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ABSTRACT

The Education Mobility Assistance Program (EMAP) was created in Ohio in 1979 to provide funds to school districts that volunteered to racially desegregate their schools by transferring students. This report evaluates the impact of EMAP funds in reducing the number of racially isolated schools and in providing equal educational opportunities for all students. Data were collected through interviews with education, legislative, and civil rights personnel, and through 31 interviews with EMAP administrators across several types of school districts. Findings indicate that since the program began, the state has provided an average of only \$73 per student transferred, although a maximum of \$400 per student is allowed. There have been mixed results in terms of reducing the number of racially isolated schools. Since 1979, the number of racially isolated schools in the 17 EMAP districts has decreased in 11 school districts, stayed the same in 3 districts, and increased in 3 districts. The reduction could also be attributed to other factors--an overall concern about court-ordered desegregation associated with busing, and the availability of federal funds to schools for voluntary desegregation. The Legislative Office of Education Oversight (LOEO) also found that districts' self-evaluations of their EMAP programs are limited in scope and do not address the overall impact of the program. Other problems are that EMAP funding is distributed too late in the year for districts to plan effectively for its use; districts have inconsistent interpretations about how the Ohio Department of Education (ODE) determines eligible transfers for funding; and ODE lacks enforcement power to require districts to show reasonable progress. Recommendations are made for actions to be taken by the Ohio General Assembly and ODE. Four exhibits are included. Appendices contain a history of federal school desegregation and a table showing desegregation costs for five Ohio school districts. (Contains 26 references.) (LMI)

The Education Mobility Assistance Program

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The Legislative Office of Education Oversight (LOEO) serves as staff to the Legislative Committee on Education Oversight. Created by the General Assembly in 1989, the Office evaluates education-related activities funded wholly or in part by the state of Ohio.

This report evaluates the impact of Education Mobility Assistance Program (EMAP) funds in reducing the number of racially isolated schools and in providing equal educational opportunities for all students. *Conclusions and recommendations in this report are those of the LOEO staff and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Committee or its members.*

SUMMARY

THE EDUCATION MOBILITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Starting in 1979, the Ohio General Assembly provided Education Mobility Assistance Program (EMAP) funds to serve as an incentive for school districts to voluntarily reduce their number of racially isolated buildings by transferring students.

Since the program began, the state has provided an average of only \$73 per student transferred, although a maximum of \$400 per student is allowed.

The authorizing legislation for EMAP allowed a maximum of \$400 to be given to districts for each student transferred. However, over the program's 15 years, the state has provided an average of only \$73 per student transferred. Since EMAP began, a total of 17 districts have participated, with an average of 11 districts per year. Within EMAP districts, the racially isolated schools tend to be elementary buildings.

Historical events shaped the design and implementation of EMAP. In the late 1970s, the state of Ohio was a codefendant in two school desegregation cases involving large metropolitan districts. In both cases, Ohio was found guilty of not discouraging school segregation. As a result of these findings from the federal court, the Ohio General Assembly created EMAP to encourage voluntary desegregation of schools.

The need to desegregate schools was based on the Brown vs. Board of Education U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1954. The court ruled that separate schools for black and white children are inherently unequal in providing educational opportunities. It was assumed that the way to ensure equal educational opportunities was for children of different races to attend the same schools. During the 1960s and early 1970s, the federal government mandated school desegregation.

Although mandatory programs were more effective than voluntary programs in improving schools' racial balance, there was public resistance to the mandatory approaches, mostly because of their association with busing. In addition, researchers have found that desegregation programs, whether mandatory or voluntary, may not have achieved their ultimate purpose of providing equal educational opportunity. As a result, 40 years after the Brown decision, the focus of desegregation efforts is shifting away from addressing "separateness" and toward addressing the quality of the education offered to minority children.

Students attending desegregated schools are more likely to attend college, work with, and live near people of different races.

The research literature, however, identifies many benefits to desegregated schools. Students from desegregated schools are more likely to: attend desegregated institutions of higher education; work in disciplines that are desegregated; live in desegregated neighborhoods; have friends from different racial and ethnic groups; and, for white children, have less negative racial stereotyping and fear of interracial settings.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT EMAP'S EFFECTIVENESS

During the 15 years of EMAP's operation, there have been mixed results in terms of reducing the number of racially isolated schools. Since the program began, the number of racially isolated schools in the 17 EMAP districts has: decreased in 11 school districts; stayed virtually the same in three districts; and increased in three districts.

EMAP has helped to reduce the number of racially isolated schools and has helped districts to provide equal educational learning environments.

Given that there is a national trend toward the resegregation of public schools, the Legislative Office of Education Oversight (LOEO) concludes that EMAP has helped reduce the number of racially isolated schools. However, other factors could have contributed to this reduction. Some of this decrease could be attributed to an overall concern about court-ordered desegregation associated with busing. In addition, federal funds were available to districts if they voluntarily desegregated their schools.

LOEO also found that districts' self evaluations of their EMAP programs are limited in scope and do not address the overall impact of the program. Moreover, from interviews, LOEO discovered that: EMAP funding is distributed too late in the year for districts to plan effectively for its use; districts have inconsistent interpretations of how the Ohio Department of Education (ODE) determines eligible transfers for EMAP funding; and ODE lacks any enforcement power to require districts to show reasonable progress in reducing the number of racially isolated schools. In fact, some districts have received funding for 15 years and have not decreased their numbers of racially isolated schools. EMAP has, however, helped fund districts' efforts to provide an equal educational learning environment.

LOEO RECOMMENDS:

EMAP funds should be targeted to districts showing evidence of decreasing their numbers of racially isolated schools; then, ODE could propose an appropriate level of program funding to the General Assembly.

- ▶ The Ohio General Assembly provide ODE explicit authority to target EMAP funding to districts that show some evidence of reducing the number of racially isolated schools and improving the quality of education for students in affected schools.
- ▶ ODE collect more data to evaluate the effectiveness of EMAP.
- ▶ ODE develop more specific guidelines for districts to follow when preparing evaluations of EMAP activities.
- ▶ After ODE has collected evidence of EMAP effectiveness with targeted funding, they should propose to the Ohio General Assembly an appropriate level of funding for the program. They should also propose revised operating rules in order to provide districts with more stable funding that arrives earlier in the school year and to extend eligibility to districts with minority enrollments of less than 25 percent.

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CHAPTER I

THE EDUCATION MOBILITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The Education Mobility Assistance Program (EMAP) was created in 1979 to provide funds to school districts that volunteered to racially desegregate their schools by transferring students. This Legislative Office of Education Oversight (LOEO) report evaluates the impact of EMAP funds in reducing the number of racially isolated schools and in providing equal educational opportunities for all students.

INTRODUCTION

Historical events shaped the design and implementation of the Education Mobility Assistance Program (EMAP). In the late 1970s, the state of Ohio was a codefendant in two school desegregation cases involving large metropolitan districts. In both cases, Ohio was found guilty of not discouraging school segregation. As a result of these findings from the federal court, the Ohio General Assembly created EMAP to encourage voluntary desegregation of schools.

The need to desegregate schools was based on the Brown vs. Board of Education decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1954. The court ruled that separate schools for black and white children are inherently unequal in providing educational opportunities. As a result of this decision, emphasis was placed on the physical "separateness" of black and white students as the cause of inequality. It was assumed that the way to ensure equal educational opportunities was for children of different races to attend the same schools. During the 1960s and early 1970s, the federal government took the initiative and mandated desegregation, mostly in the South.

Additional historical information on school desegregation is provided in Appendix A.

Desegregation efforts

Researchers of school desegregation have found that mandatory desegregation programs generally result in children of different races attending the same school, while voluntary programs generally leave minority schools segregated.

However, researchers have also found that desegregation programs, whether mandatory or voluntary, may not have achieved their ultimate purpose of providing equal educational opportunities. Desegregated schools often failed to offer minority students equal access to courses, programs, and teachers. Although school districts as a whole are desegregated, in some cases there is persistent segregation within school buildings.

In these buildings, minority students are commonly grouped together within classrooms, placed in lower academic tracks, assigned to teachers who have lesser expectations for their academic achievement, and taught with a curriculum that excludes their history and culture. In some schools, minority children have not been accepted, which also limits their access to learning.

As a result, 40 years after the Brown decision, the focus of desegregation efforts is shifting. According to the literature on this

topic, there is movement away from addressing "separateness" and toward addressing the quality of the education offered to minority children.

However, the research literature also identifies many benefits to desegregated schools. Students from desegregated schools are more likely to: attend desegregated institutions of higher education; work in disciplines that are desegregated; live in desegregated neighborhoods; have friends from different racial and ethnic groups; and, for white children, have less negative racial stereotyping and fear of interracial settings.

In addition, by the year 2000, approximately 38% of the people under age 18 in this country will be members of minority groups, as compared to 15% in 1950. Since minority children will make up a significant portion of the U.S. workforce, racial integration and the quality of education for minority students become even more important.

Ohio's voluntary program

Starting in 1979, the Ohio General Assembly created the Voluntary Desegregation Assistance program to serve as an incentive for school districts to voluntarily reduce their number of racially isolated buildings by transferring students. The name of the program was changed to the Education Mobility Assistance Program in 1981.

The authorizing legislation allowed a maximum of \$400 to be given to districts for each student transferred. However, over the

program's 15 years, the state provided an average of \$73 per student. The average allotment to districts, excluding Cincinnati, is approximately \$20,000 per year. Districts are prohibited from using these funds to transport students to and from school.

With these allotments, school districts attempted to ease the transition of transferred students, conduct cultural awareness training for staff, provide enrichment and remedial services to students, and support magnet schools.

Since the program's inception, 17 city school districts have participated, ranging from eight to 13 each year. Within these districts, the racially isolated schools tend to be elementary buildings.

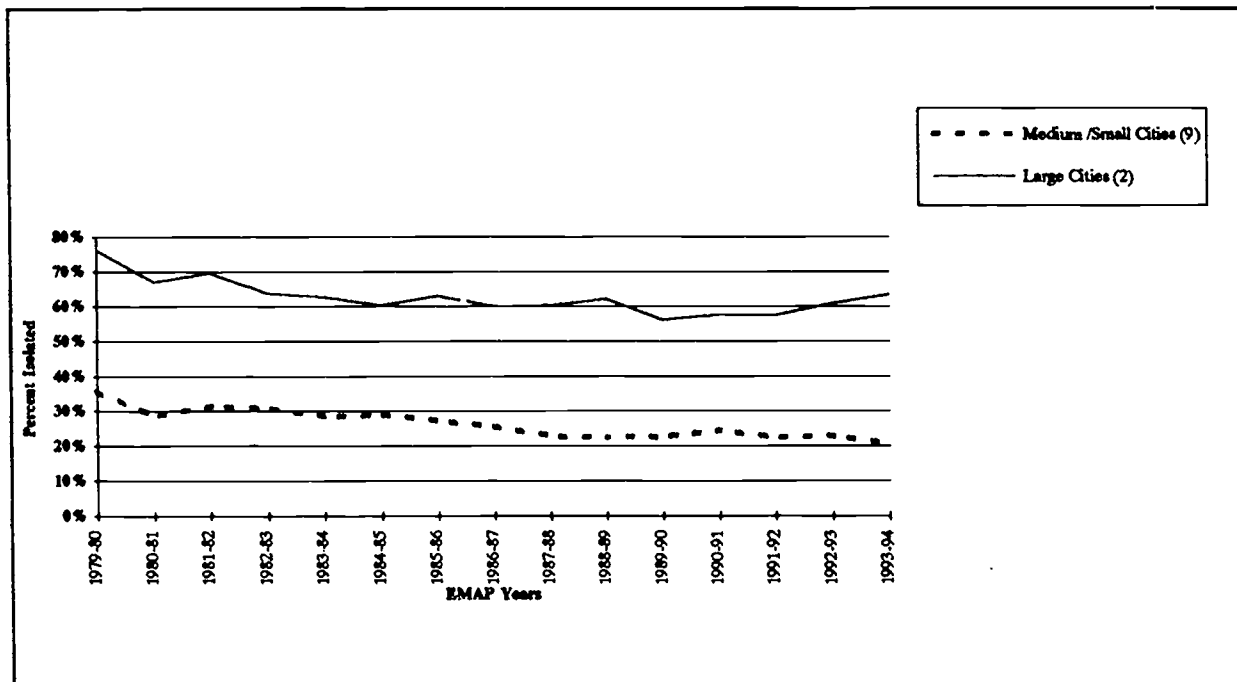
Conclusions about EMAP's effectiveness

During the 15 years of EMAP's operation, there have been mixed results in terms of reducing the number of racially isolated schools. Since the program began, the number of racially isolated schools has:

- * decreased in 11 districts;
- * stayed virtually the same in three districts; and
- * increased in three districts.

To further analyze EMAP's effectiveness in reducing the number of racially isolated schools, LOEO selected the 11 districts that have participated in EMAP for at least seven years, separating the two largest districts from the nine small- and medium-sized districts. Exhibit 1 shows the results of this analysis.

**EXHIBIT 1
PERCENT OF RACIALLY ISOLATED BUILDINGS IN
EMAP DISTRICTS**



When the program began during the 1979-1980 school year, an average of 36% of the schools in the nine small- and medium-sized districts were racially isolated. For the 1993-1994 school year, an average of 20% were racially isolated. For the two large school districts, the average decreased from 76% in 1979-1980 to 63% in 1993-1994.

To help determine whether these decreases were enough to consider EMAP effective, LOEO considered five factors identified by the research literature as influencing the current status of school desegregation. The following factors have made it increasingly difficult to maintain a racially diverse enrollment in city schools:

- ▶ The movement of white families to suburbs causes the enrollment of white students in city school districts to decline;
- ▶ The federal courts have allowed suburban districts to be excluded in urban desegregation plans, unless there is proof that the actions of state and suburban officials contributed to segregation;
- ▶ Within cities, many neighborhoods are segregated by race;

- ▶ There is resistance among parents to busing students, especially elementary children, away from their neighborhood schools for the purpose of mandated desegregation; and
- ▶ The federal courts have become increasingly reluctant to support mandatory desegregation approaches.

As a result of these factors, schools in cities and suburbs have remained segregated or have become resegregated over time.

Given these national trends, LOEO considers the reduction in the number of racially isolated schools in EMAP districts an indication of the program's effectiveness. However, this decrease may not be due to EMAP alone.

Some of this decrease could be attributed to an overall concern about court-ordered desegregation associated with busing. In addition, federal funds were available to

districts if they voluntarily desegregated their schools.

Policy decisions affecting desegregation

Racially isolated schools are a result of racially isolated neighborhoods, both within cities and between cities and suburbs. Without some state or federal initiative, Ohio's public schools will probably remain segregated.

Although the most effective way of ensuring racially balanced schools is to mandate desegregation programs across district boundaries, experience indicates mandated programs may generate more resistance.

Consequently, voluntary desegregation programs are most appealing to the public. Generally, providing monetary incentives increases districts' willingness to participate in voluntary programs. Significant monetary incentives might improve the effectiveness of voluntary programs.

CHAPTER II SCOPE AND METHODS

This chapter describes LOEO's method for evaluating EMAP and provides important definitions for understanding this report.

Amended Substitute House Bill 152 of the 120th General Assembly directed LOEO to evaluate the Education Mobility Assistance Program. To gather data for this report, LOEO focused on the following questions:

- A. Does the Education Mobility Assistance Program achieve the purpose for which it was created?**
1. Are the districts that receive program funds reducing racial isolation in their schools?
 2. Is the Ohio Department of Education providing technical assistance to districts that are under court order to desegregate (i.e., Dayton and Cleveland), as well as to those that are voluntarily developing desegregation plans?
 3. What activities are supported by EMAP funds in the school districts that participate in the program?
- B. Is transferring students within a school district the most effective way to reduce racial isolation?**
4. Is the primary strategy used by EMAP, pupil intradistrict reassignment, the most effective desegregation approach considering the geographic distribution of white and minority students in Ohio?
 5. Would the legislative intent of EMAP be met more effectively if interdistrict transfers and programs were permitted?
- C. Is the strategy of transferring students the most effective way of accomplishing equal educational opportunities for all students regardless of race?**
6. After Ohio school districts transfer the students, what are the benefits and costs to the transferred students, and to the sending and receiving schools?
 7. Is the reassignment of students (either within or across district lines) the most effective strategy in light of concerns regarding academic tracking, teacher expectations of minority students, minority academic achievement, and funding equity?

8. Should Ohio initiate strategies other than transferring students to accomplish the goal of equal educational opportunities for all students?

Methods

To answer these questions, LOEO:

- ▶ Reviewed the research literature on desegregation and historical documents regarding EMAP, including a 1988 analysis of the program;
- ▶ Interviewed personnel at the Ohio Department of Education and the University of Michigan's Desegregation Assistance Center. LOEO also interviewed personnel at the Office of Civil Rights within the United States Department of Education, the North Central Regional Education Laboratory, the National Conference of State Legislatures, the Education Commission of the States, and legislative personnel in 11 states; and
- ▶ Conducted 31 interviews across several types of districts:
 - 13 of the 17 districts that have participated in EMAP;
 - Two of the four districts eligible for the program who have not participated; and
 - One district currently under court order to desegregate.

Respondents included superintendents, school board members, principals, and district personnel directly responsible for administering EMAP. Eighty-one percent of the respondents were white and 19% were minority. In addition, 75% of the respondents were male and 25% were female.

LOEO appreciates the valuable assistance from ODE, from school district staff, and from individuals in the various organizations we contacted. Three school districts declined to participate in our study.

Definitions

In order to understand this report, it is necessary to define several terms.

Webster's dictionary defines **segregation** as "the policy or practice of requiring racial groups to live apart from each other, to go to separate schools, or to use separate social facilities." This is referred to as "de jure" segregation. Segregation also refers to situations in which racial groups are, in fact, apart from each other although not required to be so. This is referred to as "de facto" segregation.

Desegregation is defined as "the assignment of students to schools in order to overcome conditions of pupil isolation based on race or national origin. It results in the student population at each school building approximating the district's overall racial and ethnic composition." ¹

School integration begins with desegregation then goes on to create a situation in which students of different races and ethnic groups are educated together by a multiracial staff, with curriculum, policies, and school processes that respect and treat

fairly students from each racial group. A district can be desegregated and still not be integrated.²

Minority is defined by ODE as including Asians, African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans. A district's total minority population is obtained by summing the number of enrollments in these four categories.

ODE considers school buildings racially isolated if the proportion of minority students is not within 15% of the district average. For example, if a district has an average of 30% minority students, but one of its schools has 55% minority

students, that school would be considered racially isolated.

Reducing the number of racially isolated schools does not always mean reducing segregation. As a district becomes predominantly minority, it becomes segregated. As the ratio of minority to white students increases, it is more difficult to arrange for children of different races to attend school together. Even though the racial composition of a particular school might be within 15% of the district average, the school could be segregated by race.

CHAPTER III DESCRIPTION OF EMAP

This chapter describes EMAP's operation and provides information on program funding and desegregation expenditures.

The Education Mobility Assistance Program is administered by the Division of Equal Educational Opportunities (EEO) of the Ohio Department of Education (ODE). The EEO division is required to provide technical assistance to districts desegregating voluntarily or because of a federal court order. (ORC section 3301.18)

There are three eligibility criteria for districts to participate in EMAP:

1. Districts must have a minority enrollment between 25 and 75%;
2. Districts must submit a plan approved by the local school board for reducing racial isolation within the district; and
3. The plan to reduce racial isolation must provide for the transfer of a minimum of 50 students.

Districts cannot use EMAP funds to pay transportation costs.

School districts under federal court order to desegregate cannot participate in the program; however, districts under consent decrees may. A consent decree is an agreement between a defendant, such as a school district, and a plaintiff, such as a group of parents, that the district will cease activities that the plaintiff claims are illegal.

When the court approves the agreement, the plaintiff's legal action against the district is dropped.

EMAP funding

EMAP is funded through a line item in the state's operating budget. From fiscal year 1980 through fiscal year 1994, the state has appropriated an average of \$719,000 per year. A low of \$482,000 was appropriated in fiscal year 1981, and a high of approximately \$1 million was appropriated in fiscal year 1987. Funding since fiscal year 1987 has not exceeded \$800,000.

The Ohio General Assembly permits a maximum distribution of \$400 for each student transferred for each district participating in the program (ORC section 3301.19). If all the payments to districts exceed the appropriation for that year, the amount to each district is proportionally reduced.

Over the life of the program, districts have received an average of \$73 per student transferred. This is a relatively small amount of money, given the administrative requirements of the program. To receive funds, districts must formulate a board-approved plan, prepare an application to ODE, and submit annual evaluations assessing the activities supported by the funds.

As noted, 17 districts have participated in EMAP since its inception, ranging from eight to 13, for an average of 11 per year. For the 1993-1994 school year, 12 districts are participating in the program.

Since EMAP began, the Cincinnati City School District has received the bulk of EMAP funding, receiving 41 to 70% annually. This allotment averaged \$365,000 per year. The remaining districts have each received an average of \$20,000 per year. Cincinnati has received as much as \$718,000 for a given year and other districts as little as \$3,000.

Because the funding is based on the number of students transferred, the allocation to each district fluctuates from year to year. For example, over four years, one district received \$35,000, \$13,000, \$30,000, and \$18,000.

Two districts (Bedford and Shaker Heights) are receiving a category of EMAP funds referred to as "maintenance funds." These districts eliminated racially isolated school buildings while participating in EMAP. The purpose of maintenance funds is to help these districts preserve racial balance in their schools.

Other Ohio desegregation expenditures

In addition to EMAP, since 1983 the state of Ohio has spent approximately \$470 million on federal desegregation cases for Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, and Lorain city schools. These federal desegregation efforts are funded through the "Desegregation Costs" line item in the biennial operating budget.

Both Cincinnati and Lorain have participated in EMAP since 1979-1980. In addition to receiving the bulk of EMAP funding since the program began, the Cincinnati City School District has received \$50 million through the Desegregation Costs line item since 1983. The Lorain City School District has received an additional sum of approximately \$6 million. Appendix B shows the state's yearly Desegregation Costs expenses for the five school districts.

Cincinnati and Lorain were allowed both to participate in EMAP and receive Desegregation Costs funding because their cases were settled through consent decrees. The cases in Cleveland, Columbus, and Dayton, on the other hand, were settled through court orders, making them ineligible for EMAP.

CHAPTER IV EFFECTIVENESS OF EMAP

This chapter analyzes the effectiveness of Ohio's Education Mobility Assistance Program in terms of two goals: (1) reducing the number of racially isolated schools in the participating districts; and (2) promoting equal educational opportunities within the schools.

REDUCING THE NUMBER OF RACIALLY ISOLATED SCHOOLS

Only 74 of Ohio's 611 school districts have one or more racially isolated buildings. Of these, 24 districts have the minimum 25% minority population to make them eligible for EMAP. A total of 17 of these 24 districts have participated in the program.

All 17 participating districts are classified as city school districts. Their enrollments range from approximately 3,000 to 51,000 students, with minority enrollment ranging from 28% to 65%. For all 17 districts, the minority enrollment has increased steadily over the 15 years of the program.

In order for these districts to reduce the number of buildings that had an over-representation of minority or white students, they used four strategies:

- ▶ changing attendance boundaries for the schools;
- ▶ closing schools;
- ▶ consolidating schools; and,
- ▶ transferring students voluntarily.

Eleven of the 17 participating districts changed attendance boundaries, consolidated schools, or closed schools and transferred students. The other six districts relied on voluntary transfers of students to other schools in the district.

Since EMAP began, as few as 6,874 to as many as 9,120 students were transferred in participating districts each year. Most recently, the 12 districts that participated during the 1993-1994 school year transferred 8,154 students. These figures do not include districts receiving maintenance funds.

Changes in the number of racially isolated schools

During the 15 years of EMAP's operation, there were mixed results in terms of reducing the number of racially isolated buildings. Exhibit 2 summarizes the number of years each district participated in EMAP and the percent of racially isolated buildings for their first and last years in the program.

EXHIBIT 2

**PERCENT OF RACIALLY ISOLATED SCHOOLS IN EMAP DISTRICTS
FIRST AND LAST YEARS OF PROGRAM PARTICIPATION**

District	Number of years in EMAP	Percent of Racially Isolated Schools	
		First Year	Last Year
Akron (58)*	6	69%	59%
Bedford (6)	12	25%	0%
Canton (24)	3	60%	58%
Cincinnati (83)	15	74%	55%
Cleveland Heights/ University Heights (13)	15	20%	15%
Euclid (8)	1	25%	13%
Lima (16)	10	44%	31%
Lorain (18)	15	33%	11%
Mansfield (14)	15	29%	7%
Mt. Healthy (8)	5	0%	13%
Shaker Heights (8)	15	42%	0%
Springfield (22)	12	40%	18%
Steubenville (8)	1	25%	25%
Toledo (59)	15	76%	75%
Warren (16)	11	32%	44%
Winton Woods (8)	15	27%	50%
Youngstown (30)	2	87%	87%

* Number of schools (1993-1994)

For 11 of the 17 districts, the number of racially isolated schools decreased during their participation in EMAP; for three districts the number remained virtually the same; and for three districts the number of racially isolated buildings increased.

To further analyze the effectiveness of EMAP, LOEO compared EMAP participants with other districts that have racially isolated schools. For this comparison, we used only those EMAP districts that have

participated for at least seven of the program's 15 years of operation. Eleven districts met this criterion: two large cities, and nine small- and medium-sized districts.

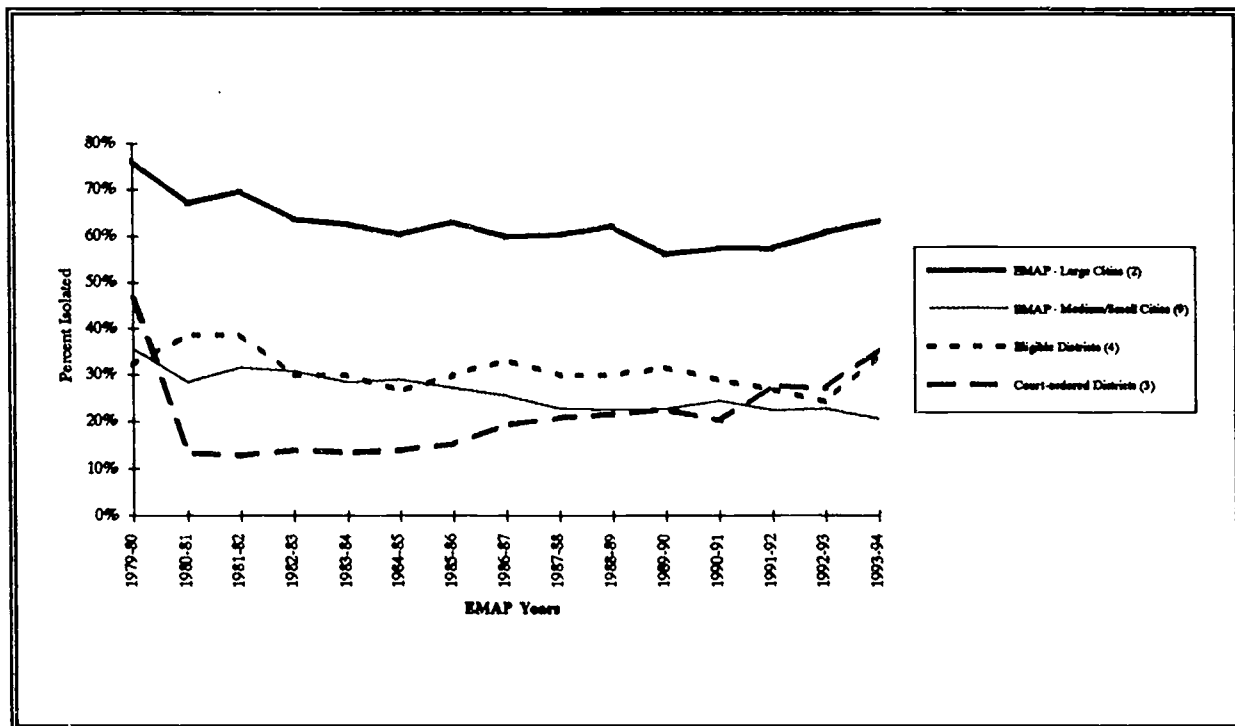
Exhibit 3 illustrates the percent of racially isolated buildings from the start of the program in 1979 to the 1993-1994 school year for four groups:

- ▶ the two large EMAP districts (Cincinnati and Toledo);
- ▶ the nine small/medium EMAP districts (Bedford, Cleveland Heights/University Heights, Lima,

Lorain, Mansfield, Shaker Heights, Springfield, Warren, and Winton Woods);

- ▶ three large city districts that are under federal court order to desegregate (Cleveland, Columbus, and Dayton); and
- ▶ four districts that are eligible to participate in EMAP but have elected not to do so (Maple Heights, Princeton, Sandusky, and Trotwood-Madison).

**EXHIBIT 3
PERCENT OF RACIALLY ISOLATED BUILDINGS
IN FOUR GROUPS OF DISTRICTS**



As noted, in the 1979-1980 school year, an average of 76% of the schools in EMAP large districts were racially isolated. This percentage decreased to 63% in the 1993-1994 school year, for a 17% reduction. In small/medium EMAP districts, an average

of 36% of the schools were racially isolated in the 1979-1980 school year, decreasing to 21% in the 1993-1994 school year, for a 42% reduction.

The eligible districts exhibit a slight increase over the 15 years from an average of 32% to 34% racially isolated buildings.

Court-ordered districts experienced an average 23% decrease in the number of racially isolated schools during EMAP's operation. Between the 1979-1980 and 1981-1982 school years, this group of districts experienced a 72% decrease in the number of racially isolated schools. This sharp reduction represents the effect of the various federal orders to desegregate their schools.

LOEO believes the decreases in the EMAP districts to be an indication of the program's effectiveness, given the national trend toward the resegregation of public schools. However, it is difficult for LOEO to attribute this decrease solely to EMAP.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, school districts may have begun to desegregate their schools without EMAP, due to the fear of federally court-ordered desegregation associated with busing, and the availability of federal funds for voluntary desegregation efforts, such as magnet schools.

Additional analyses

As of 1993-1994, the average number of racially isolated schools is starting to increase in all four groups of districts except for small- and medium-sized districts participating in EMAP. The average number of racially isolated schools continues to decrease in these districts.

The fluctuation of the lines in Exhibit 3 represents the difficulty districts have in maintaining the level of racial balance that has been achieved. Much of the difficulty

may be attributed to white families moving out of the district into suburbs, minorities remaining in the district, or new minorities moving into the district. One respondent interviewed by LOEO said, "We reduced racial isolation in some schools, but due to mobility, it caused others to be isolated."

As noted, racially segregated city neighborhoods make it difficult to provide a racial balance in city schools. As an example of this difficulty, one EMAP district had transferred enough students from a predominately minority neighborhood school so that it was no longer defined as racially isolated. Subsequently, city officials constructed a public housing complex in that neighborhood and the tenants who occupied it were predominately minority. As a result, the neighborhood school became racially isolated once again.

Most of the racially isolated schools in Ohio are at the elementary level. Respondents attribute this to parents' reluctance to agree to transfer their young children outside of the neighborhood. In fact, one large city district focuses all of its EMAP funds on the junior high and high schools, believing elementary children should not be transferred to other schools. Virtually all of the elementary schools in this district are racially isolated. However, research reviewed by this office indicates that the earlier the age at which a child is exposed to diversity, the sooner he or she experiences the benefits of desegregation.

Changing an EMAP eligibility criterion

There are approximately 50 districts that have at least one racially isolated school and minority student populations of less

than 25%. Because of the small minority populations, these districts are not eligible to participate in EMAP, according to the guidelines of the program.

The EEO division would like to change the EMAP minority eligibility criterion and allow districts with at least 15% minority student enrollments to participate in the program. According to the EEO division, after a district's minority population

approaches 15%, there is a rapid increase in minorities that results in more racially isolated schools. The EEO division believes that by addressing the issue of racial isolation when a district has only 15% minority students, it can help districts avoid the establishment of more racially isolated schools.

PROMOTING EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN DISTRICTS

EMAP funding does not support a stand-alone program in any school district. It is only one part of districts' overall efforts to provide equal educational opportunities. LOEO attempted to determine the total amount of state, federal, and local money districts spend on providing equal educational opportunities. However, school districts are unable to isolate activities that provide equal educational opportunities from other educational efforts.

In many school districts "EMAP-funded activities" are indistinguishable from other programs to everyone except the district-level staff person directly responsible for managing the program and some superintendents. For example, many district personnel could not describe to LOEO activities that were supported exclusively by EMAP. Thirty-seven percent of the respondents said they were describing EMAP activities; 20% said they were describing other activities; and 40% said both.

One district uses EMAP funds to supplement federal Chapter 1 funds. This federal program is designed to enhance the education of disadvantaged children. As another example, four districts reported focusing all their enrichment and

remediation efforts on at-risk students, which they say typically includes large numbers of minorities. These at-risk programs are funded from a variety of sources, including EMAP.

Another district uses EMAP funds to support an in-school suspension program for students who receive frequent disciplinary suspensions. The district explained that keeping these students in school allows them to keep up with the curriculum.

Personnel in other districts reported using EMAP funds for such things as developing informational literature about the district and the transfer program; tutoring students; enhancing minority student achievement in math, science, and reading; preparing students for the school mergers that help reduce racial isolation; and teaching parents and the community about multicultural education.

Although districts are allowed to develop their own programs, districts had some programs that were similar. Several districts mentioned outdoor education programs that promote collaborative activities among students of different races who attend different schools.

Eight of the 17 districts have used magnet school strategies as the main tool to desegregate their schools. Magnet schools offer a specialized curriculum and high-quality programs in an attempt to attract a diverse enrollment from different neighborhoods in the city. Three of these districts received federal magnet school funds in the 1992-1993 school year.

Finally, districts that have participated in EMAP for more than one year usually continue the same programs and activities every year with only minor changes or additions.

Funding sources for EMAP and similar programs

The activities respondents identified as related to providing equal educational opportunities are funded from federal, state, and local sources. For example, since EMAP funds cannot be used for the cost of transporting students, one district respondent reported using federal Chapter II funds for this purpose. Chapter II block-grant funds can be used by districts for anything related to improving school quality and promoting innovation in such areas as at-risk students, instruction, acquiring and using instructional materials, or schoolwide improvements.

One administrator said that his district could not offer the EMAP-funded programs if the EMAP were eliminated. Another respondent said, "It's a little money, but it's the only way we can offer these programs." Two districts said that some of their programs took place prior to EMAP funds, but EMAP funds allow for improved programs.

Evaluating the success of local programs

All the school district personnel interviewed by LOEO reported that their EMAP and related activities are accomplishing the goals they identify in their application for EMAP funds. Some superintendents and persons responsible for administering EMAP reported surveying teachers, students, or parents and found they were satisfied with the activities.

Several district respondents also reported improvements in student achievement, although no systematic analysis was involved. Respondents in districts with magnet schools or magnet school-like programs report waiting lists for admission into these programs as evidence of success.

LOEO also reviewed copies of districts' annual evaluations required by EMAP. The documents indicated that EMAP and related programs are accomplishing their goals and making a positive impact. However, many of the evaluations have a limited scope. In fact, one district submitted the same plan and evaluation to ODE for seven consecutive years.

Most evaluations rely on such indicators as attendance to events, rather than assessing the impact the events have on interracial attitudes or on academic performance. A 1988 report, Commentary Regarding the Educational [sic] Mobility Assistance Program: The Impacts of Funding Reductions came to a similar conclusion. This report was completed for the EEO division by an independent researcher with whom the division contracted.

LOEO asked the administrative staff of EMAP districts whether certain needs of transferred students were being addressed. The questions were to verify whether districts were creating an equal educational learning environment as well as transferring students. Seventy-five percent of the districts reported having programs and activities in place to address virtually all of the following needs of transferred students:

- ▶ increasing student friendships across different racial groups;
- ▶ reducing racial stereotypes among students;
- ▶ reducing students' fear of interracial settings;
- ▶ ensuring minority representation in all academic tracks; and
- ▶ recruiting and hiring minority teachers and other professional staff.

District personnel's opinions on desegregation

Eighty percent of the 31 respondents interviewed by LOEO believe that it is necessary to educate students of different races together in order to provide equal educational opportunities. One respondent stated:

The reality is that people of all races, religions, and economic status are working together. We see this as what the world is becoming.

A principal echoed this position by saying, "Racial conflict and old prejudices can break down [when children of different races are educated together]."

However, to paraphrase 10% of the responses, "It's desirable but not necessary." One respondent said, "The quality of our education has to be our focus." Another respondent said, "The most important

things are resources, supplies, and dedicated staff; with these, opportunities for equality exist."

Respondents supporting across-district transfers mentioned the understanding of different races and cultures as an advantage. However, those opposed to across-district transfers mentioned a preference for neighborhood schools. One respondent stated:

People pick their house because of schools. It would be hard to tell them they have to attend another school.

Another respondent said, "Parents do not request transfers based on racial issues or racial isolation." According to LOEO interviews, transfers are requested based on proximity of the school to parents' places of employment; proximity to an after-school babysitter; or the fact that other members of that family attended the same school.

When LOEO asked respondents about the advantages and disadvantages of transferring, respondents mentioned the benefits of diversity, increased integration, and parental satisfaction if parents request the transfer. The disadvantages mentioned included the cost of transportation, the distance and travel time for students, the loss of friends, the loss of community and parental support for schools that are usually found with neighborhood schools, and students' adjustment to a new environment.

Overall, respondents appear to believe in the benefits of educating children of different races together. However, most believe that this goal should not be obtained at the expense of providing a quality education to all students. Furthermore, district respondents are more supportive of desegregation efforts if they are voluntary in nature.

CHAPTER V ADMINISTRATION OF EMAP

This chapter evaluates the EEO division's technical assistance and administration of EMAP.

Part of the statutory obligation of ODE's Division of Equal Educational Opportunities is to provide technical assistance to school districts participating in EMAP and districts under federal court order to desegregate.

LOEO asked districts to comment on the technical assistance provided to them by the EEO division. LOEO also asked EMAP districts to comment on the EEO division's administration of EMAP.

Technical assistance and administration

According to an EEO division document, the forms of technical assistance offered include, but are not limited to:

- ▶ Creation of desegregation plans;
- ▶ Research on race equity issues/race equity newsletter;
- ▶ Strategies for intradistrict student transfers;
- ▶ Inservice and staff development programs;
- ▶ Race and multicultural sensitivity training; and
- ▶ Speakers on race equity issues.

According to the district personnel interviewed by LOEO, the EEO division conducts workshops and meetings, facilitates the sharing of ideas among districts, assists in filling out forms, and visits some districts to provide on-site assistance. One district

respondent said, "[EEO] provides data as fast as they can and will hand-carry information that is critical."

Most district personnel contacted by LOEO described the EEO division's technical assistance and administration of EMAP as "efficient," "very helpful," "very good," and described the staff as "very knowledgeable." One respondent said, "the one department [division] in ODE we can count on regularly is EEO; they are immediately available."

Three Ohio districts either have been, or currently are under, federal court order to desegregate: Cleveland, Columbus, and Dayton. Two districts have had their cases decided by consent decree: Cincinnati and Lorain.

Concerns with EMAP administration

Although district personnel described the EEO division's technical assistance and administration of EMAP in a positive manner, the following concerns emerged in interviews:

1. EMAP funding is distributed too late in the year to effectively plan for its use.
2. There are inconsistent interpretations by districts of how the EEO division determines which transfers are eligible for EMAP funding.

3. In the opinion of EEO division staff, the division lacks any enforcement power to require districts to show reasonable progress in reducing the number of racially isolated schools. In fact, districts were unable to list any consequences for subsequent funding if they did not reduce the number of racially isolated schools.

EMAP funding. According to EEO division staff, by October of each year, the division notifies eligible school districts of the availability of funds for EMAP. Districts must then apply for the funds by the middle of November. By the end of November, the EEO division informs the districts of the amounts they will receive. Districts are to be awarded funding no later than the middle of December, with the stipulation that the funds be spent by June 30. Districts submit evaluations of the program in August, but can request extensions.

Several district personnel mentioned that they receive EMAP funding too late to plan effectively or make any funding decisions for the year the funding is to be used. Another district respondent reported, "EMAP funding will arrive as late as February or March if we are lucky." One district administrator said his district asks the EEO division for an extension every year and borrows money from other programs in the district until the EMAP funding arrives.

According to EEO division staff, no EMAP funding decisions can be made until after ODE receives and verifies the October average daily enrollment counts from school districts. The EEO division uses a report that lists the number of racially isolated schools and the number of students by race in racially isolated buildings in each school

district. From this information, the EEO division calculates the number of students that can be counted as EMAP transfers. The amount of funding each district receives is based on the number of students they transfer.

Eligible EMAP transfers. A second concern mentioned by districts is that they do not understand how the EEO division determines which transfers are "eligible" for EMAP funding purposes. Some districts reported that they transferred many more students than were eventually accepted for funding by the EEO division. Since EMAP funding is based on the number of students transferred, each of these districts received less money than they expected.

To be counted for EMAP funding purposes, some districts report that there must be new transfers every year, whereas other districts report counting the same transfers every year until those students leave the school system. In addition, some districts count any students transferred within the district whether the students were transferred to reduce racial isolation or for other purposes.

According to EEO division staff, the following guidelines govern EMAP transfers:

- ▶ transfers resulting from grade procession (e.g., advancing from elementary to middle school) cannot be counted;
- ▶ transfers resulting from a school being permanently closed or that result from a permanent change in the school attendance zone only are counted the initial year of transfer; and

- ▶ all other types of student transfers submitted in districts' applications that reduce racial isolation in sending and receiving schools count each fiscal year the transfer occurs, regardless of the race and purpose of the transfers.

LOEO was given copies of all the documents ODE provides to districts participating in EMAP. These documents do not include any guidelines explaining which student transfers are counted as EMAP transfers. This may account for districts' misunderstandings of how transfers are counted.

The EEO division's enforcement powers. According to the EEO division staff, they do not have the statutory authority to withhold funds from districts showing little or no progress in reducing the number of racially isolated buildings. Moreover, they said that since the number of racially isolated buildings increases in a district based on many factors not under the district's control, such as housing patterns, they would hesitate to withhold funds without this legal authority.

Furthermore, EEO staff maintain that because participation in EMAP is voluntary, districts could simply terminate their participation in the program in response to any enforcement actions.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During its 15 years of operation, the Education Mobility Assistance Program assisted participating districts in reducing the number of racially isolated schools and helped to support the activities necessary to promote an equal educational opportunity learning environment.

To summarize LOEO's findings, across the 17 participating districts, the number of racially isolated schools decreased in 11 districts, stayed virtually the same in three, and increased in three.

For the 11 districts participating for seven or more years, small- and medium-sized districts experienced a 42% decrease and large city districts experienced a 17% decrease in the number of racially isolated schools. Given the trend toward the resegregation of public schools, LOEO believes these decreases to be an indication of program effectiveness.

However, it is difficult for LOEO to attribute this decrease solely to EMAP. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, many school districts may have begun to desegregate their schools without EMAP, due to the fear of federally court-ordered desegregation associated with busing, and the availability of federal funds for voluntary desegregation efforts, such as for magnet schools.

Respondents from participating districts report that the activities funded by the program are successful in helping them provide equal educational opportunities for all students. That is, students are not only being transferred, but schools are providing educational programs to meet their needs,

and some of those programs are supported in part by EMAP funding.

EMAP receives a relatively small amount of state funding. District personnel interviewed by LOEO report that EMAP funding is not enough to be the sole support for additional staff or new programs. In addition, because the funding is based on the number of students transferred, the amount to each district fluctuates from year to year.

Experts have identified a number of benefits to desegregation, including students from desegregated schools are more likely to have friends from different racial and ethnic groups. By the year 2000, approximately 38% of the people under age 18 in this country will be members of minority groups, as compared to 15% in 1950. Since minority children will make up a significant portion of the U.S. workforce, racial integration and the quality of education for minority students become even more important.

Respondents for this study appear to be more supportive of voluntary over mandatory desegregation efforts. However, for voluntary efforts to be effective, they must offer parents and students incentives beyond that of increasing the racial balance in schools.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Given that:

- ▶ Districts participating in EMAP receive an average of \$20,000 per year (excluding Cincinnati); and
- ▶ Some districts that have received funding for 15 years have not decreased their numbers of racially isolated schools,

LOEO RECOMMENDS:

- ▶ The Ohio General Assembly provide ODE with explicit authority to target funding to districts that show some evidence of reducing the number of racially isolated schools and improving the quality of education for students in affected schools.
- ▶ The EEO division of ODE consider how districts use and focus EMAP funds. ODE should require that participating districts include all racially isolated schools at both the elementary and secondary levels in their EMAP-funded program.
- ▶ The EEO division of ODE collect more data to evaluate the effectiveness of EMAP. Such data should include, but not be limited to: test scores, attendance, racial composition of staff, suspension and expulsion rates and policies, and discipline referrals.

- ▶ The EEO division of ODE develop more specific guidelines for districts to follow when conducting annual evaluations of EMAP activities.
- ▶ After the EEO division has collected evidence of EMAP effectiveness with targeted funding, they should propose to the Ohio General Assembly:
 - an appropriate level of funding for the program;
 - a method for stabilizing funding to districts; and
 - how to extend EMAP support to districts with at least one racially isolated school and minority enrollments of less than 25%.

In addition, LOEO RECOMMENDS:

- ▶ The EEO division of ODE communicate to districts explicit guidelines for which types of transfers are eligible for EMAP funding.
- ▶ The EEO division of ODE consider using the previous calendar year's enrollment data when determining districts' eligibility for EMAP. This would allow EMAP funds to be awarded to districts earlier in the school year, giving districts more time to plan. This may increase the effectiveness of districts' programs.

ENDNOTES

1. Vergon, 1992
2. Vergon, 1992; Orfield, 1993.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A HISTORY OF DESEGREGATION

During the 1960s and early 1970s, the federal government took the initiative in desegregating schools. These efforts were particularly successful in the South. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting racial discrimination in educational programs receiving federal funds and authorizing the U.S. Attorney General to use the courts to mandate school desegregation. The Supreme Court authorized, and in some cases required, the use of busing as a desegregation tool.

As a result of these efforts, the number of black children attending schools with some whites increased by 59% between 1968 and 1972. During this time nearly 1,000 school districts were either under court order to desegregate or were negotiating desegregation plans with the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Although many Southern school districts were desegregated in the late 1960s and early 1970s, school districts in the North and the West remained heavily segregated. Nearly 75% of black students in these regions remained in predominantly minority schools. Segregation was especially prevalent in large Northern cities and surrounding suburbs.

Federal efforts to desegregate schools changed abruptly in the mid-1970s. Significant public resistance to busing grew and pressure was put on elected officials to change the federal approach to providing equal educational opportunities. Although funding to assist desegregation actions continued, there was less effort to enforce desegregation through the courts and to cut off federal aid if school districts were found guilty of discrimination. There was also less support for busing, including federal laws restricting the use of federal desegregation funds to pay for its costs, except as a last resort. (This restriction does not apply to other federal funds.)

At the same time, the Supreme Court changed course in its support for desegregation when it ruled, in 1974, against including suburbs in Detroit's proposed desegregation plan. Housing patterns generally lead to a concentration of minorities in cities and whites in suburbs. Therefore, this decision permitted school segregation to continue.

Researchers of school desegregation efforts have found that mandatory programs generally result in children of different races attending the same school, while voluntary programs generally leave minority schools segregated. For example, a Smylie study of 52 large school districts found that mandatory approaches desegregate three times as many buildings as voluntary strategies.

In sum, the levels of school desegregation changed very little during the 1980s and 1990s. According to Gary Orfield in The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty Since 1968, the proportion of black students in schools with more than half minority students rose from 1986 to 1991, reaching levels existing prior to the Supreme Court's first busing decision in 1971. In addition, the proportion of black students in intensely segregated schools with 90 to 100% minority, which had actually declined during the 1980's, also rose.

APPENDIX B DESEGREGATION COSTS

FISCAL YEAR	CINCINNATI	CLEVELAND	COLUMBUS	DAYTON	LORAIN	TOTAL
1983		37,045,305	11,795,763			48,841,068
1984		27,000,000	6,600,108			33,600,108
1985	6,000,000	18,000,000	3,888,497		300,000	28,188,497
1986	6,245,000	18,000,000	4,103,097	6,000,000	250,000	34,598,097
1987	5,000,000	22,027,477	4,369,662	6,000,000	400,000	37,797,139
1988	5,000,000	39,700,000	4,117,887	6,266,778	50,000	55,134,665
1989	6,100,000	25,800,000	3,932,785	6,599,730		42,432,515
1990	5,855,000	29,518,352	2,846,411	4,650,000		42,869,763
1991		30,203,172	1,481,347	4,400,000		36,084,519
1992		27,365,461		4,400,000	2,600,917	34,366,378
1993	10,000,000	27,662,965		3,000,000		40,662,965
1994*	4,931,689	21,584,564		3,000,000	2,367,210	31,883,463
TOTALS	\$49,131,689	\$323,907,296	\$43,135,557	\$44,316,508	\$5,968,127	\$466,459,177
ATTORNEY FEES						
FISCAL YEAR	CINCINNATI	CLEVELAND	COLUMBUS	DAYTON	LORAIN	TOTAL
1983		219,494				219,494
1984		1,045,500	705,000			1,750,500
1985			48,458			48,458
1986	515,868					515,868
1987						0
1988						0
1989	27,761				60,078	87,839
1990	163,496					163,496
1991	27,978	103,355			5,475	136,808
1992	87,385	46,876			39,765	174,026
1993	2,069	67,419			23,151	92,639
1994*	145,908	53,662				199,570
TOTALS	\$970,465	\$1,536,306	\$753,458	\$0	\$128,469	\$3,388,698
GRAND TOTAL	\$50,102,154	\$325,443,602	\$43,889,015	\$44,316,508	\$6,096,596	\$469,847,875

Source: Ohio Department of Education

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