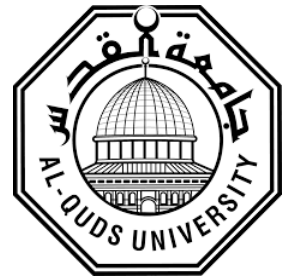


**Deanship of Graduate Studies
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**Has School Desegregation Improved Equality of
Educational Outcomes in the United States?
The Case of Boston's Public Schools, 2010-2019.**

Aya Anwar Hasan Alkhatib

M.A. Thesis

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Thesis Approval

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Dedication

To all beloved people who supported, assisted and encouraged me.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis submitted for the degree of Master, is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this study (or any part of the same) has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed: aya A/Khatib

Aya Anwar Hasan Alkhatib

Date: 22 /10 /2019

Acknowledgments

I give a special thanks and appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Susan Lanser for her guidance to complete a respectable and valuable work.

I would like to present my modest research to my mother and thank her for her patience all of these years.

I dedicate this study to my star in the darkness, my father. He is far away, but enlightens my life and my academic path, and reminds me to continue all the way around. My father is the passion and the encouragement of all the things that I am doing, and things I will do. Thank you for your generosity even if you are not around but you are deep inside.

I inscribe my work with all the fear, stress, depression, joy, success, all the feelings that I have felt during writing my study. Hopefully, this research would be a valuable gift to gratify you. I promise it is just the beginning, DAD.

Words never end... people write in pen, but I write in tears.

Abstract

The study aimed to evaluate desegregation success or failure in the United States through examining the Boston Public School system in the last decade from 2010 to 2019. The study used three approaches: historical, quantitative, and qualitative approaches using the Boston Public Schools annual reports, NGOs, scholarly research, and government data. The results of the study are: Boston Public Schools are more segregated than forty-five years ago, school segregation is primarily a result of inherited residential segregation in disadvantaged neighborhoods for African and Latin American citizens, and structural racism is the deepest cause of the continuous educational inequality for racial minorities. The study recommends prioritizing one goal for all schools for equal education and a comprehensive development plan for all neighborhoods. Construct and locate new schools on the borders of different background neighborhoods that aim to be a center of racial interaction to reduce prejudice and stereotypes. Plan for extracurricular policies, plans, and activities that aim to integrate students with different races and backgrounds. Share awareness about the multicultural community in cultural and intellectual clubs, social media, and talk shows among students.

هل ساهم انتهاء الفصل العنصري في المدارس في تحسين النتائج الاكاديمية و
التعليمية و انتهاء الفروقات بين نتائج الطلاب في الولايات المتحدة؟
دراسة حالة مدارس بوسطن الحكومية 2010-2019

اعداد آية انور حسن الخطيب

اشراف: سو لانسر

الملخص:

هدفت الدراسة الى تقييم عملية دمج الأقليات العرقية في المدارس الحكومية في الولايات المتحدة من خلال دراسة حالة المدارس الحكومية في مدينة بوسطن خلال الفترة ٢٠١٠ الى ٢٠١٩. واستخدمت الدراسة المنهج: التاريخي والكمي والنوعي لتحليل التقارير السنوية الخاصة بمدارس بوسطن، والمؤسسات الحكومية و غير الحكومية.

وتوصلت الدراسة لعدة نتائج: فشل عملية دمج الطلبة من الأقليات العرقية بالمدارس للحصول على تعليم افضل لجميع الطلاب، وان الفصل العنصري بين الأقليات العرقية والطلبة اصحاب البشرة البيضاء قد ازدادت، كما استنتجت بأن لب المشكلة هو العنصرية الهيكلية، و العزل في مناطق السكن. واوصت الدراسة بضرورة توحيد هدف وخطة دمج لجميع الاقليات العرقية في جميع المدارس، وعمل خطة تنموية شاملة لمدينة بوسطن بما فيها أماكن سكن الخاصة بالاقليات، و بناء مدارس جديدة بين حدود السكن بين الاقليات العرقية والسكان ذو البشرة البيضاء لتقليل والحد من العنصرية والتعصب، والعمل على تشكيل خطط لفعاليات غير منجية التي تهدف الى دمج الطلاب ذو الاعراق المختلفة، ونشر الوعي بأهمية التعدد العرقي في المجتمع الامريكي عبر وسائل الاعلام و النوادي الثقافية

Introduction

The United States has tried to foster greater equality over the years among American citizens. The U.S. changed from legalizing slavery, which considered Africans as property, to passing the 14th Amendment (1868), which considered blacks as American citizens, protected their rights, and gave them civil immunities. However, progress toward full equality has been slow and uneven. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Supreme Court ruled that “separate but equal” facilities were constitutional, allowing separate public facilities for whites and blacks. This ruling helped to maintain the idea of the inferiority of blacks by isolating the races, offering them poor facilities and inferior education. After more than half a century, *Brown v Board* (1954) ruled that “separate is inherently unequal” and that African American children could go to any public school of their choice. To continue what *Brown* started, the Civil Rights Act (1964) was enacted to end segregation and prevent discrimination in public places based on race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, and sex (Castro & Johns, 2016). Nowadays, the right to equal public schooling is clearer in the American doctrine than the right to equal housing and jobs. The American political parties insist on the importance of an equal educational opportunity for all students (McArdle, Orfield, 2006).

The primary purpose of desegregation was to reduce educational inequalities.¹ Desegregation is linked to academic achievement, but also is correlated to a

¹ School desegregation means “the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin” (Theohais & Delmont, p197, 2017). It entails “the abolition of state laws and government practices that enforced these laws” (Armor & Rossell, p232, 2001).

greater harmony among people of different backgrounds and different ethnicities, to better tolerance and mutual respect for living and working in a diverse environment with diverse people (Lee, 2004). It is important to mention that education is the basic pillar allowing any community to prosper. If students do not receive a good education from the start, they cannot achieve higher education and consequently do not improve their economic status. Education is a cornerstone for racial minorities to change their lives (Orfield & McArdle, 2006).

However, education inequality among racial minorities remains a central issue in the United States in general and in some metropolitan areas in Massachusetts in particular. Massachusetts is a successful state in many respects, a center of higher education and the nation's leader in education; it has a large share of private universities and well-paying jobs in technology, biotech, finance, and other sectors. (McArdle, Orfield, 2006). Nonetheless, schools isolated by color, ethnicity, income, language, and residential location remain in some areas of Massachusetts in the 21st century (Lee, 2004). This study will highlight the case of Boston, a major city in a northern state, to show that school segregation continues in Boston's public schools, which have a history of segregation. The officials issued the *Racial Imbalance Act* (1965) to enforce racial balance in schools, and Judge Arthur Garrity ruled in a District Court decision (1974) to end the unconstitutional dual school system that did not offer the same facilities and quality education for black students as for white students (Lukas, 1985, 238).

Despite these legal orders and subsequent actions on the part of the city of Boston, data show that educational inequality persists in the 21st century. In the 2018/19 school year, Black students made up 30.9% of the population in the Boston Public Schools

(BPS), while 42.1% of students were Latinos. In contrast, white students represented only 14.6 percent of the students in BPS. This study investigates the causes, consequences, and possible remedies for this continued imbalance. My study addresses the remaining gaps in the integration process and the continuous educational inequality available to whites versus African-American and Latin-American students in the Boston Public School system. Housing segregation is primarily a result of inherited residential segregation due to poverty and isolation; nearly “60 percent of the city’s schools are intensely segregated.” The study argues that school segregation and inequalities are primarily a result of the ghettoized housing system in the U.S. Desegregation orders tried to settle the segregated schools that are the result of residential patterns rather than solving the underlying reason of housing segregation, which is the focus of this study (Rothstein, 2014). Additionally, re-segregation trends in integrated schools are intensifying the racial isolation in Boston Public Schools, resulting in an indirect barrier for racial minorities from entering high-quality schools because the students are underprepared for high school admission exams and private school curricula. The state funding is not enough for the disadvantaged schools and METCO program. Moreover, the underrepresentation of teachers of racial minorities negatively affects racial minority students’ performance through teachers’ explicit or implicit behavior towards children because of their race.

Educational inequality in the U.S is in many ways similar to the educational inequality in the current State of Israel. Both cases have ghettoized educational systems due to discrimination, de facto segregation, and inequalities by race and class that maintain the second-class citizenship respectively of African American and Hispanic

Americans in the United States and Palestinian Israelis (Makdisi, 2016). This study also argues that in theory, the American Constitution protects all citizens equally, as the 14th Amendment requires, while the Nation State Law which is one of the Israeli basic laws that has the constitutional status to deny Palestinian rights, including the equal education right.

Research Questions, Hypothesis, Methodology

Research questions

- Are schools in Boston more racially diverse in the 21st century

compared to more than 40 years ago? To what extent has Massachusetts succeeded in desegregating its public schools?

This question would examine the nature of Boston schools in the 21st century. For example, it will look at whether the percentage of minority students compared to white students is less or more, and whether the proportion of African American and Latino teachers compared to white teachers has improved or not. I'm examining the causes of re-segregation and the possible antidotes to re-segregation, and I'm positing that even if classrooms and curricula were equal, students of color would still be disadvantaged for a set of reasons: disadvantaged neighborhoods, the underrepresentation of teachers of the same race on students', psychological, BPS system flaws, including entrance exams, assignment plans, and the leaders frequent turnover that I then attribute to structural racism. This way I can compare if there is a real improvement in diversity from 45 years

ago until now in public schools. If yes, it is a positive indicator of success; if not, there is a deep-rooted problem that needs a comprehensive remedy.

- How well do different racial groups perform in the BPS, and how can we explain the differentials?

These two questions would try to look at the test scores of each group at schools to see the performance average of each racial group in math, English language, and science. The outcomes show the achievement gaps between racial groups. The differences in performance are related to some factors such as, the environment at the disadvantaged neighborhoods for African and Latin-Americans, high poverty schools, language barrier, teacher underrepresentation at the school system and discrimination.

Hypothesis

- The Court-ordered integration orders in public schools have contributed to creating and improving educational equality among the races in Massachusetts.

I found that integration would be much more productive if desegregation applied not only to schools but also to neighborhoods. School desegregation has positive impacts for several years then re-segregation will start again. Residential patterns in Boston promote racial isolation due to poverty, discrimination, and language barriers. Neighborhood schools are a result of the unfair distribution of housing based on race and income, and African- and Latin-Americans tend to live in disadvantaged areas; as a result, schools will be disadvantaged.

- The integration process in public schools has contributed to creating equality among the races in the U.S.

I cannot deny that integration has moved the U.S. toward greater racial equality. But, I have found that integration is insufficient. The case of Boston is a way to examine inner cities and metropolitan areas. Desegregation is unworkable in these areas because of demographics and housing patterns that entail the concentration of certain races in certain areas. Officials thus need to find solutions based on the demographics of the areas.

- There are some factors that prevent achieving complete equal education and social justice.

In the U.S. there is greater educational equality today than in the past, but not full equality. Several factors prevent full equality, such as the white flight to private schools in order not to engage with minorities or lower-class students. Officials, and the Reversed Supreme Court decisions play a role in re-segregating schools. The complication between these factors and other factors like residential patterns, funding, the historically-rooted ideas of inferiority, and etc. constitute a pattern of structural racism.

Methodology

To answer these research questions, the methodological approach of this project is to study the specific case of the Boston Public Schools using, quantitative, qualitative, and historical data.

1. Analysis of primary data demonstrates the level of equality and inequality in the educational system. The quantitative data on which I draw includes statistics concerning population demographics, student achievement gaps, and teachers' data to measure Boston Public Schools outcomes, level, and performance from 2010 to 2019.

2. I also analyze qualitative data to provide a deep understanding of impressions, experiences, opinions, and outcomes for students in the Boston Public Schools. This process helps me to highlight the facts, the scope, and the depth of the problem, and to evaluate the different identifications, explanations, and analyses of the issue from different points of views. For this information I have relied on newspapers such as the *Boston Globe*, and the New York Times, and annual reports by the BPS, by NGOs including The Boston Foundation, the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, Civil Rights Project, the Harvard, Boston Area Research Initiative, and Northeastern University. I have also drawn upon governmental data from the National Park Service, the U.S. Department of the Interior, the Department of Education, and the United States Government Accountability Office,

3. The project is also grounded in historical analysis. I read books such as *Common Ground* and Jonthan Kozil's *Death at an Early Age* and scholarly articles that describe segregation and desegregation in the 19th and 20th centuries (1896-1978). Historical data gives a better understanding of the past in order to understand the present issues and help to predict the future. The use of many secondary sources helped me to expand my understanding of the conflict and inequalities in the past that shaped the current situation from the different perspectives of civil rights activists, teachers, officials and leaders, scholars, media, and judges. The research specifically focused on federal laws and

Supreme Court decisions, analyzing each case and the reasons for issuing these decisions, as well as their consequences and results. Through quantitative, qualitative, and historical methods, I have been able to provide an analysis that reflects the nature of Boston's public schools in the 21st century.

The study limitation in this thesis concerns unequal educational opportunities and outcomes in the Boston public schools. I see three limitations to this project. First, my research is limited in one city, so I cannot measure the impact of integration or re-segregation in other cities compared to Boston. Second, the study will examine one type of schools, the public schools and will therefore not cover the academic achievements of racial minorities in private schools. Third, the data and sources are limited to recent years from 2010 to 2019, and therefore do not provide data covering the longer period from the beginnings of court-ordered desegregation to the present.

This study is organized into three main chapters. Following a review of the relevant literature, I begin by explaining the history of segregation and desegregation in the Boston Public Schools through the court-ordered changes of the 1970s. I then focus on the accomplishments and limitations of desegregation efforts in the BPS during the decade from 2010 to 2019 and assess the implications of re-segregation for students of color in the Boston Public Schools. My third chapter compares the segregation of Boston students to the situation for Arabic-speaking Palestinian students in Israel. Finally, I make recommendations for the ways in which school systems might end effects of segregation and the structural racism that underlies inequality.

Literature Review

Many scholars have written about the success and limitations of desegregation and its effects on public schools. Those scholars have different opinions and look at the issue from different angles. This section includes books, scholarly articles, journal articles, reports, and theories that focus both on the national level and on the city of Boston.

Billings and Tate tried to understand the intersection of race and property to education as an analytical tool for understanding educational inequalities in their article *Toward a Critical Race Theory*. “Rights to use and enjoyment” means that white students can enjoy their white privilege in the schools’ settings, and white privilege allows for specific economic and social privileges. Jonathan Kozol, in his book *Savage Inequalities*, gave an example of two different schools in New York. The one for whites had a smaller population in its classes, and the curriculum emphasized critical thinking and logic. In contrast, the black school had a population double that of the white school and did not enjoy the same facilities and the advanced curriculum. “Reputation and status property,” schools or school programs that are identified as non-white or urban schools do not have the same status and good reputation as suburban white schools. Suburban schools lose their reputation when urban students are bused into these schools. The same is true of bilingual education; while languages are considered important and prestigious, when it comes to non-white and English as a second language for non-white students, these schools with bilingual speakers have a lower status. “The absolute right to exclude” was demonstrated in schools by refusing access to schools. Later, blacks were in separate

schools, and after desegregation, there was a trend of white flight that led to the re-segregation of the school settings. Racial minorities' exclusion from educational institutions continued to the university level (Billings & Tate, 1995 p59, 60).

Orfield and Frankenberg claim in their article that covers the period from 1954 to 2011 that “desegregation policy became re-segregation policy.” Reversed Supreme Court decisions and reversed policies cause perpetual segregation. President Nixon’s “southern strategy,” for example, slowed and decreased desegregation and turned the Supreme Court conservative by appointing four conservative judges and firing federal officials who wanted to desegregate the country. The same occurred when the Reagan Administration policy ended the “Emergency School Aid Act,” a federal desegregation assistance program” enacted in 1972, which was a voluntary program aimed to retrain teachers, develop curricula, establish magnet schools, and manage race tensions with positive impacts. The overturned Supreme Court decisions on desegregation of education became re-segregation policies, for example, in *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), when the Supreme Court forbade suburban desegregation even for violations by Detroit and Michigan educational officials who prevented metropolitan areas from desegregation. In 1991, the Supreme Court ordered the lower courts to eliminate desegregation in the schools. In 2007, for instance, *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, was a controversial decision that stopped most of the local voluntary plans education leaders wished to continue. The fluctuations in the desegregation process and the absence of real leadership in the past caused problems in schools. During the years from 1968 to 2011, the US experienced demographic changes in school enrollment, including a 28% decline of white enrollment in public schools mostly in southern and

western states, a 19% increase in black enrollment, and 45% Hispanic became the dominant minority in western states schools. The northeast had Latinos growing number (Orfield & Frankenberg, p 723, 731,720, 721).

Armor and Rossell disagree with Orfield & Frankenberg that school desegregation has failed because of reversed policies. They argue that the desegregation process did not succeed only because of the demographic trends that affected the degree of success of desegregation, not because of dismantling desegregation or the courts' failure. Armor and Rossell argue in their study, which covered the period from 1954 to 1995, that desegregation failed to deliver on its promises in closing the achievement gaps and improving race relations. There is even less evidence that school desegregation has reduced racial prejudice, improved race relations, or benefited personal self-esteem. The modest reduction of achievement gaps occurred because of resource changes, when Black and Latino children got more resources than previously, not because of racial balance. Armor and Rossell note that not all individuals appreciate the interracial experience. Because of this failure, Armor and Rossel recommend that desegregation should be voluntary instead of mandatory. Voluntary busing should include financial incentives for transportation and free lunch, in all types of schools in the country (Armor & Rossell, 2001, p17, 38,4).

Fox et. al. claimed in opposition to Armor & Rossell that integration has benefits for educational institutions, and they call officials to action. This report covered the integration process from the 1970s through 2014. The authors affirm that the K–12 student population became more racially and ethnically diverse and schools and colleges should reflect this complexity. The authors of this report argue that it is time for political

officials and leaders to focus on fostering diverse educational settings. Desegregated schools and racially balanced schools have real benefits measured by higher student test scores and a high percentage of graduation rates. In the 1970s-1980s, there were fewer achievement gaps between racial minorities and white students. Diverse colleges also enhance critical thinking, students' motivation, and self-confidence for all students. Ineffective integration policies and dismantling desegregation orders drag the American nation back and fail to prepare children for the 21st century (Cobom, Fox, Wells, 2016, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 10, 12).

From a different angle, King expresses the importance of diversity, but for the workforce. We can learn from a report entitled "The State of Racial Diversity in the Educator Workforce," focusing on the years 2000 to 2015, the importance of increasing the proportion of teachers of color in schools. It is very important to have African-American teachers to become role models for all students and to break down prejudice and stereotypes and prepare students to live and work in a diverse society. Studies find that teachers of color are a crucial factor in improving academic outcomes and closing the achievement gap. Despite of the benefits, each state has a higher percentage of racial minority students than teachers of color. Teachers of color teach in many kinds of schools. But a higher percentage of Hispanic and black teachers are employed in high-poverty schools, with a smaller number of white teachers. Moreover, teachers of color are only 2 % of the teaching workforce in the U.S. (King, et.al.2016, p7).

A national report to Congressional Requesters focuses on double segregation for racial minorities in public schools k-12 in the period of 2000/1 to 2013/14. Double segregation means segregation by race and poverty. First, the report examines the

relationship between race, ethnicity, socioeconomic, or income and the minority students' academic outcomes in public schools. Students who have low-income families are mostly associated with worse outcomes and vice versa. Hispanics and Blacks in segregated schools are growing in numbers. Segregation is doubled, increasing from 10 percent to 17 percent. Hispanic students are subjected to “triply segregated” race, class, and language. Both races have less access to academic offerings in high poverty and one-race schools. Second, charter and magnet schools have increased the problem of segregated schools because some districts have changed low-performing public schools to charter schools with no real upgrading of facilities. Magnet schools have many issues and challenges. Minority students were unable to attend some magnet schools because schools try to have a certain ratio of whites and racial minorities, accepting more racial minority students would disrupt the ratio of minority to non-minority, so students of color attend their neighborhood schools (GAO, 2016, 27).

Another nationwide study focuses on school segregation by three elements poverty, race, and location. The researchers found an increasing of disadvantaged African Americans and Latinos, and the American public schools face greater challenges to meet the needs of students from disadvantaged families. Orfield and et al. found that racially segregated non-white schools that have 10% or zero white students have tripled over the last 25 years (1991-2016) and that this period was significantly influenced by Supreme Court decisions (1991-2007) that limited integration; other authors agree on this point. This report also shows desegregation by state. The most segregated states for Africans and Latino students are New York, Illinois, and Michigan, and then New Jersey, Maryland, and California. The data shows that high segregation exists even in the states

that have a lower proportion of Latinos in the statewide enrollment, such as in Rhode Island, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. Segregation is intense in the Northern states (Orfield, Ee, Frankenberg, Hawley 2016).

School segregation isn't a recent issue in the north. Boston, for example, has a long history of racial and educational segregation. Ruth Batson, a mother of three school-age daughters born and raised in Roxbury was a civil rights activist in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. She wanted to get a respectable education for black children for their educational growth. She defended the rights of her children and the African- American community against resistance from white parents and politicians. Boston Public Schools for African-Americans were overcrowded and different in funding, resources, and teacher quality. After Batson lost the election to be a member of the Boston school committee in 1951, she decided to show people how Boston Public Schools were maintaining segregation that was denied by the public school committee after the Brown desegregation order. Batson insisted that there were negative consequences of inferior education on African Americans' future. In 1963, she organized a "Stay Out for Freedom" protest with nearly 3000 senior and junior black students staying out of schools as a way to get attention from the school committee. This protesting continued to 1964 (Delmont, 2016, p1, 4, 2, 7).

Death at an Early Age by Jonathan Kozol is a humanitarian book about a personal experience for a moderate white teacher in an overcrowded ghetto public school in Roxbury in 1964/65. Kozol was an eyewitness to the Boston public school system. Kozol's book provides further evidence of longstanding segregation in Boston, but from

a teacher's perspective. Kozol suggests in his book that there was a lack of democracy within Boston's public school system. Kozol's colleagues in the segregated school used to punish students using brutal discipline, such as corporal punishment, screaming, and the use of racial terms such as "negro" and "zoo". These types of school systems had heavily imbalanced races, many substitute and unqualified teachers, overcrowded conditions, and the types of books did not mention Africans as a part of American society. The public school system was wasting years, losing chances, and ending hopes for young African-Americans (Kozol, 1967).

Government officials blocked the school integration. After the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Kozol noted that the federal government did not consider Boston's school programs to be providing legitimate compensation. Moreover, the Boston school committee said that there was no inferior education in the schools, but rather schools had an inferior type of students. The school committee refused to focus on the problem and believed that Mr. Kozol was only a "troublemaker." They hid the truth of deep racism inside the schools and used the excuses and justifications that mixing different races would hold white children back. Children believed in their responsibility for their failure to thrive in the schools. Consequently, their grades became lower, and they were often many levels behind their grades (Kozol, 1967).

Antony Lukas's book *Common Ground*, published in 1985, consists of real stories and real characters, focusing on three Bostonian families from different races and backgrounds. The Irish poor widow Alice McGoff lives in Charlestown, the African American Rachel Twymon in Roxbury, and the Yankees Colin and Joan Diver in the South End. The book describes complicated and deep race and class relations from 1968

to 1978. The main point is about the desegregation crisis and the way it changed the Bostonians' lives (Lukas, 1985).

Common Ground focuses on the controversial court-ordered busing that achieved notoriety in Massachusetts in the 1970s. In 1972, Federal judge Arthur Garrity began to learn about the case of Boston. As Lukas notes, "Garrity knew the complexity involved in applying the evolving doctrine to northern cities like Boston." Boston was the only city to which the Brown decision gave "a clean bill of health," which meant that schools were in good condition. But he ordered a desegregation order to guarantee the rights of the future generations of black students and to alter the future behavior of a large section of the population. In his opinion, the solution was a constitutional remedy. The remedy called for certain age groups to be bused to white schools and others to remain in their neighborhood schools. (Lukas, 1985, p231, 235, 237, 241, 249, 251, 254)

The Judge's desegregation order was controversial. It stimulated a violent response in the city. People's reactions were different, but most citizens responded like Alice McGoff and Louise Day Hicks, a member of the Boston public school board and a previous chairwoman. Both of them resisted Garrity's order. McGoff vowed that she would never put her children on a bus to Roxbury. The mayor of Boston Kevin White also opposed busing. He was a moderate person who had always supported the African-American cause and racial justice, but not after 1974. The Denver family's reaction to desegregation was different. Colin Denver was an educated moderate Yankee who worked at the Mayor's office. In the beginning Colin welcomed Arthur Garrity's decision in the BPS. But later he came to doubt Garrity's remedy. Garrity's solution was ineffective, produced opposite results from what the reformers had intended. As Lukas

described Dever's opinion, "Boston's busing program consisted of the black poor with the white poor, the deprived with the deprived, because of white flight." From 1972 to 1976, in four years, Boston's school had lost nearly 20,000 students. Whatever the legal remedy, it was undercut by socio-economic realities (Lukas, 1985, p 611-650).

Delmont and Theoharis argue in their article "Rethinking the Boston 'Busing Crisis' that the media and some historians and scholars have misrepresented the history of Boston based on political interest. They claim that the media misrepresented the busing crisis. The media tried to show that the story was about busing, not desegregation or "opening of racially balanced schools." and to show the difference between segregation in the south and racial imbalance in the north. Boston's citizens identified as anti- forced busing, not as a segregationist, and the problem identified as racial imbalance, not segregation. The authors criticize the historian Antony Lukas's book *Common Ground*, for having "discounted black leaders as key players in the decade, and focused on a black family not active in the community and whose children embodied a variety of social ills." " Black people became bit players in Boston's most famous civil rights event, and the pathological lens Lukas used on the Twymons became the way to see enduring educational problems in the city as largely the fault of black culture and behaviors." p 194. The authors claim that this failure to represent the history focused on busing, not on the structural segregation and neglected demands of black and Latino parents for changing public officials and the school system. The systematic inequality was represented as a personal and parochial prejudice. These framings produced by writers, historians, scholars, and journalists had introduced busing as a failed strategy in the north based on a one-sided narrative. (Delmont and Theoharis, 2017, 193).

Garrity's desegregation order was not the end of racial and educational inequalities, which have continued into the 21st century. A secondary resource study focuses on segregation and education outcomes from 1989 to 2001 in Boston. Lee argues that separate schools are still unequal even though Massachusetts has made many extensive reform efforts. These reforms ignored the inequalities and led to white flight and fragmented metropolitan areas in the last decades. Most of the segregated schools for blacks and Latinos are poor, with less experienced teachers, high dropout rates, and high teacher turnover. Disadvantaged schools impact students' test scores negatively while a racial minority in white schools are more likely to graduate on time with higher test scores (Lee, 2004, p9, 20, 26,28).

"Losing Ground: School Segregation in Massachusetts" is a report focusing on trends in school segregation and re-segregation in Massachusetts from 1989 to 2011 by Ayscue, et. al. The study covers Boston, Springfield, Worcester, Lawrence, Lowell, Brockton, and Cambridge. There was a decrease in 2000-2010/11 of white enrollment, indicating a white shift from the public schools. However, there was an increase in the share of Latino and Asian students, and the number of Black students remained stable. This data shows that the typical black student attends a predominantly black and Latino school. The current trends would increase the isolation of black and Latino students, which is dangerous for all students in this increasingly diverse state and country (Ayscue, et. al.2013).

Orfield and McArdle agree with Lee and Ayscue, et. al on the growing demographics and increasing isolation, but they added the residential segregation perspective. Orfield and McArdle argue in their study in 2006 that the connection

between segregated housing and segregated schools in metro Boston shows how house location plays a critical role in schools and success in the society. The authors link residential segregation to individual success using three arguments. First, the housing market is flawed, which causes a deep intergenerational inequality. Hispanics and African-Americans who succeed economically are deprived of good schools and usually not able to buy the same kinds of housing as whites, which is linked to a safe environment, with public services, healthcare, etc. The second argument is that forces and policies create and produce inequalities and segregation for children in unequal educational locations. Schools are much more sharply linked to the location by legal limits on where students can go to school. Schools and courts did not enact effective desegregation plans. Their third argument is about housing policy that focuses only on supply and price and ignores the importance of the residential area for getting opportunities for quality education and well-paid job. Low-cost houses in disadvantaged areas will increase disadvantaged people in inadequate schools and violent environment. Orfield and McArdle suggest that, “Decisions about subsidized housing should include a serious assessment of educational opportunities for the children forced by poverty to live there” (Orfield& McArdle, 2006, p3, 4,13)

Chapter One

Historical Background: Segregation and Desegregation in the Boston Public Schools

This chapter identifies the historical landmarks of segregation and desegregation in Boston and more broadly in the United States, with particular attention to Supreme Court decisions in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This chapter clarifies what Jim Crow, Civil Rights Acts, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the Federal Court decisions in *Plessy*, *Brown*, *Keyes*, and *Garrity* had entailed concerning segregation or desegregation in the U.S. These landmarks had their positive and negative impacts on educational quality and equality among all the racial groups.

In 1866, the first Civil Rights Act was issued and the U.S. government abolished slavery. American citizens had the right to enforce contracts and hold property equally to whites regardless of their race and previous condition of slavery. But president Andrew Johnson vetoed the Civil Rights Act, and then the Republican Congress overrode Johnson's veto and passed the bill (Garcia, et al, 2004, p9). The Civil Rights Act replaced racial exclusion with racial segregation especially in the south. The southern states' resistance continued, leading to the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment. It was ratified in 1868 to protect African American rights. All citizens had full citizen rights regardless of race, color, and religion. No state had the right to prevent their rights or immunities. However, the 14th amendment was widely violated, not respected, and African Americans had not received equal rights. The continuous

racial segregation in public places led to the Jim Crow Era. (Garcia, et al, 2004, p9, 12, 10, 14). Jim Crow is the name given to a set of laws that required segregation between whites and blacks in public accommodation, schools, and transportation in the southern states from 1877 to 1954 and beyond. It also prevented blacks from exercising their voting rights. Jim Crow promoted and maintained the meaning of white supremacy above the African American people (Little Park, p2).

The “separate but equal” decision legalized a caste system that offered accommodations for both African American and white citizens, but separately. The Supreme Court affirmed the legitimacy of Jim Crow in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. In other words, *Plessy* decreed that there could be separate facilities for each race, such as buses, railroads, and schools. *Plessy* was thus a “new birth of Jim Crow.” *Plessy* had drastic and long lasting effects on public education. Under *Plessy* black students were barred from entering historically white universities. African American students did not have the same facilities and quality schools as whites (Garcia, et.al, 2004, p15, 18).

The *Plessy* decision was the result of a lawsuit against Louisiana’s separate railway law, enacted in 1890 (Groves, p66). This statute compelled all the railways to afford separate public services and accommodations for whites and people of color. Homer Plessy was a biracial citizen who refused to comply with Louisiana’s Separate Car Act; he entered the chamber reserved for whites and was then arrested by the police. *Plessy* based his appeal on two pleas, his race and the law. He made two different and conflicting arguments. The first plea was that he was mulatto, mixed-race African and Caucasian. He argued that officials should treat him like a white citizen. The second plea was that the Louisiana legislation was unconstitutional because it violated the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, which abolished slavery and protected the American citizens’ rights and immunities equally by the

law. Louisiana rejected Plessy's justifications for violating the law. Accordingly, Plessy appealed his case to the U.S. Supreme Court (Maidment, p125 &126).

In rejecting Plessy's argument, Judge Henry Brown used two claims. First, he claimed that the American Constitution allowed the states to control the railways. "First Brown assumes, and correctly so, that there were no constitutional barriers to state control over the activities of railways. Therefore the Louisiana law in this respect was based on firm constitutional foundation." The Supreme Court had established the governmental authority to control railways. Second, he believed that the law was reasonable, and did not violate the 14th Amendment, because "other states and the District of Columbia had enacted policies, validated constitutionally by the courts, which were based on distinguishing between its citizens on a racial basis." State segregation was a governmental policy. Based on the Judge's definition of equality, he believed that his decision did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment and provided equal protection. "His definition of the equality which governs the state's responsibility to its citizens, the government to maintain a political and legal equality, but that within these contours a state could distinguish between its citizens on the basis of race." with no more further explanation or articulation. Judge Brown said that social tradition considered that the races should be separate and he could not go against tradition. And also, he argued that racial segregation did not imply the inferiority of a certain race. It was clear that Justice Brown was a supporter of the "separate but equal" doctrine (Maidment, p 131, 127, 128, 129).

Prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, the 1954 Supreme Court decision that overturned *Plessy*, many trends and groups were working to end Jim Crow and desegregate racial minorities, especially in the educational fields. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a civil rights organization founded in 1909 in the city of Springfield, Illinois as a result of race riots, anti-black violence and horrific lynching, worked

to resist and help African Americans to obtain their rights guaranteed in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments that promised to end slavery, give equal protection and the right to vote, and to end the *Plessy* decision. The NAACP's mission was to reduce social, economic, and educational discrimination for racial minorities through desegregating schools and educational institutions, and it appealed many cases to the Supreme Court in its efforts to bring about racial desegregation (NAACP; Kunfalvi, 2014, p22).

World War I created a massive demand of workers in factories, so some southern blacks took this opportunity to leave the south (Christensen, 2007). After World War One, a Great Migration movement started which lasted from 1915 to 1960; in this period many African-Americans left the south for the north and west. The economic motives involved looking for good jobs and prosperity in the north because of the oppressive economic situations in the south. Social motives included the unfair legal system, the risk of lynching, the denial of suffrage, and inequality in education. African American efforts during and after the period of the Second World War led to two decades of the civil rights era that would legally end segregation and discrimination in public accommodations (Garcia 2004, p35).

The landmark Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education* ended the “separate but equal” era by ruling that “separate is inherently unequal.” Brown was a result of five similar desegregation cases in Delaware, Washington D.C., South Carolina, Virginia, and Kansas. The core of all of these cases was that black students were being prohibited from attending white schools, exactly like what happened to Linda Brown in Topeka, Kansas in a case filed in 1951. Her father, Oliver Brown started the debate; he gathered other parents who had complaints about schools and brought their complaints to NAACP. The District Court judge “stated that the education received by African American children in Topeka was unequal because segregation created a stigma, but at the same time the laws of Kansas had to

be upheld.” The Supreme Court “announced that unless Kansas was willing to declare its segregation system illegal, that the case would have to continue on to the Supreme Court” (Kunfalvi, 2014, p22, 24; Smith, p14, 15, 24, 25). The *Brown* decision corrected the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment accepted under *Plessy*. In other words, racial segregation in public schools that was maintained by the states prevented racial minorities from having equal access to educational opportunities. Therefore, students were not protected. The court found that even if the facilities were equal in separate schools in Kansas’ schools, separate was inherently unequal; segregation by race was enough to let black children feel inferior to their white counterparts. The court decision was reasonable to avoid destroying their minds and hearts. Desegregation was not only about equal facilities; also, it was about inferior treatment (Rogers, p2).

On one hand, *Brown* yielded many progressive benefits regarding education. The decision led to the closure of de jure African American schools, separated schools that opened under the law, and black students could attend white schools and vice versa (Rogers, p4 & p5). The *Brown* decision overruled school segregation and enabled students to attend desegregated education, institutions, and communities. Some of U.S institutions, such as the U.S. Army and U.S. colleges, became more likely to value the importance of integration of different races and backgrounds than they did before *Brown* (Orfield, & Lee, 2004, p41). Moreover, the decision raised the awareness of the need for equal educational opportunities among groups such as Mexican-, Asian-, and Indian-Americans. *Brown* encouraged them to file other desegregation lawsuits. *Brown v. Board* is thus the cornerstone of developing a legal aspect and a national consciousness of social equality since the mid-twentieth century (Smith, p2). On the other hand, *Brown v. Board* did not fulfill its promise in certain ways. The Constitution did not mention or require a complete racial balance. The integration of different races was not

mandatory and for many it was not a priority. The point of desegregation was that students were able to attend any public school regardless of their race. However, the idea of mixing students of different races also needs to become a primary goal to achieve full equality (Rogers, p2, 3). In one way it was crucial to end racial inequality in the southern half of the country, but this focus neglected the de facto segregation in the north and for Latinos who lived in the north and west (Orfield & Lee, p4; Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014, p722).

The 1964 Civil Rights Act was a way to address the issues that *Brown* alone didn't achieve. This law was issued in order to end segregation and prevent discrimination in public places based on race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, and sex (Castro & Johns, 2016). Article VI of the act stated that the federal government would withdraw its funds if school districts did not present a desegregation plan (Smith, p27). The Civil Right Act aimed to give African Americans their equal rights and stop discrimination against them. Black had faced disparities in their basic rights, employment, housing, voting, and education. Blacks could not work at well-paid jobs or have ready access to high-quality or integrated housing and schooling (Castro & Johns, 2016).

The Civil Rights Law played a significant role in continuing what *Brown* started. It took real steps to end and eliminate segregation. Two of those steps included busing and creating magnet schools in the north and south. Busing was one form of desegregation that transferred students from their neighborhoods to schools in other districts. Magnet schools were schools that specialized in science or art and attracted students from the suburbs as well as from metropolitan areas. These two practices gave students from different backgrounds the opportunity to learn together, and to know each other (Gazzar, 2014; GAO, 2016)

Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans were all subjected to educational segregation and discrimination (Moran, 2013, p3). But Hispanics were not considered victims

in the 1950s and 1960s; the focus was only on African Americans. A lawsuit came on the U.S. district court agenda in the late 1960s and the early 1970s to serve the educational equal rights of Latinos as well as African-Americans (Moran, 2013, p12, 15; Orfield & F, 2014, p723). *Keyes v. School District No.1* (1973) was the first desegregation court decision outside the south. There were fewer desegregation remedies and lawsuits in the northern states because of the North's history of de facto rather than de jure segregation (Armor & Rossell, 2001 p230, 228). Thus, this decision was an important milestone in stopping de facto segregation as a Constitutional violation (Moran, 2013, p5, 1).

In the case of *Keyes*, parents of Latino and African American students claimed that Denver Public Schools were racially segregated. The racial segregation violated the "equal protection" in the Fourteenth Amendment. The district court showed that school districts in Denver implemented racial discrimination practices through a "neighborhood school policy" and "school site selection" and "gerrymandering of student attendance zones" that maintained ethnic segregation. The school segregation separated blacks from whites in specific schools and they were designed to mix black and Latino students in specific schools, while other better schools were for whites. The school board did not offer equal opportunities, such as equal resources and qualified teachers for Latinos and blacks. Based on district court findings, busing was needed in the Denver public schools (Casas, 2006, p87 & 88).

The Denver School Board appealed the case to the Court of Appeals, which agreed on some decisions and reversed the others, and then the case moved to a higher court. The Tenth Circuit upheld the district court. But, the court reversed the finding that the school board had denied equal protection and unequal treatment of racial minorities in their schools. So, the plaintiffs moved their case to the Supreme Court. Attorneys for the plaintiffs argued that the black-majority segregated elementary and high schools had unqualified teachers. In contrast,

attorneys for the school system claimed the school assignment plan reflects the geographic attendance and the composition of the neighborhood. They argued that the purpose of assigning black teachers only to predominantly black schools was to make them role models for the black students. The Supreme Court concluded that even though this was not a “statutory dual system of education,” the school board actions created segregation in the core city schools, and the district could not deny its responsibility for these policies that isolated students by race. Justice Brennan stated, “Denver was a tri-ethnic not a bi-racial community.” Latinos and African-Americans were subjected to the same educational discrimination compared to Anglo students (Casas, 2006,p88, 89,90, 91,92).

This court decision was translated to achieving racial balance through mandatory busing plans. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) also participated in pushing schools to adopt and implement desegregation plans. Many other school systems in the north implemented “voluntary transfer plans” by which any student that was a member of a majority group in the school could attend another school in which his/her race was a minority. The government closed racial minority schools and reassigned students to white schools. (Armor & Rossell, p. 224).

Keyes neglected the economic concerns of Latinos. Latinos preferred neighborhoods schools that reflected their language and culture and doubted the benefits of integration as a solution to educational inequality. Besides, white citizens did not encourage the integration process. Consequently, white flight to the suburbs increased, and economic and racial isolation in segregated schools also increased, accompanied by low academic achievement for the Latinos. Neighborhood schools were more likely to revert to ethnic segregation. Politicians did not view re-segregation as a serious and continuous problem after desegregation. After years, officials said that Denver had succeeded in decreasing racism and prejudice in the city as a

whole, not only in public schools. So local leaders treated people's choice to live in ethnically segregated neighborhoods as a personal choice rather than as a school desegregation failure or as a product of racism (Moran, 2013, p3, 6, 7, 8, 10, & 14).

The historical background about segregation and desegregation that I have been providing is clearly about the United States in general. The following section focuses specifically on the case of Boston to show that segregation existed in the northern states, not only in the southern states. Boston was known as a "cradle of liberty" and a leader in the field of education. But this reputation did not reflect the reality of de facto segregation in the Boston Public Schools. The city of Boston implemented the Boston Racial Imbalance Law in 1965 a famous desegregation law that tried to eliminate these inequalities.

The Boston Racial Imbalance Law was the first racial imbalance law in the country. It stipulated that schools should not have more than 50 percent of one race. The decision was a result of the state commission report in 1965, concluding that Boston's schools were the most segregated in Massachusetts. Forty-six schools in the city were deemed to be racially unbalanced (Kovach, 1971). Many steps were taken to implement the Racial Imbalance Law; new schools were initiated, introduced the METCO busing program, and citizens could apply from all over the city for teaching and administrative jobs. Even though these approaches were successful, many believed that Boston had not solved the segregation issue (Reinhold, 1973).

The Racial Imbalance Act failed to achieve its goal. After 1965, segregation in Boston grew intensely (Reinhold, 1973). There were no real intentions to integrate public schools by Bostonians because of their intolerance to busing. Some officials also doubted the effectiveness of the law and idea of busing. Mayor Kevin White said that the Racial Imbalance Law was, "seriously flawed" because the law required that schools should not have more than 50% non- whites in each school since education was poor all over the city, so mixing students

would not end the educational inequality. In addition, the school committee refused to admit the existence of segregation (Kovach, 1971; Reinhold, 1973).

Basically, not all people were against the Racial Imbalance Act, but still there was a fear of busing plans and violence that would divide the city (Reinhold, 1973). Bostonians agreed to implement busing without any federal court order or federal troops. Critics said this law oversimplified a complicated issue. As a result of avoiding the implementation of the law, the percentage of black students increased from 56% in 1967-8 to 68% in 1971/72. Consequently, the District Court ruled a desegregation order (*Tallulah Morgan v. James Hennigan*) in 1974 to integrate the Boston schools (Reinhold, 1973; Newman, 2017).

Tallulah Morgan v. James Hennigan was a District Court judgment that the NAACP filed against the Boston Board of Education. The plaintiffs, a group of parents represented by Tallulah Morgan, claimed that the Boston school committee, headed by James Henningan, intentionally allowed a dual educational system in the city of Boston. The plaintiffs argued that racial imbalance in public schools was “neither fortuitous or innocent,” and that the school committee reinforced the imbalance by using multiple techniques such as “various pupil assignment practices, site selection policies, and differential grade structures.” The school committee also had stenographic accounts of meetings that proved its resistance to desegregation. In contrast, the school committee representative James St. Clair, known as “best trial lawyer in the country,” said racial imbalance was the result of “neighborhood school policy” because Boston was a city of ethnic enclaves. Plaintiffs appealed the case to the District 1 Court. Judge Arthur Garrity, a Federal justice, decided to study Boston’s case and propose a remedy (Lukas, 1985, p, 235 236).

On June 21, Garrity released his order with a 152-page opinion based on the committee’s documents. Garrity’s opinion determined that the School Committee of Boston had a

“segregative intent,” and that the dual school system did not offer the same facilities and quality education for blacks and whites. These segregated schools affected both students and teachers. Thus he concluded that, “the entire school system of Boston is unconstitutionally segregated” (Lukas, 1985, 238).

Garrity ordered that desegregation of Boston’s public schools should take three phases. Phase I began on September 12, 1974; it covered only white and black neighborhoods situated next to each other. Judge Garrity ordered the School Board to submit a desegregation plan and the State Board of Education to reduce the racial imbalance in Boston’s public schools to reflect the students’ composition. Parent committees were also formed. Phase II, “The Master Plan,” implemented in 1975, covered all areas of Boston except East Boston. It included constructing new schools, revision of attendance zones, and a new transfer policy. The transfer policy gave all students the chance to attend any school in the city, whether in the same district or not. The third and final phase was to establish a Department of Implementation in 1977. The department was directed to monitor the desegregation process and to compile data about Boston public schools for the court (Bermon, 2016).

The federal court approved many educational programs to improve education and foster integration. These new programs included vocational training and pre-college training to support blacks’ future educational paths. Garrity ordered schools to purchase small sporting equipment like basketballs and also promoted transferring students into different schools. Moreover, he raised the proportion not only of Hispanic and black students in formerly white schools, but also of Hispanic and black teachers and administrators (Wald, 1985). Desegregation influenced race relations on a very basic level. For an example of a positive consequence of the court-ordered plan, white classmates ate dinner at the home of Mr. Burton, the president of the student council in the South Boston schools at Columbia Point. Columbia

Point was a “black housing project.” This example showed how students broke stereotypes and build trust between races (Wald, 1985).

Critics said desegregation had to start in regions that had mutual racial tolerance and diverse citizens. South Boston was a white community, while Roxbury was a predominantly black community. The point is that desegregation could be more effective and progressive if it started with integrating neighborhoods that have more than one race in each neighborhood rather than integrating two different neighborhoods that did not have something in common (Gallerman, 2014). The order included busing students from majority-black schools to white schools and vice versa. The predominantly Irish-American residents of South Boston resisted the order, and local white politicians refused to admit the existence of racial discrimination. Thus, black students were subjected to violence in the streets, causing trauma and fear for them. Boston’s citizens lost trust in the state and interracial relations (Barron, 2012, p1, 8, 7, 11, 10).

Another result of the desegregation order in Boston was white flight. In 1974, the school system total enrollment was 82,000 students, 55% of them were white students. The number of students decreased from 90,000 students, 60% were white students in 1972. By 1976, 71,000 students remained in the system, only 44% of them white. The flight was to private or parochial schools, or because their families had left the city. By the end of 1976, blacks, Hispanics, and blacks were a majority in the Boston public schools. Middle-class parents of all races moved their children from the public school system. The Boston public school system was thus left to students from the lowest social and economic classes. In other words, it mixed poor blacks with poor whites (Lukas, 1985, p649, 650).

Judge Garrity did not recognize people’s needs in Boston. The citizens considered the issue of educational inequality as an economic issue. For instance, schools in Roxbury lacked

toilet seats, and in South Boston schools lacked textbooks. Each neighborhood demanded different equipment and facilities. People were not looking for busing. The Judge did not listen to all communities, only to some African-Americans, so he missed the big picture of what the citizens really needed. Many children did not receive the quality of education they deserve (Gelleman, 2014). Garrity's decision remains controversial because the Boston public schools remained racially imbalanced after the desegregation process. Desegregation did not succeed in integrating schools because the decision process did not cover all schools and neighborhoods. White flight to the suburbs was also an obstacle to achieve effective desegregation. The desegregation decision also did not get enough support from leaders or people with power (Newman, 2017).

Despite the negative results and the criticism, after Garrity's order there were some modest changes regarding empowering teachers. The number of teachers and school administrators representing racial minorities increased more than 1000 black and other racial minority teachers were assigned to Boston public school system from 1974 to 1980. Massachusetts Education Reform Act, an act that ended some reform clauses that limited the power of the Boston Teacher Union. The union contract in 1993 increased functional autonomy, and Boston teachers remained the best paid in Massachusetts. However, these changes were accompanied by some drawbacks that faced Boston public schools during the 1980s and the 1990s. During the period from 1965 to 1980, the primary conflict had been racial segregation, but from 1981 to 1994, the major problem was the politics of funding public education because of contract disputes. There was a shortage of textbooks and instructional equipment, and underfunded facility repair and maintenance (Dentler, 1994, p272, 274).

During 1974 to 1981, students' test scores remained low. Withdrawal rates and suspension rates remained high for racial minorities. However, in 1987, there were moderate improvements in metropolitan achievement test scores. In the subsequent years, between 1988 and 1993, the achievement gap did not improve or worsen. According to the Massachusetts Educational Assessment Program, the program "that generates scores in math and science from 8th to 12th grade," in 1992 there was another rise from poor education since decades in school performance. For example, "12 percent of BPS eighth-graders scored above the statewide median in mathematics and 13 percent of them scored higher in science. Among BPS twelfth-graders, 18 percent scored above the median in mathematics and 14 percent in science" (Dentler, 1994, p275). The improvement was momentary, attributed to decrease dropout rates. After 1983, racial minority dropout rates also improved, but dropout rates were still high and needed more efforts at reduction. In 1991, for example, the statewide dropout cohort was more than 40 percent Hispanic and more than 30 percent black. These high rates indicated a deep inequality among racial minorities and impeded opportunities for Hispanics and blacks to continue their path into college and to the well-paid jobs that were available to a larger number of their white peers (Dentler, 1994, p276).

This section has presented a brief history on a national level and explored, in particular, the background of Boston's history with regard to segregation and desegregation in the late twentieth century. There is a record of both success and failure in the wake of laws and Supreme Court decisions that shaped the current situation of public schools. Understanding the past and learning from it is the stepping-stone towards finding solutions. The history of both the U.S in general and the particular case of Boston raises a lot of inquiries about the future of equal educational opportunities. By exploring more deeply the case of Boston, I will attempt

to explore and explain the factors underlying more recent educational inequality and suggest pathways toward finding solutions.

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Chapter Two

The Limits of Desegregation and the Challenges of School Equality: The Case of Boston Public Schools 2010-2019

Poor conditions continued to inhibit educational equality in the Boston Public Schools even during the most recent period. The continuation of school segregation in Boston in the twenty-first century is primarily a result of inherited residential segregation due to poverty and isolation. In addition to de facto housing segregation, re-segregation trends in integrated schools contribute to isolating racial minorities and making it more difficult for them enter high-quality schools. I argue that structural racism underlies these inequities in the Boston public schools, sustaining inequalities that include poverty, neighborhood segregation and underfunding, differential treatment of children by race, and an underrepresentation of racial minority teachers that negatively affects minority students' performance outcomes. Structural racism is a system in which American history, cultural representations, public policies, and institutional practices intersect and reinforce ways to perpetuate the inequality of racial minority groups. The historical and cultural dimensions associate privileged with "whiteness" and associate disadvantaged with "color". It is not is not something that a few people or institutions choose to practice. Instead it has been a feature of the social, economic and political systems in which we all exist." (Aspen Institute). Structural racism at the deepest level of American culture and society thus needs to be changed in order to end the most

intensive source of educational inequality for Black and Latino children in Boston Public Schools (Wiecek, 2011).

Neighborhood Schools and Residential Patterns

The distribution of BPS schools by geography makes school inequality deeper and harder to solve. De facto residential segregation is one of the major reasons for Boston's school segregation. De facto residential segregation involves a concentration of individuals with the same race and class in specific neighborhoods based on income. De facto segregation could take place for different reasons; white homeowners may refuse to sell to blacks, and sometimes it happens in more subtle ways than an outright refusal; blacks and whites may prefer to live in a homogenous place; or income differences may prohibit blacks from choosing homes in certain areas (Rothstein, 2019). As Semuels says, nearly sixteen percent of the Boston's schools are intensely segregated: "students of color occupy at least 90 percent of the seats," (Semuels, 2019; Vaznis, 2018). In the 2018/19 school year, 42% of BPS students were Latino students and 34% were Black; these percentages combined make up 76% of the BPS demographic of 54,000 students. In contrast, white students make up only 14% and Asian students only 9% of BPS students.

The problem of de facto school segregation occurs because of the organization of the public school system by neighborhoods in most American cities. Most of the neighborhoods in Boston are racially and economically segregated, and as a consequence, the schools are segregated as well (Semuels, 2019). Furthermore, what makes a school segregation remedy difficult is that decision-makers seem to have no real strategies in place for overcoming housing segregation (Semuels, 2019). Basically, then, desegregation efforts seek to solve the effect rather than solve the underlying cause, the residential segregation in disadvantaged

neighborhoods. Public officials cannot get rid of de facto segregation in a country whose economy is dominated by market factors. The U.S market economy in which people purchase housing according to what their income permits does not allow most people of color to purchase houses; because black and Hispanic peoples usually have lower incomes and fewer assets, they have fewer choices and a restricted housing supply. Moreover, Williams claims that when African Americans want to buy a house in a white neighborhood, the price quoted to African-Americans rises. It is another kind of discrimination to make prices higher and unregulated, which makes minorities even more restricted to the poorer neighborhoods (Williams, 2018).

Because the geographic distribution of high-quality schools in Boston is uneven, there are also wide disparities in academic program resources among Boston Public Schools. Schools that have more than 50% white students are mostly located in white neighborhoods and have stronger curricular offerings than the schools that serve black and Latino students. For example, Eliot School, a predominately white school, has parents who have raised tens of thousands of dollars for music, art, robotics, and other programs for the school. By contrast, most of the students at King School live in households that receive government assistance, which makes fundraising more difficult, and that explains some of the variation in outcomes between white and black schools. For this and other reasons, students' performance varies among the Boston Public Schools. The results of the MCAS test conducted in 2017 provide an example of how public schools vary in outcomes. About "52 percent of students at Eliot met or exceeded expectations in English, and 57 percent did in math, beating state averages in both subjects. At King K-8, where students of color fill nearly all the seats, 8 percent of students met or exceeded expectations in English, and 6 percent did in math" (Vaznis, 2018).

The previous interim superintendent of the Boston schools in 2018, Laura Perille,

defended the racial and ethnic composition of the city schools. Schools indeed reflect the city's residential segregation, Perille contended, but that is because most of the BPS system is comprised of neighborhood schools, but still, there are many white students to spread around BPS the superintendent noted. However, Boston Public School data shows that white students are not distributed among 124 schools as she said; rather white students make up only 14 percent of the entire BPS population in study year 2017/2018 (Vaznis, 2018; BPS).

However, as a way to foster school integration or at least to promote better opportunities for BPS students, the school system enacted the Home-Based Assignment Policy (HBAP) in 2014. HBAP is a geographic system that tries to offer access to good and close-by schools. This is achieved by grouping schools according to what are called Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS) Tiers, a system that ranks schools by students' performance on academic proficiency tests. Each family gets "at least six MCAS Tiered schools in their baskets, based on their locations relative to their home address. These six MCAS Tiered schools include: the two closest Tier 1 (deemed highest quality) schools; the four nearest schools that are either Tier 1 or 2 (high quality); and the six nearest schools that are in Tiers 1, 2 or 3. These are joined by any schools within one mile of the family's home; option schools." (O'Brien & et.al, 2018, p9&10,70)

HBAP's goals are to offer minimum number which are six high quality schools options that aimed to provide equitable access across neighborhoods of residence and to reduce transportation cost and travel time to and from schools, and to reduce the inequalities from residential segregation through access to quality education. The HBAP system transformed the previous school choice plan or the three zones plan, which divided the city into east, west, and north zones. The families could choose schools in their assigned zones or schools in other zones within a mile of their home address and in this way seek for opportunities outside their

neighborhoods (O'Brien & et.al, 2018, p9&10,70). In 2018, however, a Northeastern University research institute evaluated HBAP and found it unsuccessful. Indeed, it has produced outcomes entirely opposite to the intended ones. This is because HBAP maintained the economic and racial isolation of schools rather than improving the inherited inequalities under the previous three-zone system. Tier 1 schools tend to be closer to white and Asian neighborhoods than to black and Latino neighborhoods; most of the Tier 1 high schools are concentrated in some neighborhoods and absent in others. One of the solutions for this policy would be to establish and distribute new schools across the city. In other words, neither HBAP nor any school choice system will be able to succeed if none of the schools near a student's home are high-quality schools. The geographic distribution of high-quality schools in Boston is so uneven that the HBAP system cannot solve the inequalities. The HBAP system thus represents an unfair policy that concentrates students in their neighborhoods rather than encouraging diversity (O'Brien & et.al, 2018, 30, 31, 38, 3, 69,70).

Besides de facto isolation, a re-segregation factor such as the phenomenon known as "white flight" contributes to fostering continued inequality (Semuels, 2019). During the past two decades, white flight has caused a demographic change that makes Boston public schools less diverse and re-segregated. The reasons lie in whites moving to suburbs for better schools, or white students preferring private schools rather than public institutions (Vaznis, 2018).

One effort to combat school segregation in Boston is the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO), a program established in 1966 to reduce the effects of residential segregation on disadvantaged students by busing them to high-quality schools. METCO is a voluntary school integration program that transfers disadvantaged students from their neighborhoods in Boston to white suburban schools. It doesn't integrate schools completely, but it enables students to integrate with students of different backgrounds and to

make better school available to students of color to reduce intolerance between them (Semuels, 2019). In the 2012/2013 school year, for example, more than 3,000 students of color enrolled in 34 suburban schools.

The achievement level of METCO students is higher than that of students inside Boston. Most of the children who participate in METCO achieve higher levels of language arts proficiency, reading, and math than their peers who stay in Boston schools. 93% of METCO students graduate from high school, compared to 61% of the students in Boston public schools. METCO dropout rates in 2009 were 2.9%, which is 70% lower than the statewide average of 9.3%. METCO needs more funds and suburban districts to enroll in this project and ensure equality among students (MAPC, p60).

Busing programs such as METCO are actually a good solution in some ways; METCO helps students to have better education for children of color in suburban schools and expand their learning experience with students from different backgrounds. The program, however, is small according to the state data; student numbers are growing and funds are decreasing. The 2018/2019-study year shows 3% of black students in Belmont, 4% in Lexington, Concord, and Wellesley, and 4.7% in Newton, figures that include METCO students as Semuels suggests. Most of the state aid diverts to charter schools; charter schools get \$167 million out of 220 million dollars. Before 2001, the state fund was used to implement racial balance plan, but the plan is eliminated. Under-funding of METCO is a serious problem that made Martin Walsh, the mayor of Boston, request millions for public schools of additional dollars from the state legislature this year (Semuels, 2019, p6, 10 &18).

Another problem with METCO is that its admissions process does not guarantee fair access to all students. The admission system was originally “first come, first-served” but now it is a lottery system. Semuels believes that a lottery system that selects the applications

randomly is unfair because the lottery makes access to METCO unsure even if parents register their children when they are born. The waiting list for 2019 had 8,000 students on it. There are no available seats for the elementary grades in the suburbs. Also, the number of students in suburban schools has grown in some outdated buildings, and these facilities cannot welcome more students. METCO students in the Belmont school district, for example, make up only 2 percent of Belmont students because some districts, including Belmont, do not accept METCO students in certain early grades, and only accept middle and high school students. According to a Belmont district spokesperson, first-grade classes had one METCO student in 2017, while ninth-grade classes had eleven METCO students. Generally, it is more difficult for students to change schools when they reach middle or high school. The academics are different and challenging; changing schools would be easier at an early age because as students get older, they would become accustomed to the new environment and curricula (Semuels, 2019, p7).

Insufficient funding is part of the issue that prevents METCO from working comprehensively. Funding is stagnant from the Boston statehouse, and the costs of running the program are rising. Some districts can choose the way they will spend METCO money. For example, Belmont used to have a bus that transports children to and from school. Now, students have to take public transportation, which often means taking two buses or two subways, increasing the burden by two hours (Semuels, 2019).

De facto segregation, insufficient funding of schools and educational programs, and the underrepresentation of teachers of color widen the differences between Latinos, blacks and their Asian and white peers. The complicated intersection between history, poverty, cultural beliefs, white flight, and the Boston public school policies makes racism and inequality among citizens deep, structural and hard to solve because of the interweaving of these elements at the expense of minorities' rights (Wiecek, 2011,p5).

I would argue that if Boston neighborhoods were integrated and resources were equally distributed among different levels of income, we would not be concerned about the need for METCO, or METCO funds, or unavailable seats in the suburban schools. As for the House-Based Assignment policy, it would succeed and serve high-quality schools for all students with different backgrounds if neighborhoods were integrated. BPS would not vary in outcomes based on income and different facilities. But the fact is that the ZIP code currently determines what kind of schools students can attend. Rothstein supports my idea that de facto segregation is the main issue and argues in his article that “education policy is housing policy,” which means that school reforms alone are not enough; they are worthy but do not improve the poorest black children’s performance. Rothstein argues that “we cannot desegregate schools without desegregating these neighborhoods.” Voluntary busing, magnet schools, and other integration policies cannot sufficiently integrate low-income students with middle-class students in good schools. Most of the racial minority ghettos are geographically distanced from white middle-class neighborhoods. Moreover, there are systemic economic and social issues beyond school integration such as neighborhood violence and poor health care that reforms should include to enable disadvantaged children to benefit from their schooling (Rothstein, 2014).

Neighborhood integration could be beneficial to school integration and to improving the quality of education. Public officials can demand to mix housing levels in transit-oriented areas within walking distance to public transportation. Transit-oriented areas “means inclusive access for all to local and citywide opportunities and resources by the most efficient and healthful combination of mobility modes, at the lowest financial and environmental cost, and with the highest resilience to disruptive events” (Institute for Transportation and Development Policy Organization). Locating different types and levels of housing, including

both low-income and middle-class housing, in high-opportunity areas that have quality education, jobs, and fresh food enables low-income housing owners to access high quality schools and reduces the isolation within neighborhoods, and could diversify, integrate, and revitalize the areas racially and economically. This way, the neighborhood would not be isolated and concentrated on one race or one economic level. Citizens can benefit from resource equality regardless of their race or income. Local housing authorities should regionalize access to affordable housing through the distribution of fair housing. Affordable housing could be achieved by unifying application and tenant selection processes in all public housing authorities and municipalities. Unit assignment and admission selection should be based on race, ethnicity, class, and disability to ensure equality and diversity (MAPC, 2012, p133, 134).

The Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) is a council planning organization that analyzes regional trends inside metropolitan Boston and illustrates the legacy of discrimination that isolates Whites from Blacks and Latinos. MAPC describes the boundaries that mark neighborhoods, schools, and municipalities that prevent access to good schools, jobs and safe neighborhoods because people are separated by geographic boundaries by race, ethnicity and other socioeconomic characteristics, depriving some groups of access to the resources and amenities. MAPC recommends that a “fund and carry out housing mobility assistance and counseling program” is a way to access fair housing. A counseling program will focus on families with children who live in disadvantaged neighborhoods. It should link poor households with housing opportunities in affluent or high opportunity locations. It also assists disadvantaged citizens with housing search and all needed information about security deposits and moving expenses. The program assistance continues until families reside and are stable in their new communities (MAPC, 2012, p50, 134 &135).

MAPC suggests the need to “realign the borders of planning regions and create pathways to opportunity.” Creating pathways of opportunity for disadvantaged citizens to end neighborhood segregation. This approach means planning for the use of resources including education, transportation, housing, and economic resources in certain geographic areas. Urban planners should plan to areas in a way that opens pathways that promotes cross-border collaborations in a way that opens and creates pathways to housing, schools, jobs, recreational facilities, and civic amenities between lower opportunity, racially segregated areas, and suburban areas of growth (MAPC, 2012, 135).

Boston Public Schools System Flaws

There are other problems in the schools besides residential segregation. The elite Boston Latin School has failed to diversify its classes. Madrigal and Sampson claim that Boston Latin School, the oldest public school in the country, is racially imbalanced. In the 2018/2019 school years, only 7.5% of students at Boston Latin School were black, and only 12.5% were Latinos despite the fact that 30.9% of BPS students are black and 42.1% of students are Latinos. In contrast, white students represent only 14.6 percent of the students in BPS, but 46.8% of the students who attend Boston Latin School are white, and the rest who are not black or Latino are 33.2 percent (Madrigal & Sampson, 2019).

The admission exams are one of the real barriers for racial minority students to enter elite public schools such as Boston Latin. The admission process is based on two criteria: GPA and the Independent School Entrance Exam (ISEE). The admission process does not evaluate students’ qualification accurately for two reasons. Firstly, there are variations in grading among charter, parochial, and traditional public schools. Secondly, the ISEE, the admissions exam, was developed according to the curriculum of private schools. Private schools cover

different materials than the BPS offers (Madrigal & Sampson, 2019), especially in math. For example, algebra is not covered in BPS (Goodman & et al, 2018, p2). This means that ISEE is not suitable to evaluate students at public schools occupied primarily by blacks and Latinos (Madrigal & Sampson, 2019).

In the 2016/2017 school year 10 percent of all new students entering BLS came from Holy Name Parish, a private (parochial) school. Sixty-nine percent of the students of Holy Name Parish who took the admission exam for BPS received a grade of A+. Students got A+ because Holy Name teaches subjects directly relevant to the exam that most students of color do not have in public schools. This means that most students of color cannot attend BLS. Yet according to researchers at Harvard's Rappaport Institute, ISEE and GPA scores do not really measure students' performance at school. High-achieving Hispanics and blacks are less likely to be accepted to exam schools than their peers with the same academic level in Boston schools (Madrigal & Sampson, 2019).

The turnover in BPS leadership is another factor that has inhibited improvement in the schools. From 2007 to 2017 BPS changed superintendents four times, and in 2019 it appointed a fifth superintendent. The continuous transitions of BPS leadership have led the school administration to focus on reorganizing internal issues rather than on improving schools. When the superintendent starts initiatives to improve the BPS situation, someone else must continue them and the turnover often weakens high-quality initiatives that took time, money, and energy (O'keefe & et al. 2019).

The tension between school autonomy and centralization is one of the BPS issues. Boston schools have different degrees of autonomy at the same time the efforts to "standardize and drive curriculum and instructional rigor and equity from central office have waxed and waned." The BPS superintendent should clarify which decisions should be under individual

school leaders and which ones should be district-wide. Sometimes, disputes occur between stakeholders; some of them demand aggressive accountability for the closure or restart of low-performing schools, while others say schools need more support. The turnover tension between school autonomy and centralization resulted in ending the educational initiatives. Since 2007, the PBS leaders have initiated different decisions to improve BPS. The Massachusetts's Curriculum Framework (MCF) is one of them. It is a statewide program that provides students, families, and teachers with the clear expectations of what the level of student achievement should be in each school year and what students should know. (MCF) framework promises an equal education for all students, as all students should have access to the same academic level and content regardless of their background, ability, or zip code (Massachusetts Department of Education). The implementation of the MCF initiative in 2007 contributed to a higher proficiency level in Boston compared to other urban areas and pushed students to improve math instruction. However BPS leaders failed to achieve the MCF goals because of the high turnover of the superintends (O'keefe & et al. 2019, p24, 25, 26).

The BPS system could also do more under the present conditions to offset the effects of de facto segregation, as the 2018/19 BPS Guide Report proposes. The Boston Public Schools adopts an educational proficiency plan that obligates students who do not meet or exceed the minimum score of 240 in (English Language Art (ELA), and math for the tenth grade in MCAS results. This plan includes a review of students' performance strengths and weaknesses based on MCAS scores, grades, teacher's evaluation, and the courses that students should take in the 11th and 12th grades. Assessments determine each year if students are improving or not. Schools send "warning notes" to parents of students who are under grade level and to students who have a problem in writing. Parents or schools could offer tutoring during or after school hours (BPS, 2018, p15).

The BPS strategic implementation plan guide from 2016-2021 suggests an initiative to reduce barriers for students to enroll in BPS and reduce family waiting time for their kids' school assignment. BPS plan promises to improve equal access for all children to quality schools through developing a communication plan. This communication plan will make the assignment process clearer and reduce the number of assignment rounds from 4-1 and reducing wait time by automating the assignment process. The communication plan seems like a promise from BPS system to evaluate and improve the Home-Based Assignment Policy for equitable access for all students (BPS, p17)

BPS can take the Lawrence schools as a model for achieving quality education. Lawrence schools are nationally known public schools in Massachusetts that have turned around their performance since 2010. Lawrence's system was a failed school system with the worst outcomes in Massachusetts. Its graduation rate was 47%. The annual dropout rate was 9.4 percent, and less than 20 percent of eighth-graders received grades of proficient or advanced in math and only 50 percent in English language arts. Wise use of money and resources is one of the keys of success since "in 2010, Lawrence spent \$13,955 per pupil compared to Boston's \$17,524. Between 2010 and 2017, Boston increased its per pupil spending at a much greater rate than Lawrence. While Boston increased its per pupil spending by \$2,779, Lawrence increased its per pupil spending by just \$932." Lawrence public schools' improvement is noteworthy both in Massachusetts and in the country. The dropout rate decreased to 3.7 percent and graduation rate increased to almost the half. Walz & Matias express that Lawrence school system had higher-four year graduation rate than BPS after 2010, including for Latinos and students with special needs. Despite the massive amount of money that BPS spends compared to the Lawrence system, BPS does not meet the high-level quality education standard. The state should intervene to ensure that money translates into

positive results and meets quality standards (Walz & Matias, 2019).

Riley and Chester explain the priorities and strategies that the Lawrence Public School system (LPS) adopted in order to improve its performance. First, LPS supports students physically and mentally during school time through emotional support and core academics. Students who are English learners learn effectively with the help of well-chosen teachers. LPS offers its teachers Sheltered English Instruction (SEI) endorsement courses and additional training every year. SEI is an educational approach that helps educators teach English learner students and enable them to master the English language. LPS also tries to reengage and motivate students who dropped out of schools, and prepare them for college, since the planned redesign of Lawrence schools aims to create and maintain structural learning environment support and engage students to be self-motivated learners, thereby enabling students to feel safe in classrooms and enjoy their education. Structural learning environment is a way to develop the personal experience and academic growth in the classrooms. Fourth, the district has added enrichment programs such as art and athletics to promote students' engagement through extracurricular activities. Finally, the Lawrence Public School system has strong leadership and increased autonomy for individual schools that helps the school system to operate. Autonomy for each school enables the school leader to work independently in administrative tasks, including staffing, resource allocation, etc. School autonomy avoids centralization conflicts like those that happened in BPS, as I mentioned earlier (Riley & Chester, 2015, p9 &10).

Students Outcomes in BPS

Disadvantaged and segregated neighborhoods also affect students' academic outcomes. The poor social and economic conditions may have a larger effect on students' test scores than

classrooms. Sometimes, students receive a good education inside the classrooms but their test scores and overall achievement remain low because of the negative effects that they experience in the neighborhood. Children in such neighborhoods often experience or are subjected to violence and toxic stress. The social and economic conditions play a role in preventing students from taking advantage even of what the highest-quality schools offer (Rothstein, 2019).

Difficult situations in low-income neighborhoods also prevent effective learning. Children living in poverty who are unable to read by the third grade are thirteen times less likely to graduate on time compared to reading-proficient and affluent peers (O'Neill & et al, 2014,p1). Segregated neighborhoods in urban areas are often polluted and housing is poorly maintained. For example, African American children are subjected to asthma four times more than white children; asthmatic children have sleepless nights from the sickness that many make them inattentive in classrooms and sometimes causes frequent absenteeism; they are also often subjected to toxic stress because of witnessing or experiencing violence or parental incarceration. Minority children are more likely to have irregular meal times related to unstable parental jobs. Therefore, these students may not benefit as other students do even when teachers, schools, and instruction are comparable (Rothstein, 2019).

My study focuses on African American and Latino students in BPS, but the school system data shows that Asian Americans outperform their peers. It is worth analyzing why this racial minority group's performances are higher than that of other races in order to learn from them. According to MCAS, in 2018, Asian students in the tenth grade, for instance, got 93% in English Language Arts (ELA), 93% in Math, and 81% in Science. By contrast, Latino students got 75% in ELA, 58% in Math, and 43% in Science. Blacks got 80% in ELA, 57% in Math, and 42% in Science (BPS).

One of the reasons that Asians and Asian Americans outperform whites and other races is that Asian parents are more likely to be better educated, and their lives are more likely to be stable, with two-parent families and high incomes. But not all Asians are privileged; some Chinese and Vietnamese are poorer than whites, and still, those disadvantaged Asian immigrant families outperform middle-class whites (Hssn, A. & Xie, Y. 2014).

According to Hssn and Xie survey, Asians' cultural beliefs help them to succeed and outperform their peers. The authors claim that Asian and Asian-American students tend to believe that they can learn and develop their cognitive abilities. Most white students view cognitive abilities as an inborn quality. However, Hssn and Xie claim that Asian students believe that effort, work ethics, and motivation are important, and that cognitive abilities are not enough to succeed. Cognitive abilities should be combined with other factors or capabilities, "non-cognitive skills" such as motivation, self-control, persistence, and attentiveness. This cultural orientation, some scholars believe, leads Asians of different backgrounds to be more interested in academic tasks and more likely to view challenges as an encouragement to succeed rather than to stop (Hssn, & Xie, 2014, p4, 1). Hssn's and Xie research claims that Asian –American parents expect high educational outcomes. Moreover, "Asian and Asian-American parents are also more authoritarian and less permissive than white American families. Some scholars argue that Asian-American parenting fosters greater interdependence and collectivism within the family, which helps Asian-American parents to more easily inculcate values such as high educational expectations and strong work ethic in their children." Asian families and parents encourage and promote this interdependence and strong family ties, which help parents to imprint the values of high education expectation and work ethics in their minds (Hssn, A. & Xie, Y. 2014, p2).

Regardless of their specific ethnicity, Asians view themselves as “the relative newcomer.” We can see how their cultural orientation and way of thinking play a role in their success as newcomers. In addition to this, Asians consider education as an important factor to success and upward mobility, not only a prestigious status. This way, they can improve their status as a newcomer, since most immigrants have marginal political status and resources, and become a model for other racial immigrants (Hssn, A. & Xie, Y. 2014, p4). It’s also important to note that the stereotypes of Asians as a “model minority” encourages Asians to succeed, unlike negative stereotypes about African-Americans. Because of the positive stereotype, teachers expect high performance from Asian students and evaluate them accordingly (Hssn, A. & Xie, Y. 2014, p 5, p6).

As I mentioned above, Asian parents expect high educational levels from their kids. Therefore, Asian children are more likely to overcome the language barrier. The language barrier for Hispanic students plays a role in lowering their achievement gaps compared to their English-speaking peers. In addition, teachers expect high performance from Asians but not from blacks and Latinos. The underrepresentation of teachers with the same race, culture, and language proportions is another factor that affects blacks' and Hispanics' outcomes that the following section will explain (BPS).

The Underrepresentation of Teachers of color in BPS

The Boston public schools system does not only negatively affect students of color but also affects minority teachers, as the distribution of teachers of color among BPS is neither fair nor equal.

For example, the 2016/2017 table shows that teachers don't reflect the students' demographics

2016-2017	BPS Teachers	BPS Students
White	61.8%	13%
Black	20.0%	35%
Latino	10.1%	42%
Asian	6.2%	9%
Other	0.3%	<1%

The lack in the number of racial minority educators, especially Latino educators, make racial minority students feel unsafe, less comfortable, and less confident. White teachers are more likely than teachers of color to discourage minority students because of the unconscious and implicit racist behavior ingrained in the white community. Thus, the lack of same-race teachers negatively influences black and Latinos students' confidence and performance levels (Summerhill, 2016). A larger number of teachers of the same race would encourage the reduction of racism. The shortage of teachers of color is thus another factor responsible for achievements gaps between student populations. Students of color receive more disciplinary actions from white teachers than their peers. In contrast, teachers of color are more likely to engage all students in the classroom, and to help students who have academic and emotional difficulties. Racial minority students also receive a more negative assessment of their outcomes and behavior from white teachers. The white teachers' behavior is derived from the cultural mismatch, negative beliefs, and lower expectations for behavior that derive from white culture and its common negative stereotypes of people of color. As a result, bias against racial minority students is likely to be contributing to the longstanding achievement gap for racial minority students that in turn affect their confidence (BTU, 2018, p5& 6).

According to Alexandra Davila-Oliver, a member of the Greater Boston Latino Network, Latino students in the BPS frequently complain about their teachers. Teachers scold them for speaking Spanish or refuse to call students by their proper names. Davila-Oliver insists that the absence of Latino teachers could contribute to widening the achievement gap between Latinos and white students. When students have teachers with the same background, they feel more comfortable and are in a better position to learn (Miller, 2018).

Evidence shows that the existence of a proportional number of teachers of the same race impacts racial minority students' outcomes positively. Minority teachers usually have the motivation to teach and work with disadvantaged minorities. Minority teachers share the same history with students about race segregation in neighborhoods and schools. They are more likely to understand disadvantaged children's situation and to motivate and push them to improve academic performance. And also, they expect more from students than nonminority teachers, which, makes students have higher test scores, lower dropout rates and increased graduation rates (Summerhill, 2016, p1, 4,5). Based on research from Johns Hopkins University and American University, a black child with one black teacher in elementary school is 13% more likely to go to college than a child with no black teachers; a black child with two black teachers is 32% more likely to go to college. Same-race teachers in particular for African-American students can affect students in ways that last into their adulthood, and reduce their educational gaps in schools. Black teachers are examples that students can enroll in colleges and counteract the views common to black students from low-income backgrounds that higher education is not something to strive for (Rosen, 2018).

Exposure to people of a different race and ethnic background helps to reduce stereotypes and implicit racism, and to prepare students for the society outside schools. When racial minority students see and deal with a teacher that shares the same background, they are

encouraged to improve because students see teachers as role models (Summerhill, 2016). Specific studies have shown that having Latino teachers increases Latino student enrollment in gifted and talented programs, and having black teachers increases black student enrollment in advanced math classes (BTU, 2018, p5). Both individual students and research data testify to the benefits for students of being mentored by teachers of their racial group. Rachel Diaz, an eighth-grade student at Tobin School in Roxbury, observes that her teacher of color had a positive impact on her. The teacher cared for and encouraged her and her colleagues to do better for their future. Santiago Martinez, a junior at the English High School in Jamaica Plain believes in the importance of the nine teachers of color in his academic success. Martinez sees his teachers as successful role models and thus recognizes that he too can be what he wants to be (Summerhill, 2016).

But teachers of color experience difficulty such as attrition in the Boston Public Schools. Racial minority teachers tend to leave the profession more than non-minority teachers. They need more attention from Boston Public school administration and have better working conditions in urban schools. They need to participate in educational decisions and receive professional classroom autonomy (Healy; Summerhill, 2016). The racial minority educators feel that they are voiceless, their voices and demands are not heard (Gray, 2016).

According to the Boston Teachers Union, in 2013, the school district released a biased evaluation form to evaluate teachers. The evaluation results show bias against race, gender, and age. Black teachers in BPS received a negative evaluation more than five times as often as white teachers, similarly to Hispanic teachers who received unsatisfactory reviews more than twice as often than the white teachers. Male teachers receive negative evaluations three times more often than female teachers. Teachers older than 60 received unsatisfactory evaluations almost twice as often as teachers between 50 and 59 and 12 times as often as teachers between

30 and 39 (BTU, 2013). BPS should hold each school accountable; districts should take steps to end bias in teacher evaluation and to retain teachers of color.

Boston Public Schools could raise salaries and compensation as one of the possible solutions to solve attrition and high turnover. The federal government should enforce the funding-equity provisions of the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), a law that “provides additional funding to improve educator quality to states and districts serving larger proportions of low-income students.” ESSA includes provisions for teacher salaries and resource inequities that obstruct schools from attracting, keeping, and retaining high-quality teachers (Podolsky & et al, 2016, p15).

ESSA provides funds for states and districts that support educational programs for attracting and keeping excellent teachers. BPS can benefit from its plan or can amend it to get fund from ESSA. ESSA also addresses salaries, and its funds can be used for “the development of career advancement opportunities that provide differential pay, as well as other incentives to recruit and retain teachers in high-need academic subjects and low-income schools.” It requires districts to address their lowest-performing schools in order to develop a plan to offer resources, and then the states are responsible for monitoring the plan (Podolsky & et al, 2016).

Improving teacher’s working conditions by such practices as giving them leadership positions and decision-making authority in schools can also increase teacher satisfaction. Leadership roles and decision making enable teachers to share their expertise, to serve as active role models for students, and to encourage their colleagues to engage in school activities. Developing their interests increases the possibility of their remaining in the profession. When high-quality principals include teachers in decision-making and listen to them, teachers feel appreciated, respected, and confident that they have the voice and power to

improve the school environment. These steps also have an impact on teacher retention (Podolsky & et al, 2016, p17, 47, 48).

Providing teachers with more professional development and flexibility during the work time and the redesign of schools for more collaboration can impact positively on their performance. Productive and effective collaboration among teachers requires changes in scheduling, school design, and resource allocations to provide enough time for collaboration. Teachers that teach the same subjects could have time for mutual preparation periods for preparing a plan or curriculum or any extracurricular activities. Other beneficial changes would include redesigning high schools by hiring more teachers or non-teacher employees, offering a streamlined curriculum, and giving teachers more free time and comfort during their work time (Podolsky & et al, 2016, p49).

Psychological Effects of Racism

Chea suggest that direct racist actions by teachers that affect students personally and psychologically are another factor that widens the achievement gap. Racist behaviors by teachers toward minority students impact self-esteem and cause anxiety and stress. Discrimination makes the brain less able to think, plan, or respond, which makes students unable to learn effectively in schools. Racism could be implicit or explicit in actions that happen every day, for example, when teachers call on only minority students to answer questions that are related to racial minorities. Teachers' societal beliefs affect the way they teach, deal, and assess students of color. In 2014, an early childhood education report showed that teachers tend more often to suspend black students. Although only 18% of preschoolers were black, those children were 48% of kids that were suspended more than once. Disciplinary actions increase when the race of teachers is different from that of children. Teachers tend to

grade immigrant students worse than non-migrant students. Implicit racism in grading is a serious problem because it is easy to put the blame on students or on external factors for their low grades (Graide, 2018). Racism could also be explicit when somebody ignores students of color or treats them disrespectfully. Racist behavior makes students lose their focus and attention while doing tasks and activities or interacting in the classroom (Chea, 2019).

Masko suggests that there is an association between perceived racism and mental health. For example, a study that examined more than 5000 fifth graders and their parents suggested that children who experienced racial discrimination had symptoms of four mental health conditions. Depression, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, oppositional defiant disorder, and conduct disorder are all symptoms found frequently among Black and Latino children. Racism is a chronic issue, but failing to address it is another issue. Adults in schools and communities sometimes advise young people to “ignore racism,” which makes students feel helpless and hopeless. Minority students cannot ignore daily pain that affects their whole life (Masko, 2014).

John Powell and other scholars have introduced the *Targeted Universalism* approach that aims to eradicate the deep and structured racism and inequality in American society. Targeted universalism is “an approach that supports the needs of particular groups, even the politically powerful or those in the majority while reminding everyone that we are all part of the same social and civic fabric” In the “targeted universalism framework, universal goals are established for all groups concerned. The strategies developed to achieve those goals are targeted, based upon how different groups are situated within structures, culture, and across geographies to obtain the universal goal.” This approach refuses to use only one strategy or a limited strategy to remedy inequalities, as policymakers tend to do by developing “one-size-fits-all” solutions that fail to recognize the differences among communities and people’s

needs. Targeted universalism's goal is to benefit the society as a whole, creating a "shared aspiration," but it understands what each population needs and offers a different solution for each group, based on equity rather than equality (Powell, 2019, p6, 15, 16).

A universal goal and targeted strategy regarding education would ensure that all students have quality education in an open-minded and safe environment. Targeted strategies focus on children and youth of color to eliminate the school-to-prison pipeline. However, policymakers tend to focus on achievement and performance gaps between white students and Latino and black peers and consider whites performance as a baseline rather than using shared goal for all races: the academic success for all students. A shared goal will improve the performance of white, blacks and Latinos at the same time instead of using white performance as a baseline or a standard for all the students. Powell also argues that some students face the violence of the criminal justice system and police combined with the education system. Disadvantaged groups need comprehensive strategies that cover the causes of inequality, low performance, and dropouts (Powell, 2019, p16, 18, 19).

Powell suggests that targeted universalism understands how students are situated differently within the intersections of various systems that shape educational performance, including housing stability, food security, and transportation. It may find that "poor African American and white students, homeless students, and newly arrived immigrant students," need affordable housing near the school, changes in enrollment criteria, and better transportation. Understanding each situation and reasons behind poor performance for different groups helps to address obstacles that prevent students to progress in schools. The same is true for other groups of students, including those who live in affluent suburbs with high-performing schools but may need advanced mentoring or counseling programs, or additional training for teachers, and principals (Powell, 2019).

This chapter explained in depth the possible factors underlying racial inequalities in the Boston public school system in the last decade. The various issues I discussed come together under that structural racism. The white flight is a result of the busing crisis to avoid busing because of racial intolerance and cultural beliefs. White flight reduced diversity at high levels in urban areas and in public schools, which maintained the isolated residential patterns. De facto housing in disadvantaged neighborhoods prevents access to good schools. Hispanics and blacks tend to access tier number four schools because of the neighborhood location. In addition, the Boston Public School system's value is to “focus on students, ” but in the last decade lost its focus, instead focused on the administrative disputes and changing superintendents. BPS failed to evaluate students of color in school entrance exams and to plan for an assignment plan that guarantees access to high-quality schools for all students. And, it did not succeed in recruiting teachers of color, especially Hispanic teachers. The school system’s flaws keep achievement gaps wide among racial minorities (BPS; BTU; Vaznis, 2018).

As a result, desegregation is not a perfect solution. Some students are bused to high-quality schools, but still, they suffer from the environment of the neighborhood. Desegregation doesn’t work as a separate remedy because each mentioned factor has a high impact on deepening educational inequalities (Rothstein, 2014). The interweaving of these factors under the term of structural racism makes the educational inequality for Latin-African – Americans complicated. Racial minority students are part of American society; they should not feel marginalized and fragmented. Thus, the chapter suggests solutions that can help to eradicate racism and discrimination and improve the status quo to provide equity to students. The solutions covered three levels: the school system level, neighborhoods, and structural racism, because an

intersected and complicated problem that has a long history needs a comprehensive remedy. Integrated universalism has one targeted goal: to improve education for all citizens by taking consideration of the inequalities of each group and neighborhood built on equity and justice, not equality.

Chapter Three

Educational Discrimination against the Arab-Palestinian Minority in the 1948 Territories

The educational situations in the U.S and Israel emerge from two different historical contexts, slavery and occupation, but both of these have fostered discrimination, segregation, and inequalities based on race and class. This chapter will not suggest integrated schools, as I have proposed in the case of Boston; not all Palestinian Israelis prefer integrated schools with Jews because of both the political and identity tensions and the difference in the preferred primary language of instruction between Jews and Arab-Palestinians. The purpose of this chapter is to show that Palestinians who live in the 1948 territories in ghettos, despite having Israeli citizenship, are treated as second-class citizens like African-Americans and Latinos in the U.S. As a result of this treatment, Palestinian citizens of Israel experience educational discrimination in ways similar to those of communities of color in the United States (Makdisi, 2016). Nearly half of Palestinian citizens of Israel do not enter the universities, compared to only 19% Jewish Israelis who do not enter the university. It is arguable that this low number of Palestinian college students is related to discrimination against minorities in the university entrance exams due to both socioeconomic and language barriers (OECD). This chapter will introduce a brief history of education in the 1948 territories and show the current inequalities in the Israeli educational system.

After the 1948 Nakbeh, which legalized the Israeli occupation of Palestine, conflicts continued between Jews and the indigenous Palestinian people about land and identity. The identity of Palestinian Israelis is complicated because they have Israeli citizenship, Palestinian nationality, Arabic ethnicity, and different religions, usually Islam, Christianity, or Druze (Arar, 2012, p117, 118). The Zionist vision has shown that Israel wants to attract as many Jewish people as possible from all over the world and keeps the Arabs under the Israeli jurisdiction as an “unrecognized” group of second-class citizens. This policy has led to an unequal distribution of resources for schools and an effacement of Palestinian culture by controlling the curriculum in Palestinian schools so that it supports the Israeli narrative (Othman, 31, 29). Accordingly, there have been two separate educational systems: one for Jews and one for Arabs. These different and separate schools do not offer the same facilities for all students, and the Hebrew language is mandatory for all schools while Arabic is not (Abu Saad, p717).

From 1948 to the 1990s, Palestinian students in the entire territory inside the Green Line had a ghettoized education system that effaced their identity and deprived them of quality education (Othman, 31). During the period from 1948 to 1966, education was under military government control. According to Arar, the military government used two approaches to divide and control Palestinian Arabs in Israel (PAI): segmentation and dependency. Segmentation entailed having closed segregated geographic areas only for Palestinians, including segregated educational institutions, and imposing travel restrictions within the state to control the movement of the Palestinians. This division fostered the portrayal of Palestinians as strangers and enemies. Dependency, the second approach, was designed to make Arabs subordinate; Arabs did not have political, or economic, or educational power, relied on the Israeli economy, and were governed by the Jewish majority. The purpose of the

second approach was to disempower the Palestinians and to keep them under control through marginalizing their status and preventing revolutionary activities (Arar, 2012, p121).

The Compulsory Education Act of 1949 sustained the dual educational system. It was a statute that provided eight compulsory years of schooling for children from age five to thirteen for both Jews and Arabs. Local authorities provided teachers, learning programs, buildings, equipment, and structural maintenance. The act seemed fair, but during its implementation, there was obvious discrimination towards the Palestinian Arab Israelis (PAI) community. Arar asserts that the schools' infrastructure was in decay and unsuitable for learning, with overcrowded classes, students sitting on the floor or on crates, learning in shifts, and many schools damaged by the 1948 war. The state's priority was to support Jewish schools and Jewish immigration. The state chose teachers based on security considerations rather than on their qualifications, and these teachers received half the wages of Jewish teachers. In 1953, another State Education Law passed; the core of it was to build education on the Jewish culture and the loyalty of Israel. Although the law promised to provide equal opportunity for each child, it denied the national identity of the PAI minority and did not mention them in the law. The state education law thus perpetuated the ideology that Arabs were strangers, hostile, and risky to national security (Arar, 2012, p123, 124).

The beginning of the peace process in the early nineties enabled the Palestinians to share their narratives about their situation; however, alienation grew for Arabs from the state of Israel. The Jewish right-wing delegitimized Arabs in politics and the Israeli government and its Zionist leaders maintained their control on the curriculum of Arab education. Zionist leaders feared creating nationalist sentiments in schools if the content contradicted the Israeli narrative. Therefore, the Israeli government excluded Arabs from the Israeli Ministry of Education; there was no Palestinian involved in writing the Arabic language curriculum

(Othman, p30). Arab children continued to attend separate schools because they lived in separate areas and spoke a different primary language; even in multi-ethnic towns like Haifa, Jaffa, Acre, and Ramle the Jewish and Arab schools were separated, with different facilities, budget, and different primary language of instruction (Arar, 2012, p132, 133, 122, 123; OECD).

The Israeli government controls the curriculum for all Israeli citizens, and that curriculum supports the Zionist narrative of events since 1948. The curriculum maintained the Zionist narrative of the “Land of Israel” as “a land without a people for a people without a land” and the homeland of Jews. Abu Saad points out that by the late 1970s into the early 1990s, a few textbooks began to talk about Palestinian nationalism from a Zionist perspective, disregarding the Palestinian perspectives, and describing Arabs enemies. The overwhelming trend in the period from the 1970s through the 1990s in history, civics, geography, and Hebrew books remained negative, described Palestinians minority as “irrational enemy” showing that Israel became a state in 1948 and that Arabs started a war. The textbooks did not mention the reasons behind Arab-Jewish conflict in the 1948. Geography textbooks in the early 1990s for high school, for example, used a new term, “demographic problem.” The new term means a new type of threat to the Zionist vision of a ‘Jewish *and* democratic’ state to suggest that Palestinian Arabs were growing number and threat the Jewish identity of the state and should leave. At that time, there were still no maps in textbooks that showed pre -1948 Palestinian settlements; only Jewish settlements were shown. The history presented the Jewish myth of “the promised land of the Jews,” not of Jewish settlers as a colonizing power (Abu Saad, p713, 714).

Israel has continued to maintain two separate educational systems: one for Jews and one for Palestinians, in the 21st century. As Makdisi explains, both Jim Crow and South African

apartheid “bear an unmistakable resemblance to the situation in Israel. It is as unthinkable to turn a blind eye to the racism of the Israeli educational system as it would have been to disregard those earlier forms of injustice.” Adalah, a human rights organization, argues that Israel still spends three times more money on Jewish education than on Arab schools. Schools for Arabs are often unsafe because classes are overcrowded, poorly equipped and lacking educational facilities such as libraries, labs, and recreational space (Makdisi, 2016).

Cohen also asserts that Arab schools have substandard conditions, including the lack of classrooms, a lower quality of teaching, less counseling and psychological service, and lower academic results. Cohen also points out that “Israel’s Education Minister has demonstrated that the separate Jewish and Muslim school systems have nothing to do with preserving an autonomous space for Jewish and for Arab culture, but rather - plain segregation”(Cohen, 2012). In 2014, for instance, Arab schools tended to have more students per class than Jewish schools. But proposals to solve overcrowding by building new classrooms were neglected; there were always more urgent issues on which to spend the money. According to the Israeli Education Ministry itself, in 2013-2014 Jewish students receive more state funding than their Arab peers. In high schools, for instance, per-student funding was 35 percent to 68 percent higher for Jews compared to Arabs at the same socioeconomic level (Kashti, 2016). Skop argues, “The Arab education system lacks tens of thousands of teaching hours compared to its Jewish counterpart, both for the implementation of differential budgeting and to ensure an equal budget in high schools. If the Education Ministry was interested in true equality and would allocate a reasonable amount of teaching hours, thousands of Arab teachers would be absorbed in the system” (Skop, 2016).

Nevertheless, professor Yaacov at Bar Ilan University defends the educational system: “This segregation exists as a de facto reality rather than something legislated by the state.

Children can attend any school in their educational zone, but since most live in separate communities, Arabs usually choose Arabic schools, and Jews choose Jewish schools. Even in mixed cities, children typically attend schools that reflect their heritage.” Indeed, each ethnic or religious group prefers to attend schools that reflect their identity, but, we cannot forget the military required segregation from 1948 to 1966, and its implications continue until now. The same with public schools in the United States are de facto segregation, but the implications of segregation in the 19th and 20th century affect the school conditions. In both cases, ethnic minority groups have fewer resources compared to Jewish Israelis and Whites respectively. Youssef Jabareen, an Arab Knesset member and director of the Arab Center for Law and Policy, has argued that “it was not Israel’s divided system that was seen as discriminatory, but the unequal funding received by both sets of schools.” He notes that Jewish student receives 78 to 88 % more funding than Arab students. He is claiming that a divided system could be equal if funding were equal. (Schwartz, 2016)

The discrimination against Palestinians in Israel includes all educational levels. Human Rights Watch suggests that “at each stage, the education system filters out a higher proportion of Palestinian Arab students than Jewish students.” Makdisi claims that “the higher you go in the system, the lower the number of Palestinian students.” The Palestinian students’ applications to universities were rejected. In 1998-1999 for instance, 44.7 percent of the Palestinian applications for university were rejected compared to 16.7 % of Jewish applicants (Othman). In 2012, the Israeli Council for Higher Education published data showing that only 11% of Palestinians had a bachelor’s degree, only 7% a master’s, and barely 3% are Ph.D. students. Only 2.7% of the faculty in the universities is Palestinian and administrative staff numbers are even lower (Makdisi, 2016). The situation is close to that of the United States. In

the 2011/12-study year, only 14% of black and 13% Hispanic got a bachelor's degree. In the same study year, only 13% black and 9% Hispanics obtained a master's degree (King, 2016).

In Israel, university access is based on the matriculation certificate (Bagrut) and the Psychometric Test, which is a “standardized national test to predict academic performance, and covers three main areas: mathematics, verbal reasoning, and English” that may be taken in Hebrew or Arabic. The matriculation results of Palestinians tend to be below the required standards because of the weak Arab school system, so students must get a high psychometric score to enable them entering university. Psychometric preparatory courses are expensive and could be another barrier. What really important, however, is the language barrier. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) points out that, “empirical research argues that psychometric tests discriminate against students from minority or underprivileged socio-economic backgrounds. This is partially due to the linguistic barriers, which discriminate against Arab applicants since the test is written in literary Arabic, which they do not know as well as Jewish students know Hebrew.” Nearly half of Arab students who pass matriculation exams fail to secure a place in universities because most of Arabs perform poorly in the psychometric test, compared to 20% of Jewish students. Palestinian Israelis would need to have a very good command of Hebrew to facilitate their university entrance and to compete against their Jewish counterparts (Othman, 17,31, 28; OECD, 2018, p101).

During the period when Naftali Bennett was the Israeli Minister of Education (2015-2019), the educational situation for Palestinian citizens grew even worse. A program in 2016 aimed to encourage students to study mathematics and science. But the Ministry of Education decided to give Arab teachers' colleges half the funding allocated to Jewish teachers' colleges. The goal of the program is to reduce the number of Arab speakers who take teacher training in the Galilee. Eyal Ram, deputy manager of education, justified the differential budgeting

saying that “in the south, there aren’t enough Bedouin teachers... there are places with too many teachers and places where they are seriously lacking. We need to adjust the system correctly.” The budget is based on the subject studied in the university, but for Palestinian Israelis, ethnicity is another standard for lowering the budget to only 56% even if Arabs study the high demand subjects like mathematics, and science as the state encourages. Bennett has argued that “Arabs are quick to brandish the libel of racism every time they are faced with their ineptitude,” which suggested that the problem of unequal achievement lies with Palestinian communities, not with the Israeli educational system (Skop, 2016).

The state of Israel legalized its discrimination against Palestinians through passing the Nation-State Law on July 19th, 2018. It is the 13th Basic Law, and it argues that the right to “national self-determination is uniquely to Jewish citizens” (IATASK, 2018), thereby excluding Palestinians at a constitutional level. The Nation- State Law enshrines Jewish identity as a national value in the state’s symbols, anthem, language, and settlement policies. Zehava Galon of Meretz criticized the law, saying it is “a declaration of war on Israel’s Arab citizens and Israel as a democratic and advanced society” (Koppel & Kontorovich, 2018). The Nation-State law thus neglects the question of nationality for the Palestinian minority in Israel and the provision of equal service for all citizens that is supposed to be essential for a democratic state. The Association for Civil Rights in Israel states that it “clearly signals to everyone who is not Jewish including the indigenous Arab minority that comprises 20% of the country’s citizens that they are second-class citizens.” (IATASK, 2018, p2, p3. p5)

Tragically, the Ministry of Israeli Education added the Nation-State Law to the curriculum in civic studies in high schools. It is now also a compulsory topic in Israeli matriculation exams. Palestinian students in Israel will now study that they are less than Jewish citizens. It is humiliating that Palestinian students should have to study this curriculum in order to pass

the Bagrut and go on to the university. The curriculum effectively represents Palestinians as foreigners; Niveen Abu Rahmon, “ a former Knesset member and education expert who has taught civics for ten years expressed that the student is distanced from their cause and identity.” P5. The Israeli Ministry of Education has used the Nation-State Law as a way to add Zionist narratives in history, geography, and now in civics using a law that officially disregards these students (Masarwa, 2019).

There are also specific criticisms about the provision that “Hebrew is the state language.” The law “demotes” Arabic (Koppel & Kontorovich, 2018). The Arabic language, which was considered one of two official languages, now has only a “special status” that will be regulated by the law. This provision prioritizes Hebrew above Arabic and further downgrades the minority status of Arab Israelis (IATASK, 2018, p4).

If Israel is to be a democracy as it claims, then despite the Nation State Law it must provide equal education for all its citizens. To this end, Ben-David and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) suggest that a school reform plan should include management and organization, qualified teachers, maintaining the Hebrew language in practice, and encouraging students for higher education. The state should allocate transparent and equal funds for all school systems, state, Arab, state-religious, and ultra-Orthodox, to narrow the gaps between the educational systems and the children they serve. The state should also direct additional resources to disadvantaged neighborhoods in the first place, considering the socio-economic situation of students. Then, the state should focus on increasing teachers’ salaries and improving the high quality teaching. Teachers should have at least BA degree and teaching certificates. Providing financial incentives for teaching achievements and flexible work hours could improve the teaching quality. Mentoring programs are important to evaluate teaching effectiveness frequently (Ben-David, 2009, p10, 12, 13; OECD, 2018,p90). Teachers

at schools can build bridges between Arabs and Jewish students through enhancing the Palestinian students' Hebrew language and requiring Arabic for Hebrew speakers. The Arab school systems offer inefficient Hebrew language teaching that affects the students' future by making it more difficult for them to enter higher education and economic markets. To improve students' Hebrew language, the schools' plan should include expanding the teaching hours of Hebrew and teaching core subjects in Hebrew at an early age. Secondary schools should work with the employment and updated with the governmental published data about the needed subjects therefore, students will be aware of their career path. OECD suggests widening access to tertiary education through expanding financial support for the disadvantaged group to improve access and for better outcomes. The government should provide financial aid to enable Arab students to take Psychometric preparatory courses because public and private organizations that offer financial support plan for students requires military and civil serves that exclude Arabs (OECD, 2018, p91, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106).

In summary, the chapter points out the continuous discrimination in education against the Palestinian minority, especially in the 1948 areas, from 1948 until today. American history shows how legal decisions have tried to move equality forward; however, the situation in Israel is moving backward intentionally. The recent racist laws raise even more questions about the future of the Palestinian minority in the 1948 territories. I'm not saying that the U.S is a utopia, but at least in theory, the American Constitution protects all citizens equally. That means that judges must use the American constitution as their reference in making decisions about discrimination. In contrast, the Israeli basic laws have the constitutional status to deny Palestinian equal rights, including education (IATASK, 2018 p2 &3).

The United States and Israel do not impose segregation by law, but by having separate neighborhoods for Palestinian Israelis and African- and Latin- Americans. In both settings, educational inequalities are the result of structural racism, which is the accumulation and intersection of history, racist cultural beliefs, socioeconomic differences, and language barriers that impact racial minorities' lives. The separate but equal doctrine was abolished in the United States in 1954, just as the military emergency regulations ended in Israel in 1966, but in both places, isolation and educational inequality continue as a result of deep structural racism.

Chapter Four

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

Since the beginning of slavery, Africans have contributed to building the United States economy. Africans were not allowed to learn because learning was the key to revolutions in their status quo. Some of the Africans had realized the importance of literacy and escape from slavery, as happened with Frederick Douglass. Under Jim Crow laws, many African-Americans had tried to register in overwhelmingly white schools and colleges because they recognized the difference in quality between black and white schools. African Americans also established black educational institutions such as Howard University and Florida Mechanical and Agricultural University that have a legacy and importance even now. African American resistance continued until they used the legal pressure on the educational institutions to create the landmarks legal decisions: *Brown*, *Keyes*, *Tallulah Morgan v. James Hennigan*, and other state cases. African Americans pushed towards their rights and equality during the civil rights era through peacefully protesting, filing lawsuits, etc. that shifted the American democracy (Lukas 1985; Garcia, 2004).

This project aimed to find an answer to the question of whether school desegregation has improved equality of educational outcomes in the United States. The first two chapters, the historical overview and the case of Boston public schools, were targeted to answer this big question. Chapter one identifies the historical landmarks of segregation and desegregation in Boston and more broadly the United States. In this chapter, attention is drawn to Supreme

Court decisions in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These landmarks had their positive and negative impacts on educational quality and equality among all the racial groups. Chapter two explained in depth the possible factors underlying racial inequalities in the Boston public school system in the last decade. It illustrates that residential segregation and structural racism are the underlying factors that make the dilemma complicated and hard to resolve. Finally, the third chapter explains the similarities and differences between the educational inequalities in the United States and the State of Israel. The situation of Palestinian Arab Israelis is retreating instead of improving in a state that claims it is a democratic state, and the American constitution has clear protection of citizens while Israeli the Nation State Law that has a constitutional status does not mention minorities.

I found that there is a larger shift in equality among citizens but not full equality in the U.S. Integration in the inner cities like the case of Boston public schools has failed to promote integration among racial minorities. Desegregation aimed to offer quality education for racial minorities but has produced outcomes opposite to the intended goal. In 2019 is only 14%. Schools are more racially segregated than 45 years ago with slight improvements in achievement gaps. Hispanic and African-American students' achievement gaps are considerably high compared to Asian and white students. I tried to include every possible factor that contributes to continuous inequalities and find solutions for each factor because a deep and complicated issue needs a comprehensive solution. Desegregation for schools was not enough and did not succeed; therefore, officials should look for new solutions. If not white students may soon be 0% in BPS.

I analyzed the residential patterns for disadvantaged neighborhoods and I found that desegregation efforts seek to solve the effect rather than solve the underlying cause. Integration would be productive if desegregation applied not only to schools but to

neighborhoods. Most of the public schools are neighborhood schools that reflect the socio-economic conditions of the neighborhood. Some students still have lower test scores in good schools because of the neighborhood conditions, and desegregation did not succeed in closing the achievement gaps.

I found structural racism at the deepest level of American culture and society and the most intensive source of educational inequality for Black and Latino children in Boston Public Schools that officials do not give attention to or try to resolve. The structural racism underlies these inequities in the Boston public schools, sustaining inequalities that include poverty, neighborhood segregation and underfunding differential treatment of children by race, and underrepresentation of racial minority teachers that negatively affects minority students' performance outcomes. I tried to find solutions to all factors on neighborhoods and; school system and for structural racism this way intend to remedy racism and inequality suggesting plans and desegregation decisions without looking at the issue from all angles, to discover what makes inequalities continue to certain groups for more than one century in all the country.

After conducting this study, further research questions emerged which are:

- Can a school that is segregated by virtue of its location still provide an equally good education?
- Do gaps exist in private schools between white and racial minority students?

I have questions on a larger scale between northern state and southern state or racial inequalities in west bank between Jews in the settlements and Palestinians:

- Is school segregation in the south more or less than the northern states?
- What are the educational differences in quality in Israel and occupied Palestine? And

how to address that?

- What does it say that there is a massive gap in education between geographically close groups?
- How does the Israeli intervention in the kind of educational material represented to Palestinian kids in their schools affect their education?

Recommendations

Based on your research, these are the visionary recommendations that would change the situation.

1- Prioritize one goal for all school superintendents, which is equal education for all students in all schools. Plans will be developed and changed over the years because plans should consider demographic changes. There is no one plan fits all situations and all people, but all the developed plans should not neglect the equity goal for all students. Plans should be created based on primary data such as survey, questionnaires, and interviews, not only the officials' point of view, and also on secondary data such as, previous research or reports. I can't apply it to Israel because the Nation-State law is a racist law, which doesn't consider Arab Palestinian existence in the first place, unlike the situation today in America.

2- Construct and locate new schools on the borders of different background neighborhoods that aim to be a center of racial interaction to reduce prejudice and stereotypes. The curricula in each new school should include an objective history of each group, the importance of each group to build the country, and interracial studies. Train teachers on how to deal with students that have various backgrounds, and how to deal with implicit racism. I believe Palestinian Israelis may not accept this solution because of the political and identity conflict between Arab

Palestinians and Israelis. The Israeli government intends to make Palestinians subordinate to the Israeli culture and politics, so any solution will integrate students to make students loyal to the Jewish state not for democratic reasons.

3- Plan for extracurricular policies, plans, and activities that aim to integrate students with different races and backgrounds such as football, basketball competitions with other schools are essential. These activities promote racial tolerance and reduce racism abuse and behaviors. It could be applied in both cases.

4- Share awareness about the multicultural community in cultural and intellectual clubs, social media, and talk shows. Talk shows should host famous and influencer figures to share their stories and their struggle. Remind citizens that history-desegregation crisis happened in the past and lessons to be learned. The United States has had shifts towards larger equality, and people can build on these positive shifts. All citizens should have access to quality education and have a bright future because humans are equal in the first place. If these groups of people will not take their chance in education, they will be a burden on the society and economy, as a whole affecting not only one group. Applied in both cases.

5- Work on preparing a comprehensive development plan inside the city and its neighborhoods is a way to achieve social justice through equal offering public services, facilities, and infrastructure. The state should offer financial aid to the disadvantaged neighborhood to motivate citizens from different backgrounds and socioeconomic levels to live in these neighborhoods to reduce racism.

Appendix

The variation of resources among schools helps in increasing the achievement gaps in BPS.

The following tables show the differences in performance between the races with slight improvements across the decade.

Performance- Achievement Gap - English Language Arts-10th Grade

Racial Group	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Black	53%	59%	69%	76%	70%	78%	82%	80%	80%
Asian	80%	84%	90%	88%	87%	94%	93%	92%	93%
Latino	54%	64%	67%	75%	70%	77%	79%	74%	75%
White	78%	86%	88%	90%	92%	93%	89%	93%	93%

There was an improvement in achievement gaps for all the races, but still, there were high achievement gaps between all races, especially between Asian and whites and their Latino and black peers. As the study explained, Latino and black students are more likely to be disadvantaged, thus affect their performance. Some of Latinos, are not born in the U.S, their native language contributed to their highest achievement gap. However, the improvements during a decade predict the achievement gap is possible to be reduced over time.

10th Grade Math; Achievement gap Percent Proficient & Advanced by Race/ Ethnicity

Racial Group	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Black	51%	52%	57%	54%	55%	60%	58%	61%	57%
Asian	89%	90%	93%	92%	90%	93%	93%	91%	93%
Latino	54%	56%	58%	57%	58%	60%	60%	59%	58%
White	77%	83%	81%	83%	83%	81%	82%	85%	85%

In 2013, 2016, and 2018 the outcomes of black students decreased, and in 2017/2018, Latino students' outcomes decreased. There are fluctuations in outcomes for Black and Latino students. White and Asian students have the highest achievement gaps in math. White students

are improving in math during a decade. However, there is an achievement gap between whites and Asian.

Student groups	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
ELL/Former ELL	43%	51%	46%	42%	48%	48%	47%	46%	50%
Low income	56%	57%	62%	60%	60%	62%	59%	60%	57%

This table shows the two factors; English learner and low income contribute to variation in outcomes in Math for the 10th grade. English learner students could be from many countries, but since the Latin Americans are the largest minority in the U.S. they are represented here. There is an increase in their outcomes in 2011, 2014, and 2018. Their achievement gaps are not stable and uneven. In 2012 and 2013, there was an obvious decrease in performance for ELL achievements. The improvement approached 50% in 2018 but still, very low.

Low-income factor plays a crucial role in widening the achievement gaps for students, as mentioned in the study, the poorest families are African American and Latin American families. Despite the slight improvement in math for 10 graders, they got 56% in math in 2010 and got back to the almost same level of 57% in 2018 instead of increasing the outputs.

Grade 10 Science

Racial Group	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Black	26%	28%	35%	37%	35%	41%	41%	38%	42%
Asian	65%	70%	80%	78%	76%	79%	81%	77%	81%
Latino	28%	31%	36%	38%	37%	40%	45%	40%	43%
White	60%	69%	69%	78%	73%	72%	70%	77%	80%

Black and Latino students' achievement gaps were less than 50% and less than that of Asians and whites, which is very low. Despite the low achievement gap for black and Latinos students in the 10th grade, there is an improvement over a decade and improvement for all racial groups. But in 2017, Black, Asian, and Latino students' outcomes decreased. In 2014, outcomes became lower for all students.

Grade 10- Science

Student groups	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
ELL/Former ELL	17%	20%	21%	23%	21%	26%	29%	23%	32%
Low income	29%	32%	39%	42%	40%	42%	41%	38%	42%

The previous table shows that racial minority students: Latinos and African-American are the lowest achievement gaps among the races. This table shows how language and income explain the reasons behind their low level. There is an improvement, but still very low, especially for ELL, it seems the English language is a barrier to learn effectively, but this barrier is not inevitable, students are improving.

Grades 3-8 English Language Art; performance results 2016/2017

Subgroup performance met or exceeded expectations

English language art

English language arts performance data for grades 3-8 in the study year 2016/2017 tells us that Asian 57% and white 58% students performance exceed African American /Black 21% and Hispanic/Latino 24%. For lower grades, Blacks got lower performance than Latinos. The reading scores among blacks and Latinos in the fourth grade are down since 2011.

Grades 3-8 Math 2016-2017

Math performance data for grades 3-8 in the study year 2016/2017 shows that Asians 72% outperform their peers compared to 58% for white students, 22% for Hispanic/Latino students, and 18% for African-American/ black students. Blacks got lower performance than Latinos in lower grades. Eighteen percent for blacks is a very low outcome; it could be from a high suspension rate for them at an early age. Eight grade scores in Math among black and Latinos declined between 2011-2017.

Drop out rates 2010-2017- 9-12 grades by race

Years	Black	White	Asian	Hispanic
2009-2010	6.1%	3.4%	2.0%	7.0%
2010-2011	6.2%	4.2%	1.9%	7.5%
2011-2012	6.9%	5.2%	3.0%	7.2%
2012-2013	4.5%	3.8%	2.2%	5.2%
2013-2014	3.7%	2.9%	1.4%	5.1%
2014-2015	4.8%	3.8%	1.1%	5.0%
2015-2016	4.9%	3.8%	1.2%	5.0%
2016-2017	4.1%	2.5%	0.7%	4.2%

In general, there was a decrease in the dropout rates for all the races from 2010-2017.

But Blacks and Hispanics have the highest dropout rates. Dropouts rate are decreasing for all student subgroups, but there is a continuous gap for Hispanics and blacks.

The study year 2011/2012-dropout rates increased for blacks, whites, and Asians. 2014/2015-study year dropout rates increased for black and white students. 2016/2017 was the best study year in decreasing dropout rates for all races except blacks.

Drop out rates 2010-2017- 9-12 grades by English proficiency and Income

Years	Limited Eng. Proficient	Non Limited EP.	Low income	Non Low-Income
2009-2010	5.1%	5.9%	4.6%	8.2%
2010-2011	5.1%	6.3%	5.1%	8.1%
2011-2012	7.1%	6.3%	6.0%	7.7%
2012-2013	5.1%	4.3%	4.2%	5.2%
2013-2014	4.8%	3.6%	3.9%	3.4%
2014-2015	6.0%	4.0%	4.3%	4.5%
2015-2016	6.7%	3.9%	4.1%	5.4%
2016-2017	4.7%	3.3%	3.8%	3.2%

In general, there was a decrease in dropout rates from 2010 to 2017. Limited English proficient students are more likely to drop out than non-limited English proficiency. Non-low-income are more likely to drop out more than low income. In 2014/2015- school year dropout

increased for all the groups represented in the table. The year after, dropout rates continued to increase for limited English proficiency group and non-low-income.

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What is TOD? Institute for Transportation and Development Policy Organization

<https://www.itdp.org/library/standards-and-guides/tod3-0/what-is-tod/>

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