703	89	$32,652
Madison/Fitchburg 53719	85	$37,734
Madison 53715	39	$34,525
Madison total	*1,776*	*$40,227*
OTHER DANE COUNTY		
Middleton	90	$40,464
Verona	57	$42,376
McFarland	56	$41,489
Stoughton	41	$40,653
Sun Prairie	33	$39,584
Waunakee	32	$43,334
Oregon	29	$39,968
Cottage Grove	26	$39,633
DeForest	23	$41,843
Cross Plains	16	$45,916
Mount Horeb	13	$47,039
Marshall	11	$39,365
Cambridge	9	$38,585
Deerfield	7	$41,936
Mazomanie	7	$42,465
Black Earth	6	$39,303
Brooklyn	6	$35,109
Belleville	5	$34,056
Windsor	5	$37,098
Dane	4	$41,107
Blue Mounds	1	$42,131
Total, other Dane County	*477*	*$41,128*
Other counties	72	$40,337
Incomplete addresses	11	$38,616

* Through Apr. 16, 1993

Source: Madison Metropolitan School District Staff Roster

Another 46 professionals lived in the city of Monona, which has a Madison zip code but is in the Monona Grove school district. Their number raises the apparent total of those living outside the district to 595, more than a fourth of the 2,336 professionals on staff. In addition, there were probably dozens of professionals living in Madison zip codes

53711 and 53719, in or near the city of Fitchburg, whose homes were in the Verona and Oregon schooi districts.

Last year, about one-ninth of the homes in zip code 53711 and about one-sixth of the homes in zip code 53719 were in the Verona district. With 458 staff professionals in zip code 53711, it would be reasonable to estimate that 51 were in the Verona district. With 85 professionals in zip code 53719, it would be reasonable to estimate that 14 were in the Verona district.

The Oregon district last year took in about 1,000 residents of zip code 53711. Throughout the zip code, there was one professional for every 55 persons. It would be reasonable to estimate that 18 professionals with homes in zip code 53711 were living in the Oregon district.

The sum of the Verona and Oregon estimates is 83, which would bring the number of professionals living outside the Madison district to 678, or 29%. There might also have been professionals with addresses in Madison zip code 53704 whose homes were in the DeForest, Monona Grove, Sun Prairie, or Waunakee school districts.

Residency is a sensitive issue that raises questions about commitment, loyalty, understanding, accountability, community responsibility, and individual freedom. The Madison school board confronted these questions 12 years ago and established a double standard. They adopted Board Policy 8481, requiring administrators to live in the district, and Board Policy 8482, encouraging other employees to live in the district.

The board apparently considered residency more important for administrators than for teachers. Madison is in trouble if that is true, for one-third of the district's top administrators live in other communities. Requiring residency has been no more effective than encouraging it. Last year, 12 of the 36 administrators earning $59,490 or more lived in suburban and rural school districts Some were already outside the district when the board adopted the policy, and have remained outside under a grandfather clause. For others, the board has waived the requirement.

Memorial High's principal, at a salary of $79,286, lived in Cross Plains. The principal of Sennett middle school, at $62,858, lived in Verona. The principals of Falk, Hawthorne, Huegel, Kennedy, and Lindbergh elementary schools also lived outside the Madison district. The assistant superintendent for business services, whose $91,061 salary was second only to the superintendent's, lived in Waunakee. The director of business services, with a $67,894 salary, lived in Stoughton. A business services manager, making $55,890, lived in Wisconsin Dells. Another commuter with heavy financial responsibilities was the labor relations manager, who earned $72,584 to represent the school board in negotiations with the teachers union. She lived in Mount Horeb.

The flight from Madison is bound to continue if the school board does not change direction. Families will move out if they have affordable choices, and Dane County offers an abundance of those. In most metropolitan areas, parents cannot easily move out of urban school districts, because suburban homes are too expensive. In Dane County, on the other hand, escape can be a bargain.

At the 1990 census, the average home in Sun Prairie, DeForest, Stoughton, McFarland, Cross Plains, or 13 other suburban and rural communities in Dane County was more than $74,000. (See Table 9 on the next page.) The census counted 25,276 owner-occupied homes in those communities. The average home in seven of Madison's 10 zip

codes is more than that. The three Madison zip codes with average homes less than that contained 7,457 owner-occupied homes.

TABLE 9 Average Home Values and Number of Owner-Occupied Homes by Selected Postal Areas, 1990 Census

	Average home value	Owner-occupied homes
Madison 53717	$120,259	1,632
Madison 53705	$108,497	7,169
Middleton	$101,022	3,634
Windsor	$85,224	696
Madison 53713	$83,023	2,510
Madison/Fitchburg 53711	$82,591	6,250
Verona	$82,509	2,283
Madison/Fitchburg 53719	$82,090	2,436
Oregon	$78,789	2,466
Waunakee	$75,122	1,505
Madison/Monona 53716	$75,113	5,998
Madison 53704	$74,247	7,848
DeForest	$73,545	2,609
Sun Prairie	$71,584	5,130
McFarland	$70,469	3,023
Cottage Grove	$69,290	1,020
Dane	$68,270	573
Cross Plains	$68,061	2,977
Madison 53715	$67,266	1,194
Brooklyn	$65,702	315
Madison 53714	$60,404	4,899
Stoughton	$59,601	4,700
Blue Mounds	$48,242	348
Madison 53703	$48,050	1,364
Cambridge/Deerfield	$48,003	653
Mazomanie	$47,386	647
Mount Horeb	$46,772	1,224
Belleville	$43,832	343
Marshall/York	$39,949	592
Black Earth	$39,041	731
Albion	$37,965	391

Source: *Wisconsin State Journal Book of Business*, Feb. 28, 1993, derived from Applied Population Laboratory, University of Wisconsin at Madison

Madison appraiser Gene DeYoung said in an interview that the affordability gap was about the same in 1993 as it had been at the census. According to DeYoung, the suburban and rural advantage was greatest for new homes, because undeveloped land was very expensive in Madison. Outward movement, he said, had reached Lodi and Poynette, in Columbia County.

The Madison school board has tried to attract and hold families by promoting the continued excellence of some of Madison's schools. The strategy has failed, however, because homes near those schools are beyond the reach of most working families. Parents may dream of sending their children to Jefferson middle school, where the suspension rate

is by far the lowest in the district, but moving there is another matter. The average home in Jefferson zip code 53717 was $120,259 in 1990.

The second most expensive zip code in Dane County was 53705. Last year, students at Crestwood, Muir, Randall, Stephens, and Van Hise Elementary Schools, all in zip code 53705, scored in the 90th percentile or better on the math portion of the California Achievement Test.

West High, where students earned the best college-entrance test scores of any Dane County high school two years ago, is in zip code 53705. Memorial High, where test scores and grades are almost as high as West's, is in zip code 53717.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Madison Metropolitan School District must do a better job of educating African American students. Success will not come overnight, but the work should begin today.

"It is easy to list the components: parental involvement, higher-order learning, elimination of tracking, better staff relations," according to Bob Croninger, associate director of Programs for Educational Opportunity in Ann Arbor, Michigan. "It comes down to implementation. It comes down to commitment, to a willingness to sustain the effort over time. Most studies suggest a ten year cycle, and that is with a sustained commitment."

Madison can sustain a commitment for as long as it takes. First, however, the school board and the community have to make the commitment. The board and the community need to recognize dual education exists, the outcomes are disastrous, and nothing matters more than putting an end to it.

1. Fairness and justice

The school board should begin dismantling dual education, with fairness and justice as their goals.

The board has come close to recognizing the need for fairness and justice. It has declared that one of its priorities is "equity," a word that combines the meanings of fairness and justice. It has adopted an equity plan with 10 equity goals. Its superintendent, Cheryl Wilhoyte, has a special assistant for equity.

In practice, however, equity has not meant fairness and justice. It has not meant much at all. The word, "fairness," has power. "Justice" has great power. "Equity" has no power, which may explain why it has become a staple of politically correct discourse.

The word looks like "equality" with a hole in the middle. The symbolism is appropriate, for "equality" has fallen into disuse as a word and a goal in America. "Equity" is what it appears to be, a hollow substitute.

To show that they are sincere about change, board members should call for it in terms that would move the community. They should have a plan, with fairness and justice its explicit goals.

2. Examination of disparities

The board should examine racial disparities wherever they appear, paying particular attention to special education placements and suspensions. The examination would include a student-by-student review in the learning di abilities and emotional disturbance programs.

The Department of Public Instruction recently advised all districts to work toward such a review, proposing

> that each child with one or more specific disabilities in either emotional disturbance or learning disabilities be correctly identified with regard to the specific variety (or varieties) involved and its (or their) severity. ... Such a standard is simply one facet of excellence in education and is no more than what should be expected.

In fact, the department's learning disabilities handbook appears to require that Madison be held to such a standard with regard to African American enrollment in the program. When students are more numerous in the program than in the general population, according to the handbook, a district must make additional efforts to substantiate in each case that the disorder is in the child, and not a result of poverty, neglect, delinquency, social maladjustment, cultural or linguistic isolation, or inappropriate instruction.

The school board should also follow the department's advice to assess the special-education evaluation process and the identification tests that the evaluation teams use. The board should carry out field tests, as suggested by the department, to "assess the costs and the benefits of various solutions to the problem of identification error."

The board should also review discipline policies and practices, school by school, as recommended in the district's self evaluation.

For the district's improper mingling of special education and suspensions, the board owes Madison an apology and an explanation. The board should tell the community how many students were improperly suspended and how many of them were African Americans.

3. Two-way communication

Before schools can improve the achievement of African American students, the parents must get more involved. Districts that have increased the involvement of African American parents, have a common feature — "an elaborate system of two way communication," according to Croninger. "It is more than sending paper home with the student. It is providing meaningful activities on school improvement for parents and kids. It is creating opportunities to work together toward common goals."

Parental involvement is easier than some would think, Croninger said. "African American parents," he said, "put more emphasis on the importance of education to their children's future than White parents."

Two-way communication is the shortest route to fairness and justice. Communication could turn dual education into double education, for Whites would increase their knowledge, too. Listening to African Americans can be the best education in America.

3. Learning from mistakes

The school board should fix the Minority Student Achievement program. The temptation is to shut it down; some of the money has been spent foolishly and achievement has not improved. The program could make progress, however, if the board would learn from its mistakes.

Something went wrong in the schools where the program was concentrated. Somehow, the program hardened the attitudes of the staff. The board needs to find out why, so they can devise a new approach.

If justice and fairness were to come overnight, the board could shut down the Minority Student Achievement program. Until they come, the program is a source of money that could, with two-way communication, buy some small successes. To remove it would leave nothing.

4. Staff desegregation

The school board should desegregate the professional staff with all possible speed, to make up for years of favoring Whites. The board needs to identify and remove all individual and institutional obstacles to desegregation.

Competition for African American teachers is intense, but competition is what separates winners from losers. Madison has been losing more than its share. The board needs a full time recruiter, or two or three. Affirmative-action officer Hines and others have recruited part-time.

African American applicants who have been rejected or have withdrawn their applications should get another look. If they are found worthy, the board should discipline the principals who failed to hire them. If they are worthy and available, they should be hired at once.

The board should investigate the principals who let suburban districts hire away candidates that Hines had recruited. Depending on the circumstances, those principals may deserve discipline, transfer, or dismissal. The hiring practices of principals should be examined at each performance review. Hines's proposal to "coach" principals with merit pay sounds like a straight bribe, but if that would bring results, the board should do it.

The best way to catch up in the competition for African American teachers would be to spread the word that Madison plans to move at top speed toward fairness and justice in the schools. Agents of change all over the nation would jump at the chance to teach in Madison.

5. Getting help

The school board should request assistance from Programs for Educational Opportunity. "We worked with Madison before, but it has been a while," Croninger said. "We are always available, and we require no fee." His agency, he added, is one of 10 regional desegregation assistance centers supported by the U.S. government.

Croninger said Madison is apparently ready for the "third wave" of desegregation. At first, he said, desegregation meant putting an end to separate schools. Next, it meant putting an end to separation within schools. "The third wave," he said, "is to stop the perpetuation of things that prevent learning."

APPENDIX A Formal Discrimination Complaints Against Wisconsin School

District	Year	Filed by	Against	Basis
Brown Deer	91-92	Parents	District	Race
Cudahy	91-92	Parent	Teachers	Race, gender
De Pere	85-86	Parent	District	Gender
Elk Mound	88-89	Parent	District	Gender
Elmbrook	88-89	Parents	Teacher	Gender
Gilman	88-89	Grandparents	Bus driver	Race
Glendale-River Hills	87-88	Parent	District	Race
Green Bay	87-88	Parent	District	Gender
	88-89	Community	Teacher	Race
Greenwood	91-92	Parent	District	Handicap
Ithaca	86-87	?	District	Gender
Kenosha	91-92	Parent	District	Handicap
Kettle Moraine	88-89	Parent	District	Race
La Crosse	91-92	Parents	District	Handicap
Lena	87-88	Teachers	Teacher	Handicap
Madison	86-87	Teacher	High school	Race
	86-87	Parents	Principal, teacher	Handicap
	87-88	Parents	High school	Race, handicap
	87-88	Parents	Teacher	Gender
	87-88	Employee	District	Handicap
	87-88	Parent	Two teachers	Race
	87-88	Parent	District	Race
	87-88	Parent	District	Handicap
	88-89	Staff	District	Gender
	88-89	Parent	Teacher	Religion, national origin
	88-89	Parent	High-school staff	Race
	88-89	Parents	District	Gender
	88-89	Parents	Assistant principal	?
	88-89	Teacher, students	Teacher	Gender
	89-90	Parent	District	Affluence
	89-90	Parent	High school	Race
	89-90	Parent	Principal, social worker	?
	89-90	Students	Employee	Gender
	89-90	Parent	Principal, three teachers	Race, gender
	89-90	Students	Teacher	Gender
	90-91	Student	Teacher	Race
	91-92	Parent	Bus driver	?
	91-92	Ex-student	Teacher	Sexual orientation
	91-92	Student	Principal, five staff members	Race
	91-92	Parent	District	?
	91-92	Parent	School	?
	91-92	Parent	Teacher, counselor	?
	92-93	Parent	Educational assistant	Race
	92-93	Parents	Two custodians	Race
	92-93	Parent	Teacher	Race
	92-93	Principal	Teacher	Gender
	92-93	Parent	Teacher	?
	92-93	Parent	Teacher	?
	92-93	Parent	Citizen	?
	92-93	Students	Students	Gender

Districts Filed with the State's Department of Public Instruction

Complaint	District finding	Resolution
Unequal punishment, retaliations	No discrimination	Student transferred to parochial school
?	?	?
No girls volleyball, grades 7-8	Confirmed	Girls volleyball added
Unequal support for girls home games	Confirmed	Cmte. recommendations implemented
Inappropriate touching	Confirmed	?
?	No discrimination	Driver, rider representatives to meet
Offensive book in library	All items screened for bias	*Tall Man from Boston* to be evaluated
Different bus boundaries	Policy is parochial schools'	No action
Offensive handout on spearfishing	Confirmed	Staff training, curriculum changes, more
Failure to assess exceptional need	Confirmed	Corrections made
No girls softball	Confirmed	Girls softball added
Denied field trip to Chicago	Confirmed	Child went to Chicago
?	Department of Public Instruction rejected claim	Party filed federal complaint, then dropped it
?	Complaint to federal civil-rights enforcement officials	Awaiting federal finding
Abuse, threats, demeaning comments	Six items need redress	Agreement among teachers
Unequal fee waivers in driver's education	No discrimination	No action
Child excluded from field trip	Child had harmed two classmates	No action
Transportation problem; isolation	Staff language improper, behavior unprofessional	Parents moved
Sexual comments	Police did not file charges	Confidential written warning
Request for fund transfer denied	Transfer would have violated board policy	No action
Picking on son	Human-relations departmentContinuing could not resolve	
?	No discrimination	No action
Program moved twice in three years	Confirmed	Reached agreement on future transfers
Cheerleader staff underpaid	Confirmed	Changed collective-bargaining agreement
Anti-Semitic comments	Inappropriate comments; no discrimination	Teacher warned; student suspended
Unequal treatment in athletics	No discrimination	No action
Unequal rules for swim-team letter	Confirmed	Girls got retroactive letters
Poked son in chest	No contact	No action
Inappropriate comments, touches	Confirmed	Suspended five days; counseling ordered
Unequal parking at school	Confirmed	Changed policy
Retaliation, discipline, exclusion	Confirmed	Paid for broken glasses; mediation
Referred possible abuse to county	Staff followed policy	No action
Chased girls, made sexual remarks	Investigating (?)	Moved employee away from children
Wrong reading level; harassment	No sex harassment	Moved child to higher reading group
Demeaning; dividing class by sex	Confirmed	Teacher apologized
?	Inappropriate action, conduct	Counseling, monitoring for teacher
Harassment	Under investigation	
Demeaning comments	?	Ex-student refused informal resolution
Derogatory comments, harassment	Case is far-reaching, complex	?
Inadequate instruction	No discrimination	No action
Kept son after school	School acted properly	No action
Harassment of parent, son	Complaint not timely	Dismissed
Inappropriate physical restraint	Another incident occurred after complaint	Educational assistant offered resignation
Harassment	Confirmed	Two custodians counseled, all trained
Prejudice	Still open	Complainant vowed to sue
Inappropriate sexual conduct	Confirmed	Teacher apologized; counseled, monitored
Emotionally unsafe	Investigating	
?	Investigating	
Touched son	Awaiting district attorney's decision	
Harassment	Serious issues uncovered; police called	Student suspended

(District)	(Year)	(Filed by)	(Against)	(Basis)
Manitowoc	91-92	Parents	District	Handicap
Milwaukee	88-89	Parent	District	Gender
	91-92	Parent	District	Handicap, race
New Lisbon	88-89	?	?	?
Nicolet	91-92	Parent	Two teachers	Race, gender
Onalaska	91-92	Parent	District	Handicap
Oshkosh	91-92	Parent	District	Handicap
Racine	88-89	Parent	Teacher	Race
Shawano-Gresham	88-89	U.S.	District	Handicap
Shorewood	86-87	Parent	District	?
	87-88	Parent	District	Handicap
Sparta	86-87	Parent	District	Handicap
Stoughton	89-90	Parent	District	Gender
	89-90	Parent	Media aide	Race
Superior	91-92	Parent	Teacher	Handicap
Unity*	91-92	Parent	District	?
Wisconsin Dells	89-90	Parent	District	?

* In Balsam Lake

Source: Department of Public Instruction, State of Wisconsin

(Complaint)	(District finding)	(Resolution)
Various; four children involved	No discrimination	No action
Unequal vocational opportunities	Confirmed	Damages paid; many policies changed
Unequal punishment	Federal civil-rights enforcement officials intervened	Corrections listed in letter of spdt.
?	?	?
Hit son on head	Board discussed	?
Excluded from behind-wheel class	Needs to pass physical education first	Board granted conditional permission
?	Student not handicapped	No action
Led class in fault-finding exercise	Homebound instruction required	Student transferred to parochial school
No access for impaired mobility	Confirmed	New policies adopted
Father denied daily access to class	None	Family moved
Special education not offered	Confirmed	Special-program placement offered
?	No violation	Parent, advocate satisfied
More softball coaches for boys	Confirmed	Freshmen girls' coach hired
Called child "little nigger girl"	Aide denied; witnesses confirmed	Two-day suspension; apology to family
Verbal, physical harassment	Not substantiated	No action
Harassment	Committee discussed	?
Son did not get football letter	Did not play enough quarters	No action

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ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

The Wisconsin Policy Research Institute is a not-for-profit institute established to study public policy issues affecting the state of Wisconsin.

Under the new federalism, government policy increasingly is made at the state and local level. These public policy decisions affect the lives of every citizen in the state of Wisconsin. Our goal is to provide nonpartisan research on key issues that affect citizens living in Wisconsin so that their elected representatives are able to make informed decisions to improve the quality of life and future of the State.

Our major priority is to improve the accountability of Wisconsin's government. State and local government must be responsive to the citizens of Wisconsin in terms of the programs they devise and the tax money they spend. Accountability should be made available in every major area to which Wisconsin devotes the public's funds.

The agenda for the Institute's activities will direct attention and resources to study the following issues: education; welfare and social services; criminal justice; taxes and spending; and economic development.

We believe that the views of the citizens of Wisconsin should guide the decisions of government officials. To help accomplish this, we will conduct semi-annual public opinion polls that are structured to enable the citizens of Wisconsin to inform government officials about how they view major statewide issues. These polls will be disseminated through the media and be made available to the general public and to the legislative and executive branches of State government. It is essential that elected officials remember that all the programs established and all the money spent comes from the citizens of the State of Wisconsin and is made available through their taxes. Public policy should reflect the real needs and concerns of all the citizens of Wisconsin and not those of specific special interest groups.

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