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III. Social Justice and the Public Good in Cultural, Ethnic, and Religious Educational Settings

Chapter 9

Integrated Schooling, Life Course Outcomes, and Social Cohesion in Multiethnic Democratic Societies

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Schools have a seminal role in preparing a society's children for their adult responsibilities as workers, parents, friends, neighbors, and citizens. The United States, countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Brazil, India, South Africa, and other multiethnic democratic nation-states have increasingly diverse demographic profiles that present challenges and opportunities for social cohesion. The focus of this chapter is the relationship between integrated schooling and social cohesion in nations such as these. The chapter's central thesis is that schools that are racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse lead to educational outcomes that undergird the attitudinal antecedents to and structural conditions for social cohesion in multiethnic, democratic societies. Using the United States as a case study, the chapter synthesizes educational, social, and behavioral science research on the effects of school racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic status (SES) composition on various adult life course outcomes that are crucial to this condition. It is necessary to explore this topic using the United States as a case study because the English language literature on integrated schooling, life course outcomes, and social cohesion in other multiethnic democracies is rather limited.

Before reviewing the relevant literature on this relationship, it is necessary to problematize the concepts of democracy and social cohesion, both of which have multiple contested meanings. We do not employ the constructs of democracy and social cohesion uncritically. Although a full explication of the nuanced and complicated nature of the debates surrounding social cohesion and democracy is not possible in this chapter, it is important to acknowledge that simplistic conceptualizations of either

democracy or social cohesion obscure—rather than illuminate—the social forces under consideration.

The concept of democracy is, arguably, the most complex and contested. The political theorist C. B. Macpherson (1966) observes that there are at least two ways to think of democracy that are quite distinct. The first one refers to the process of governance typically associated with modern neoliberal states. Even within the conceptualization of democracy as process, there are broad debates over direct and indirect approaches to governance. Founding Father James Madison, who preferred representative democracy, expressed concerns about the impracticality and potential dangers posed by direct governance by ordinary people, as epitomized by the New England town meeting. In democratic republics, people periodically choose their rulers. Yet viewing democracy exclusively in procedural terms begs the question of the extent to which the decisions elected representatives make actually benefit those who chose them.

The second approach to democracy focuses on the outcome of governance—that is, the nature of the society generated by governance. This approach to democracy is concerned less with process and much more with the role of the state in fostering the full and free development of essential human capacities of every member of society. From the latter perspective, states such as Cuba, Canada, and Finland are arguably more democratic than the United States based on their citizens' well-documented access to health care, education, and other necessities of life.

The concept of social cohesion also raises important issues. Social cohesion concerns the integration of the individual and the group. Social cohesion at the macro level emerges from and rests on collective individual attitudes and behaviors. There is a reciprocal relationship between the micro and the macro levels of society. Following Noah Friedkin (2004), we take the perspective that social cohesion is a domain of causally interrelated phenomena that concern individuals' membership attitudes and behaviors. Invoking the Durkheimian notion that "social integration is consistent with social differentiation," Friedkin (2004, p. 418) notes that many researchers find that the basis of social cohesion is a host of positive interpersonal ties among members of a group.

Adults' likelihood of developing the attitudes and exhibiting the behaviors that contribute to social cohesion depends on favorable macrostructural conditions, in conjunction with individual members' educational achievement and attainment; their labor force outcomes (e.g., occupational attainment and income); and whether they are prepared to work with diverse coworkers and clients in an increasingly globalizing economy. Other life course outcomes that foster greater social cohesion include micro-social processes such as the quality of intergroup relations, social networks, and cross-racial friendships among adults; whether racial stereotypes and fears are challenged; residential neighborhood integration; and intercultural understanding and mutual respect. The extent to which a society's members avoid involvement with the criminal justice system and participate in activities broadly conceived of as civic engagement—voting, volunteering, public service, debating, and conflict resolution—also promotes social cohesion.

TABLE 1
Short- and Long-Term Academic and Nonacademic Outcomes

	Short-Term	Long-Term
Academic	Test scores, grades, high school graduation, educational aspirations	Educational attainment, educational aspirations
Nonacademic	Cross-race peers, multicultural navigation, reduction in racial fears and stereotypes	Occupational attainment, preparation for global economy, avoidance of the criminal justice system, cross-race friendships, integrated residential neighborhoods, greater civic engagement

Our focal concept of educational outcomes is much more straightforward than either democracy or social cohesion. Educational outcomes encompass both academic and nonacademic consequences of schooling that occur both in the short term while students are still in school as well as over the long term after they leave formal schooling and enter adulthood. Table 1 categorizes some key academic or nonacademic outcomes in terms of their temporal location in the life course.

Importantly, it is all too easy to assume that social cohesion is an unambiguous desideratum. But it is not. Few would argue that the high levels of social cohesion in Nazi Germany, apartheid South Africa, or in the fictional Oceania of George Orwell's *1984* led to desirable outcomes. Therefore, this chapter's conceptualization of social cohesion in a multiracial democratic society assumes a social justice dimension.

The premise of this chapter, that integrated education is an important building block that cultivates the social structural and attitudinal predicates of cohesive, just, multiethnic, democratic societies, rests on a long philosophical tradition linking democracy to integrated schooling. However, before delving into the literature undergirding this claim, it is necessary to acknowledge that this premise was severely challenged by certain historical realities of the 20th century. Highly educated people living under Nazism, fascism, apartheid, and Jim Crow's "separate but equal" doctrine enforced undemocratic practices that denied fellow citizens the rights to full citizenship, workforce opportunities, and inclusion in the ostensibly democratic polity. In far too many instances, they were denied life itself solely because of their race, ethnicity, and religion. This historical record and certain contemporary contradictions notwithstanding, a preponderance of the social and behavioral science literatures indicates positive relationships between attending diverse schools and adult life course outcomes that contribute to the structural and attitudinal conditions necessary for the development of social cohesive, just, democratic, multiethnic societies.

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

The demographic composition of modern societies is rapidly changing across the globe, increasing the salience of social cohesion. There are several likely explanations for these demographic trends. The first is that as the forces of globalization intensify, capital, information, and people traverse nation-state boundaries. The second is that conflicts in many states as well as a desire for opportunities denied in their native countries have triggered an increase of immigrants and refugee families. And third, multiethnic, democratic societies are signatories of many international protocols that impel states to comply with commitments to public policies and practices that advance and sustain social inclusion and human rights (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2011; Bessis, 1995; OECD, 2008; United Nations, 1948). For most states, this involves public education.

As is true of other contemporary multiethnic, democratic societies, the United States is experiencing striking demographic changes in its population. The changes are reflected in the dramatic shifts in the profiles of U.S. public school students. In 1968, 80% of U.S. public school students were White, 14% were Black, 5% were Latino/a, and 1% were Asian and American Indian. In 2010, the student population in public schools was 56.1% White, 21.8% Latino/a, 14.1% Black, 4.3% Asian, 0.2% Pacific Islander, 2.7% biracial, and 0.9% American Indian/Alaskan Native (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2010). At present, a majority of public school students in California, Florida, and Texas are children of color (NCES, 2007). Census Bureau projections suggest that by 2020 or sooner, more than 50% of youth aged 15 to 19 years will be from ethnic and racial minority groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

The presence of immigrants in the U.S. school-aged population (5–17 years of age) is steadily increasing. By the end of the past century, approximately 90% of Asian American students and 50% of Latino youth were immigrants or children of immigrants (Zhou, 1997). One in five U.S. school-aged children came from an immigrant family as of 2000 (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). By 2006, one in four school-aged children was either born outside the 50 states and the District of Columbia or was first generation (NCES, 2008). Moreover, the proportion of immigrant children tends to be higher in urban school districts. For example, in the first decade of this century, approximately 48% of school children in New York City were immigrants or the offspring of immigrant parents (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

The demographic compositions of American public schools in urban, suburban, and rural communities are changing too (Frankenberg, Lee, & Orfield, 2003; Orfield & Lee, 2007). All types of communities have higher percentages of Black and Latino/a students in their public schools compared with the past. Levels of racial and socioeconomic segregation are increasing in public schools located in cities and suburbs (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2008). As a consequence of these trends, segregation between school districts has surpassed segregation within school districts (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2008). Although scholars disagree about the extent to which U.S.

schools are resegregating, even those who challenge claims of wholesale resegregation acknowledge that progress toward desegregation "has faltered since the early 1990s" (Logan, 2004).[1]

McArdle, Osypuk, and Acevedo-Garcia (2010) illustrate the extent to which minority children attend high-poverty, high-minority schools, separate from the vast majority of middle-class and White children. Black and Latino/a youth are 20 times more likely than Whites to live in a poor family that resides in a concentrated poverty neighborhood. And because residence-based school assignment policies lead to high levels of school segregation, two thirds of the schools that Blacks and Latinos/as attend are intensely racially segregated and have high concentrations of poor students. Asians are more likely to attend integrated schools than any other ethnic group. Whites tend to attend schools in suburban and rural communities. They are the least likely of any student group to attend segregated minority schools, especially if their families live outside of central cities.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES AND INTEGRATED EDUCATION

The widespread resegregation of U.S. schools is striking for several reasons. First, as this chapter will show, short- and long-term outcomes of schooling are positively influenced by racially and socioeconomically integrated learning environments. Thus, resegregation undermines the nation's efforts to meet its goals of overall excellence and equity: educational improvement and the elimination of racial and SES gaps. Second, segregated schooling is inconsistent with the philosophical precepts of schooling for democratic societies.

The notion that diverse education is consistent with democratic ideals appears in the work of philosophers from Aristotle (350 B.C./1962, 350 B.C./2000), John Stuart Mill (1859/1974), John Dewey (1916/1944, 1927, 1939), and Martha Nussbaum (1997) to contemporary political philosophers such as Noam Chomsky (2003), Amy Gutman (1999), and Elizabeth Anderson (2010). The relationship between integrated schooling and democratic education also has been the focus of notable public policy debates and Supreme Court jurisprudence in the 20th century. In their 2006 article about the diversity rationale in public policies, Michele Moses and Mitchell Chang (2006)[2] trace the philosophical underpinnings of the Court's diversity rationale to the philosophical connections between democracy and diverse education. The contemporary concept of diversity as a compelling state interest found in key Supreme Court majority opinions about diversity and education (*Grutter v. Bollinger*, 2003, and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 2007; *Regents of California v. Bakke*, 1978) is consistent with this long-standing philosophical tradition.

Aristotle acknowledged that although diversity could trigger social disharmony, multiple points of view served to make democracy stronger. Aristotle (350 B.C./2000) praised the wisdom gained from multiple voices:

For the many, of whom each individual is but an ordinary person, when they meet together may very likely be better than the few good, if regarded not individually but collectively, just as a feast to which many contribute is better than a dinner provided out of a single purse. (p. 121)

John Stuart Mill's concept of the marketplace of ideas reflected his beliefs in the value of diversity for democracy. In *On Liberty* (1859/1974), he argued that in social and political affairs it is crucial to think through issues carefully and discuss opposing ideas because people cannot understand differing viewpoints if they are not exposed to those who hold these views. Mill said, "The interests of truth require a diversity of opinions" (p. 114).

Like Aristotle and Mill, John Dewey viewed diversity as an important educational tool in democratic societies (Dewey, 1916/1944; Moses & Chang, 2006). Progressive education holds at its core a humanizing, liberation pedagogy that is informed by a democratic ethos (Chomsky, 2003; Dewey, 1916/1944). In *Democracy and Education* (1916/1944), Dewey wrote,

The intermingling in school of youth of different races, different religions, and unlike customs creates for all a new and broader environment. (p. 21)

Dewey advocated for face-to-face interactions among people to foster good, direct communication and interaction because he believed that without communicative opportunities individual growth and democracy suffer.

Contemporary political scientists and philosophers maintain faith in education's essential role in democratic civic life. The political philosopher Amy Gutman (1999) notes the essential responsibility of education to prepare people for a lifetime of civic engagement, by which political scientists refer to voting, public service, debating, contacting elected officials, joining associations, demonstrating, or volunteering in one's community.

Robert Putnam (2000) observed that education is one of the most important predictors "of many forms of social participation—from voting to associational membership, to chairing a local committee . . ." (p. 186). He distinguishes between bridging social capital that brings people together and bonding social capital that builds solidarity among group members by emphasizing their distinctiveness from others in society. The difference between bridging and bonding is critical because bonding social capital can have adverse consequences—witness the strong social networks and insular world view that facilitated Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building (Smith & Kulynych, 2002, 2007). Integrated education can develop bridging social capital by challenging racial stereotypes and fostering cross-racial friendships.

Martha Nussbaum (1997) argues that diversity is necessary for adequately educating youth to be citizens of the complex, interlocking world in which they exist. She argues that when certain students and their lives are excluded, they and their lives are also excluded from the domain of knowledge. Nussbaum's view of the role of cultural diversity is similar to the Court's contemporary diversity rationale as articulated in its recent decisions on the topic (Moses & Chang, 2006).

Political philosopher Elizabeth Anderson envisions integration of all social institutions as an imperative of racial justice in a democratic society (2010). For her,

integrated schools (and other public institutions) are a form of democratic responsiveness to the full diversity of the people whom the institution is supposed to serve. She argues that it is necessary to dismantle the mechanisms that perpetuate unjust social inequality in order to realize the promise of a democratic state, one that is equally responsive to all citizens. The persistence of systematic group inequalities along race, ethnic, class, and gender lines occurs when certain groups have greater access to desirable, necessary, but scarce resources that range from quality education to political power. Segregation is essential to the perpetuation of privilege through the norms and structures of spatial separation among groups, and subsequent stratification that ensures that where contact occurs, it is on terms of domination and subordination. Integration negates segregation by comprehensively restructuring intergroup associations on the basis of equality, inclusion, and full participation in all dimensions of public life, but especially in education, the economy, and politics.

Multiethnic democratic nation-states across the globe increasingly turn to education as the catalyst necessary (though not sufficient) to set in motion the dynamics that foster a cohesive society. The assumed connection between integrated education and the creation of conditions for social cohesion in a democratic society appears in many international protocols about education and human rights. For example, Article 26 of the United Nation's (1948) Universal Declaration of Human Rights enjoins member states that education in their society should be directed to all people's full development and to strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; it should promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, races, and religious groups, and it should further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

The OECD's *Thematic Review of Tertiary Education* (2008) states that "a general equity objective in tertiary education is to achieve a student population that closely reflects the composition of society as a whole" (p. 74). Similarly, in the 2003 Brasilia Declaration, India, Brazil, and South Africa committed themselves to develop policy frameworks to achieve greater social equity through an increase in the enrollment of targeted groups that were historically excluded from institutions of higher learning (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2011). As can be seen from the above account, there is an extensive record of philosophical, historical, and contemporary research-based agreement about the logic and relevance of diverse education in promoting social cohesion in societies.

METHODS FOR LITERATURE REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS

Terminology

Although all social science studies discussed in this chapter examine the effects of integrated schooling in relation to an outcome, their foci, research designs, measurement of key constructs, and nomenclature for key concepts differ across the disciplines and the decade in which a particular study was conducted. For instance, the conceptual focus of a particular study may have been labeled desegregation,

integration, segregation, school racial composition, minority composition, or diversity. Early studies (roughly before 1990) tended to report results from experiments or quasi experiments on the effects of court-ordered desegregation in a single school district. Because of the decline in the number of school systems under court desegregation orders, many researchers switched to large-scale, nationally representative surveys that include measures of school and classroom composition to examine the effects of variations in school racial and SES composition (Linn & Welner, 2007; Mickelson, 2008).

Differences in the terminology across studies may reflect important distinctions in underlying conceptual frameworks, research goals, the nature of the relationships under investigation, as well as the social and political realities of the time frames in which the studies were conducted. Nonetheless, the core issue of interest across all the studies is essentially the same: the effects of school or classroom composition on an outcome(s). Inevitably, this means that some studies will report effects of diversity or segregation, whereas others will report integration or desegregation's relationship to an outcome. Some studies examine outcomes for Blacks, Whites, and Latinos, whereas others focus only on people of color, and so on.

Segregated Schools

Many studies examined the relationship between increasing levels of segregation and a particular outcome (intergroup relations, dropping out of school, occupational attainment, etc.). Various terms used in these studies convey the notion that a school's population was disproportionately composed of students from one race relative to a standard usually based on a community's demographics. Unless otherwise specified (e.g., "racially isolated White schools"), the phrases *minorities*, *concentrated minority*, *racially imbalanced, racially isolated*, and *segregated* all denote that a school's student population has high concentrations of Black and Latino/a youth.

Diverse, Desegregated, or Integrated Schools

Another set of studies focused on the relationship between varying levels of integration and outcomes. In the context of U.S. history, school desegregation is a legal, social, and policy process designed to create schools that no longer separate students by race. An integrated school has achieved the aim of desegregation; that is, students, staff, curricula, extracurricular and cocurricular activities, and the school culture reflect the demographic balance of the students who attend it. In practice, many demographically desegregated schools are not truly integrated because of Eurocentric curricula, school climates, and racially correlated curricular tracking (Banks et al., 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Lucas, 1999; Oakes, 2005; Tyson, 2011; Welner, 2001). This important caveat aside, the terms *desegregated*, *integrated*, *racially balanced*, and *diverse* are used interchangeably in the chapter because the literature that it synthesizes includes all these terms.

Tracking

The practices of elementary school ability grouping and secondary school tracking are widespread forms of curricular differentiation (Lucas & Beresford, 2010). At the secondary level, the practice creates classroom learning environments that tend to be homogeneous with respect to student race and SES. Moreover, there is ample evidence that tracking limits the opportunities to learn for all students, especially for those in the lower tracks, who more often than not are from disadvantaged minority and low-income backgrounds (Lucas, 1999; Lucas & Beresford, 2010; Mickelson & Everitt, 2008; Oakes, 2005; Schofield, 2010; Southworth & Mickelson, 2007; Welner, 2001). For this reason, Samuel R. Lucas (1999) likened the dynamics of tracking to the Matthew effect, wherein those who possess greater resources leverage them to gain even more.[3]

Race

Social science research about education and race can refer to how the race of individual students affects their outcomes (student-level variable) or how the racial composition of a school is related to outcomes (the school-level variable). Typically social science researchers categorize students as Asian (or Asian American, Pacific Islander), Black (or African American), Latino/a (Hispanic), Native American (American Indian, Alaskan Native, Aleut), Other (typically reserved for international or mixed-race students), or White (European American). In some cases, studies collapse all students of color into the category of minority, which is then contrasted with Whites. Recent studies of school effects have investigated the interaction between student and school racial composition. For example, Southworth and Mickelson (2007) and Lucas and Berends (2007) report that the relationship of students' race or ethnicity to educational outcomes and processes, like track placement, varies with the racial composition of the schools they attend.

The commonly employed racial categories blur meaningful within-race differences because of ethnicity that are relevant to educational outcomes. For instance, among Asians, Hmong and Chinese students have distinctive patterns of achievement; among Latinos/as, Colombian and Mexican youths are likely to perform differently. Immigrant generation in the United States further complicates the educational relevance of this construct. Until the third generation in the United States, immigrant students frequently perform better than their U.S.-born coethnics (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Much of the early school composition research focused solely on Blacks and Whites. Often there were too few Latinos/as, Asians, or American Indian students in the local school district to allow for more comprehensive analyses of racial subpopulations. Although later studies are more likely to include Asian, American Indian, and Latino/a students, there are still relatively few contemporary studies that report findings for all racial and ethnic groups found in the U.S. student population.

Socioeconomic Status

SES is used interchangeably with the terms *social class* and *family background* in the literature, even though SES and social class are based on different sets of theoretical assumptions about the nature of stratification in society (Lucas & Beresford, 2010). Like race and schooling, SES and schooling research reports student- and school-level dimensions of the relationship. SES effects reflect how the SES of individual students shapes their outcomes. An individual's SES strongly correlates with race and is highly predictive of school outcomes. A school's mean SES is highly predictive of its academic climate and the quality of the instruction offered there, both factors associated with educational outcomes.

Studies considered in this chapter operationalize SES in a variety of ways. The crudest measure is free and/or reduced-price lunch eligibility. This measure distinguishes only poor children whose parents sign them up for free and/or reduced-price lunches from those who are either not poor or who are poor but whose parents do not sign them up. A better measure of SES is parental education, typically denoted by mother's educational attainment. A superior indicator is a combination of parental educational and occupational attainment. A handful of studies use well-known indices such as the Duncan socioeconomic index or the National Opinion Research Center scale to measure SES.

Short-Term Outcomes

Elementary and secondary school academic outcomes (test scores, growth scores, grades, courses taken) are the most commonly reported short-term academic outcomes. Cross-race peers, cross-race cultural acceptance, and reductions in fears and prejudice are considered nonacademic short-term outcomes (see Table 1). These indicators are operationalized in vastly different ways across the surveyed literature summarized in this review.

Long-Term Outcomes

Educational aspirations and educational attainment (variously operationalized as graduating from or dropping out of high school, college attendance, college graduation, years of education, advanced degrees) are the most common indicators of long-term academic outcomes (see Table 1). Labor force participation (occupational attainment, income), intergroup relations (adult cross-racial friendships, living in integrated neighborhoods), employment in integrated workplaces, avoidance of the criminal justice system, profession of democratic values, and levels of civic engagement are some measurable indicators of adult life course outcomes that, together, contribute to social cohesion in multiracial, democratic societies.

Synthesis of the Literature

The scholarship of synthesis falls into two broad categories: the narrative reviews and meta-analyses (Cooper, 2010; Cooper & Hedges, 1994; Glass, McGaw, & Smith, 1981; Raudenbush, 1991). This chapter is a narrative review rather than a meta-analysis. The literature synthesized reflects a broad range of research designs across multiple disciplines. The variation of designs, data, measurement of variables, and analytic strategies across all of the studies makes a narrative summary a much more suitable approach for this than a meta-analysis.

Narrative reviews have been criticized as biased because their authors may cite only studies that support their point of view. And because the biases of scholars vary, findings across narrative reviews may create chaotic, not systematic information (Raudenbush, 1991). As Christine Rossell (1983) has commented with regard to desegregation research, when the available evidence is dispersed across multiple literatures and those reviewing the literature cite incomplete findings, conclusions drawn from social science can be distorted. The ill effects of poor information lead to confusion, uncertainty, and bad decisions by the policymakers, lawyers, judges, educators, and citizens who use the incomplete information.

Clearly, the quality of any narrative review depends on how fully and appropriately the scholarly literature is searched to locate relevant studies, the rigor of inclusion and exclusion criteria established, and whether those conducting the review dealt with the variation in methodological quality of the studies when summarizing their findings. The authors of this chapter used a complete and parsimonious approach to synthesis (Raudenbush, 1991) in order to address as many of the potential threats to its validity and reliability as possible.

Database Searches[4]

From 2006 through 2010, the authors searched electronic databases in education, social science, and behavioral science, including JSTOR, Psych Abstracts, Sociology Abstracts, Google Scholar, ERIC, Educational Research Complete, Academic Search Premier, Project Muse, and Dissertation Abstracts. The keywords used in the search were described in the previous section on terminology. Based on information provided in the roughly 2,000 abstracts that emerged from the electronic searches, full articles, articles, and reports were obtained for further evaluation. Bibliographies and recommendations provided additional prospective studies.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Prospective articles were evaluated for their suitability for the synthesis based on the following criteria:

- The researcher used a quantitative, qualitative, historical, or mixed-methods design that investigated the relationship of school or classroom racial and/or SES composition to one or more short- or long-term outcome(s).

- The published or unpublished works had a release date of the late 1980s or after (with exceptions for particularly well-regarded and high-quality earlier studies that have become part of the canon). This time frame was appropriate because the better data and more sophisticated statistics used in the later studies warranted relying on that body of research rather than on earlier works.
- Studies employed appropriate analytic techniques given the structure of their data and research designs.
- Reported findings were valid given the study's research design, data, sample, and analytic methods.
- Results appeared in a peer-reviewed journal, book chapter, book, report issued by a professional or scientific organization (e.g., National Bureau of Economic Research, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, established think tanks). Papers presented at professional meetings and dissertations were also included. Unpublished work was included if it met the other criteria so as to avoid publication bias.

The studies included in this synthesis either met the highest scientific standards based on the strength of their particular design, the validity and reliability of their measures, the size and diversity of samples, and similar considerations of internal (scientific rigor and soundness) and external validity (generalizability to different circumstances and students). Studies that did not meet the highest standards of scientific evidence, but still represented sound, scientific research were included. Studies based on weak evidence or the values of the researcher, that presented essentially unfounded claims, or that had unjustified conclusions were not included in this synthesis.

FINDINGS

The empirical social science evidence from the United States shows that integrated education is positively related to K–12 school performance, cross-racial friendships, acceptance of cultural differences, and declines in racial fears and prejudice. These outcomes among K–12 students undergird long-term outcomes: higher educational and occupational attainment across all ethnic groups, better intergroup relations, greater likelihood of living and working in an integrated environment, lower likelihood of involvement with the criminal justice system, espousal of democratic values, and greater proclivity for aspects of civic engagement. Together the short- and long-term outcomes foster the structural and attitudinal antecedents for the development of a socially cohesive, just, multiethnic, democratic society. Figure 1 presents a heuristic model of these dynamics across the life course.

The heuristic model suggests that long-term outcomes rest on the foundations laid by short-term outcomes. Thus, it is appropriate to present a cursory overview of the vast literature on integrated schooling's relationship to short-term outcomes even though this chapter's focus is life course outcomes of diverse schooling.

Heuristic Model of Dynamics of Integrated Schooling, Life Course Outcomes, and Social Cohesion in Multiethnic, Democratic Societies
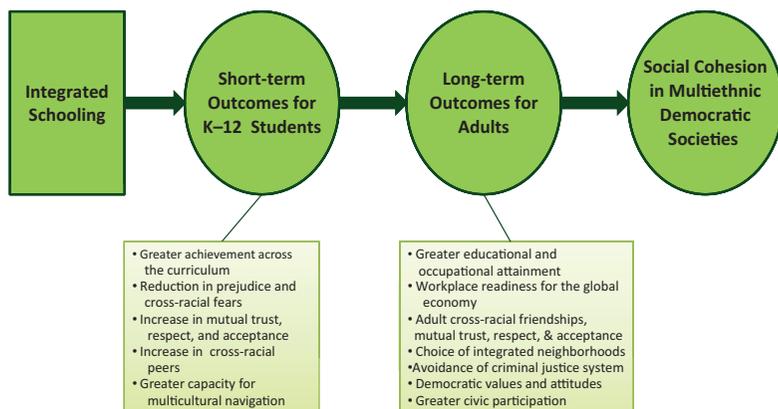
SHORT-TERM OUTCOMES

Academic Achievement

The vast body of empirical research about the effects of attending diverse schools and learning in racially and socioeconomically heterogeneous classrooms has been synthesized by numerous social scientists during the past 40 years. Most recent comprehensive reviews of that literature report positive effects from integrated settings and negative ones from segregated learning environments (Braddock & Eitle, 2004; Hallinan, 1998; Linn & Welner, 2007; Mickelson, 2008; Vigdor & Ludwig, 2008; A. S. Wells & Crain, 1994; Welner, 2006).[5] These generalizations apply to the reading, language, mathematics, and science outcomes of all racial and ethnic groups. Most studies focused on Blacks and Whites and, to a lesser degree, on Latinos/as, Asians, American Indians, and immigrant youth. There is some evidence that limited English–proficient immigrant students perform better in mathematics and science when they attend schools with their coethnics (Mickelson & Bottia, 2010b, 2010c). Effects are generally strongest for high school students, students from disadvantaged minority backgrounds, and those from low-income families. Reading and mathematics findings are definitive, but science research is more tentative, largely because there is far less of it (Mickelson & Bottia, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c). Notably, findings about effects of diversity on academic outcomes in the United States are consistent with the handful of international reviews of the literature on school and classroom compositional effects (Schofield, 2010; Van Ewijk & Sleegers, 2010a, 2010b; Willms, 2010).

Some reviews of the early social science research on desegregation effects (see Armor 1995; Cook, 1984; St. John, 1975) were more equivocal about the effects of desegregation on academic outcomes. The inconsistency across findings from older syntheses exists largely because most of the studies included in the older syntheses suffered from flawed research designs or they reported results from incompletely implemented desegregation plans (Bradley & Bradley, 1977; Gerard & Miller, 1975; Linn & Welner, 2007; Mickelson, 2008).

The quality of social science research on the effects of integrated education conducted since the late 1980s surpasses earlier research in several crucial ways (see Mickelson, 2008, for a detailed analysis of the differences between early and recent social science on the topic). For example, later research tends to use better data, typically nationally representative samples, statewide data, or school district–wide data. Measures of key control variables, such as family background, and indicators of achievement and other outcomes are more sophisticated. Later studies measure effects of desegregation plans or school diversity long after they have been implemented. And cutting-edge statistical tools, such as multilevel modeling, used in later research permit the investigation of outcomes more accurately. For example, Geoffrey Borman and Marissa Dowling (2010) reanalyzed James Coleman et al.'s (1966) *Equality of Educational Opportunity* data using hierarchical linear modeling, a technique not available to Coleman in 1966. In contrast to Coleman's original conclusion that schools are far less important than families for students' academic performance, Borman and Dowling (2010) found that the *Equality of Educational Opportunity* data actually show quite the opposite: that schools are more influential than families and that racial segregation has significant negative effects on achievement. The differences between Coleman's (1966) findings and Borman and Dowling's (2010) later findings using the same data but different analytic approaches is emblematic of the general differences between earlier and later social science research on the topic.

Nonacademic Outcomes

Racial Prejudice and Fear

The social science literature on short-term nonacademic outcomes such as intergroup relations, cross-racial friendships, and racial fears and prejudice is clear and consistent with contact theory's premises as presented in Gordon Allport's (1954) classic work *The Nature of Prejudice*. Allport wrote that intergroup contact often reduced prejudice but at times exacerbated it. His seminal opus focused on the conditions that reduced it. He found that prejudice declined when people of different races and ethnic groups worked together on common goals, shared equal status in the situation, worked cooperatively, and were sanctioned by authorities, the law, or by custom.

Since the publication of Allport's (1954) book, an enormous body of social science literature on contact theory has confirmed his model (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Schofield, 1991; Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer, 2002; Tropp, Smith, & Crosby, 2007). For example, the psychologists Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp (2006) conducted

a meta-analysis of social science research about intergroup contact across a variety of sites. With 713 independent samples from 515 studies, they found intergroup contact typically reduces prejudice. They also found that although Allport's (1954) four conditions were not necessary for reduction in prejudice, their presence enhanced the outcome. Tropp and Prenovost (2008) examined whether these dynamics specifically operate in schools. Overall, their findings suggest that school contact between youth from different groups corresponded with more positive intergroup attitudes and were even stronger when Allport's optimal conditions were a structural feature of the school's environment.

Youth Cross-Racial Friendships and Intercultural Understanding

The racial and SES organizational features of schools and classrooms affect cross-race friendships by structuring the nature of intergroup contact. Racially balanced classrooms maximize interracial friendships among Blacks and Whites, although Blacks tend to be more inclined to cross-racial friendships than Whites (Hallinan & Smith, 1985). The track level of the classroom makes a difference because of the widespread correlation between track level and student race. The typically low academic status of Blacks in desegregated schools makes them less attractive as friends to Whites who value academic achievement (Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987). Moody's (2001) study of school integration and friendship using a nationally representative data set also found that when schools disproportionately assign minority youth to lower tracks, they add an additional status distinction between the races, lowering contact opportunity and decreasing cross-race friendships. However, Quillian and Campbell's (2003) examination of cross-race friendships found that tracking had no significant effect net of other factors such as students' race and SES. They report that the share of friends from a race other than the student's depended on the number of students in the school who were from another race. Being members of a small minority increased the odds of own-race friend selection (see also Feld & Carter, 1998, for similar findings).

Cross-race friendships are important for academic outcomes, especially for minority students. Liu and Carbonaro (2008) found that the relationship between secondary school racial composition and student achievement outcomes was mediated through the cross-racial and academic mix of students' best friends. Achievement levels of students' best friends have a significantly positive effect on academic outcomes of all races and ethnicities, but African American and Latino youth benefitted the most from a heterogeneous mix.

Michal Kurlaender and John Yun (2001, 2005, 2007) conducted a series of studies in major U.S. cities using a survey instrument, the Diversity Assessment Questionnaire, that measured high school respondents' values and attitudes toward democracy, civic engagement, and awareness of and respect for cultural differences. They report that attending a diverse high school promotes greater comfort with diverse peers and their perspectives, although there were significant racial and ethnic differences in students' comfort levels.

Prudence Carter's (2005, 2011) qualitative studies of integrated and segregated schools in the United States and South Africa show that integrated education fosters the development of adolescents who become culturally flexible and thus are able to successfully navigate between racial and ethnic contexts. Developing what Carter terms *multicultural navigation skills* is essential for the kinds of occupations required in a global economy and for citizenship in multiethnic societies. Findings consistent with Carter's observations appear in several studies of desegregated schools in South Africa (Machaisa, 2008; Nkomo, Chisholm, & McKinney, 2004; Nkomo & Vandeyar, 2008; Nkomo, Vandeyar, et al., 2009; Nkomo, Weber, & Amsterdam, 2009; Phatlane, 2009; Vandeyar & Jansen, 2008; Weber, Nkomo, & Amsterdam, 2009).

LONG-TERM OUTCOMES

Adults' life course trajectories are launched from foundations built during childhood (see Figure 1). Social science research suggests that these foundations are stronger in many domains among those who experience integrated schooling. The following sections synthesize the literature that connects short-term outcomes to a host of long-term outcomes associated with the adult life course.

Educational Attainment

Graduating High School

Graduating from high school is an important stepping-stone to higher education and occupational attainment. The vast literature on this complex issue includes a small body of research that examines graduation and dropout rates specifically in relationship to school composition. It suggests that school composition is an essential component of the opportunity structure that fosters graduation and inhibits dropping out of school. Findings indicating that the racial composition of schools is a significant predictor of high school graduation are important because the United States has striking dropout rates that correlate highly with students' race, class, gender, and region of the country (Swanson, 2005). The breathtakingly high dropout rate among Black males in 2007–2008 was 53%; that is, most Black male students failed to graduate with their cohort (Schott Foundation for Public Education, 2010). Latinos/as and Native Americans and youth from lower SES backgrounds also experience high dropout rates.

Schofield's (2001) review of early social science literature revealed that attending desegregated elementary and secondary schools decreased the likelihood that minorities will drop out of school. Susan Mayer (1991) examined the impact of school racial and SES desegregation on students' chances of dropping out using data from the 1980 High School and Beyond survey and its 1982 follow-up study. She reported that Whites who attend a predominantly Black or Hispanic high school were more likely to drop out compared with those who attend integrated or predominantly White schools. Attending a high-poverty school increased likelihood of dropping

out for all students, especially for low-SES students. Mayer argues that for Black and Hispanic students, the effects of attending predominantly Black schools on their dropout rates are largely accounted for by the low mean SES of the racially segregated schools.

Recent research on the topic clarifies the relationship between school composition and dropping out for various subpopulations. For example, using statewide administrative population data from Virginia, Gregory, Cornell, and Fan (2011) demonstrated that schools with higher Black enrollments tended to suspend more White and Black students and to have greater racial gaps in suspension rates. Jonathan Guryan's (2004) study of desegregation and school dropout rates used national census data for 1970 and 1980. During these years, the dropout rate remained constant in districts that did not initiate desegregation efforts. But he found that desegregation plans of the 1970s led to significant declines in Black high school dropout rates during the decade. The effects were especially strong in districts that practiced mandatory desegregation and also those districts that reduced within-school segregation from tracking. He did not find similar declines in the White dropout rates.

In one of the few studies that examined school composition effects on the dropout rate among immigrant youth, Alexander Portes and Lingxin Hao (2004) found that the influence of high SES background on academic achievement was reinforced in high-status schools, compounding the advantages of children from well-to-do immigrant families. Using data from the 1992–1993 Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (a comprehensive data source on second-generation immigrants), they also found that the positive ethnic effect for Asians and negative for Mexicans were attenuated in the presence of peers from the same ethnic group. Additionally, although dropout rates for second-generation students typically were reduced by attending a high-SES school, for Mexican-origin students it raised the likelihood.

Argun Saatcioglu's (2010) three-decade longitudinal case study of dropping out of high school in Cleveland, Ohio, offers unique insights into the dynamics of school composition effects across multiple cohorts of students who experienced segregation, desegregation, and resegregation in a school system whose larger community was grappling with the economic, political, and social consequences of deindustrialization. Under segregation, both minorities and White dropout rates suffered. But desegregation served as a positive countervailing force to the adverse social influences that fostered dropping out of high school among Black, White, and Latino youth. He cautions, however, that even though school desegregation had a favorable effect on student graduation rates, it could not compensate completely for the adverse influence of other social forces in students' urban environment.

Overall, the relatively small empirical record suggests a negative relationship between attending high-poverty and racially segregated schools and the likelihood of graduating from high school. The effects are strongest for low-income students of color. But with the possible exception of some immigrant youth, the high school graduation rates of students from all racial and SES backgrounds benefit from attending racially diverse schools.

High School to College Graduation

Graduating from high school is the first step in the process leading to educational and occupational attainment. Attending college is the next step. A multiplicity of student, family, economic, and school organizational and quality indicators contribute to whether someone enrolls in postsecondary education (T. Baker & Velez, 1996). Although early studies did not show positive effects of secondary school integration on college attendance (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1982; Crain & Mahard, 1978; Dawkins & Braddock, 1994; Eckland, 1979), recent research more consistently shows that students who learned in racially and socioeconomically integrated settings are more likely to attend college. This is especially true for underserved minority youth (Gándara, 1995; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Teranishi, Allen, & Solorzano, 2004; Teranishi & Parker, 2010; Trent, 1997).

Empirical studies in California, one of the most ethnically and racially diverse states, clearly show that net of other factors, attending racially segregated high school diminishes a student's chances of admission to the University of California (Martin, Karabel, & Jaquez, 2005; Teranishi et al., 2004; Teranishi & Parker, 2010). There are significant notable variations by student race in how particular racial and ethnic mix of a diverse school influences the likelihood of attending college (Martin et al., 2005; Tevis, 2007). Similarly, a high school's mean SES also influences the likelihood its graduates will enroll in college. Socioeconomically diverse high schools appear to reduce the intergenerational transmission of disadvantages (McDonough, 1997). Using a nationally representative data set, Choi, Raley, Muller, and Riegle-Crumb (2008) found that the likelihood of attending college is directly related to the proportion of classmates with highly educated parents.

The mechanisms by which segregated secondary schools diminish the likelihood of college attendance and graduation for the students who attend them are fairly transparent. Rigorous curricula, academically oriented peers, teacher quality, and access to Advanced Placement courses are essential for college preparation; yet the likelihood of their presence in a high school curriculum varies with the school's racial and socioeconomic profile (Card & Rothstein, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Ehrmann & Massey, 2008; Jackson, 2009 Massey & Fischer, 2006; Mickelson, 2006; Pachon & Federman, 2004; Yun & Moreno, 2006).

At the same time, a smaller body of research indicates that racially homogeneous learning environments may have a positive effect on minority students' aspirations or sense of self-efficacy (Frost, 2007; Oates, 2004), and self-esteem (Massey, 2006). Ryan Wells (2010) reported that immigrant children's expectations were positively associated with attending schools with large numbers of their coethnics.

College Performance

Terenzini, Cabrera, Colbeck, Bjorklund, and Parenti (2001) have distinguished three approaches in the literature to studying diversity in higher education. The first is simply a numerical count; the second assumes informal *in situ* encounters with

diversity as a normal course of events; the third assesses structured programs designed to generate diverse experiences. Overall, research on higher education diversity effects suggests that college learning, cognitive development, and academic performance are positively associated with attending an integrated college. Stronger effects are associated with informal interactional or structured formal classroom contexts (Bowman, 2010; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Myerson, Frank, Rains, & Schnitzler, 1998; Terenzini et al., 2001).

The likely pathways by which integrated experiences foster critical thinking and problem solving involve the novelty of diverse classmates. They tend to trigger cognitive disequilibrium because of the contradiction between preconceived notions about them and their realities. The diversity-induced break with automaticity in thinking is resolved through effortful, conscious, and mindful higher order thinking (Bargh, 2007; Bowman, 2010; Gurin et al., 2004). For example, students with diverse college classmates experience greater levels of integrative complexity in their thinking (Antonio, Chang, Hakuta, Kenny, & Milem, 2004; see also, more generally, Page, 2007).

Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson's (1995) research on stereotype threat provides a nuanced explanation for the underperformance of some minority students when they are in racially isolated White classrooms. The mechanisms of stereotype threat do not depend on school or classroom racial composition factors. But if a student is one of only a few persons of color in a classroom, the individual is more likely to experience spotlight anxiety, which triggers stereotype threats. Students experience stereotype threat when they fear doing something that may inadvertently confirm negative stereotypes in domains with high emotional salience for them, such as the alleged intellectual inferiority of African Americans (Steele, 2003).

Through a series of experiments Steele, Aronson, and their colleagues demonstrated that when students care about the activity's domain (e.g., academic achievement), the pressure imposed by the relevance of the negative stereotype leads to lower performance. The performance of many achievement-oriented African Americans became impaired when primed on academic matters. The salience of the academic domain triggered disidentification. This mechanism protects vulnerable people from the pain of the stereotype threat by allowing them to cease caring about the domain's activities, which, in turn, leads to diminished academic performance.

Occupational Attainment and Labor Market Outcomes

Occupational attainment is among the most important adult life course outcomes associated with educational attainment. Research shows that attending diverse schools is positively associated with occupational attainment, mobility, and income for Blacks and other underrepresented minorities. But occupational attainment does not depend on individuals' educational credentials alone. Whether an employee is competent and efficient working with ethnically and racially diverse coworkers and clients is an increasingly valued occupational disposition given domestic demographic trends and the globalization of the economy. The millions of dollars and hundreds of

hours corporations expend on diversity training for their employees highlights firms' pressing needs for workers who are multicultural navigators (Brief for 65 leading American Businesses as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, 2003).

Occupational Attainment

Ever since Robert Crain's (1970) early study of desegregation and occupational attainment demonstrated that Black males (but not Black females) who attended desegregated schools were more likely to be employed in nontraditional occupations than the males who attended segregated schools, social science has consistently reported that attending diverse schools is positively correlated with the occupational attainment of African Americans and other students of color. First, integrated education enhances the achievement and attainment necessary for employment; second, desegregation broadens the occupational aspirations of disadvantaged minorities; third, it facilitates access to employment through enhancing social networks and other resources associated with employment (Dawkins, 1983; Granovetter, 1979; Hoelter, 1982; McPartland & Braddock, 1981; Trent, 1997); and fourth, it fosters intercultural navigation skills (Brief for 65 Leading American Businesses as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, 2003; Carter, 2005).

Wages and Income

The social science evidence on the effects of integrated schooling on wages and income presents a mixed picture. Adam Gamoran and his colleagues assessed the labor market consequences of high school racial composition with national longitudinal surveys of the high school classes of 1982 and followed up in 1992 and in 2000 (Gamoran, Collares, & Barfels, 2005). Multilevel models of students nested within schools indicated that school racial composition was unrelated to annual earnings. Steven Rivkin (2000) did not find evidence that desegregation programs raised lifetime earnings for Blacks. He concluded that raising school quality is likely to be more efficient than reallocation of students among schools as a means to improve academic and labor market outcomes for Blacks.[6]

Yet other researchers conclude that desegregated schooling correlates with increased wages and income for minority workers. Boozer, Krueger, and Wolkon (1992) used several nationally representative data sets to examine racial disparities in school quality since 1950 and their implications for labor market outcomes such as wages. They found that Blacks who attend schools with higher proportions of Black students were likely to earn lower wages as adult workers. They argue that this relationship rests on the connections between school quality, less integrated workplaces, and lower likelihood of using a computer at work irrespective of educational levels. Lower computer use among Black workers may be responsible for as much as one third of the increase in the Black–White wage gap between 1976 and 1990. Jeff Grogger's (1996) study of school characteristics' effects on wages used longitudinal data from 1972 through 1980. Results from his study were consistent with Boozer

et al.'s (1992) findings that school segregation has significant negative effects on wages. Ashenfelter, Collins, and Yoon (2006) used the National Survey of Black Americans to compare the annual income of Southern-born Blacks who finished their secondary schooling before desegregation with those who attended desegregated schools. The authors concluded that desegregated schooling had a substantive and significant positive effect on Blacks' income. David Card, Alan Krueger, and their colleagues (1994, 1996) also found school segregation had an indirect negative association with income.

Workplace Diversity

In 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that under certain circumstances, race-based affirmative action programs in higher education were permissible because they advanced compelling state interests, one of which is preparing youth for diverse workplaces. The Court's opinion, written by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, drew heavily on the amicus brief of the military (Consolidated Brief of Lt. Gen. Julius W. Becton, 2003) and the one filed on behalf of leading U.S. firms (Brief for 65 Leading American Businesses as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents, 2003). Both briefs argued for the necessity of having a highly diverse and well-educated workforce because in today's global marketplace the increasing diversity in the U.S. population demands the cross-cultural experience and understanding gained from diverse education (*Grutter v. Bollinger*, 2003).

Studies about effects of integrated high schools are consistent with research about integrated higher education and preparation for diverse workplaces. Jomills Braddock and James McPartland (1989) used nationally representative data from the late 1970s to examine the long-term influences of high school racial composition on students' later workplace racial composition. They found that high school composition was a significant and powerful predictor of coworker racial mix. Elizabeth Stearns (2010) used more recent nationally representative data to examine the same questions. Her study reported that exposure to diverse racial groups in high school—specifically, exposure to Asian Americans, African Americans, and Latinos for White students and exposure to Latinos and Whites for African American students—reduced racial isolation in the post–high school workplace. She found that whereas high school racial composition did not have a significant influence on the workplace racial isolation of Asian American and Latinos, the racial isolation in their neighborhoods did. Stearns concluded that if one considers lower levels of racial isolation in the workplace as indicators of social cohesion, attendance at diverse high schools likely will contribute to greater levels of it.

Gamoran et al. (2005) found that Whites who attended high schools with higher proportions of White students tend to have higher proportions of White coworkers, and Blacks who attended high schools with higher proportions of White coworkers have fewer Black coworkers. These findings were sustained in propensity score models designed to mitigate the effects of selection bias. Although the effects were substantively modest, they were nonetheless statistically significant.

Adults' Intergroup Relations

Cross-Racial Friendships and Intergroup Relations

Social science research suggests adults who attended integrated K–12 schools are more likely to have interracial adult relationships. Many of the studies synthesized by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) showing interracial contact lowered levels of stereotypes and prejudice involved adult samples. The next section focuses on the studies that discuss the relationships between childhood experiences with integrated schooling and adult cross-racial friendships.

Christopher Ellison and Daniel Powers (1994) found that childhood and adult interracial contact enhances the likelihood that Blacks will report having White friends. Similarly, Peter Wood and Nancy Sonleitner (1996) studied White adults' racial attitudes in Oklahoma City. They found that childhood interracial contact had a significant negative association with adult levels of prejudice and stereotypes. Stearns, Buchmann, and Bonneau (2009) examined whether precollege experiences with cross-racial friendships influenced the proportion of college cross-race friendships. They found that interracial friendships prior to college had the largest impact on the interracial friendships during the first year of college. According to this study, Whites formed more interracial friendships than other groups. Structural features of the college environment, such as roommates, Greek organizations, or ethnic organizations, can hinder or foster interracial friendship formation.

Studies of college students using national-level data indicate that cross-racial friendships improve students' knowledge of and ability to get along with different groups and to accept differences among people (Chang, Denson, Saenz, & Misa, 2006). However, earlier research found that cross-racial friendships did not necessarily trigger changes in all attitudes. Jackman and Crane (1986) reported that having Black friends and acquaintances had almost no effect on Whites' views generally opposing increased government attempts to promote racial equality.

Diverse Neighbors

Given current trends toward neighborhood-based school assignment policies, children whose parents choose to live in racially integrated neighborhoods are more likely than others to attend integrated schools. Both childhood experiences with integrated neighborhoods and attendance in diverse schools had a positive relationship on the likelihood an adult will choose to live in an integrated neighborhood. Kurlaender and Yun (2001, 2005, 2007) found that students from all racial backgrounds who attended diverse secondary schools were more likely to prefer to live and work in diverse settings as adults, although this relationship was stronger among Blacks than Whites (Kurlaender & Yun, 2001). Their findings about intentions are consistent with other research that reports adolescents who attended integrated schools and colleges were more likely to actually live and work in integrated settings as adults (Braddock & Gonzales, 2010; Stearns, 2010; Wells et al., 2009).

Jomills Braddock and Amaryllis Gonzalez (2010) examined school segregation's intergenerational consequences for adults' choices of same or different race neighbors. They report that students who attended more racially isolated elementary, middle, and high schools were more likely as adults to prefer same-race neighbors. Their analysis of a large nationally representative data set revealed that even though neighborhood racial isolation during childhood remains strongly associated with young adults' preference for same-race neighbors, racial isolation in schools plays a more significant role in diminishing social cohesion among young adults from all racial and ethnic groups. The findings support perpetuation theory, which suggests that school segregation fosters segregation across the life course and across institutional contexts.

Eric Oliver's (2010) research reveals the complexity of the relationship between neighborhood ethnic diversity and indicators of social cohesion such as civic engagement. Oliver notes that the ameliorative effects of integration are assumed to arise from people becoming civically and socially engaged with their neighbors, but this does not always happen. Oliver argues that although working and living close to members of other races increases tolerance among Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians, doing so paradoxically appears to dampen civic involvement.

Residential integration, although fostering some types of associational membership, may not enhance a sense of community or linkages to place. In fact, it may produce the opposite. Oliver (2010) found that neighborhood racial homogeneity was more likely to promote a feeling of community. For this reason, neighborhood integration can diminish social involvement among Blacks. However, Latinos and Asians living in White neighborhoods are more civically active. In White suburbs, both minorities and Whites appear more alienated than those in homogeneous communities. This dynamic may be one reason minorities seek community in minority neighborhoods (Oliver, 2010). These findings underscore the importance of Putnam's (2000) theoretical distinction between bridging and bonding social capital for understanding the complexities of social cohesion in multiethnic societies.

Crime and Violence

Given the disproportionate numbers of the poor, Blacks, and Latinos/as who are both victims of crimes and incarcerated for committing them, there are sound reasons to investigate if there is a relationship between the racial and SES composition of schools and involvement with the criminal justice system. Research on the relationship between crime, violence, and school composition investigates the likelihood of committing such acts among people who attend racially segregated, high-poverty schools compared with those who attended diverse ones. Relevant literature also reports on neighborhood crime and violence contextual effects on school outcomes, as well as the effects of school violence on educational outcomes (Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2002; Massey 2006). Overall, the small empirical record on this issue suggests a positive relationship between attending high-poverty and racially segregated schools and the likelihood of involvement with the criminal justice system in adulthood.

A substantial body of research indicates that involvement in the criminal justice system is negatively related to educational attainment. Poor academic performance is a major factor in dropping out of school (Glennie, Barnett, Stearns, & Mickelson, 2011), and dropping out of school is strongly related with involvement with the criminal justice system (M. L. Baker, Sigmon, & Nugent, 2001; Lochner & Morettie, 2004; Orfield, Losen, Wald, & Swanson, 2004). One strand in the literature links segregation directly to crime (Heilbrunn & Seeley, 2003; Lochner & Morretti, 2004), whereas another strand indirectly makes the connection through its effects on truancy and dropout rates, two major correlates of crime (Lutz, 2005; Trujillo, 2006). Numerous studies have shown that students who are suspended from school are more likely to be truant, miss instructional time, and drop out of high school, all of which put them at greater risk for future antisocial behavior (Arcia, 2006; Gregory et al., 2011; Hemphill, Toumbourou, Herrenkohl, McMorris, & Catalano, 2006). The amicus brief filed by U.S. police chiefs in support of voluntary desegregation in the 2007 Seattle and Louisville cases argued that increasing the number of high school graduates would contribute significantly to crime reduction because integration reduces truancy and dropout rates (Consolidated Brief of Joseph E. Brann, 2007).

Another theme in this literature examines school violence and school composition. Consistent with previous findings that intergroup contact may exacerbate feelings of frustration and prejudice between groups in situations of unequal status, David Eitle and Tamela Eitle (2003) found that Black youths attending racially integrated schools were exposed to higher levels of school violence than peers attending segregated ones. They report that levels of racial inequality in a community conditioned the inverse relationship between school segregation and school violence. Under conditions of racial inequality, the magnitude of the association between school segregation and violent crime is larger. Higher levels of crime in the community in which families reside are correlated with greater rates of violence in schools in these communities (Eitle & Eitle, 2003).

Douglas Massey (2006) reported that minority students attending racially segregated schools are exposed to significantly more social disorder and violence than either Whites or minorities who attended integrated schools. Exposure to higher levels of crime during childhood in conjunction with the disorders arising from violence in neighborhoods and in schools triggers a surfeit of stress hormones. Neuroscience suggests stress hormones reduce long- and short-term memory, limit attention, and lower frustration thresholds, all of which are likely to undermine academic performance.

Gary LaFree and Richard Arum (2006) directly tested whether more racially inclusive schools contributed to the reduction of risk involvement with the criminal justice system. They found that it did. Blacks in schools in which there were higher proportions of Whites had reduced likelihood of ending up in prison, although a school's racial composition alone did not affect Whites' incarceration rates. A much earlier study by Jencks and Mayer (1990) reported that the likelihood of criminal activity was higher among White Nashville area youth who attended high-poverty schools in the

1950s. Similarly, David Weiner, Byron Lutz, and Jens Ludwig (2009) analyzed 1987 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights data on larger school districts with between 20% and 90% minority enrollment. They found that homicide victimization and arrests of Black youth declined markedly among those who attended schools implementing court orders to desegregate. They note that their findings suggest that desegregated schools may reduce both victimization and offending among Black youth.

Cultivating Democratic Values and Civic Engagement

There is a small body of empirical research about the effects of diverse schools and classrooms on outcomes that fall under the broad category of democratic values and civic engagement—that is, how diverse educational experiences socialize students for their role as members of a complex, multiethnic, democratic nation-state. In assessing the relationship of education to civic engagement, it is useful to examine direct measures such as voting, community involvement, and public service as well as its attitudinal and normative dimensions such as understanding the perspective of others, exchanging divergent views, and negotiating conflicts. However, the social science literature does not have a large empirical base that includes school composition effects, measures of civic engagement, or the various normative indicators of social cohesion. Although the evidence about normative dimensions of civic engagement is relatively clear, the limited empirical record on direct behavioral measures, such as voting, is ambiguous with respect to the proposition that integrated K–12 education fosters democratic civic engagement.

Understanding the Perspective of Others

Several qualitative studies examine the long-term effects of attending diverse schools on adults' understanding of race in their lives, the lives of others, and in larger society. Amy Stuart Wells and her colleagues (Holmes, Wells, & Revilla, 2005; A. S. Wells, Holmes, Revilla, & Atando, 2009) conducted hundreds of in-depth interviews with the 1980 graduates of six integrated U.S. high schools. Respondents reported that their experiences with integration fostered a deeper understanding of other groups and greater comfort in interracial settings. Although there were notable racial and ethnic variations in what students learned, all graduates reported they were better prepared for a racially plural society because they attended integrated schools.

Similarly, Amy Hawn Nelson's (2010) case study of 1997 graduates from a single school district yielded results similar to Holmes et al. (2005) and A. S. Wells et al. (2009), particularly for graduates of the most racially diverse high schools. Carter (2011) found that high school students in the United States and South Africa who attended integrated schools were the most likely to develop multicultural navigation skills that entail understanding the perspective of others and taking these perspectives into consideration when interacting with them.

Sylvia Hurtado and her colleagues (Hurtado, 2005, 2006; Hurtado, Engberg, Ponjuan, & Landreman, 2002) report that students' precollege experiences with integrated schooling predispose them to attitudes and perspectives that sustain social

cohesion in multiethnic societies. They found that students who enter college with substantial experience interacting with diverse peers were more likely to see the world from someone else's perspective and to value the importance of diversity.

Espousing Values and Attitudes Consistent With Democratic Society

Attending diverse schools can cultivate values and attitudes consistent with a democratic society. Kurlaender and Yun's (2001, 2005, 2007) series of studies in major U.S. cities using their Diversity Assessment Questionnaire revealed that diverse school composition promotes democratic values and positive attitudes toward civic engagement among students from all racial and ethnic backgrounds. The researchers note variations in outcomes among students from different ethnic and racial backgrounds (Kurlaender & Yun, 2007).

Sylvia Hurtado and her colleagues also examined changes in attitudes toward democracy among students in 10 public universities. They reported that interactions with diverse college peers changed attitudinal, cognitive, and democratic values; cultural awareness; and concern for the public good (Hurtado, 2005; Hurtado et al., 2002). For example, they found that students who enter college having had substantial prior interactions with diverse peers are more likely to value the importance of engaging in social action to create change in society.

Patricia Gurin's quasi-experimental research with students from the University of Michigan investigated the benefits of diversity in education for democratic attitudes, values, and behaviors (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Gurin et al., 2004). Findings from Gurin's series of studies indicate that students involved in structured diversity experiences were more likely to express democratic sentiments, to take the perspective of others, and to see commonality in values across cultures. Moreover, structured diversity experiences (as opposed to informal ones) promoted more active, complex thinking about controversial issues in ways that prepare students for debating issues and resolving conflicts through negotiation.

Negotiating Conflicts

Schools with multiethnic student bodies can be sites of cross-racial tensions and conflict (Eitle & Eitle, 2003). Consistent with contact theory, school integration among middle school students increases perceptions of both friendliness and conflict among students of different race and ethnic groups (Goldsmith, 2004). Curricular tracking and segregated extracurricular activities can worsen race relations. Tracking separates and labels youths in ways that invariably correlate with their race, ethnicity, and social class backgrounds. But schools that structure intergroup contact (group work, elimination of tracking, multicultural curriculum) are successful in creating conditions for reducing tensions and fostering cross-race friendships (Banks et al., 2005; Cohen, 1994; Lotan, 2004).

Students who enter college with substantial interactions with diverse peers are more likely to believe that diversity enhances conflict negotiation, although most students are unprepared to negotiate conflict when they enter college (Chang et al.,

2006; Hurtado et al., 2002). Hurtado (2005) recommends that campuses intentionally structure opportunities for students to learn about diverse social groups and conflict resolution inside and outside the classroom because if cross-ethnic/racial interactions are left to chance, most students are likely to revert to familiar and solidified positions when encountering conflict.

Voting

Political socialization is an almost universal goal of formal education. Voting is considered a common behavioral indicator of civic engagement in democratic societies (Macedo, 2005). Americans infamously exhibit low voter turnout. This fact is a source of great consternation among political leaders because of its dire implications for a vibrant democratic polity.[7] Even though political philosophers and policymakers have linked civic engagement to the political socialization of schools, political scientists consider the link between formal education and civic participation a black box (Campbell, 2006).

A number of possibilities may explain the connection: Education may lead to an increase in political knowledge, tolerance, and acceptance (Nie, Junn, & Stehlik, 1996) because it breaks down barriers to engagement (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996); schooling may inculcate norms encouraging civic involvement (Campbell, 2006); schooling may teach civic skills (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995); or education may be a proxy for selection effects—people with the propensity for civic participation also become more educated.

Notably, even though U.S. schools are mandated to prepare and motivate students to participate in elections, young adults are less likely to vote than older citizens. A full discussion of the determinants of voting behavior is beyond the scope of this chapter. Given the widespread mandate that schools prepare youth to exercise their franchise as well as philosophers' arguments that diverse education is essential for democratic citizenship, it is appropriate to examine if characteristics of the schools and classrooms in which students learn, such as their racial and SES composition, influence the propensity to vote.

The limited body of literature from the United States on this topic does not show a relationship between integrated education and voting. David Campbell (2005, 2006, 2009) examined this question using a small but nationally representative panel data set of 1965 White high school graduates. He assessed whether three dimensions of school diversity—racial composition, religion, and partisanship—affected the civic participation attitudes and behaviors of White high school graduates at three points in time. He found that the racial composition of the high school was not related to propensity to vote. The higher the political homogeneity of the school, the greater the propensity to vote. In another study, he examined classroom racial diversity's effects on political discussions (Campbell, 2007). His results show that racial diversity corresponded to fewer political discussions, and fewer political discussions, in turn, correlated with lower likelihood of adolescents' intentions of becoming informed voters. Campbell's research essentially shows that greater civic participation

occurs where people obtain formal political socialization in homogeneous schools and classrooms.[8]

Other research on school composition and civic engagement is consistent with Campbell's findings. Kahne, Chi, and Middaugh (2006) examined the role of civics education on norms of civic participation, social trust, and knowledge of social networks among students who attended 52 Chicago high schools. Their quasi experiment revealed that although civics education could improve commitment to participate, school characteristics of SES and racial composition were no longer significant predictors of the outcome once other school, family, and neighborhood characteristic were controlled (Kahne et al., 2006; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Kahne & Westheimer, 2004).

Jane Junn (2004) addresses the inconsistency between the promise and reality of integrated schooling and findings about its influence on civic participation. She observes that for centuries public schools have been expected to socialize students into the American creed and its democratic political values, making patriotic citizens of everyone through civic education courses. Civic education is expected to stem the tide of youthful disengagement and to renew political interest and social involvement among America's youth through inculcating political knowledge, democratic values, and motivating participation in voting (Dillon, 2011).

The distinction between democracy as a system of government (process) and democracy as a just society (content) is central to the contradiction in the creed described by Junn (2004). On one hand, schools portray government as a neutral arbiter in an ostensibly fair democratic political system where citizens enjoy equality of agency (democracy as process). On the other hand, students learn about (or their families experienced) the realities of racial and ethnic injustices such as literacy tests for Blacks and imprisonment of Japanese Americans during World War II or about the 2000 partisan activists in Florida who successfully challenged minority voters' right to their franchise. She argues that civic education reveals this contradiction to students. From the perspective of where young people sit, some discrimination is normative in everyday political and economic life, and the concepts of freedom, fairness, equality, justice, and political democracy are far from unambiguous (Junn, 2004). And because the promises of democratic society (democracy as content) are disproportionately more distant for immigrants, minorities, and the poor, the youth from disadvantaged communities are understandably more suspicious of and less likely to engage in civic behaviors such as voting and civic associations (Hochschild & Scovronick, 2003; Junn, 2004; Oliver, 2010).

James Ladwig (2010) and Linda McNeil (1986) observe that many important nonacademic outcomes fall outside the logic of conventional measurement, including the consequences of civics education for a democracy. The outcomes of civics education include substantive knowledge, skills, and dispositions—with dispositions especially difficult to capture with conventional approaches to measurement. Nonetheless, the growing racial and ethnic diversity of the student population challenges educators to develop civic education curricula that acknowledge inequalities in the political and economic structure of the society, that do not teach about

democracy in a one-size-fits-all rubric or ignore complex ethnic and racial realities. Instead, they recommend a civics curriculum that balances the divergent experiences of students while presenting the shared ground of democratic norms, voting, participation, commitment to political equality in the face of structural constraints to it (Gutman 1999; Junn, 2004).

The research studies summarized above showing no relationship between integrated schooling, civics education, and voting were conducted before Barack Obama ran for president. Candidate Obama captured the energy and votes of large numbers of America's young and minority voters, two constituencies that are known for being less likely to vote. However, the great recession of 2009 and its economic, social, and political sequelae cast into sharp relief the contradictions between the promises of democracy as governance and the contours of the unjust and stratified society permitted by this process. The implications of these sequelae for voting and civic engagement in 2012 among youths, the economically marginalized workers, and people of color remain to be seen as of this writing.

DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Teachers, curricula, and pedagogy are essential components of opportunities to learn, but they are not the only important ones. The social organization of schools and classrooms also contributes to the quality and equity of educational experiences. Whether a school is racially and socioeconomically diverse or segregated makes a critical difference for K–12 achievement across the curriculum: Students who attend racially and socioeconomically diverse schools are more likely to achieve higher tests scores and better grades, to graduate from high school, and to attend and graduate from college compared with their otherwise comparable counterparts who attend schools with high concentrations of low-income and/or disadvantaged minority youth.

As this chapter has argued, diverse K–12 schools foster other outcomes that are integral components of the adult life course trajectory. In addition to achievement, the short-term outcomes of diverse K–12 schooling include a reduction in prejudice and fears, increases in cross-racial trust and friendships, and enhanced capacity for multicultural navigation. These benefits foster highly desirable long-term outcomes for adults such as greater educational and occupational attainment, workplace readiness for the global economy, adult cross-racial friendships, choice of integrated neighborhoods, democratic values and attitudes, avoidance of the criminal justice system, and the embrace of other aspects of civic capacity in communities. These long-term outcomes are, in turn, essential structural and attitudinal building blocks of social cohesion, which is a vital characteristic of vigorous multiethnic, democratic societies.

Limitations

This chapter suffers from a paucity of research directly investigating the relationship between various aspects of social cohesion, including civic engagement. Civic engagement is an area ripe for research, especially given the changing demographics of the student population in the U.S. A second shortcoming of the chapter is its reli-

ance on U.S. social science and behavioral research. As mentioned at the beginning, there are other multiethnic democracies. The nature of the relationships described above is highly relevant to the research questions the chapter addresses. Continued investments in social and behavioral science research in other multicultural, multi-ethnic, democratic states could and will have beneficial effects. Comparative studies will be important for fully understanding the role of diversity across the life course.

Policy Recommendations

Change the Public Narrative About Diversity and Public Education

Although it was incompletely implemented, outcomes of desegregation efforts were, on balance, positive.[9] The research record clearly demonstrates the benefits of racially and socioeconomically diverse schools. Trends in racial achievement gaps narrowed steadily during the years when the nation's schools were desegregating. The narrowing trends have decreased markedly since desegregation faltered in the late 1980s.

One key way to build public support for diverse schools is to change the dominant narrative about integrated public education. Educators and policymakers are often hamstrung by a widespread public misperception that all public schools are failing. Public conversations about education frequently overlook the fact that the vast majority of schools in most school districts are successful and many are exemplary. The public narrative needs to distinguish between the districts and schools that are in crisis and the thousands upon thousands of successful public schools.

Leadership is necessary to convey the message that racially and socioeconomically diverse schools can become desirable middle-class schools suitable for all children and that diversity is a cost-effective and fiscally prudent reform. Local school leaders can learn from the corporate world and the military where diversity is considered essential for success and efficiency. Moreover, school leaders can illustrate their claims by pointing to the Department of Defense schools that serve the children of members of the armed services. Department of Defense schools are integrated by race and SES, high performing, and do not produce the race and SES gaps found in public or private civilian schools (Smrekar & Owens, 2003).

Coordinate Housing Policies With Education Policy to Foster Greater Residential and Educational Diversity

Given the demographic homogeneity of many of our communities and the neighborhood school basis of most pupil assignment plans, housing policy is de facto education policy. Attempting to create education policy for diversity without developing housing policies for diversity is akin to cleaning the air on one side of a screen door.[10]

Incentivize the Creation of Diverse Schools

Federal and state programs can prioritize reforms that foster academic, racial, and socioeconomic diversity. Diversity goals should be part of the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and any future Race to the Top initia-

tives—perhaps even a "Race to Diversity" initiative could be instituted.

Federal, state, and local policies can discourage programs or policies that foster resegregation by SES, race, or ability. They can require diversity impact statements for all school reforms that involve federal programs. Private schools should not be permitted to convert to charters if they are not diverse. Charters, magnets, educational management organizations, and voucher programs should not be permitted to exclude special needs children or English language learners.

Provide Resources and Technical Assistance to Local Educational Agencies That Seek to Create and Implement Diverse Schools

School districts that desire to create diverse schools frequently do not have resources to do so. Resource deficits range from insufficient transportation funds to inadequate technical expertise. Allow flexibility and provide support for transportation costs linked to diversity initiatives. Provide technical assistance to districts as they develop plans for integrated education.

Accept the Supreme Court's Invitation in Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1 (2007)

Justice Kennedy's controlling opinion in the Seattle and Louisville voluntary desegregation decision provides guidance for local school systems that wish to pursue diversity. Although the Court rejected the specific voluntary desegregation plans of Louisville and Seattle because they used individual students' race for placements, the court affirmed the nation's compelling interest in avoiding racially isolated schools and promoting diverse ones. Kennedy's opinion gave the Court's imprimatur to a number of explicit reforms and policies that can create diverse schools, including siting schools between neighborhoods that are residentially segregated, and recruiting teachers and students.

Refine and Expand an Effective Civics Education Curricula and Pedagogy to Promote Social Justice Through Civic Engagement

Rogers, Kahne, and Middaugh (2008) note that John Dewey wanted students to attend to broader relationships between government and the economy. By attending to social and economic justice issues, Dewey extended civics education beyond the formal political institutions typically taught in secondary schools. He framed class inequality and poverty in relationship to fundamental concerns with equality and political participation, arguing explicitly that economic conditions are not natural or inevitable but the result of particular policy choices made by private and state actors. Rogers et al. (2008) note that Dewey's vision highlights the importance of preparing students to be efficacious citizens with the knowledge, skills, and commitments needed to work for fundamental changes in the political economy. Doing so entails providing youths with tools to understand social problems, the vision for a possible democratic future, and the ability and commitment to take action for change.

CONCLUSIONS

Should citizens, educators, parents, and policymakers be concerned that schools in the United States are resegregating? The evidence presented in this chapter suggests an affirmative answer to the question. Decades of social and behavioral science research, largely from the United States but consistent with the small international literature on the topic, indicate that integrated schooling can have a positive influence on the short- and long-term outcomes that are the essential building blocks for socially cohesive multiethnic democratic societies. Early school desegregation foreshadows later outcomes because early experiences influence the psychosocial processes and social structural factors that shape the adult life course trajectory.

Anderson (2010) and Braddock and Eitle (2004) argue that one of the most insidious aspects of segregation is the tendency for it to be perpetuated across an individual's life cycle, across the institutions with which individuals are involved, and into future generations. Findings synthesized in this review show that attending desegregated K–12 schools is one of the critical factors that breaks the cycle of intergenerational transmission of racial fears and prejudice and that doing so short-circuits the perpetuation of segregation across institutional settings over time. The research record is also clearly consistent with contact theory's predictions that integrated schooling fosters positive intergroup attitudes and relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Furthermore, early experiences in integrated schools foster achievement and attainment from elementary school through college; they encourage attendance in integrated colleges; development of broad and diverse social networks; greater occupational attainment, income, and employment in integrated workplaces; and readiness for employment in a globalizing economy. Early experiences in integrated schools also facilitate development of adult interracial friendships and the likelihood of living in integrated neighborhoods. These experiences augment the development of what Putnam (2000) calls bridging social capital. Together, these life course outcomes and the social capital they foster are the warp and woof of a cohesive multiracial, just, democratic, social fabric.

Finally, the growing demographic heterogeneity of many contemporary nation-states will inevitably impose a material reality on citizens, parents, employers, and policymakers: Social cohesion is a compelling imperative in the interests not only of citizens' own social stability and prosperity but, vitally, of their active and constructive engagement in the broader world system. Anderson (2010) persuasively argues that comprehensive racial, ethnic, and social class integration is a necessary condition for a racially just future and the realization of a fully democratic society.

Based on the literature reviewed herein, it becomes clear that integrated school environments in multiethnic societies most likely can serve as vehicles in the attainment of social cohesion in the broadest conceivable sense. It is well accepted that during the 21st century, the world has become an increasingly integrated system economically, technologically, and in terms of capital, people, and information. That there is simultaneously

widespread fragmentation and warfare does not negate these facts; rather it emphasizes an empirical reality that old world orders, beliefs, and orthodoxies coexist with emerging realities. Evidence assembled in this review strongly suggests that the short- and long-term dividends of integrated education generate some of the necessary conditions for the realization of a more democratic, just, and cohesive multiethnic society.

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NOTES

[1]Nura Resh and Yechezkel Dar (in press) describe the political history of integration and segregation in Israeli education in terms that are highly reminiscent of the U.S. experience, particularly with regard to the larger political and ideological role of global neoliberalism.

[2]This discussion of the philosophical roots of the links between democracy and integrated education draws heavily from Moses and Chang (2006).

[3]The sociologist Robert Merton originally coined the expression, drawing on the Gospel of Matthew (25:29), "For to those who have, more will be given, and they will have an abundance; but from those who have nothing, even what they have will be taken away."

[4]The authors wish to acknowledge the contributions of Martha Bottia, Ph.D., to this chapter. As a graduate research assistant, she conducted most of the literature searches, evaluations, and codings of the studies under the guidance of the first author. Stephen Samuel Smith offered valuable feedback on political theory and education. Diana Douglas, Lauren Valentino, Neena Banerjee, and Heidi Jane Esakov provided additional research assistance.

[5]See Rossell, Armor, and Walberg (2001) for a review of social science literature that comes to different conclusions on this topic.

[6]There is substantial evidence suggesting that integration fosters the improvement of school quality at least as successfully as, if not more successfully than, other policies. Teacher quality is highly correlated with school racial composition (Jackson, 2009).

[7]One perspective on Americans' low voter turnout is that disaffected, marginalized people see voting as a sham. They decline to vote because the operations of representative democracy in the United States mean those who govern do so in the name of the people only, whereas their actions reflect the interests of the monied and the privileged.

[8]Traditional measures of civic engagement rarely capture the rich and effective role of Black churches in this political socialization.

[9]Many negative unintended consequences of desegregation were borne disproportionately by Black teachers, administrators, and communities.

[10]The authors acknowledge their adaptation of Jean Anyon's (1997) metaphor about school reform to the synergistic nature of housing and education policies.

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