

A Dying Dream:

The State of Segregation in the United States and Its Effects on Students

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Abstract

This paper examines educational segregation and inequity in our country today. By researching the history of educational segregation in the United States, it becomes clear that since 1988 schools have resegregated, undoing most of the progress they made in the '60s and '70s. This has caused the achievement gap between minority and white students to increase dramatically, with minorities in apartheid schools (where 1% of the students are white) receiving a drastically inferior education to their white counterparts. This is largely due to the lack of human, physical, and social capital present in families and schools of minorities. While this paper is primarily concerned with the existence of this problem, it will assert that school choice is the easiest and friendliest way to achieve racial balance and desegregation, although this paper will also claim that the Justice Department should bring lawsuits against extremely segregated urban districts that do not solve the problem themselves.

“I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification" -- one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers...”

The United States recently celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of the landmark Supreme Court Case *Brown V. Board of Education*, in which school segregation was condemned and terminated. However, over half a century later, we are still segregated. Education is still separate and is therefore still “inherently unequal.” Despite decades of Civil Rights work devoted to education, despite the cries for equity from both conservatives and liberals alike, despite a Supreme Court case and a landmark bill, segregation still exists. As this paper will show, statistically, minorities still graduate at a much lower rate than white children. Statistically, minorities still receive a quality of education from teachers that is much less than white students. Statistically, white students are still far more likely to go to college, and statistically therefore, segregation still exists in full force in education. Sixty years since we thought we were finished with it, segregation is just as bad as it was.

Segregation still exists, and the problems it poses are great enough that both the Federal government and state governments must devote significant resources to ending it right now. It should take priority over other issues. To prove this, this paper will briefly discuss the history of segregation, desegregation, and now, chillingly, resegregation. This paper will illuminate the problems posed by segregation, especially when compared and contrasted with other contemporary issues in education. It will then dig a layer deeper and explain why segregation causes the wide array of negative effects that it does, namely due to the inequitable distribution of physical, human, and social capital within school systems. Finally, it will then propose a few solutions that could potentially solve this terrible problem.

Before I begin with the history of segregation in America, I want acknowledge that two forms of segregation exist right now. The first is economic segregation, and the second is racial segregation, and while one could do a paper focusing solely on either one, due to the relationship between one's race and one's class, this paper more or less addresses each.

School segregation was and is an issue everywhere. Before *Brown V. Board of Education*, the South was not the only place where segregation was practiced. It existed in Chicago and New York and California, although the South was the only place where it was practiced by law. Everywhere else, it was just practiced by custom (Clotfelter, 2004). In fact, *Plessy V. Ferguson* (1896) had made it legal to promote segregation. It is easier to fight against an evil that openly exists, than one that quietly exists, and so the South was a greater source of consternation for liberals than the North. Furthermore, black people that for so long had laid low in the South finally in the 1940s and 1950s began to rise up and demand the right to vote and to attend the school they wanted, and so black people began to sue the school systems. One such case was *Brown*. It made its way up to the Supreme Court, where in a unanimous decision the court ruled on behalf of the families of Topeka who wanted a release from segregation. It was here the famous words were spoken, "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Many thought this was the end of segregation in the country, but the decision itself did not do a lot to end segregation. While it formally declared it illegal, the court did not provide the Federal Government means to untangle segregation and force desegregation, nor did it suggest ways that it could go about doing so. The unusually progressive Warren Court wanted to take racial equality slow so as to not cause an uprising in the country, so they simply declared segregation illegal and left the problem with the President and congress. However, Eisenhower

was unwilling to do much about the problem of segregation either. While he personally believed segregation to be despicable, the South had also provided him with a large block of electoral college votes, and he was unwilling to upset it for fear of ruining his chances of reelection. Similarly, Lyndon Johnson, Senate Majority Leader and by some accounts the actual most powerful man in Washington at the time, had presidential hopes of his own, and he knew that in order to win the presidency he had to keep his uneasy alliance with Southern Conservatives and Northern Liberals, and he was afraid that acting too gung-ho about Civil Rights would alienate him from the South. And so he too did nothing concerning *Brown V. Board of Education*. Many Northern liberals in the Senate did try to force the issue, but all failed due to the mighty power of the filibuster that the Southern bloc possessed. While the South was a minority in the Senate, they just talked until the session was over if Civil Rights ever came up so that a vote could not be held, and they coerced allies in Western states to vote against cloture (ending a filibuster) if the senate ever tried to invoke it (Caro, 2002). Two years after *Brown V. Board of Education*, not a single black child attended school with white children in eight out of eleven former Confederate States (Hannah-Jones, 2014).

Then Lyndon Johnson became President, and he saved *Brown* with his 1964 Civil Rights Act, one of the most important pieces of legislation in American history. This remarkable bill put into Federal Law what the Supreme Court had said over a decade before should have already been law. It ended all discrimination based on race; it ended segregation in hotels, workplaces, hospitals, and importantly, schools. It assured Black Americans that the Federal Government would finally take a stand on behalf of their rights (Caro, 2002).

Most importantly, the government accumulated a significant amount of authority over time to enforce this bill, and it eventually allowed the President to send in the Army to enforce

the law in states that would not comply, hence the powerful pictures of members of the National Guard escorting black children to school. Despite its real and tangible significance, this act had some glaring flaws. As this paper posited earlier, segregation was an issue everywhere, not only in the South, although it was absolutely more severe and mandated by law only in the South. However, the 1964 Civil Rights act only targeted mandated segregation. It did absolutely nothing to end segregation that existed in other parts of the country. In fact, one history of segregation in the United States asserts that it specifically exempted schools with high racial imbalances in the North; that in order to pass the bill Lyndon Johnson had to compromise with a North that was unwilling to admit that they had done anything wrong.

Nonetheless, research shows that the 1964 Civil Rights act was a watershed moment for segregation. Up to the point of its passage, segregation had stagnated; it had not changed much, and the change only began to occur when this bill was passed (Clotfelter, 2004). In 1972, only about 25% of students in the South went to school where 9/10 students were minorities, and by the mid 70s, over 90% of black students attended desegregated schools (Hannah-Jones). North Carolina provides a dramatic example. While it took a few years to feel the effects of the Civil Rights act, it did feel them. In 1969, 84% of black students attended 90% or more nonwhite schools. By 1971, this percentage had fallen to 3% (Clotfelter, 2004). This is utterly remarkable, and shows the commitment the Federal Government gave to school desegregation during this time.

Desegregation did real good to real students. Research has shown again and again that during the 1970s and 1980s, in the heyday of desegregation, the achievement gap narrowed substantially in some subject areas, such as reading comprehension, by nearly half (Lee, 2002) (Hannah-Jones, 2014). Desegregation narrowed the achievement gap dramatically. It is not

because white children are magical, but it is because white families typically possess more human, physical, and social capital, and that was spread around more during that era. More on that later in the paper.

By the mid-70s, desegregation efforts were humming along terrifically. The achievement gap was dropping and apartheid schools were disappearing. However, it was during this time that the first great shot to segregation occurred. *Milliken V. Bradley* (1974) ruled that desegregation efforts across district lines were unconstitutional, and the efforts had to be contained to within the districts themselves (Stroub, Richards, 2013). At the time, this was annoying, but not too big of a deal considering that the majority of segregation that existed in the *Brown* era occurred within district (ibid). However, this ruling was to have dramatic consequences for future desegregation efforts, as between 1970 and 2000, segregation within districts markedly decreased, while segregation between districts steadily increased as white people left for the suburbs (Clotfelter, 2004). Clotfelter asserts that in the same way the 1964 Civil Rights Act was a watershed bill for desegregation, *Milliken* was a watershed moment for resegregation. He says, “Beginning with the *Milliken* Decision in 1974, the Supreme Court steadily backed away from its aggressive attack on racial imbalance (Ibid).” This ruling effectively gave white families an out. It gave them an opportunity to move to the suburbs with different school districts to leave minority, inner city children back in their old schools. This is the “white flight” to which researchers often refer.

Despite this terrible case, desegregation continued to increase, and the achievement gap continued to narrow. It looked as if the nation was right on track, and the numbers continued to look good through 1988, when the achievement gap reached its narrowest point, and when racial

desegregation reached its peak. By all accounts, things might have continued to go well, but for two very important things.

The first was the white flight occurring in many cities. Many white people were leaving the city for the suburbs, and as a result school districts had a less racially diverse pool of children than before, and so they had a lesser percentage to put into each school.

The second was the release from desegregation orders that many courts began to give school districts. In the early 1990s, the Court ruled that desegregation orders were not supposed to be permanent, and that the school systems would now continue to desegregate children themselves and no longer needed an injunction from the Court (Hannah-Jones, 2014). They were wrong. The effects of Milliken in conjunction with the release from the courts were disastrous for proponents of racially equitable education. Within ten years of release, schools had managed to undo about 60% of the desegregation they had achieved (Hannah-Jones, 2014). Nicole Hannah-Jones, an investigative reporter for the New York Times, has shown that in 1972, only about 25% of black students in the South went to a school where 9/10 students were minorities, and that percentage has now jumped to 53%. Furthermore, the number of apartheid schools (schools where 1% or less of the population is white) has increased from 2762 schools in 1988, at the peak of desegregation, to approximately 6727 schools now (Ibid).

Resegregation is taking place now, as we speak. We see this from the data. For instance, before 1997, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school district had only 17% of Hispanic students and 3% of black students in isolated schools, but since their desegregation order was released, by 2010, those percentages had increased to 44% and 47%, respectively (Ayscue, 2016). For another example, the New York Times and Stanford University did a study on school districts, reading levels, race, and parents' socio-economic status, and the graph they put together was

nearly linear. Poorer districts were consistently several reading levels behind the national average, and wealthier districts were consistently ahead of the curve. Furthermore, they looked inside the districts themselves, and found that white students consistently had more physical capital within the district, and outperformed most other children. I will use their graph in my presentation, and the reader can see it in Appendix 1 and 2. We can also see that segregation exists today empirically, just by what we can see. I visited three Title I schools, which in Texas is a title that denotes poverty within the school. In the first school I visited, Klein Elementary in north Houston, I did not see one white student while I was there. It was a predominantly Hispanic school, although I also saw a few black children. At the Heights High School, it was the same situation. I saw one white student there. I saw mostly Hispanic students, with a few black ones too. Sterling High School was also racially segregated. I observed most black students, with some Hispanic students there also. I suspect that each student in our class had similar observation experiences.

Segregation exists now. While we can speculate about what actually drove desegregation efforts to failure, Clotfelter believes four things eventually did it in. First was apparent white aversion to interracial contact, second was the many means by which whites could avoid the policy (i.e., “white flight”), third was the willingness of state and local lawmakers to allow whites to do so (court rulings, etc.), and fourth was the lack of resolve among later movers of the policy who felt like their job was mostly done (Clotfelter, 2004).

This author believes the crucial ones to be white flight and the willingness of governments to allow desegregation to end, and a lot of the policy this paper will later propose will focus on these two areas and target them specifically. However, the fact is that racial and economic segregation have a long history in our country, and this paper did not even talk about

all the different factors involved. It did not speak on property taxes, for instance, and the influence they may be having on racial segregation. In order to understand the policy going forward, we have to understand the policies that have succeeded in the past and the ones that have likewise failed.

However, a crucial question remains before we dig into policy. Does this matter? This paper has shown that racial segregation exists, but it has yet to show anything proving that it is a necessarily bad thing and that it impacts children negatively. Many would argue that segregation is certainly not ideal, but they would argue that more pressing issues and solutions exist. Some may point out the inequity in funding and argue that we should tackle that issue first. Others may point to the success rates of some charter schools (usually extremely racially imbalanced) as evidence that segregation does not matter so long as students have great teachers, and so we should focus on that first. While I think other problems certainly exist, and while I am not minimizing all the various issues in education, I do not think a greater problem exists in education than inequity, and I think that segregation plays a huge role in perpetuating inequity, and that the symptoms of inequity often are the very problems others may say that we should focus on instead of racial segregation. In other words, racial segregation is the root cause of many of the most pressing issues in education.

The statistics tell a very sad and very clear story about minority students who attend segregated schools. Nearly every study that has looked at this issue has concluded that children in segregated schools suffer extreme negative effects, and that we as a country are failing them. One study by Rucker Johnson showed that even between siblings the achievement gap increases when one attends a desegregated school and the other attends a segregated minority-majority school. Johnson studied black siblings. He sent one to a desegregated school and one to a

segregated school, and found that those in the desegregated schools were more likely to graduate, less likely to be incarcerated, and the important part to white families, there were no negative effects on the white students in the slightest (Johnson, 2011). Desegregation helps minorities and has no discernable harm on white students, but as this study shows, black students in segregated schools are more likely to end up in jail and without a high school degree.

Jonathan Kozol argues that the achievement gap that exists because of segregation has a deeper effect on students than results. He asserts that kids in segregated schools develop a sort of inferiority complex. We peddle the myth of equal educational equity so that they feel as though their lack of achievement in comparison to white students is a problem with their character, motivation, or cultural inheritance (Kozol, 2007). Kozol saw this from direct school observation in New York City, a city that does not have equal education. In fact, in the South Bronx, the per-pupil spending when *Letters to Young Teacher* was published was \$11,500, while children in the wealthy suburb of Manhasset received \$22,000, nearly twice as much as students in the Bronx (Ibid). The Bronx is composed heavily of minorities.

Another factor of inequity perpetuated by segregated schools is the lack of adequate teachers. Many assert that the solution to segregation is to simply put great teachers into these segregated schools and allow them to work, but this is far easier said than done. They fail to recognize that segregation causes inequity in teaching also. A study out of Stanford showed that “because teachers cannot be required to teach in particular districts, urban districts may have a very difficult time raising salaries high enough to attract experienced teachers to high poverty, high proportion black schools (Hanushek 2009).” The same study found that black fourth graders are more likely than whites to have teachers with very little experience. School segregation is depriving students of great teachers, and while there is no doubt that some great teachers work in

most schools, the data shows that most great teachers do not work in inner-city, high-poverty areas, but instead work in suburban districts.

Another terrible fact was found in the same study. Hanushek found that high-achieving black students have a higher risk of dropping out than their white counterparts by simple virtue that they attend majority-black schools, and the white students do not (Hanushek, 2009). Once again, I would point to the New York Times charts in the appendices of this paper. Segregation remains large, and those who attend segregated schools often find themselves below the national average reading level, while white students at white schools typically find themselves above the national average reading level. The statistics definitively show that segregation has an extremely negative effect on those that attend segregated schools.

Why is this? Why do these schools have such a terrible effect on students? Again, it is not because white students are academic panaceas that magically cure all that ails minorities simply by sitting next to them in class. White students are not inherently better than minorities. However, white students do, in general, have greater opportunities and greater access to resources than minority students in the forms of physical, social, and human capital. Physical capital is the tools one possess, such as money. Human capital is the skills one possesses, usually synonymous with degrees. Social capital deals with relationships (Coleman, 1988).

Physical capital is just money. If one possesses lots of money, then they have a lot of physical capital, and vice versa. The relationship between poverty and one's race has been studied thoroughly, and study after study shows that if one is white, that person is more likely to have more money. The American Psychological Association, for instance, found that black children are three times more likely to grow up in poverty, and that minorities are more likely to attend high-poverty schools. Money matters, and for whatever reason, white people, in general,

seem to have more money than non-white people. The chart in the appendix of this paper again shows that school districts on the lower end of the spectrum, both economically and by reading level, are very much minority-heavy districts. Similarly, schools at the upper end of the scale, both economically and by reading level, are populated by a huge percentage of whites. As John Oliver put it, “funding tends to follow white people around in the same way that white people tend to follow the band Fish around.” This has profound implications on the schools and lives of white versus non-white students. If a white kid breaks his or her glasses, there is a good chance his or her family can pay to buy new glasses, but that is not necessarily the case for minority students; statistically, it is unlikely, even. Thus one child goes to school with glasses, and one does not, because one has access to physical capital, and the other does not.

Human capital has to do with the skills one possesses. Dr. Ruth Turley explains it as the degrees from college the parents possess. One who goes to college will in general have greater human capital because they possess a skill that required a degree. Such skills are often perceived as greater by companies, and therefore often lead to greater physical capital (college graduates make more money than others) (Leonhardt, 2014). Wealthier schools, and therefore whiter schools, necessarily possess a lot more human capital than minority-heavy schools. As cited above, greater teachers cannot be forced to teach in struggling schools, and so talented teachers often choose the posh school in the suburbs, taking with them their degree(s), but most importantly their years of experience in teaching, or their fresh enthusiasm for the job, all aspects of human capital. White, suburban schools end up with more human capital as a result, because the teachers with lots of it do not want to teach in tough schools. This is something that Teach For America tries to correct, although they probably would not use the exact words “human capital.” In essence, though, they are trying to right the imbalance of smart, talented teachers

between urban, suburban, and rural districts. They send young graduates with valuable degrees and a high amount of enthusiasm and idealism into schools without much of either, and so they improve the human capital of the school as a direct result.

Some sort of desegregation would solve the problem of an imbalance in human capital because it would cause the human capital to be spread around. The schools at which teachers could choose to teach would all have similar ethnic and socioeconomic makeup, so that regardless of where a child lives or his racial or socioeconomic status, his school would possess an adequate amount of human capital.

Arguably the most important kind of capital is social capital, because it can both make up for deficiencies in the other forms of capital, but also destroy leads attained by those other forms. Social capital is the relationships one has. It is the safety net or the support system one possesses. Social capital is one's physical social network. As it is so intrinsically tied with relationships with other people, social capital intersects with the other two forms of capital to create social status and reputation. This is so important because social capital includes the relationship between parents and their children, and the capital in that relationship can change the trajectory of a student's life. Coleman wrote an extensive study social capital, and found that social capital plays a large role in the development of human capital in the next generation (Coleman, 1988). In other words, if a child has a good relationship with his or her parents, he is more likely to succeed than a student with a bad relationship with his or her parents. Indeed, he found that social capital is significant enough to offset losses in other areas of capital (Ibid). Suppose a child lives in a house with two parents, although the parents do not possess much physical or social capital. This means the family is poor, and his parents are more likely than not uneducated. If these parents decide to buy two textbooks, one for the student and one for them in

order to help their child study, then human capital may be low, physical capital may be low, but within the family, social capital is high, and this again can change the trajectory of the child's life.

Social capital also, however, has similar power to destroy. Coleman describes a child as having low social capital within his or her family whenever they live in a single-parent household, or when the child has a bad relationship with his or her parents. He found, furthermore, that children with low social capital have a significantly higher chance of dropping out of school (Ibid.). This is pretty intuitive. If a student has engaged parents and if he or she is engaged with his parents, he is more likely to succeed, and the opposite is true whenever the student's relationship with his parents is not good.

Coleman is careful to point out that although social capital within the family is crucial to a student's success, it is not the only area of social capital important for a student's development (Ibid.). Relationships with one's peers is also very important; the term "peer pressure" has a negative connotation for a reason. Relationship with one's teacher is likewise very important. The relationship the child's parents have with the school through organizations such as the PTA are also critical to a child's development.

The sad fact is that students with lower socioeconomic status, and thus a larger percentage of minority students, do not possess as much social capital as their white counterparts. Because minority students are in predominantly low-income schools, and whites in economically advantaged schools, whites are more likely to receive local funds (physical capital), great teachers (human capital), and "less tangible resources, such as status (social capital) (Fiel, 2013)." This unfortunately is understandable. If a whole school serves predominantly low-income families, the families likely do not possess much human or physical

capital, meaning that both parents are having to work one or two jobs in order to make ends meet. As a result, neither of the parents are completely able to hold the school accountable, and to hold the principal's feet to the fire on certain issues. In contrast, parents at higher-income schools are more likely to be involved with a robust PTA because one parent might not have to work. As a result, the social capital from the PTA benefits kids at the school. If the school needs something and cannot afford it, the PTA will step in and fundraise.

Desegregation can help with a lot of social capital, but not all of it. While desegregation is unlikely to solve deficiencies in social capital within the family, it is almost certain to solve deficiencies between communities and between students and teachers. School desegregation would leave the PTA intact, for instance, and that social organization would still fundraise and buy books and decorate classrooms even though low-income, racially different students were not under their umbrella. Desegregation would spread social capital around, benefiting the recipients and providing no real harm or consequence to those giving it.

Up to this point, this paper has provided a history of segregation, desegregation, and resegregation in the United States. It has shown the calamitous effects of racial and socioeconomic segregation on students of color and low income, and it has explained why segregation has these effects using physical, human, and social capital as the broad reasons why this is the case. This paper would be remiss if it did not also try to provide a solution to this most crucial issue in education.

While conventional knowledge suggests that racial/socioeconomic segregation exists primarily within school districts, as in the past, it now exists mostly between districts. Rice University's own Kori Stroub did an extensive study on segregation in the 21st Century, and found that in 2009 between district segregation accounted for 61.7% of metropolitan segregation.

Furthermore, segregation between nonwhites also now exists mostly between districts. However, segregation within districts themselves still remains acute, and thus state, local, and federal governments must work to correct segregation between *and* within districts. Thus this paper will propose an inside-out approach to ending segregation, starting outside the district, and working inside from there.

The first step that needs to happen is a massive incentive program from the Federal government for States that achieve wholesale desegregation. New Haven defines a desegregated school as 25% of students attending a school must be a minority within that school. The Federal government as well as State and local governments should also adopt that measure. With the Federal government dangling money in front of states for desegregation, states should do a few things.

They first should redraw their districts, specifically urban districts, so that they are as diverse as possible. This is obviously a harder task for rural districts, but even they should have to serve as diverse a community as possible. Planners should draw urban districts so that each district serves approximately the same amount of white and nonwhite communities. They should use the most recent census data available, and the governor should lead the charge to redraw districts in order to minimize segregation. This will allow for more conventional desegregation techniques to take place within the newly-drawn districts, as well as prevent white families from fleeing to the suburbs, because even suburban districts would be drawn to serve a roughly equal amount of white and nonwhite students.

The desegregation process should then move inwards to within the districts themselves, as after the redrawing of district lines segregation would presumably still exist within districts. The first, and ideally the only, step districts should have to take to relieve segregation within

their lines is to institute an effective and robust school choice program, with districts like Houston ISD and Denver Public Schools as models. The UCLA center for human rights found that segregation exists most acutely in New York (Kucsera, 2014), and though this highly correlative and not at all a totally causal relationship, New York public schools provide very little leeway for school choice. Obviously not every family will get the school they want, and families zoned to the school should have priority, but schools should be required to take in at least 25% of the minority in that community. New Haven is also placing all of their terrific magnet programs within inner city schools in order to motivate white people to choose those schools, and it is working very well (Orfield, 2015).

Hopefully the school choice would work, because the alternative has the potential to take several years before it is implemented. If school choice did not adequately desegregate school districts, then the governor of states dedicated to desegregation should order districts to randomize school placement both for students and teachers. This would not go over well, and families would inevitably file suit, where it would likely make it to the Supreme Court, where it would likely lose under the current court. Barring a reinstatement of desegregation orders from Federal Courts, or *Milliken* being overturned, this last, most extreme measure likely could not work, although the end of segregation absolutely justifies the means of taking away the choices of schools for families.

Segregation has got to end. Through its tumultuous history, with huge victories and even bigger losses, one thing is clear: it is hurting real students in real ways. Real students are lacking the tools they need to succeed. Real students are taking classes from inexperienced and ineffectual teachers. Real students are foundering in their schools despite their natural intelligence. Real students are giving up on their hopes and dreams because their school has

given up on helping them achieve their hopes and dreams. Real students are not receiving the education that we as a nation owe them, and for this country to have spent the last seventy years pretending to end segregation, while in reality keeping things exactly the way they are is despicable. Institutional racism exists right now in this country, and racial/socioeconomic segregation asserts that terrible truth in an in-your-face way that is hard to ignore. And yet this country is ignoring it, and by ignoring this issue it is ignoring the millions of children that are trying desperately to get on the train but cannot run fast enough to catch it. This is not the fault of children who are not trying hard enough. This is not the fault of parents who are not around enough. This is not the fault of gangs or drugs or “the ghettos,” this is the fault of local, state, and Federal legislatures that have let this issue persist for far too long. The Civil Rights era is not over. So long as children are denied the education they deserve because of race and class, it is alive and demands voices. It is time to dream another great dream, a dream of racial equality in education, a dream where in schools, “little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls.”

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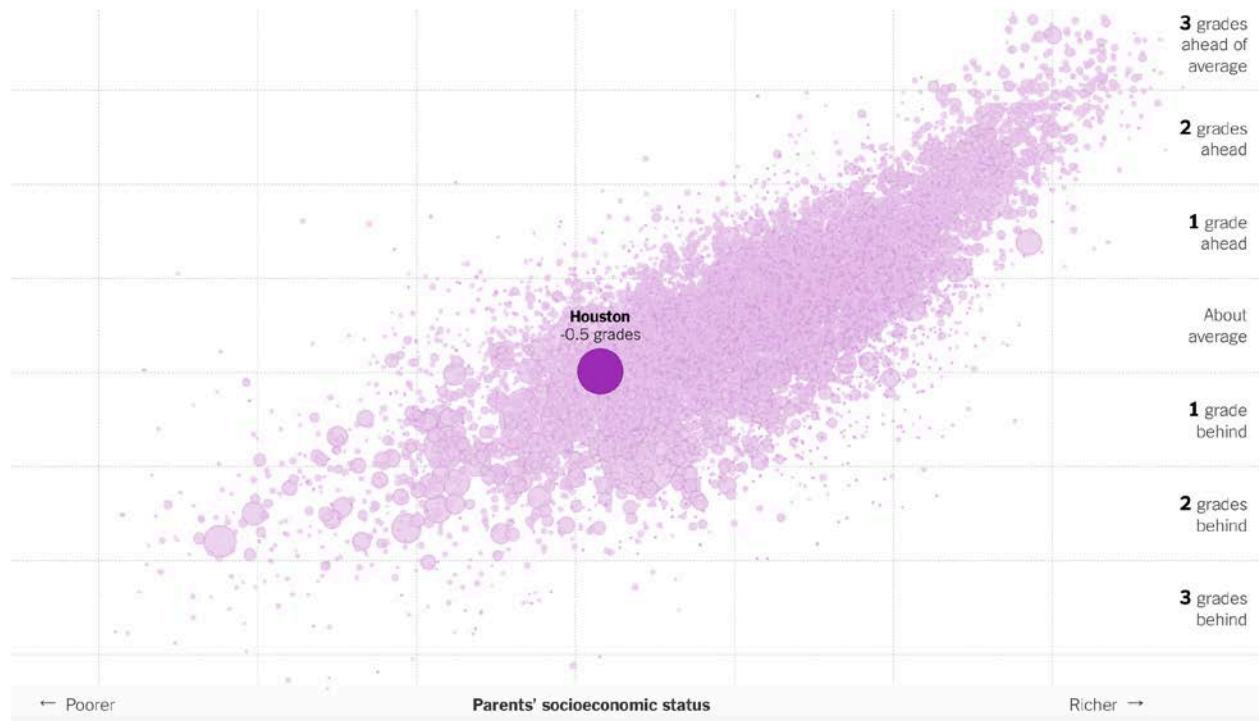
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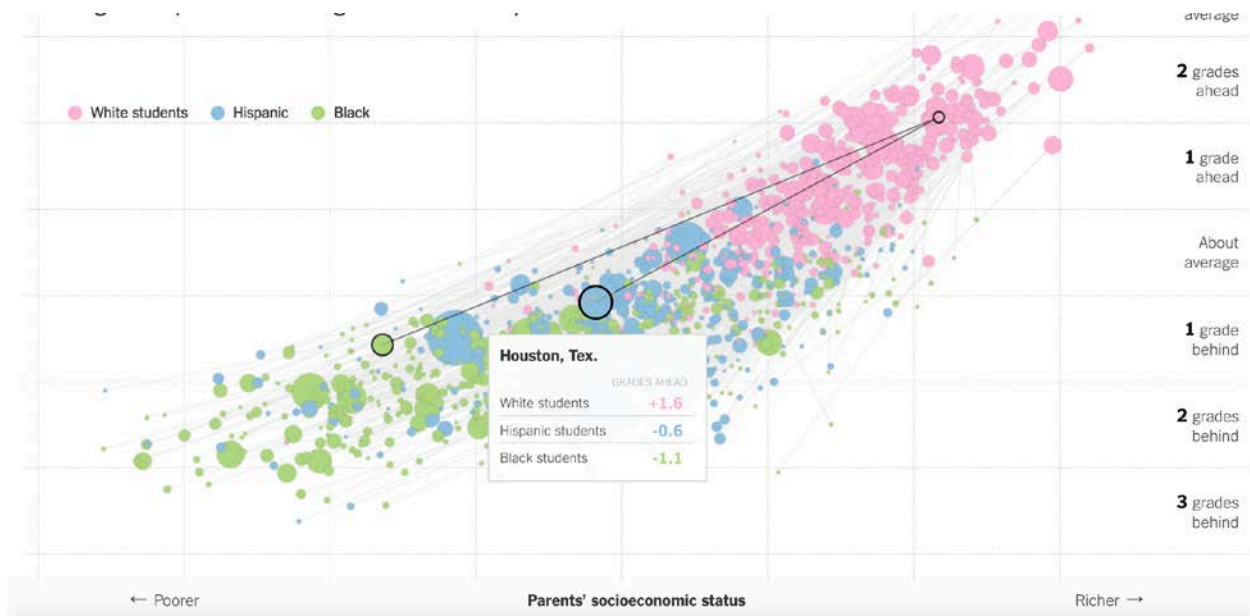
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Appendix 1



This chart shows every school district in the United States, sorted by socioeconomic status and reading level as compared to the national average. HISD is half a grade behind, and falls on the mid-to-lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum.

Appendix 2



This chart also plots school districts on their reading level and socioeconomic status, but this one also sorts them by race. It shows that race, socioeconomic status, and achievement are all intrinsically tied together. This chart shows that white students in HISD are a grade and a half up, Hispanic students are a little over half a grade behind, and black students are over grade behind the national average.