



Why Pursue Racial Diversity?

What does the most recent and highest quality social science research tell us about diversity and racial integration in schools?

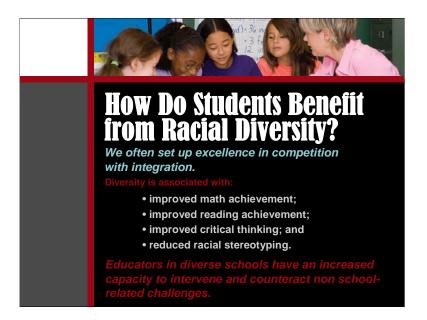


Mickelson, Roslyn. Twenty-first Century Social Science on School Racial Diversity and Educational Outcomes. Ohio State Law Journal. Vol. 69. 2008.



Overview of Presentation

- How Individual Students Benefit from
 Diversity
 - in the Short Term
 - in the Long Term
- How Society Benefits from Diversity
- Context: Why Race Still Matters



Several reviews of the literature come to these conclusions. This includes the National Academy of Education. (2007). More recently, Harris, Douglas, in Ladd and Fiske, Eds. (forthcoming). Most comprehensive, is Mickelson, Roslyn Arlin. Twenty-first Century Social Science on School Racial Diversity and Educational Outcomes. Ohio State Law Journal. Vol 69. 2008.



- job performance and/or professional success; and
- the "perpetuation" of desegregation.



How Does Society Benefit from Racially Diverse Schools?

Diversity is also associated with:

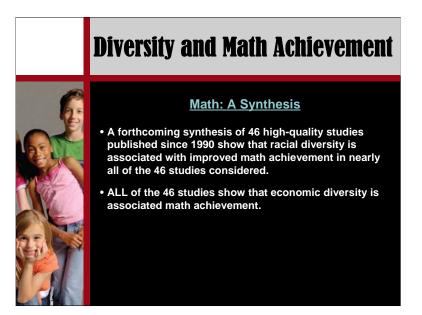
- lower dropout rates;
- some research suggests lower crime rates; and
- potential for increased social cohesion.



What does this **soc**ial science research tell us about the short-term benefits of racial diversity?

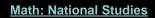
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Doug Harris. CTR. For AM. Progress, Lost Learning, Forgotten Promises: A National Analysis of School Racial Segregation, Student Achivement, and "Controlled Choice" Plans. 14 (2006).



Mickelson and Martha Bottia. (University of North Carolina at Charlotte). Integrated Education and mathematics Outcomes. Paper to be presented at the Looking to the Future: Legal and Policy Options for Racially Integrated Education in the South and the Nation. Forthcoming, April 2. Data on file with CHHIRJ.

Diversity and Math Achievement



- A forthcoming national longitudinal study finds that increases in the Black-white and Latino-white achievement gap correspond to increases in racial segregation.
- Another national study shows that the higher percent minority in a high school, the lower the students' gained in math and the fewer math courses they took.

"A forthcoming..." Mark Berends, Increasing Racial Isolation and Test Score Gaps in Mathematics: A 30-Year Perspective, 112 THCHRS. COLL. REC. (forthcoming in 2010). Cited by Mickelson, Roslyn. "21st Century..." "Another national..." Xiaoxia Newton, End of High School Mathematics Attainment: How Did Students Get There? 112 TCHERS. COLL. REC. (forthcoming 2110.)

Diversity and Math Achievement



Math: State Level Studies

State-level studies that control for competing variables tend to show similar relationships:

- Segregation in <u>Texas</u> explains "a significant portion" of the Black-white achievement gap in math.
- In <u>Florida</u>, Professor Kathryn Borman found that racial isolation has a negative effect on a school's math and reading scores.

<section-header>Diversity and ReadingImage: Section 1Image: Section 2Image: Section 2</

Shelly Brown-Jeffy, The Racial Gap in High School Reading Achievement: Why School Racial Composition Still Matters, 13 RACE, GENDER & CLASS 268, 290(2006).

Diversity and Reading

Reading: State Level Studies

Kathryn Borman's study shows that, independent of other factors, racial segregation of black students in <u>Florida</u> had a negative impact on test scores in reading.
Racial segregation did not affect reading scores in kindergarten, but by first grade there were "significant negative side effects" of segregation on reading.





What does this **social** science research tell us about racial diversity in relation to critical thinking skills and reduced stereotypes?

What Types of Students Do We Seek to Produce?

Assuming that one function of schools is to develop students into problem solvers, schools that are able to harness the power of diversity will produce more effective students.

> "With only a saw or a hammer, we cannot build anything interesting. With both, we can build homes, tree forts, and fences."

—Scott Page



Critical Thinking and Problem Solving Skills

Diversity and Problem Solving

- In <u>The Difference: How The Power of Diversity</u> <u>Creates Better Groups, Firms, Schools and</u> <u>Societies (2007), Scott Page explores the</u> "pragmatic, bottom-line contributions of diversity" by attaching empirical, logic-based data to the concept of diversity.
- He finds that when solving difficult problems, diverse groups of problem solvers– groups of people with diverse tools– consistently outperform a group of "the best and the brightest" problem solvers by a substantial margin.



Who Wants Critical Thinkers?

Page has found that "Although promoting identity diversity in groups... has long been the concern of the political left (usually for reasons of justice and fairness), the people who brought up this connection more often than not came from the corporate sector."

Two fundamental changes have caused business leaders to embrace a pro-diversity mentality:

- 1. Increasing globalization; and
- 2. Work has become more team-focused.

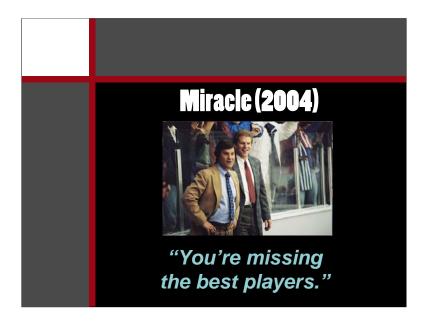
The cognitive skills required to be brilliant at one task often overlap little with the skills required for another.

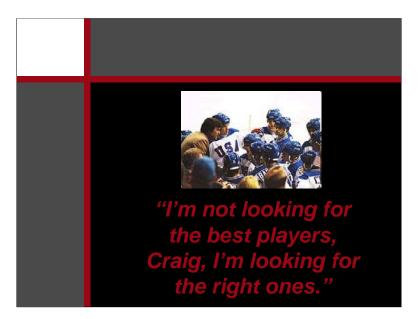


Implications of Page's Work

- Page acknowledges that his finding—that diversity trumps ability— is "outside the mainstream in a society that prizes individual talent and achievement."
- "Rather than being on the defensive about diversity, we should go on the offensive. We should look at difference as something that can improve performance."

"Our toolboxes define us, constrain us, and guide us."





Critical Thinking and Problem Solving Skills

How Racial Integration Improves Critical Thinking :

- Students of different races and ethnic backgrounds often bring different cultural knowledge and social perspectives into school.
- Therefore, diverse classrooms are more likely to enhance critical thinking by exposing students to new information and perspectives.

Hawley, "Designing Schools;" Jean Piaget, *Biology and Knowledge* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971) *as cited in* Brief for 553 Social Scientists as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-908) and Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-915).

Critical Thinking and Problem Solving Skills

Diversity Helps Students Grow.

Evidence suggests that students in diverse classrooms "showed the greatest engagement in active thinking processes, growth in intellectual engagement and motivation, and growth in intellectual and academic skills."

Patricia Gurin, "Expert Report of Patricia Gurin," submitted in *Gratz, et al. v. Bollinger, et al.*, No. 97-75231 (E.D. Mich. 1999) and *Grutter, et al. v. Bollinger, et al.*, No. 97-75928 (E.D. Mich. 1999); *as cited in* Brief for 553 Social Scientists as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-908) and Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-915).



The Harm of Stereotyping

Research confirms that stereotypes and prejudicial thinking undermine academic success, social cohesion, and community stability.

Frances E. Aboud, *Children and Prejudice* (1988); as cited in Brief for American Educational Research Association as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-908) and Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-915).



Why is Interracial Interaction So Important?

It puts theory into practice.

Interaction with members of other groups can:

- break down stereotypes
- promote understanding
- foster mutual respect

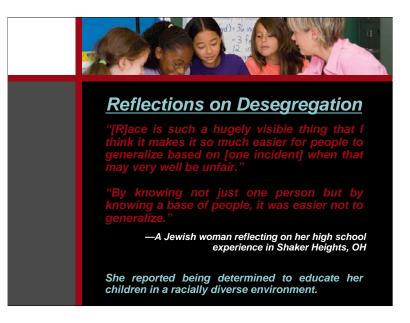
These benefits of diversity were recognized in 1954 in Gordon Allport's "The Nature of Prejudice."

These benefits are substantial. As the District Court emphasized, the Law School's admissions policy promotes "cross-racial understanding," helps to [**2340] break down racial stereotypes, and "enables [students] to better understand persons of different races." App. to Pet. for Cert. 246a. These benefits are "important and laudable," because "classroom discussion is livelier, more spirited, and simply more enlightening and interesting" when the students have "the greatest possible variety of backgrounds." Id., at 246a, 244a. The Law School's claim of a compelling interest is further bolstered by its *amici*, who point to the educational benefits that flow from student body diversity. In addition to the expert studies and reports entered into evidence at trial, numerous studies show that student body diversity promotes learning outcomes, and "better prepares students for an increasingly diverse workforce and society, and better prepares them as professionals." Brief for American Educational Research Association et al. as Amici Curiae 3; see, e.g., W. Bowen & D. Bok, The Shape of the River (1998); Diversity Challenged: Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action (G. Orfield & M. Kurlaender eds. 2001); Compelling Interest: Examining the Evidence on Racial Dynamics in Colleges and Universities (M. Chang, D. Witt, J. Jones, & K. Hakuta eds. 2003). These benefits are not theoretical [***334] but real, as major American businesses have made clear that the skills needed in today's increasingly global marketplace can only be developed through exposure to widely diverse people, cultures, ideas, and viewpoints. Brief for 3M et al. as Amici Curiae [*3311 5; Brief for General

Theory in Action:

- A recent study compared racial biases held by students in racially homogenous schools and students in racially diverse schools.
- The students were presented with an ambiguous situation involving characters of different races.
 - White children in racially homogenous schools rated African American characters more negatively than white characters.
 - Students in racially diverse schools displayed no bias or minimal bias.

Heidi McGlothlin & Melanie Killen, Intergroup Attitudes of European American Children Attending Ethnically Homogeneous Schools, 77 Child Dev. 1375, 1377, 1382-84 (2006); Heidi McGlothlin et al., European-American Children's Intergroup Attitudes About Peer Relationships, 23 British J. Dev. Psychol. 227, 236 (2005); as cited in Brief for American Psychological Association, et. al., as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-908) and Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-915).



Amy Stuart Wells, Jennifer Jellison Holme, Anita Tijerina Revilla, and Awo Korantemaa Atanda, Both Sides Now: The Story of School Desegregation's Graduates (2009), 202, 205.



Why Desegregate K-12 Schools? Early intervention works.

- Racial classification and stereotypical thinking are developed early in life, making intervention in elementary and secondary education key.
- Cross-racial interaction during childhood and adolescence helps not only to break down racial stereotypes, but to *prevent* the development of stereotypical thinking.

Brief for American Psychological Association, et. al., as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-908) and Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 551 U.S. (2007) (No. 05-915).

The Desegregated School Experience

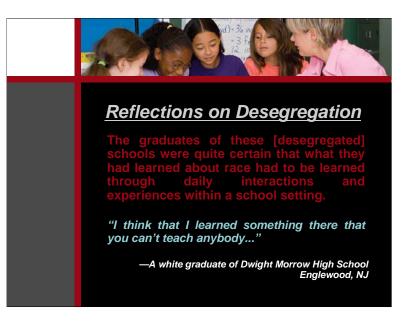
Former students of desegregated schools acknowledge the benefits of diversity.

Researchers carried out two in-depth case studies
 of graduates of desegregated schools nationwide:

• 242 graduates were interviewed between 1999 and 2004; and

- 42 adults who graduated from Seattle and Louisville in the mid 1980s.
- Those interviewed reported benefits such as open-mindedness, reduced prejudice, and reduced fearfulness of other races.

Wells, Duran, White, James-Szanton, & Holme, 2006 and Wells, Holme, Revilla, & Atanda, 2004. Cited in National Academy of Education.



Amy Stuart Wells, Jennifer Jellison Holme, Anita Tijerina Revilla, and Awo Korantemaa Atanda, Both Sides Now: The Story of School Desegregation's Graduates (2009), 217, 232.



What does this social science research tell us about the long-term benefits of racial diversity?



"The weight" .. Douglas Harris (Ladd and Fiske, eds. Forthcoming)



"African American students..." Braddock, J.H., II, & Eitle, T.M. (2004) The effects of school desegregation in J.A. Banks & E.A. McGee Banks (Eds). Handbook of research on multicultural education. (2nd ed., pp. 828-843). New York: MacMillan.

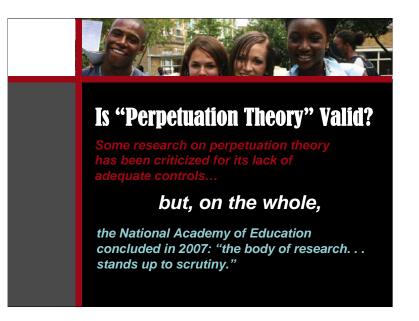
"Previously desegregated..." William Trent, <u>Outcomes Of School Desegregation: Findings From</u> Longitudinal Research, 66 J. of Negro Educ., No. 3, 255, 257 (1997) (J.A. 73).



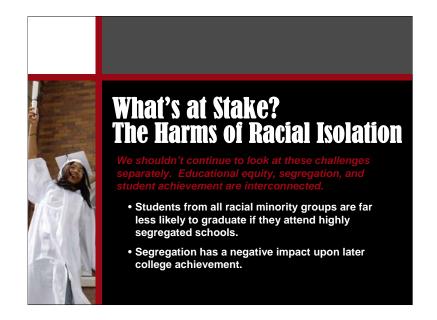
Long-Term Benefits of Racial Diversity

Students who attended desegregated schools are more likely to "perpetuate" desegregation.

- In other words, students of color are more likely to enter and persist in predominantly white environments when they perceive opportunity there.
- Statistical research and intensive interviews and ethnographic studies of high schools have demonstrated this tendency in college, neighborhoods and workplaces.



National Academy of Education. Race-Conscious Policies for Assigning Students to Schools: Social Science Research and the Supreme Court Cases. 2007.



Christopher B. Swanson, Who Graduates? Who Doesn't? A Statistical Portrait of Public High School Graduation, Class of 2001. Washintgon, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 2004.

Segregation and Dropouts



What the Research Says:

- An examination of more than 13,000 public high schools demonstrates that schools with a higher concentration of African American and Latino students have lower graduation rates than more integrated high schools.
- "Racial composition" was a "significant factor" in dropout rates even after controlling for other plausible variables.

Robert Balfanz and Thomas C. West, "Racial Isolation and High School Promoting Power", in Graduation Gap Policy Brief (Baltimore: Center for Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University, 2006.)

Segregation and Dropouts What the Research Says: New, rigorous, well-controlled, longitudinal studies demonstrate that segregated high schools are far less able than desegregated ones to counteract out of school challenges such as poverty and neighborhood violence. • This shows up particularly clearly when examining dropout rates. • Desegregation could not counteract all the challenges outside schools, especially as poverty and neighborhood violence increased, but segregated schools actually exacerbated the dropout problem. Resegregation "reversed" the benefits of previous

attendance at a desegregated school.

Argun Saaticoglu, Disentangling School- and Student- Level Effects of Desegregation and

Resegregation on the Dropout Problem in Urban High Schools: Evidence from the Cleveland Municipal School District, 1977-1998. Under review. On file with author.



Forthcoming research investigates the impact of desegregation on crime.

<u>Research Method</u>: Within the set of districts ever subject to desegregation orders, researchers (David A. Weiner, Byron F. Lutz, and Jens Ludwig) examined crime trends before and after these orders went into effect using data on homicide victimizations from the Vital Statistics (VS), and on offending from the FBI's Supplemental Homicide Reports (SHR).

1) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, *The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime* (forthcoming 2009), 3 (explaining research method).

Why is this important?

- Research since *Brown* has attempted to inform our understanding of the effects of courtordered school desegregation, with most studies focused on the consequences for *academic outcomes*.
- Non-academic outcomes might be at least as important for social welfare.
- One of the most important non-academic outcomes is crime, given the enormous social costs (perhaps as much as \$1 or \$2 trillion per year).
- 1) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, *The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime* (forthcoming 2009), 1-2.
- 2) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime (forthcoming 2009), 2.
- 3) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime (forthcoming 2009), 2.

Within the set of districts ever subject to court order (between the late 1960s through the early 1980s), they found:

- Black homicide victimization rates decline by around 25 percent;
- Black homicide arrest rates for blacks decline by about 15 percent in the long-run;
- White homicide victimizations also decline (due perhaps in part to a decline in the rate at which blacks kill whites and an increase in school and police spending in response to these school desegregation orders).

1 & 2) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime (forthcoming 2009), 3.

3) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime (forthcoming 2009), 4.

Summary of Findings:

- Evidence suggests that court-ordered school desegregation generates significant reductions in homicide offending and victimization for blacks, and reductions in victimizations for whites as well.
- The effects on blacks were largest in those districts where school systems desegregated the most.
- In general, voluntary plans have similar impacts to involuntary plans.

1) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, *The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime* (forthcoming 2009), Summary.

2) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, *The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime* (forthcoming 2009), 4 ("The fact that our estimated effects are largest in districts where the "treatment dose" is largest provides additional support for our research design. Our estimated impacts for blacks do not appear to be driven by short-term changes in policing or busing.").

3) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime (forthcoming 2009), 5.

Additional findings:

- Desegregation orders reduce homicide by almost as much over the summer months as during the school year;
- Decreases in homicide offending seem to persist well into adulthood for birth cohorts exposed to school desegregation;
- In contrast, cohorts not exposed to desegregation orders while they were of school age show no signs of having been affected.

All Points: Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, *The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime* (forthcoming 2009), 4.



- 1) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, *The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime* (forthcoming 2009), 2.
- 2 & 3) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, *The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime* (forthcoming 2009), 10.
- 4) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime (forthcoming 2009), 2.
- 5) Weiner, Lutz, & Ludwig, The Effects of School Desegregation on Crime (forthcoming 2009), 2.

Segregation's Effect on Social Cohesion

The "Public" Function of Public Education:

- Segregation makes it very difficult to develop effective citizens and maintain social cohesion.
- Bringing together students of different backgrounds to learn from one another should remain a central objective of American education, especially as we move toward a majority minority society in a globalizing world.

john powell, National Summit on Interdistrict School Desegregation, Powerpoint Presentiation.



Why Does This Matter? Putting Segregation in Context



Research shows that segregation is detrimental to educational quality and opportunity in part because 9 times out of 10, a school that is "hyper-segregated" will also be a "high poverty" school with an overwhelming concentration of social problems, serving the most disenfranchised members of society.



"Discrimination continues to be endemic, intertwined into the very fabric of our lives."

Fair Housing Commission 2008



The 2008 Fair Housing Commission hearings exposed the fact that, despite strong legislation, past and ongoing discriminatory practices in the nation's housing and lending markets continue to produce extreme levels of residential segregation that result in significant disparities between minority and nonminority households, in access to good jobs, quality education, homeownership attainment and asset accumulation.

In other words, race still matters.



Acevedo-Garcia D, et al. Toward a policy-relevant analysis of geographic and racial/ethnic disparities in child health. *Health Affairs* 27(2), 2008.



"Typical" Poor Children:

- The "typical" poor white child lives in a neighborhood that is 13.6% poor;
- The "typical" poor Black child lives in a neighborhood that is 30% poor;
- The "typical" poor Latino child lives in a neighborhood that is 30% poor.

Acevedo-Garcia D, et al. Toward a policy-relevant analysis of geographic and racial/ethnic disparities in child health. *Health Affairs* 27(2), 2008.



How Do Th<mark>es</mark>e Dynamics Play Out in Our Schools?



Who Goes to the Schools with the Highest Levels of Poverty?

- •40% of Black students;
- •40% of Latino students; and
- •6% of white students

attend schools that are 70-100% poor.

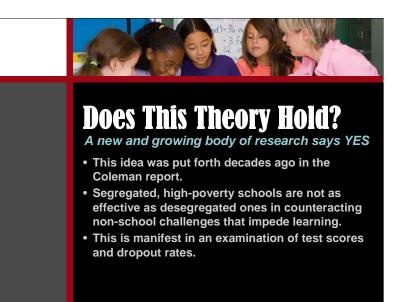
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- "According to studies that investigate teacher turnover in segregated minority schools, race is the driving factor in predicting teacher mobility, more so than working conditions or student poverty"
- Benjamin Scafidi, David L. Sjoquist, and Todd Stinebrickner, "Race, Poverty, and Teacher Mobility," Working paper, Andrew Young School of Policy Studies Research Paper Series, Atlanta, Ga., August 2005; Susanna Loeb, Linda Darling-Hammond, and John Luczak, "How Teaching Conditions Predict Teacher Turnover in California Schools," *Peabody Journal of Education* 80, no. 3 (2005): 44-70.
- "White teachers who comprise 85% of the teaching force often transfer to schools with a lower minority percentage"
- Hamilton Lankford, Susanna Loeb, and James Wyckoff, "Teacher Sorting and the Plight of Urban Schools: A Descriptive Analysis," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 24, no. 1 (2002): 37-62; Susan Watson, *Recruiting and Retaining Teachers: Keys to Improving the Philadelphia Public Schools* (Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education, 2001).





See, for example, D. Acevedo-Garcia and T. Osypuk, "Impacts of Housing and Neighborhoods on Health: Pathways, Racial

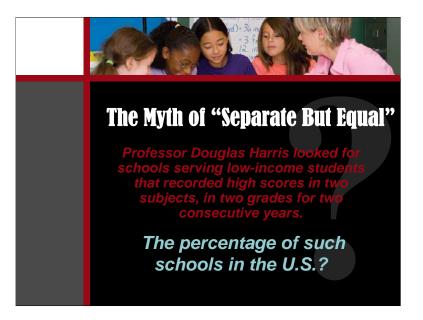


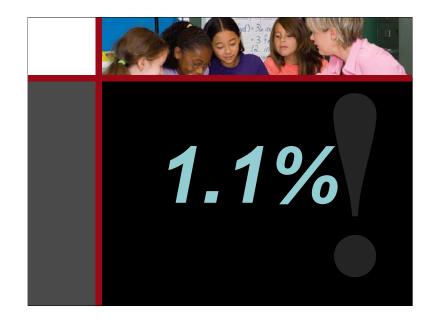


Argun Saatcioglu. Non School Problems and School Desegregation: Desegregation's Influence on School Effectiveness in a Context of Worsening Urban Disadvantage. (forthcoming) Teacher's College Record. 2010.

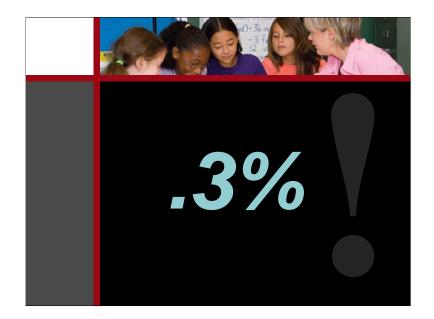


But Don't Some Schools Successfully "Beat the Odds?"











See, for example, D. Acevedo-Garcia and T. Osypuk, "Impacts of Housing and Neighborhoods on Health: Pathways, Racial/Ethnic Disparities, and Policy Directions," in *Segregation*, 197–235; D.R. Williams and C. Collins, "Racial Residential Segregation: A Fundamental Cause of Racial Disparities in Health," *Public Health Reports* 116, no. 5 (2001): 404–416; D. Acevedo-Garcia et al., "Future Directions in Residential Segregation and Health Research: A Multilevel Approach," *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 2 (2003): 215–221; and D. Acevedo-Garcia and K.A. Lochner, "Residential Segregation and Health," in *Neighborhoods and Health*, ed. I. Kawachi and L.F. Berkman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). The diversity data project highlights the particularly acute state of residential segregation in U.S. metropolitan areas.