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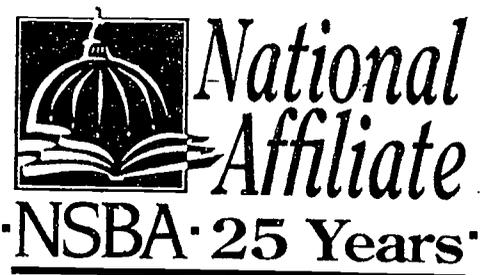
ABSTRACT

Deliberation about school desegregation today is increasingly linked with concern about the patterns of deteriorating race relations, escalating intolerance, school violence, and hate crimes. A survey was conducted of urban school board members and administrators to determine their perceptions and beliefs regarding school desegregation and race relations. Two hundred individuals and 103 school districts responded. Eighty-five percent of all respondents agreed that racial balance in public schools is of critical importance to a diverse society. Seventy-eight percent of responding districts reported that they were still actively pursuing desegregation and racial balance. A majority of respondents felt that racial balance was important for both minority and majority group students. However, 66 percent of respondents said that minority students can receive a quality education in segregated schools if the instruction and resources are of high quality. Nearly one-third of respondents thought that desegregation had become immaterial in their school districts because the enrollment had become so overwhelmingly minority. Survey respondents persevere in their desegregation or racial balancing efforts, and they want more support from the federal government. (SLD)

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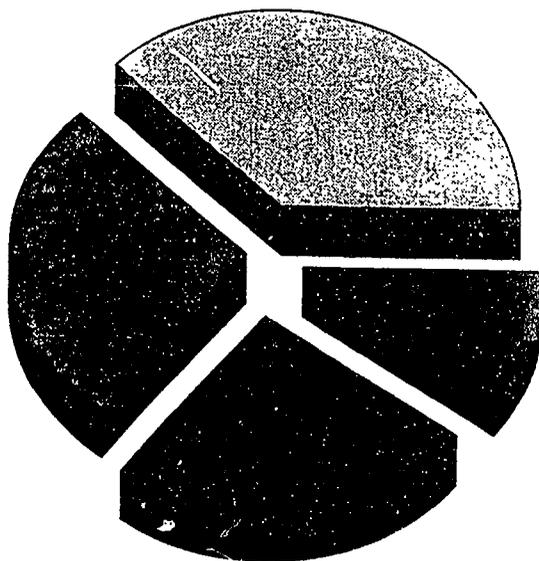
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# **Still Separate, Still Unequal? Desegregation in the 90's**

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## **Urban School Board Members Respond**

National School Boards Association  
1995 Survey Results

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# about the COUNCIL OF URBAN BOARDS OF EDUCATION

The NSBA Council of Urban Boards of Education (CUBE) was established by the NSBA Board of Directors in 1967 to address the unique needs of school board members serving the largest cities in the United States.

Any school board that is a National Affiliate of NSBA and serves a community with a core-city population of at least 100,000 persons is eligible for membership in CUBE, as is any NSBA National Affiliate school board that is a member of a state-level urban council in its respective state school board association. CUBE is governed by a 12 member Steering Committee of urban board members.

## **Purpose**

CUBE exists to enable school board members to gather information, develop recommendations, and take appropriate action to improve the quality and equality of education provided in densely populated cities inhabited by people of widely varying, diverse, and heterogeneous backgrounds.

## **Program**

Through its subcommittees and staff, CUBE uses conferences, workshops, specialized publications, *School Board News*, consulting services, telephone contacts and all of the resources of the NSBA National Affiliate program to improve the policy making effectiveness of urban school board members. In cooperation with the NSBA Board of Directors, CUBE serves as vehicle for bringing the urban perspective before federal officials and members of Congress.

## **Steering Committee**

The CUBE Steering Committee, which meets quarterly, is composed of 12 urban school board members from across the United States, plus the Immediate Past Chair. The President and the Executive Director of the National School Boards Association serve as ex officio members of the Committee.

Committee members are elected by the CUBE membership to a 3 year term. The CUBE Chair appoints a Nominating Committee to oversee the compilation of a slate of nominees from CUBE members in good standing. The Nominating Committee gives consideration to slating nominees so that a regional balance is maintained as well as to assure non-discrimination on the basis of sex, race, etc. The CUBE Chair and Vice Chair are elected by the Steering Committee.

## FOREWORD

There have been substantial discussion and controversy over the progress our nation has made in attaining the goal of racial, ethnic and socioeconomic integration in our urban schools, as well as increasing the quality of educational opportunities for urban children.

**The National School Board Association's (NSBA) Council of Urban Boards of Education (CUBE) has played a key role in heightening the awareness and initiating a dialogue around the compelling issues related to desegregation in the 1990s. Through CUBE's ongoing programming, we believe that a revitalized vision for *Brown v. Board of Education* is needed if urban schools are to succeed in changing the outcomes of education for all children.**

The unfinished agenda for the future encompasses several questions that CUBE must face head-on. How strongly do urban school boards really believe in the effectiveness of integration, and are they serious about tackling the issues that remain? Many of the problems that plague our educational system will not be solved by further court decisions or legislative acts; they involve a basic self examination.

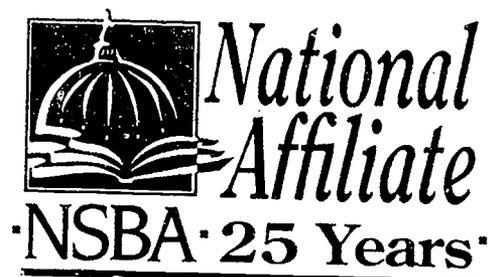
We must first ask if we have truly internalized the premise that the strength of our American culture lies in its diversity. Then, are we capable of renewing our commitment to education as the primary foundation of that culture?

Whether it is the inequality of resources among school districts, the quality of the teaching force, violence in the schools, dropout rates, or illiteracy, the problem is not just somebody else's problem; it is the nation's problem. Until we all can answer these questions and take appropriate action, **the assignment that the *Brown* decision provided to the nation will have to be marked "incomplete."**

In the years since the *Brown v. the Board of Education* decision, the nation has found itself faced with a whole new set of uncertainties in the realm of cultural diversity, acceptance, affirmative action, assimilation, segregation, resegregation and integration. As the nation grapples with these questions, it is expected that perceptions and attitudes related to the successes or failures of public school desegregation will be quite varied and passionately expressed.

Forty-one years after *Brown*, it is appropriate to wonder whether the quality of the educational system is better or worse in our public schools -- whether the gains outweigh the losses. To reflect on the *Brown* decision is to find strength and empowerment for the work yet to be done.

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***STILL SEPARATE, STILL UNEQUAL?:  
DESEGREGATION IN THE 90s***

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Desegregation in the public schools has been a topic of discussion, argument and action since the landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision, declaring segregated schools to be "inherently unequal" and in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment (*Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka*). Forty years after that decision, we are still discussing and debating the issue of desegregation.

Today, deliberation about desegregation is increasingly linked with concern about the patterns of deteriorating race relations, escalating intolerance, school violence and hate crimes. Desegregation is, in 1995, as it has been throughout the latter half of this century, a matter of great concern, particularly for the school leaders who must direct the future course of education in our urban school systems.

Helping urban school boards deal with critical issues like desegregation, the National School Boards Association's Council of Urban Boards of Education has served as a national leader of urban public education for nearly 30 years. In support of its goals concerning achievement of racial, ethnic and socioeconomic integration and promotion of education excellence in urban schools, CUBE has led a multi-year focus on desegregation in large city school districts.

As part of this effort, CUBE has conducted a survey of urban school board members and administrators to determine the perceptions and beliefs of education policy makers that underlie the decisions and actions of each school board -- decisions that establish the education programs and guide the development of school district plans for meeting the current and future needs of public school students.

The survey has two qualities that make it particularly noteworthy. First, it examines the opinions and attitudes of the primary education decision makers in urban districts. Secondly, it regards the issue of desegregation and racial balance from the points of view of the four major racial/ethnic groups represented in most urban settings (African-American, Asian-American, Caucasian and Hispanic). More than 90 percent of the survey's respondents agreed to indicate their racial/ethnic backgrounds, discerning the importance of desegregation as an educational tool and as a means of promoting cultural diversity from the points of view of the racial constituencies served by urban schools.

In a number of respects, the information that emerged from the survey appears to support the idea of desegregation. The following are among the survey's key findings:

- **Eighty-five percent of all respondents agreed that racial balance in public schools is of critical import in a diverse society.** The most ardent support for racially balanced schools was expressed by the fastest growing minority populations -- Asian-Americans (100 percent) and Hispanics (92 percent).
- Urban school districts continue to pursue desegregation. **Seventy-eight percent of responding districts report that they are actively pursuing desegregation and racial balancing with current programs.**

- A majority of respondents said racially balanced schools are important in improving educational results for both racial minority students and racial majority students. **Sixty-two percent of the board members felt balance is important for racial minority students; 51 percent said balance within the schools is important for racial majority students.**
- While stressing the need to continue to work toward the goals of balance and equality, **66 percent of the respondents also said that they believe minority children can receive a quality education in segregated schools IF there is quality instruction and IF adequate financial and teaching resources are available.**
- **Nearly a third of all respondents say that, despite the positive results of racial balancing efforts, desegregation has become immaterial in their school districts.** These board members note that the racial composition of their districts is so overwhelmingly minority that desegregation has become a moot point. As economic factors and housing patterns have increasingly isolated segments of the population, often dividing cities and suburbs into racial pockets, urban school districts have found themselves with the majority of their students representing one racial or ethnic group, generally African-American or Hispanic. With limited numbers of students from other racial and ethnic backgrounds, racial balancing in the schools becomes impossible and desegregation devolves into just an idea. Segregation by circumstance becomes the reality.
- Urban school districts are persevering: **nearly 80 percent have active desegregation/racial balancing programs.** As they plan to meet the educational needs of their changing urban communities, school board members seek greater support for their efforts from the federal government. Currently the federal government provides only 11 percent of total spending for desegregation. **Survey respondents want the federal government to provide greater support for desegregation through financial incentives, a national public housing policy and consideration of an amendment to the civil rights laws to allow inter-district desegregation orders.**

Urban school board members recognize the importance of racial balance in large city schools to provide students with the opportunities to succeed in a culturally diverse society. Their continuing advocacy for desegregation in the face of so many impediments and so many years of frustration may be explained by the comment of a Nebraska board member: "Racism is still with us. If we don't continue to work at it, it will go back the way it was."

Urban schools may still be separate and unequal in many places, but school board members, supported by CUBE, are working to overcome the odds and to realize the promise of *Brown*.

## **STILL SEPARATE, STILL UNEQUAL? DESEGREGATION IN THE 90s**

The past 40 years have been filled with remarkable changes in education. Among the transformations that have occurred is the continual growth in school attendance and graduation rates; the assumption that education is equally important for girls and boys; the recognition of the integral relationship between health and learning; the effects of technology as a learning and a teaching resource; the school reform movement; and the establishment of national goals for education.

Perhaps the most momentous of changes was the 1954 landmark civil rights decision, *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka*. In that decision, the court declared intentionally segregated schools to be "inherently unequal," depriving African-American schoolchildren "of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

That historic Supreme Court decision changed the education environment for public school students across America, but its initial promise has remained illusive. Intended to provide the opportunity for all children to have an equal education, *Brown* has not been the panacea that many had hoped it would be. Over the years, school districts have invested a great deal of effort into balancing the racial compositions of their schools.

Among recent efforts are desegregation plans that require bilingual education and education programs developed to serve the various ethnicities of the schools' students. However, as we approach the end of the 20th century, the educational achievement of racial minority children in public schools continues to lag and most of the schools that serve minority group children continue to be segregated.

The debate continues over one of the most fractious issues in the U.S. during the 20th century: that of school segregation and its impact on the education of America's children. The Supreme Court recently ruled on the Kansas City desegregation case, *Jenkins v. Missouri*, finding that a desegregation plan does not have to continue just because minority student achievement scores remain below the national average. However, the decision does not end court oversight of Kansas City's desegregation plan.

In the Kansas City case, the arguments revolved around the achievement test scores of students in the largely black urban school district. The state argued that constitutional protection for equal educational opportunity does not assure equal results. The students, joined by the U.S. Department of Justice, maintained that achievement test results have not risen sufficiently to justify ending court oversight.

## A Role for NSBA's Council of Urban Boards of Education

Current court cases and the headlines that accompany them reveal both how far the nation has come along the road to equality and how far we have to go. They also suggest a pertinent role for the **National School Boards Association's Council of Urban Boards of Education (CUBE)**. As a national leader on behalf of urban public education for nearly thirty years, CUBE serves as a clearinghouse for new ideas, a forum for discussion of the issues confronting large city school districts and a means of developing innovative solutions to specific problems.

In keeping with its goals concerning achievement of racial, ethnic and socioeconomic integration and the promotion of educational excellence within the urban school setting, CUBE has supported a multi-year focus on desegregation in urban school districts. This undertaking has examined the impact of continuing segregation, the educational consequences of schools that are separate and often unequal and, most recently, has sought the perspectives of school leaders about the importance of desegregation.

In 1993, NSBA published the updated results of its collaborative work with Dr. Gary Orfield, Director of the Harvard University Project on Desegregation (*The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty Since 1968*).

During the past year, NSBA conducted a survey of urban school board members and administrators to ascertain the attitudes and beliefs of these critical education leaders concerning desegregation in the 1990s. The survey, entitled *Still Separate, Still Unequal?: Desegregation in the 90s -- Urban School Board Members Respond*, was designed to elicit urban school board member reflections on the effects of desegregation and its function as an educational tool in the changing urban community.

Any number of arguments and rationales have been presented by education experts and concerned citizens about the effectiveness of desegregation. Some argue that desegregation has not academically assisted minority students and, in addition, has academically damaged non-minority students. Others say that all student progress has declined since desegregation was imposed. Yet others, armed with statistics and reports that contradict the information of their opponents, maintain that minority students have made academic progress.

The disparate information and varying opinions may reflect both the emotional nature of the issue of segregation and the degree of change occurring in public schools (and society) in the 1990s.

The collection and sharing of reliable data have been a major part of CUBE's concentration on desegregation, but the importance of perceptions and beliefs cannot be overlooked in consideration of an issue that raises such profound feelings.

This survey has two qualities that make it particularly noteworthy. First, it is intended to solicit the opinions and feelings of school board members -- those citizens who are the primary education policy makers in local school districts -- about desegregation and racial balancing in their urban schools. Because the overwhelming majority of school board members are elected, and the remainder are appointed by locally elected officials, they also have a viewpoint that is sensitive to -- and representative of -- significant sectors of their local communities. The convictions of school board members underlie the policy decisions of each school board -- decisions that establish the educational programs and guide the development of district plans for meeting the current and future needs of every public school student. Therefore, understanding the perceptions that underlie school board actions is fundamental in improving educational opportunities for America's children.

The second special aspect of this survey is the opportunity it affords to examine the opinions of the four major racial/ethnic groups that represent the majority of public school students. Survey participants were asked if they would indicate their urban racial/ethnic backgrounds, and 91 percent of the respondents agreed to do so. As a result, the issues of desegregation and racial balance can be regarded from the points of view of African-Americans, Caucasians, Hispanics and Asian-Americans that responded; the importance of desegregation as an educational tool and as a means of promoting cultural diversity from the perspective of racial constituencies served by the schools can also be assessed.

This survey and the myriad of other activities facilitated by CUBE are representative of the CUBE commitment to assisting urban schools in fulfilling the promise of *Brown*.

## THE INSTRUMENT

The survey was sent to 800 school board members and administrators in 164 urban school districts. (Districts included the 84 CUBE members' districts and 80 districts that are considered to be CUBE-eligible.) Responses were received from 63 percent of the districts (based on 103 school districts responding), and from 25 percent of individual school board members (based on 200 individuals responding). Respondents represented 40 states and the District of Columbia. Approximately 80 percent of the survey respondents were CUBE members; 20 percent were from CUBE-eligible districts.

Responses were analyzed by district response and by individual board member response. The individual response analysis permits a selective, but important, look at the attitudes and assumptions that drive school board plans and actions on the issue of desegregation.

The survey asked respondents who were willing to indicate their racial/ethnic backgrounds,

enabling some comparisons of responses between majority and minority population groups. Nine percent of the respondents chose not to indicate their race. The breakdown of respondents was as follows:

Caucasian	54%
African-American	29%
Hispanic	7%
Asian-American	3%

Sixty percent of the respondents represented small to mid-sized urban districts (student enrollment up to 60,000); 36 percent represented large urban districts (student enrollment of 60,000 or more). The racial composition of student populations in the surveyed school districts is as follows:

majority Caucasian student enrollment	37%
majority African-American student enrollment	35%
majority Hispanic student enrollment	8%
25-50 percent Asian-American student enrollment	1%

The survey was organized around five subject areas:

- attitudinal information about the importance of racial desegregation as an educational tool;
- respondents' beliefs with reference to educational achievement as a function of desegregation efforts;
- financial and instructional resources that have resulted from desegregation efforts;
- the role of the federal government; and
- individual school district's desegregation plans based on current racial composition.

## THE FINDINGS

### The Importance of Racial Desegregation as an Educational Tool

#### Desegregation in the 1990s: Is it important in the nation's public schools?

Ensuring an equitable education for all public school students and providing equal opportunity for academic achievement has been at the heart of the desegregation effort. Determining the importance of desegregation as an effective educational tool was a primary objective of the CUBE survey. When asked if they believe that racial desegregation in the nation's public schools is as important today as it was 10 years ago, 59 percent of the survey respondents said yes.

Those affirmative responses varied, however, among the four major ethnic groups represented in the survey, suggesting different perceptions of the effects of desegregation: Hispanic respondents felt much stronger about the educational importance of desegregation than did other groups, affirming at 85 percent the significance of desegregation in the 1990s.

Only 59 percent of African-American respondents agreed, perhaps reflecting the racial segregation still existing in so many urban school districts as a result of socioeconomic factors. One school board member from the District of Columbia expressed this opinion:

"While racially desegregated schools would enhance our students' learning experiences and more closely mirror the world in which our graduates must perform, changing urban demographics . . . has left our school district about 95 percent minorities."

Although there is some disagreement about the effectiveness of desegregation as an educational tool, respondents from all participating racial/ethnic groups said that desegregation is very important as a method for equalizing education. A Virginia board member expresses that opinion in this way:

"I don't believe desegregation was ever an educational tool, but a moral necessity to ensure equal treatment and equal access to resources."

"Moral necessity" was repeatedly stressed by respondents, as exemplified by the statement of a California school board member, who said:

"With renewed racial tensions and the increase in hate crimes, it continues to be important that we have racial diversity in our schools."

Those board members who disagreed tended to feel as this respondent from Alaska:

"I think academic achievement is more important. I would rather have kids achieving in an all-minority school than have kids dropping out of an integrated one."

When reactions to the question of desegregation's importance as an educational tool are viewed in terms of geography, an interesting result is revealed: Westerners responded in the positive about its relevance to a significantly higher degree than respondents in other regions (82 percent in the West, compared with 51.5-62.5 percent in the other regions of the country. The Western Region includes the following states: Colorado, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Wyoming.)

This difference may reflect what one respondent referred to as "less cultural baggage" in Western states. The respondent explains that most Western city school systems have had fewer negative experiences associated with forced desegregation and, therefore, less animosity toward it than many urban centers in other areas, particularly in the Northeast and South.

This is not to say that urban school districts in Western cities have not had to deal with contention over desegregation. It does suggest, however, that when viewed more as an occasion for cultural and academic development and less as a remedy for past wrongs, desegregation and racial balancing lose much of their emotional nature and become more effective education tools.

### **The Importance of Desegregation at the Local Level**

There was a striking outcome when survey participants considered the importance of desegregation as an education tool in their own school districts. Hispanic respondents, who overwhelmingly affirmed its significance in the nation's schools (85 percent), felt a great deal less positive about the local effect of desegregation: Nearly 25 percent fewer Hispanic respondents said desegregation is an important educational tool in their districts than attested to its importance nationally.

This difference in response from a growing minority group seems to indicate support for desegregation in the broad philosophical context while coping with the day-to-day realities of providing education to a diverse and ever-changing student population. Respondents expressed their frustration in dealing with this dichotomy:

from Oklahoma --

"We appear to have made some progress, but we take five steps forward, then 10 steps backward. Commitment, dedication and professional services for all children appear to be unstable."

from North Carolina --

"Today I know that forcing communities to desegregate was effective in integrating the buildings only. Very few attitudes have changed."

from Wisconsin --

"...desegregation turned out to be a bankrupt strategy. We did use magnet money to create some wonderful specialty schools which benefited some, but not all students."

### **Racial Balance in a Culturally Diverse Society**

It is no surprise that feelings are very strong about the importance of racially balanced schools in the promotion of cultural diversity and multicultural education: Eighty-five percent of all respondents agree that racial balance in the schools is of critical import in a diverse society. Demonstrating that desegregation is no longer just a black-white issue, the most ardent support for racially balanced schools was expressed by the fastest growing minority populations -- Asian-Americans (100 percent) and Hispanics (92 percent).

While belief in the importance of racially balanced schools is somewhat lower among African-American respondents (86 percent) and Caucasian respondents (84 percent), recognition of and advocacy for racial balance is strong throughout every group.

Among the minority of survey participants who do not believe that racial balancing in the public schools is important, feelings are also strong. The frustrations and disillusionments of years of striving for equality surfaced in the comments of these respondents. One unidentified board member opined:

"Given comparable resources and [an effective] school board, I would welcome resegregation to save the African American child."

The fact that neither desegregation nor racial balancing was ever achieved in some of our largest cities may explain the belief that attempts to promote cultural diversity now will not work.

A New York school board member says:

"White and bright flight have created 'have' and 'have not' schools and school systems. Abandonment of the cities by the government is a fundamental [part of] the problem."

A Massachusetts board member charges that "racism is still with us."

An Oklahoma board member reminds us that the "attitudes of a vast number of educators did not change with desegregation. Appropriate attention [has not been] given to the educational needs of many minority students, and expectations [have been and continue to be] low."

An Illinois administrator asserts:

"My research shows that large urban schools in the USA remain segregated to the same level of 1960."

These discouraged education leaders call our attention to some unpleasant realities:

- that segregation of African-American students has increased in school districts across the country since 1988, and
- that segregation of Hispanic students, who will soon be the largest minority group in the public schools, continues to increase as it has consistently since data was first collected in the 1960s. (*The Growth of Segregation in American Schools*)

### **Current Programs**

Indeed, school districts do continue to work at it: 78 percent report that they are actively pursuing school desegregation and racial balancing programs now. A statistically significant difference appeared in the percentage of school districts with active programs. Eighty-three percent of small to mid-sized school districts (those with student enrollments of 60,000 or less) have programs in existence, as compared to 72 percent of large school districts (those with student enrollments of more than 60,000) -- a difference of 11 percent.

That difference raises several questions that require further consideration:

- Are there more active desegregation/racial balancing programs in smaller districts because of their size? That is, do smaller number of students make program planning and logistics (transportation, buildings' capacities, teacher assignments) much easier?
- Are smaller cities still more livable for middle-income families than large cities?

- Does demographics and socioeconomic factors common to many urban centers (concentrations of families living in poverty, frequent exposure to personal danger and violence, high unemployment, the geographic separation of racial/ethnic groups) make it less possible to effectively integrate large school districts?

## Educational Achievement as a Function of Desegregation Efforts

### Racial Balance/Academic Results

While a majority of respondents said racially balanced schools are important in improving educational results for both minority and majority students (62 percent believe racial balancing benefits racial minority students; 51 percent believe racial balancing benefits racial majority students), their convictions are less profound than their belief that balanced schools are necessary to promote cultural diversity and multicultural education (85 percent agreeing). Comments from board members clarify the difference in responses, stressing the need for interracial tolerance and understanding to ensure social and economic viability for both minority groups and the nation.

A majority of the respondents clearly believe that only through personal interaction and exposure to information about various cultures can our children learn to live and work together. A Pennsylvania board member eloquently expressed the majority view:

"[Racially balanced schools] are important if we hope to pursue achievement of high academic standards by ALL students. Desegregated schools assist students in the development of the necessary social, intellectual and linguistic skills needed to communicate and cooperate effectively in a multilingual global society."

An Ohio respondent, who believes that desegregation has had little or no academic impact says:

"Those who are encouraged to achieve, do achieve, regardless of racial balance."

A substantial minority (31 percent) believe that desegregation and racial balancing have actually hurt the educational achievement of minority students. These respondents expressed concern about losing more and more minority children in what one board member called the "educational numbers game."

Agreeing that numbers may have become more important than results, a Georgia respondent said:

"Emphasis [in desegregation and racial balancing programs] has been on racial numbers, not on [academic results]. Emphasis must be placed on narrowing the gap, i.e., significantly increasing the educational achievement of minorities."

A school board member from Kentucky adds:

"Sometimes we [have] spent more time on racial balance numbers than on the experience at the end of the ride."

### **The Other Side of the Coin**

The dream of racially balanced schools and equal educational opportunity for all students still faces the reality of separate and unequal schools in many of our large school districts. Survey participants repeatedly emphasized the need to continue to work toward the goal of balance and equality. However, when asked if racial minority children can receive a quality education in segregated schools, 66 percent of the respondents said "yes," IF there is quality instruction and IF adequate financial and teaching resources are available. Seventy-eight percent of African-American respondents said "yes," noting that many urban districts have de facto segregation in their schools.

A Michigan school board member stated:

"We've determined that quality education can be received by any child, regardless of race and without the need to be taught in a particular racial setting, [as long as] there is a commitment to [providing] that quality education."

### **Resources for Desegregation and the Federal Role**

School desegregation, initially required by the courts and frequently enforced with legal action, has become -- according to the CUBE survey respondents -- a moral obligation, a requisite for preparing students to function effectively in society and a financial resource important to urban school districts.

The majority of school board members and administrators responding to the survey clearly perceive desegregation funds as consequential in their districts' abilities to provide good educational programs. Sixty-five percent of the respondents indicated that desegregation has served as a useful tool for bringing new resources into their districts; 64 percent believe that their school districts could not obtain adequate resources and high educational results without desegregation funds.

The overwhelming affirmative response of Hispanic and Asian-American board members -- 91 percent and 100 percent, respectively -- to the question of desegregation as an effective means of providing new resources (financial and instructional) may reflect the influence of desegregation in instituting bilingual components of consent decrees in many public schools.

A board member from Indiana maintains:

"The racial desegregation of our schools has helped better establish equity in programs and opportunities for students. Resources -- academic, programmatic, human and financial -- are more evenly distributed to our students."

Given the importance of desegregation resources to urban school districts and the fact that the lion's share of those resources comes from local and state sources, it is not surprising to learn that urban school board members believe the federal government ought to do more in support of local efforts to institute racially balanced schools and classrooms. (Based on the information presented in this survey, local sources provided approximately 46 percent of all desegregation dollars to school districts in the 1993-94 school year, with 43 percent coming from state sources and 11 percent from federal sources.)

The vast majority of respondents believe that the federal and state governments should promote desegregation and racial balancing through financial incentives (78 percent affirmative responses) and through a national public housing policy (80 percent affirmative responses).

The survey also considered the amendment of civil rights laws to include inter-district desegregation orders as a way to improve urban education. Respondents were almost evenly split on this issue; 52 percent feel the laws should be amended and 48 percent think they should not be changed to include inter-district desegregation orders.

### **Societal Changes and School District Plans**

As the demographics and social structure of urban communities continue to change, so must the education programs for the communities' children. In an article published in *The Harvard Education Letter*, January/February, 1994, Forty Years after Brown, Cities and Suburbs Face a Rising Tide of Racial Isolation, researcher Susan Eaton states: "By the year 2000, nearly 40 percent of the nation's schoolchildren will be members of minority groups; within 30 years half of the nation's public schools will be mainly black and Latino." Demographer Harold Hodgkinson was quoted in the article: "[The] numbers [of these minority-group students] are so large now that if they do not succeed, all of us will have diminished futures. This is the new reality."

A look at population changes in the U.S. that have occurred since 1980 and that are anticipated during the first half of the new century offer a graphic illustration of the pertinence of planning in meeting the needs of the students of today and tomorrow.

## Growth in Specific Populations

	<u>1980-1990</u>	<u>to 2000</u>	<u>to 2050</u>
Caucasian	+ 6.0%	+ 5.6%	+ 2.2%
African-American	+ 13.2%	+ 12.2%	+10.2%
Hispanic	+ 53.0%	+ 26.6%	+15.5%
Asian-American	+ 108.0%	+ 45.4%	+17.3%

(from *The American Almanac, 1993-1994*)

Fifty-six percent of the survey respondents noted that their desegregation plans allow for population shifts in the racial composition of their school districts, that is, changes other than the numbers of African-American and Caucasian students; 44 percent of the responding districts indicated that they do not have such elements in their desegregation plans.

One-third of the respondents say desegregation is important, but immaterial.

School board members have told us that they believe desegregation is an effective educational tool in preparing students for a culturally diverse society and in improving academic achievement. They have given great significance to desegregation resources as a factor in helping to improve educational results.

Having weighed the various results of desegregation and racial balancing efforts, and having found those results to be largely positive, nearly a third of those respondents also tell us that desegregation has become immaterial in their school districts. Thirty-two percent of the reporting urban board members say the racial composition of their districts has become so overwhelmingly minority that racial balancing is a moot point.

A New Jersey board member expresses this opinion:

"In most urban school settings, the population yields an insufficient mix of white students to have a qualitative impact."

We must, then, ask: Have we made progress in desegregation efforts in our nation's schools?

### In Conclusion

The issue of desegregation is still before the courts 40 years after the *Brown* decision; 45 percent of the CUBE survey respondents said their school districts are currently under desegregation court orders; and, in the words of a Massachusetts school board member, racism is still with us.

It certainly appears that desegregation has not yet met the goals of *Brown* and the hopes of its supporters (and there are those who believe it has not), but the majority of respondents to this survey have said that desegregation has been a good educational tool and an important means for augmenting resources in financially strapped districts.

A Tennessee board member expressed the majority opinion:

"[Desegregation] is still the way to assure quality experiences for all. Additionally, it enables a better and more equitable distribution of resources."

An Arizona respondent said:

"[Desegregation] has integrated diverse ethnic/cultural groups so they learn of [and from] each other. It has increased financial resources and student achievement."

A large majority of the respondents (85 percent) agreed that racial balancing in schools is of central importance in providing students with the skills to succeed in the culturally diverse U.S. society and in the world. A minority of respondents felt that racial balancing is not important; their comments tended to reflect the frustrations of trying to achieve the impossible -- desegregation in a school system that is segregated by housing patterns and economic factors. Thirty-three percent of the respondents said that desegregation had become immaterial in their districts because of socioeconomic influences.

Most respondents expressed a perseverance, a determination to continue forward. In the words of a Nebraska board member: "If we don't work at it, it will go back the way it was." Fighting to stay ahead, nearly 80 percent of the responding school districts have active desegregation/racial balancing programs.

Local education leaders appealed for help from the federal and state governments. Seventy-eight percent of the survey participants said they believe government should promote desegregation through financial incentives; 80 percent agreed that desegregation could be fostered by a national public housing policy; and 52 percent suggested changing civil rights laws to include inter-district desegregation orders.

It is clear that while there continues to be disparate information and varied opinions about the effectiveness of desegregation policies and programs, the majority of urban school leaders who responded to the CUBE survey believe desegregation is important and the effort to maintain it should be strengthened. They think so because . . .

"...the needs of minority students are not ignored or overlooked when they are integrated with the majority." (Florida school board member)

"...minority children were definitely not receiving equitable overall instruction before desegregation. Desegregation has either helped or showed no effect, but it hasn't hurt academic progress." (Pennsylvania school board member)

"...there are strong voices saying we've been desegregated long enough, people who think that desegregation doesn't matter. It's [those voices and those people] who make it important." (North Carolina school board member)

Gary Orfield, director of the Harvard University Project on Desegregation, presents what is perhaps the strongest argument in favor of continuing desegregation efforts promoted by the majority of those who participated in the CUBE survey:

"In a world with a number of other nations tearing apart along ethnic lines, the traditional American idea of the common school bringing together people from many backgrounds and preparing them to live as effective citizens in a democracy that guarantees rights for all deserves reaffirmation."

**STILL SEPARATE, STILL UNEQUAL?:  
DESEGREGATION IN THE 90s  
Urban School Board Members Respond**

The questions and answers below are presented in terms of valid numbers and percentages; that is to say, individuals who did not respond to a question are not included in the basis for analyzing that particular response.

**The Importance of Racial Desegregation as an Educational Tool**

**Question 1:** Do you feel that racial desegregation in the nation's public schools is as important an educational tool today as it was 10 years ago?

The majority of respondents (59 percent) answered in the affirmative. Forty-one percent said no. Hispanic responses indicated stronger feelings about the importance of desegregation as an educational tool than did other groups:

Hispanic	85% answered yes
Caucasian	63%
African-American	58%
Asian-American	50%

Westerners also responded in the positive to a significantly higher degree than respondents in other regions of the country:

West	82% answered yes
Northeast	62.5%
Central	62%
South	61%
Pacific	51.5%

Mid-sized and large school districts' positive responses were 56 percent and 71 percent, respectively.

**Question 2:** Do you feel that racial desegregation in your school district is as important an educational tool today as it was 10 years ago?

Combined responses were similar to Question 1 responses: 57 percent were positive; 43 percent did not feel that desegregation is as important in their school districts. However, tabulation of the special group responses show notable changes in Hispanic responses:

Caucasian	64% affirmative responses
Hispanic	61.5%
African-American	56%
Asian-American	33%

As in Question 1, Westerners tended to respond to this question in the affirmative in higher numbers than respondents from other regions:

West	75% answered yes
South	63%
Pacific	54.5%
Central	54%
Northeast	54%

Over 61 percent of large district respondents felt that desegregation is important as an educational tool today; 59 percent of mid-sized district respondents agreed.

**Question 3:** Are racially balanced schools important to the promotion of cultural diversity and multicultural education?

Feelings about the importance of racially balanced schools in the promotion of cultural diversity and multicultural education are very strong among survey participants with 85 percent responding in the affirmative. Representatives of growing populations (Hispanic and Asian-American) demonstrated the highest levels of agreement with the importance of racially balanced schools.

Asian-American	100% answered yes
Hispanic	92%
African-American	86%
Caucasian	84%

Regional results were:

Northeast	96% answered yes
West	92%
Central	89%
Pacific	82%
South	82%

Over 84 percent of the respondents from mid-sized school districts agreed; 87 percent of large district respondents agreed.

**Question 4:** Is your school district actively pursuing school desegregation/racial balancing programs now?

Seventy-eight percent of all respondents said their schools currently have desegregation/racial balancing programs. Group responses were:

Caucasian	86% answered yes
Asian-American	83%
Hispanic	75%
African-American	64%

Affirmative regional responses were:

West	83%
Pacific	82%
Central	78%
Northeast	78%
South	77%

The percentage of mid-sized school districts indicating current desegregation/racial balancing programs was 83 percent of respondents; 72 percent of large districts said they have programs in place.

### **Educational Achievement as a Function of Desegregation Efforts**

**Question 5:** Do you believe racially balanced schools in your community have played a major role in improving the educational results for minority students? For majority students?

While 62 percent agreed with the statement that racially balanced schools in their communities have played a major role in improving the academic achievement of minority students, 38 percent disagreed. When the same statement is applied to majority students, 51 percent agree and 49 percent disagree.

Group responses break down as follows:

Racially balanced schools have played a major role in improving educational results.  
*for minority students --*

Hispanic	83%
Caucasian	67%
African-American	54%
Asian-American	50%
West	75%
South	71%
Central	59%
Northeast	55%
Pacific	54%
Large districts	67%
Mid-sized	60%

*for majority students --*

Hispanic	75%
African-American	52%
Caucasian	49%
Asian-American	40%
West	70%
South	56.5%
Pacific	56%
Central	45%
Northeast	40%
Large district	56%
Mid-sized	48.5%

**Question 6:** Do you believe that minority children can receive a quality education in segregated schools as long as they receive quality instruction and have adequate financial and instructional resources?

Sixty-six percent of all respondents believe that minority children can receive a quality education in segregated schools as long as they receive quality instruction and adequate financial and instructional resources.

Group responses:

African-American	78% answered yes
Hispanic	69%
Caucasian	60%
Asian-American	25%
Central	75.5%
West	75%
Pacific	64.5%
Northeast	62.5%
South	57%
Mid-size districts	66%
Large districts	61%

**Question 7:** Do you believe that efforts to achieve desegregation or racial balancing have hurt the educational achievement of minority students?

Sixty-nine percent of all respondents answered no; 31 percent answered yes.

Group results:

Asian-American	75% answered no
Caucasian	73%
Hispanic	69%
African-American	60%
Central	72% answered no
South	72%
Pacific	67%
West	64%
Northeast	62.5%
Mid-size districts	34% answered no
Large districts	22%

**Financial and Instructional Resources for Desegregation Efforts**

**Question 8:** In your school district, has desegregation served as a useful tool for bringing new resources into the school system?

Sixty-five percent of the respondents indicated that desegregation has served as a useful tool for bringing new resources into the district. When that 65 percent is broken out by groups, we see the following results:

Asian-American	100% answered yes
Hispanic	91%
African-American	66%
Caucasian	63%

Regional responses break down as follows:

Northeast	71% answered yes
Central	70%
Pacific	70%
South	58%
West	58%

Mid-sized districts responded in the affirmative 65 percent of the time; large districts had a positive response rate of 70 percent.

**Question 9:** Do you believe your school district can obtain adequate financial and instructional resources and achieve high educational results without desegregation?

Sixty-four percent of the respondents believe their school districts cannot obtain adequate resources and high educational results without desegregation. The special group responses mirror the responses to the previous question.

Asian-American	100% answered no
Hispanic	83%
Caucasian	65%
African-American	63%

Northeast	71% answered no
Central	70%
Pacific	70%
South	58%
West	58%

Seventy-one percent of large districts answered in the negative, as did 66 percent of mid-sized districts.

**Question 10:** What was the dollar amount of government money received for desegregation efforts by your school district during the 1993-94 school year?

In the 1993-94 school year, local resources were the leading source of funds for desegregation efforts, followed by state and federal dollars. Since only 20-25% of all survey participants were able to provide amounts from the three sources, it is not possible to determine accuracy in dollar amounts. However, based on the information presented, local sources provided approximately 46 percent of all desegregation dollars to school districts, with 43 percent coming from state sources and 11 percent from federal sources.

### The Role of the Federal Government in Desegregation Efforts

**Question 11:** Do you believe the federal government should increase financial aid to school districts attempting to create racially balanced classrooms?

Approximately three-fourths of the respondents believe the federal government should increase financial aid to school districts attempting to create racially balanced classrooms and do more to support local districts in these efforts.

Group responses are as follows:

Hispanic	92% answered yes
African-American	84%
Caucasian	74%
Asian-American	67%
Northeast	91% answered yes
Central	83%
West	83%
Pacific	69%
South	69%

Mid-sized and large school district responses were similar; 77 percent and 78.5% answered yes, respectively.

**Question 12:** Do you believe the federal government has done as much as it should in supporting local school districts' efforts to achieve racial balance in the classroom?

Seventy-five percent of respondents said they do not believe the federal government has been as supportive of desegregation efforts as it should have been.

Groups responded as follows:

Hispanic	92% answered no
African-American	77%
Caucasian	74%
Asian-American	50%

West	83% answered no
Northeast	79%
Central	78%
South	78%
Pacific	64%
Large districts	81.5% answered no
Mid-size districts	75%

**Question 13:** Do you think that federal civil rights laws should be amended to include inter-district desegregation orders as a way to improve urban education?

Respondents are almost evenly split over the issue of amending the federal civil rights laws to include inter-district desegregation orders. Fifty-two percent feel the laws should be amended and 48 percent think they should not be changed to include inter-district desegregation orders. As may be expected, special group responses show a bit more variation in opinion.

Group responses:

Hispanic	91% answered yes
African-American	70%
Caucasian	45%
Asian-American	33%
Northeast	62.5% answered yes
South	56%
Central	54%
West	50%
Pacific	47%

Fifty-nine percent of large districts and 54 percent of mid-sized districts indicated support for amending federal civil rights laws to include desegregation orders as a way to improve urban education.

**Question 14:** Should the federal and state governments promote integration through financial incentives? Through a national public housing policy?

Seventy-eight percent of respondents believe the federal and state governments should promote integration through financial incentives and 80 percent support a national public housing policy.

Group results are as follows:

*through financial incentives --*

Asian-American	100% answered yes
Hispanic	83%
African-American	80%
Caucasian	79%

Central	85% answered yes
Pacific	85%
Northeast	77%
West	75%
South	73%

Mid-size districts	82% answered yes
Large districts	75%

*through a national public housing policy --*

Asian-American	100% answered yes
African-American	87%
Caucasian	79%
Hispanic	75%

Central	90% answered yes
Northeast	83%
Pacific	76.5%
South	75%
West	67%

Large districts	85.5% answered yes
Mid-size districts	77%

**Urban School District Desegregation Plans Based on Current Racial Composition**

**Question 15:** Has desegregation become immaterial as a result of the racial makeup of your school system?

Thirty-two percent of the respondents indicated that desegregation has become immaterial as a result of the racial composition of their school districts.

Group responses:

Asian-American	67% answered yes
Hispanic	42%
African-American	40%
Caucasian	25.5%
Pacific	43% answered yes
Central	36%
Northeast	35%
South	25%
West	17%

There was nominal difference in responses by district size. Thirty-one percent of large district respondents said desegregation has become immaterial as a result of the racial makeup of their school systems; 30 percent of mid-size district respondents agreed.

**Question 16:** Does your desegregation plan allow for shifts in the racial composition of your school district (i.e., not just the African-American and Caucasian populations)?

Fifty-six percent of all respondents noted that their desegregation plans allow for population shifts other than African-American and Caucasian populations; 44 percent of responding districts do not have such elements in their desegregation plans.

Asian-American	100% answered yes
Hispanic	91%
Caucasian	54%
African-American	49%
Northeast	65% answered yes
Pacific	58%
Central	57%
West	54.5%
South	48%
Mid-size districts	58% answered yes
Large districts	51%

**Question 17:** Is your school district currently under a desegregation court order?

Forty-five percent of the respondents are currently under a desegregation court order; 55 percent are not under court order.

Group responses show the following:

Hispanic	75% yes	25% no
African-American	46% yes	54% no
Caucasian	41% yes	59% no
Asian-American	33% yes	67% no
Central	57% yes	43% no
Northeast	50% yes	50% no
South	46% yes	54% no
Pacific	40% yes	60% no
West		100% no
Large districts	69% yes	31% no
Mid-sized	35% yes	65% no

**Question 18:** Has your district ever been under a desegregation court order or consent decree?

Sixty-nine percent reported that their districts have been under a desegregation court order or consent decree. Twenty-three percent are no longer under a court order.

Group responses:

Hispanic	82% answered yes
African-American	75.5%
Caucasian	68%
Asian-American	33%
Central	80% answered yes
South	80%
Northeast	64%
West	58%
Pacific	44%
Large districts	88.5% answered yes
Mid-sized	58.5%

## INFORMATION ON PERSONS COMPLETING SURVEY

	African-American	Hispanic	Caucasion	Asian-American	
Central	36%	31%	24%	17%	
West	3%	8%	8%		
Pacific	7%	8%	23%	83%	
Northeast	19%	23%	9%		
South	35%	31%	37%		
Mid-Size District	52%	39%	72%	50%	
Large-Size District	48%	62%	28%	50%	
	Central	West	Pacific	Northeast	South
Mid-Size District	62%	83%	72%	82%	48%
Large-Size District	39%	17%	28%	18%	52%

## PARTICIPANTS RESPONDING TO THE SURVEY

Albuquerque Public Schools, NM	Madison Metropolitan School District, WI
Allentown School District, PA	Metro Nashville, TN
Anchorage School District, AK	Milwaukee Public Schools, WI
Arlington ISD, VA	Minneapolis Public Schools, MN
Atlanta Public Schools, GA	Mobile County Public Schools, AL
Bakersfield City School District, CA	Newark School District, NJ
Baltimore City Public Schools, MD	Norfolk City Public Schools, VA
Birmingham Public Schools, AL	Oakland Unified SD, CA
Boise Independent School District, ID	Oklahoma City Public Schools, OK
Broward County Public Schools, FL	Omaha Public Schools, NE
Caddo Parish, LA	Orange County Public Schools, CA
Cedar Rapids Community School Dist., IA	Orleans Parish, LA
Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, NC	Paterson Public Schools, NJ
Chicago Board of Education (299), IL	Philadelphia School District, PA
Chula Vista Elementary School District, CA	Phoenix Elementary District #1, AZ
Cincinnati City School District, OH	Pittsburgh School District, PA
City of Savannah and County of Chatham, GA	Portsmouth Public Schools, VA
Cleveland City School District, OH	Providence School Department, RI
Columbus City, OH	Raleigh, NC
Corpus Christi ISD, TX	Richland County School District, CA
Dade County Public Schools, FL	Rochester City School District, NY
Dallas, TX	Rockford Public Schools, IL
Des Moines Public Schools, IA	Roosevelt School District #66, AZ
Detroit Public Schools, MI	Saint Paul Public Schools, MN
District of Columbia Board of Education, DC	Salem-Keizer School District 24J, NC
District School Board of Pinellas Co., FL	San Antonio Independent School District, TX
Durham Public Schools, NC	San Bernardino SD, CA
Duval County Public Schools, FL	San Diego City Schools, CA
East Baton Rouge Parish School System, LA	San Diego Unified School District, CA
Flint, MI	San Fernando ISD, CA
Fresno Unified School District, CA	Savannah-Chatham Co. Schools, GA
Ft. Wayne Community Schools, IN	School District of Omaha, NE
Garland Independent School District, TX	Seattle School District, WA
Gary Community Schools Corp., IN	South Bend Community School Corp, IN.
Glendale Unified School District, CA	Springfield Public Schools, MA
Grand Rapids Public Schools, MI	Springfield School District, IL
Granite School District, UT	St. Louis Public Schools, MO
Guilford County School System, NC	Syracuse City School District, NY
Hampton City Schools, VA	Tacoma Public Schools, WA
Hartford ISD, CT	Toledo Public Schools, OH
Hawaii Board of Education, HI	Tucson Unified School District, AZ
Hillsborough County School District, FL	Tulsa Public Schools, OK
Houston I.S.D., TX	Ulysses V. Spiva, VA
Indianapolis Public Schools, IN	Virginia Beach City Public Schools, VA
Inglewood Unified School District, CA	Wake County Public Schools, NC
Jackson Public School District, MS	Washoe County Public Schools, NV
Jefferson County Public Schools, KY	Wichita Public Schools, KS
Jersey City Public Schools, NJ	Winston Salem Forsyth Co. Schools, NC
Jiquan School District	Yonkers Public Schools, NY
Jordan School District, UT	
Kansas City School District, MO	
Lansing, MI	
Las Cruces School, NM	
Lincoln Public Schools, NE	
Little Rock School District, AR	
Los Angeles U.S.D., CA	
Lubbock Independent School District, TX	

NOTE: Many school districts had multiple responses to the survey. The number of school districts listed here does not represent the total number of responses received to the survey.

## about NSBA...

The National School Boards Association is the nationwide advocacy organization for public school governance. NSBA's mission is to foster excellence and equity in public elementary and secondary education in the United States through local school board leadership. NSBA achieves its mission by amplifying the influence of school boards across the country in all public forums relevant to federal and national education issues, by representing the school board perspective before federal government agencies and with national organizations that affect education, and by providing vital information and services to Federation Members and school boards throughout the nation.

NSBA advocates local school boards as the ultimate expression of the unique American institution of representative governance of public school districts. NSBA supports the capacity of each school board -- acting on behalf of and in close concert with the people of its community -- to envision the future of education in its community, to establish a structure and environment that allow all students to reach their maximum potential, to provide accountability for the people of its community on performance in the schools, and to serve as the key community advocate for children and youth and their public schools.

Founded in 1940, NSBA is a not-for-profit federation of state associations of school boards across the United States and the school boards of the District of Columbia, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. NSBA represents the nation's 95,000 school board members. These board members govern 15,025 local school districts that serve more than 40 million public school students -- approximately 90 percent of all elementary and secondary school students in the nation. Virtually all school board members are elected; the remainder are appointed by elected officials.

NSBA policy is determined by a 150-member Delegate Assembly of local school board members from throughout the nation. The 24-member Board of Directors translates this policy into action. Programs and services are administered by the NSBA Executive Director, assisted by a professional staff. NSBA is located in metropolitan Washington, D.C.

### NSBA's Mission Statement

The mission of the National School Boards Association, working with and through all its Federation Members, is to foster excellence and equity in public education through school board leadership.

### NSBA's Vision for Public Education

The National School Boards Association believes local school boards are the nation's preeminent expression of grass roots democracy and that this form of governance of the public schools is fundamental to the continued success of public education. Adequately funded, student-centered public schools will provide, in a safe and supportive environment, a comprehensive education for the whole child and will prepare all of America's children for a lifetime of learning in a diverse, democratic society and an interdependent global economy. America's school boards, by creating a vision of excellence and equity for every child, will provide performance-oriented schools that meet today's problems as well as the challenges of tomorrow.

National School Boards Association  
1680 Duke Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Phone: 703-838-6722  
Fax: 703-683-7590

*Excellence and Equity in Public Education through School Board Leadership*

12/94

## LIST OF PARTICIPATING CUBE DISTRICTS

- Akron Public Schools, Akron, OH  
 Albuquerque Public Schools, Albuquerque, NM  
 Amarillo Independent School District, Amarillo, TX  
 Anchorage School District, Anchorage, AK  
 Atlanta Board of Education, Atlanta, GA  
 Aurora Public Schools, Aurora, CO  
 Bakersfield City School District, Bakersfield, CA  
 Baltimore City Public Schools, Baltimore, MD  
 Birmingham Public School System, Birmingham, AL  
 Boston Public Schools, Boston, MA  
 Broward County School District, Ft. Lauderdale, FL  
 Buffalo Public Schools, Buffalo, NY  
 Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, Charlotte, NC  
 Chicago Board of Education, Chicago, IL  
 Cleveland City School District, Cleveland, OH  
 Columbus City School District, Columbus, OH  
 Dade County Schools, Miami, FL  
 Dallas Independent School District, Dallas, TX  
 Dayton Board of Education, Dayton, OH  
 Des Moines Ind. Comm. School Dist., Des Moines, IA  
 Detroit Public School System, Detroit, MI  
 District of Columbia Board of Ed., Washington, DC  
 Durham Public Schools, Durham, NC  
 Duval County School Board, Jacksonville, FL  
 Flint School District, Flint, MI  
 Fort Wayne Community Schools, Fort Wayne, IN  
 Ft. Worth Ind. School District, Ft. Worth, TX  
 Grand Rapids Public Schools, Grand Rapids, MI  
 Gullford County Public Schools, Greensboro, NC  
 Hampton City Schools, Hampton, VA  
 Hawaii State Board of Education, Honolulu, HI  
 Hillsborough County School District, Tampa, FL  
 Houston Independent School District, Houston, TX  
 Indianapolis Public Schools, Indianapolis, IN  
 Jackson Public Schools, Jackson, MS  
 Jefferson County Public Schools, Louisville, KY  
 Lincoln Public Schools, Lincoln, NE  
 Little Rock School District, Little Rock, AR  
 Madison Metropolitan School District, Madison, WI  
 Memphis City Schools, Memphis, TN  
 Metro Nashville Public Schools, Nashville, TN  
 Milwaukee Public Schools, Milwaukee, WI  
 Mobile County Public Schools, Mobile, AL  
 Montgomery Public Schools, Montgomery, AL  
 New York City Board of Education, Brooklyn, NY  
 Newark Board of Education, Newark, NJ  
 Norfolk Public Schools, Norfolk, VA  
 Oakland Unified School District, Oakland, CA  
 Oklahoma City Public Schools #89, Oklahoma City, OK  
 Omaha School District, Omaha, NE  
 Orange County School Board, Orlando, FL  
 Orleans Parish Public Schools, New Orleans, LA  
 Palm Beach County Schools, West Palm Beach, FL  
 Paterson Public Schools, Paterson, NJ  
 Peoria School District #150, Peoria, IL  
 Philadelphia School District, Philadelphia, PA  
 Phoenix Elementary Schools, Phoenix, AZ  
 Pittsburgh Public Schools, Pittsburgh, PA  
 Portsmouth Public Schools, Portsmouth, VA  
 Providence School District, Providence, RI  
 Richland County School District #1, Columbia, SC  
 Richmond City Schools, Richmond, VA  
 Riverside Unified School District, Riverside, CA  
 Rochester City School District, Rochester, NY  
 Roosevelt School District #66, Phoenix, AZ  
 Salem-Keizer Public Schools, Salem, OR  
 San Antonio Ind. School District, San Antonio, TX  
 San Diego Unified School District, San Diego, CA  
 San Francisco Unified School District, San Francisco, CA  
 Savannah-Chatham Public Schools, Savannah, GA  
 Seattle School District, Seattle, WA  
 South Bend Community School Corporation, South Bend, IN  
 Springfield School District, Springfield, MA  
 St. Paul ISD #625, St. Paul, MN  
 St. Louis Public Schools, St. Louis, MO  
 Tacoma School District #10, Tacoma, WA  
 Toledo Public Schools, Toledo, OH  
 Tucson Unified School District, Tucson, AZ  
 Tulsa Public Schools, Tulsa, OK  
 Virginia Beach Public Schools, Virginia Beach, VA  
 Wake County Public Schools, Raleigh, NC  
 Washoe County School District, Reno, NV  
 West Contra Costa Unified School District, Richmond, CA  
 Wichita Unified School District 259, Wichita, KS  
 Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Schools, Winston-Salem, NC  
 Yonkers Public Schools, Yonkers, NY  
 Youngstown City School District, Youngstown, OH  
 Ysleta Independent School District, El Paso, TX

### Council of Urban Boards of Education

A component of the National School Boards Association's  
 National Affiliate Program specifically for urban school leaders.