

The Black-White Education Gap in Connecticut: Indicators of Inequality in Access and Outcomes

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K-12 Public School Student Population Demographics in 2016- 2017 School Year

- **Total Enrollment of Black Students:** 69,462
- **Percent of Students who are Black:** 13%
- **School Districts with Highest Proportions of Black Students:** New Haven, Hartford, Bridgeport and Bloomfield (See Appendix A)

Introduction

In Connecticut, as in many other states, the quality of students' educational experiences and opportunities differs dramatically when assessed through the lens of race. These disparities in access and opportunity affect us all, raising not only moral but also economic and governance challenges. A well-educated workforce draws businesses and investment into the state. A quality education facilitates students' ability to pursue their chosen dreams and goals. To shape Connecticut's future voters into well-informed, active citizens and leaders, and to spur our state's economic growth and competitiveness, we must offer all students a robust and challenging education.

This brief explores some of the disparities in educational access and outcomes between Black and White students in Connecticut: an essential step toward the long-term goal of assuring a high-quality and equitable education for *all* children in the state.¹ We begin by analyzing four disparities in access/opportunity: access to Black teachers, school attendance, access to challenging coursework, and school discipline.² We then look to disparities in three outcome indicators: Smarter Balanced test scores, graduation rates, and "School Day SAT"³ scores. We

find that, while there have been some gains in access and outcomes for Black students, significant gaps still exist, often leaving Black students underprepared for future success.⁴

Disparities in the Classroom

We begin by examining four indicators of access/opportunity in education: access to same-race teachers, attendance and absenteeism, access to challenging coursework, and exclusionary discipline. Research has established that each of these four indicators has a measurable impact on the lives of Black students.⁵

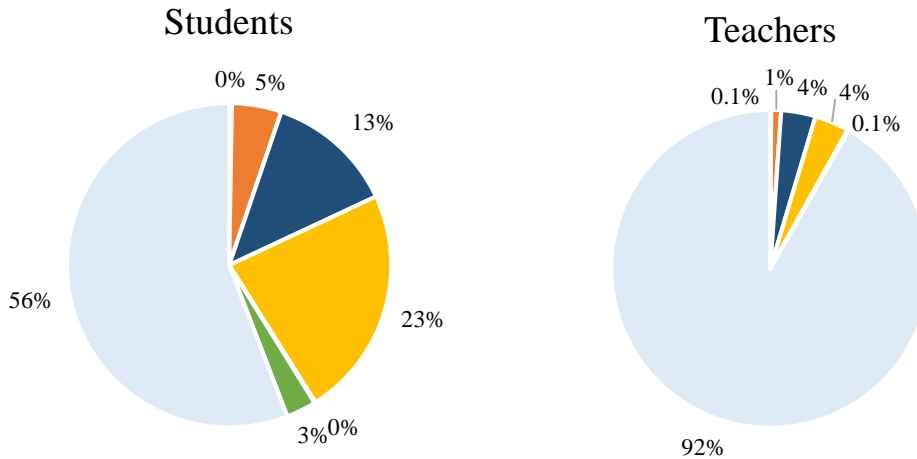
Disparities in Access to Same-Race Teachers

Connecticut has a severe shortage of Black teachers. This matters because Black students experience higher levels of success when they have had a Black teacher.⁶ By bolstering student confidence and alleviating feelings of marginalization, Black teachers can act as a protective factor against negative experiences like punitive discipline policies or racist comments. This effect is highest for Black male students from low-income households.⁷ In one study, researchers found that Black male students who had a Black teacher in elementary school were up to 39 percent less likely to drop out of high school.⁸

In the 2015-2016 school year, Black teachers made up slightly more than 3 percent of all teachers in Connecticut's public school system as compared to Black students, who represent 13 percent of the student population. This compares with a supermajority White teachers (92 percent) and a 56 percent White student population.

Figure 1: Racial Composition of Teachers and Students in Connecticut Schools

- Native American
- Asian
- Black/African American
- Hispanic/Latino
- Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- Two or More Races
- White



Source: Connecticut Department of Education – EdSight - Educator Demographics SY 2015-16

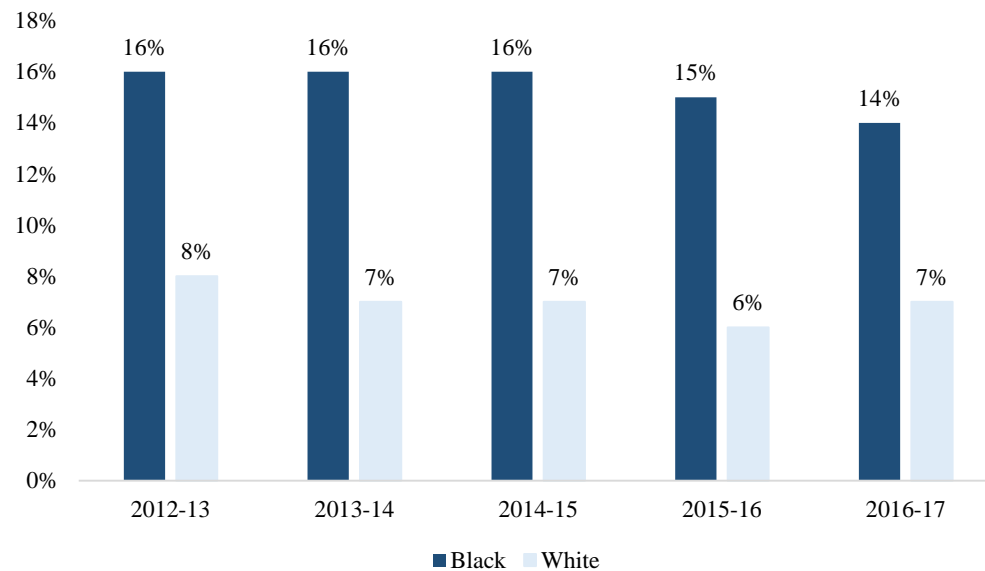
Disparities in Attendance and Absenteeism

Children are considered chronically absent when they have missed 10 percent or more of school days in a school year (approximately 18 days of school).⁹ Chronically absent students miss key educational time¹⁰ and experience less academic success.¹¹ At nearly every grade level, chronic absenteeism is a predictor of negative outcomes. The Connecticut State Department of Education’s analysis shows that, regardless of income level, students who were chronically absent in the 9th grade were less likely to graduate on time than their peers with more consistent attendance.¹² A study in California showed that chronically absent kindergarten and first grade students were significantly less likely than their peers to read on grade level by third grade.¹³ While it seems logical to link chronic absenteeism with truancy or youth choosing to skip school, research has established that chronically absent students are far more likely to miss school due to

health issues (chronic illnesses like asthma), negative school climate (weapons or violence in schools), or family conflict (parent’s mental health status).¹⁴

In Connecticut, the racial gap in chronic absenteeism is clear and significant. Black children are chronically absent at a rate two times higher than their White peers, missing significantly more educational time. This disparity has held steady over the past 5 years, showing some progress due to state attention on the issue of chronic absenteeism.

Figure 2: Percentages of Chronically Absent Students by Race Between School Year (SY) 2011-12 and School Year (SY) 2016-17



Source: Connecticut Department of Education – EdSight Data – Chronic Absenteeism Trends by Race/Ethnicity

Disparities in Access to Challenging Course Work

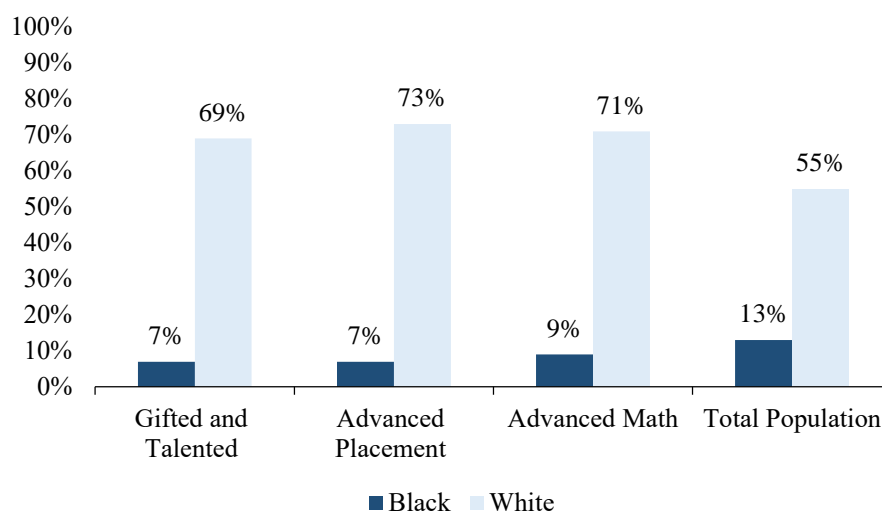
As colleges and careers become more competitive, students need access to challenging materials to prepare them for success. Both Honors and Gifted and Talented programs afford students the ability to engage in the types of critical thought¹⁵ that will prepare them for the 21st Century workforce. In Connecticut, a significant gap exists between Black and White students’

enrollment in Gifted and Talented programs, advanced math,¹⁶ and Advanced Placement (AP)¹⁷ classes.

Of all students enrolled in Gifted and Talented programs in the 2013-14 school year (the last year for which this data was available), 68 percent were White as compared with only 7 percent who were Black. This may reflect the disproportionate representation of Black students in school districts with less per-pupil funding¹⁸ or it might also reflect the low Black teacher/student ratio, considering that Black students are 3 times more likely to be identified as gifted by a Black teacher, as compared to a White teacher.¹⁹

As with Gifted and Talented programs, Black students are similarly underrepresented in Honors and Advanced Placement (AP) classes. Black students are underrepresented by 60 percent in AP classes and 36 percent in advanced mathematics classes. White students, on the other hand, appear to take AP and advanced math classes at significantly higher rates. This leaves Black students at a disadvantage as colleges and universities increasingly use AP and other advanced coursework as evidence of academic strength and preparedness for the rigors of college-level work in admissions decisions. The low rate of Black students in Gifted and Talented programs, advanced mathematics, and AP classes signals a disadvantage relative to White students in university admissions and 21st Century workforce participation.

Figure 3: Percentage of Students across all grades Enrolled in Gifted and Talented, Advanced Mathematics and at Least One Advanced Placement Course by Race



Source: United States Department of Education – Civil Rights Data Reporting 2016

Disparities in Exclusionary Discipline Rates

“Exclusionary discipline” refers to any disciplinary action that removes students from their usual educational settings,²⁰ including in- and out-of-school suspensions, expulsions, referrals to law enforcement, and in-school arrests. As with chronic absenteeism, the use of exclusionary discipline correlates with negative academic and life outcomes.²¹ In a longitudinal study of the Texas public school system, 31 percent of students who were expelled or suspended were held back as compared to only 5 percent of students who had not been subject to exclusionary discipline.²² Furthermore, exclusionary discipline correlates with future justice system involvement. In the same Texas study referenced above, even when controlling for individual and school characteristics, students who were suspended or expelled for a discretionary violation (an activity that did not require suspension or expulsion under applicable laws and regulations) were 3 times more likely to become involved in the juvenile justice system

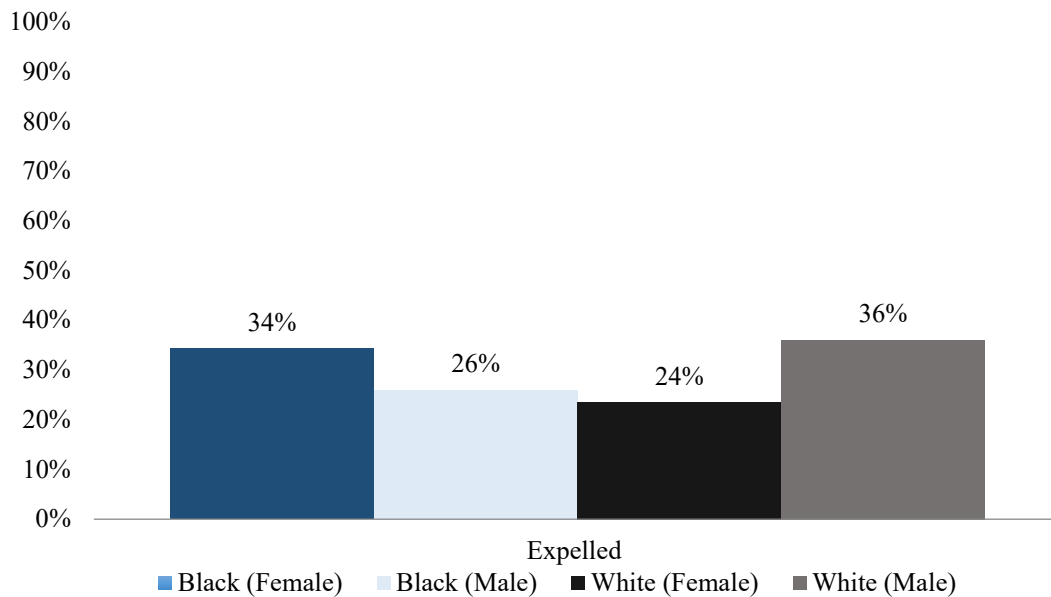
than their peers who were not punished as harshly for the same offenses. While a strict, “zero tolerance” approach to student misbehavior has some surface appeal, it is important to note that the American Psychological Association’s review of exclusionary discipline and zero tolerance policies found little evidence that these policies improve student behavior or school climate; instead, such policies lead to a perceived lack of safety by the entire student body.²³

The gap between Black and White students’ exposure to both in- and out-of-school suspensions demands our attention. In Connecticut, suspension rates have decreased for all students in the past 5 years. Despite this decline, Black students are still 4 times more likely to be suspended than their White counterparts.²⁴ Although the Connecticut legislature passed a law in 2015 to limit preschool through 2nd grade suspensions and expulsions for all students (regardless of race/ethnicity),²⁵ significant racial disparities remain with respect to compliance with the new law. In the 2015-16 school year, 71 percent of the students who were suspended or expelled from preschool through 2nd grade were Black or Latino. This means that, of the 1,674 Connecticut Pre-K through 2nd graders who were suspended or expelled that year, 1,188 were Black or Latino.²⁶ While some might argue that the high levels of Black youth subjected to exclusionary discipline reflects higher rates of inappropriate behavior, research discredits that claim. Black students do not act out more than any other group of students,²⁷ but are more likely to be punished for less serious or more subjective reasons.²⁸ Furthermore, racial disparities in exclusionary discipline are similar across all socio-economic statuses – suggesting that the race of a student is an important independent factor in who is suspended or expelled.²⁹ This race-based differential in exclusionary discipline rates for young children, like the race-based disparity in Gifted and Talented participation for older students, may be related to the low number of minority teachers. An eye-tracking study run by the Yale Child Study Center in 2016 found that when White

teachers were told to anticipate a disciplinary problem, they looked more frequently at Black children, and particularly Black boys,³⁰ suggesting that White teachers may punish Black children more frequently because they are more inclined to be vigilant for misbehavior by Black children, rather than because of a higher incidence of malfeasance.

In Connecticut, the rates at which Black students are suspended and expelled exceed the proportion of Black students enrolled in the public school system. For example, Black students made up only 13 percent of the total student population but 34 percent of Black girls and 26 percent of Black boys were expelled in the 2016-17 school year.³¹ Considering that the impact of exclusionary discipline on the futures of Black children (ie. grade retention, dropping out, and justice system involvement),³² and the research showing little positive impact of exclusionary discipline on behavior,³³ further research into and support for alternative discipline policies should be considered a critical priority.

Figure 4: Percentage of Students Expelled by Race and Gender in School Year 2016-17



Source: Connecticut Department of Education – Understanding School Expulsions in Connecticut – Presentation to the State Board of Education, 2017

All of these experiences – the lack of Black teachers, chronic absenteeism, low levels of access to challenging coursework, and high rates of punitive discipline– have impacts on the educational experience and outcomes of Black students. As referenced earlier, chronically absent children are less likely to read on grade level and more likely to drop out.³⁴ Black students who never have a Black teacher miss out on the positive educational impacts.³⁵ Students who are suspended or expelled are significantly more likely to end up in the juvenile justice system.³⁶ The next section examines educational outcomes for Black students in Connecticut and finds that the state data confirms what research suggests: that Black students in our state not only experience decreased access to educational opportunities, but also experience lower achievement in terms of rates of timely graduation, test scores, and college admission profiles.

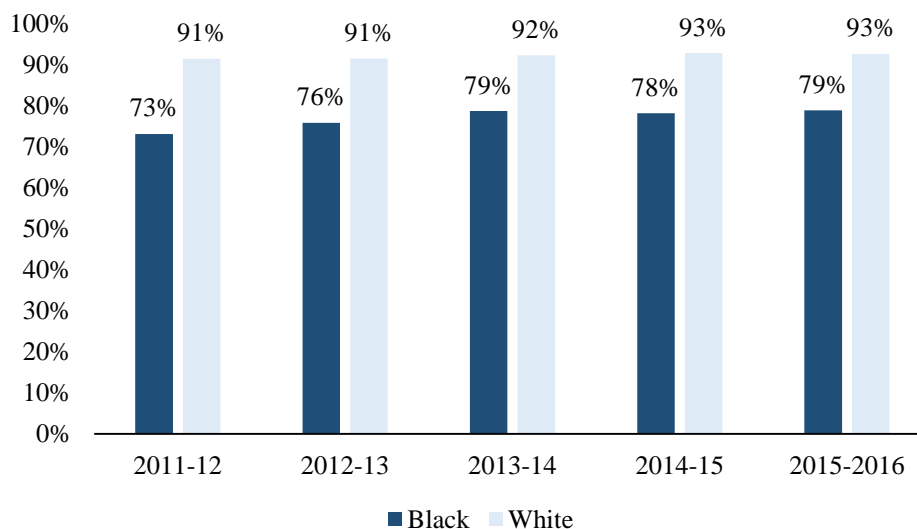
Disparities in Outcomes

A large achievement gap exists between Black and White students in Connecticut – one that mirrors the large opportunity gap in terms of educational experience. Many factors influence doing well on a test or graduating; thus, indicators like graduation rates and standardized testing are incomplete assessments of an individual student’s success or failure. Nevertheless, as a whole, these measures can indicate whether or not a school system is meeting its own goals.

Disparities in Graduation Rates

Over the last four years, graduation rates in Connecticut have improved for students of all races, and the significant graduation rate disparity has narrowed. However, the gaps persist. The graduation rate for Black students in Connecticut rose from 73 percent in 2011-12 to 78 percent in 2015-16, while the rates for White students were 91.3 percent and 92.5 percent, respectively, in those years.

Figure 5: Percentage of Students who graduated in 4 years by Race between SY2011-12 and SY2015-16



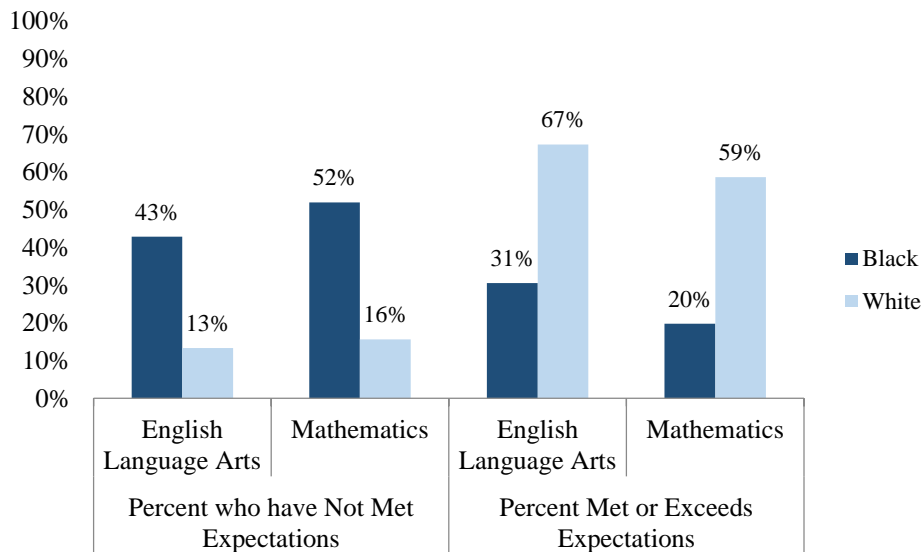
Source: Connecticut Department of Education – EdSight Data – Graduation Rates Trends by Race/Ethnicity

Disparities in Standardized Test Scores

The difference in Black and White student outcomes as measured by academic achievement test scores overshadows the shrinking disparities in graduation rates, with only minimal improvements over the past 5 years.

Standardized testing, such as Smarter Balanced³⁷ test scores, indicates that Black students are struggling within Connecticut’s schools. In the 2016-2017 Smarter Balanced exam, 43 percent of Black students did not meet the achievement standards for English Language Arts and 52 percent did not meet the achievement standards for Math. For White students, only 13 percent did not meet English Language Arts standards and 16 percent did not meet Math standards.

Figure 6: Percent of Black and White Students Classified As “Not Met” and “Meeting/Exceeding” English Language Arts and Math Achievement Standards on Smarter Balanced Exam SY2016-2017

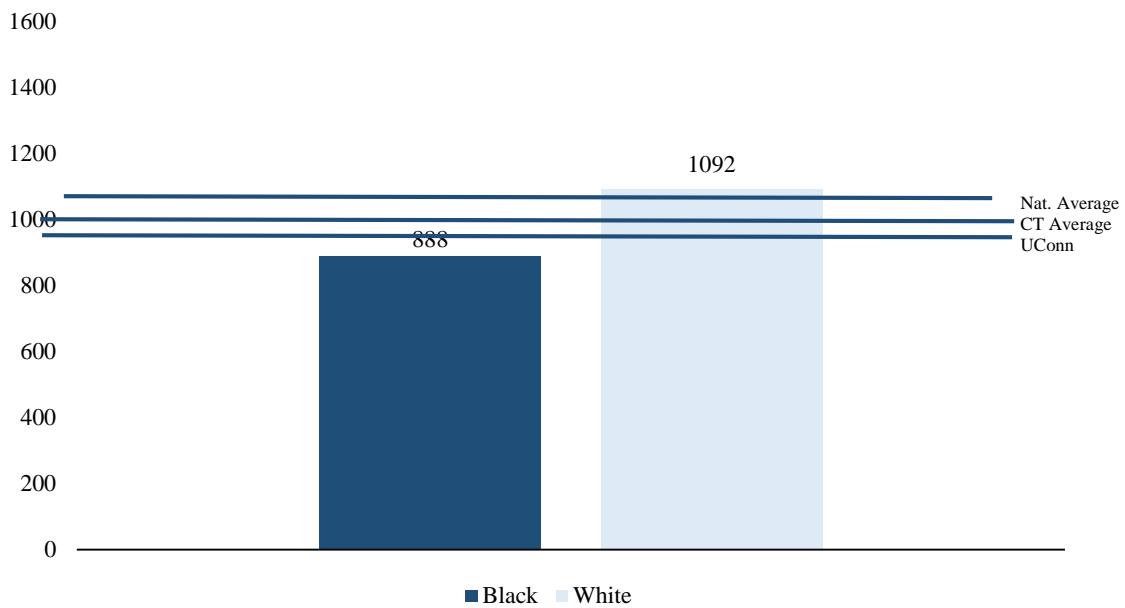


Source: Connecticut Department of Education - EdSight Data – Smarter Balanced SY2016-17

Disparities in Scores on College Entrance Exams

Black students in Connecticut are scoring well below their White peers, the national average, and the standards of area colleges on the SAT. In the 2016-2017 school year, the average cumulative Math and English Language Arts scores for Black students was 888 as compared to 1092 for their White peers with a 99-point difference between Black and White students in the English Language Arts section and a 105-point difference in Math. The national average score was 1060, out of 1600 maximum.³⁸ The University of Connecticut's incoming freshman class averages approximately 1000 total, over 100 points higher than the average total for Black 11th graders.³⁹ These discrepancies in student success are even more alarming when accounting for the shrinking gap in graduation rates between Black and White students. While more students are passing classes and graduating from school, they lack the indicators of academic skill necessary for college admissions. Low SAT scores can also result in students being required to take non-credit remedial courses in college, driving up the cost of attendance and extending the amount of time they spend in college.

Figure 7: Average English Language Arts and Math Scores on “School Day” SAT in SY2016-17 by Race



Source: Connecticut Department of Education – EdSight Data – Connecticut School Day SAT, College Board – Understanding SAT Scores 2017, University of Connecticut – 2017 Fact Sheet

Policy Recommendations

Increase the number of Black teachers and expand support for minority teachers: This paper recognizes the ongoing work of the State Department of Education’s Talent Development Office and the Minority Teacher Recruitment Policy Oversight Council to increase the number of minority teachers in the state.⁴⁰ Given the positive correlation between having a Black teacher and the success of Black students,⁴¹ the hiring, training, and support of teachers of color should be a priority. Unfortunately, the 2018 budget cuts the Talent Development Office by 89 percent,

putting progress on this important issue in jeopardy.⁴² To ensure that they can continue their work, their funding must be restored to previous levels.

Expand local cross-agency data sharing to identify chronically absent students or students who are at risk for becoming chronically absent: Oftentimes, young people experiencing academic, health, or social challenges miss school and require support (such as tutoring, behavioral health assessments, or housing supports). While efforts by the State Department of Education have reduced the overall number of chronically absent students, the rate of chronic absenteeism among Black students has decreased only slightly. Robust data-sharing programs can help identify students who have complex needs or display troubling patterns in their academic behaviors and performance while still protecting student privacy. The New Haven Youth STAT program offers an example of how agencies can harness the power of data to identify and serve at-risk students.⁴³ As part of this program, schools and social service agencies share and jointly analyze student data, allowing teachers, social workers, and social service administrations to identify young people who are at-risk for negative outcomes (in this case for juvenile justice involvement) and provide them with the necessary interventions.

Require anti-bias/anti-racism trainings for all school personnel, especially teachers and administrators: Implicit biases influence which students are disciplined by teachers and administrators and the methods of discipline chosen for those offenses. These biases contribute to the high rates of suspension and expulsion for Black students.⁴⁴ Requiring all teachers to undergo anti-bias trainings may mitigate some of the beliefs and actions that lead to teachers disproportionately and more harshly punishing Black students.⁴⁵

Expand access to data on discipline including: detailed suspension and expulsion data (including offenses) disaggregated by race and gender: This paper recognizes the recently

released guidelines from SDE as an important step in protecting the education of students who have been expelled.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, comprehensive, clear and restorative disciplinary policies are necessary to ensure that discipline is meted out in an equitable way. Effective policy development to combat disproportionate minority contact with exclusionary discipline requires that researchers, advocates, and families have access to more robust data than is already made available to them. The most effective solutions are grounded in facts, and the current lack of available data hinders that process.

Ensure that schools have ample funding and support to offer a full range of courses and programs: Existing funding disparities in the state have resulted in inadequate resources for urban schools, which disproportionately serve Black and Latino youth.⁴⁷ Lower funding results in reduced offerings of higher-level courses and Gifted and Talented programs, and accounts for some of the racial disparities in access to rigorous coursework.

Conclusion

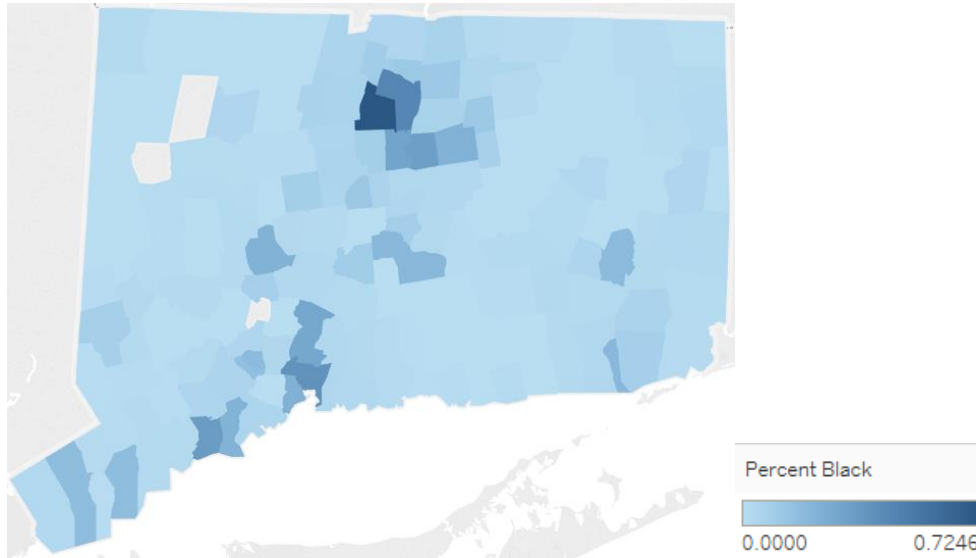
The disparities in Connecticut's education system leave Black students unprepared for college and future careers. Inequalities in teacher representation, exclusionary discipline, and access to rigorous courses contribute, in part, to differences in graduation rates and dramatic differences in achievement scores.

Contrary to arguments that racial/ethnic educational inequalities result from low levels of student effort and inadequate family involvement,⁴⁸ research has shown that disparities in achievement reflect disparities in opportunity,⁴⁹ including those discussed in this paper.⁵⁰ The high levels of educational inequality in Connecticut described in this brief perpetuate dramatically different outcomes for Black and White people in the state. Above all, these

educational disparities impede the ability of Black students, and by extension the communities that they come from, to reach their full potential.

Appendix A

Figure 7: Percentage of Black Students Enrolled by District



Source: Connecticut Department of Corrections – EdSight Data – Enrollment Counts SY2016-17

¹ This paper examines disparities in access/opportunity and disparities in outcomes using three data sets—the Connecticut Department of Education “EDSight” counts, the 2016 U.S. Department of Education Civil Rights Data Collections (which represent the 2013-2014 School Year), and U.S. Census Data.

² We chose these indicators because of the deep impacts of disparities on the lives of Black students. Gershenson, Seth, Cassandra M. D. Hart, Constance A. Lindsay, and Nicolas W. Papageorge. *The Long-Run Impacts of Same-Race Teachers*. Rep. IZA Institute of Labor Economics, Mar. 2017. <http://ftp.iza.org/dp10630.pdf>, Attendance Works, and Campaign for Grade Level Reading. *Attendance in Early Grades: Why It Matters for Reading*. Issue brief. Attendance Works, Feb. 2014. <http://www.attendanceworks.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Attendance-in-the-Early-Grades.pdf>.

, United Negro College Fund, and ACT. *The Condition of College and Career Readiness 2015: African American Students*. ACT, 2015, *The Condition of College and Career Readiness 2015: African American Students*, equityinlearning.act.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/2015-african-american.pdf.

³ The Scholastic Assessment Test offered by the College Board given to all Connecticut 11th graders free of charge during the school day, often used for college admissions.

⁴ Many of the findings in this paper are in line with those of national research, some of which we have included.

⁵ *Supra* at endnote 2.

⁶ The Albert Shanker Institute. *The State of Teacher Diversity in American Education*. The Albert Shanker Institute, 2015, *The State of Teacher Diversity in American Education*, www.shankerinstitute.org/sites/shanker/files/The%20State%20of%20Teacher%20Diversity_0.pdf.

⁷ Gershenson, Seth, Cassandra M. D. Hart, Constance A. Lindsay, and Nicolas W. Papageorge. *The Long-Run Impacts of Same-Race Teachers*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Attendance Works, and Campaign for Grade Level Reading. *Attendance in Early Grades: Why It Matters for Reading*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Ginsburg, Alan, Phyllis Jordan, and Heady Chang. *Absences Add Up: How School Attendance Influences Student Success*. Rep. Attendance Works, 2016. http://www.attendanceworks.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Absences-Add-Up_090114-1-1.pdf

¹² Connecticut State Department of Education. *Reducing Chronic Absence in Connecticut's Schools*. 2017, *Reducing Chronic Absence in Connecticut's Schools*, www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/publications/chronicabsence/chronicabsence.pdf.

¹³ Attendance Works, and Campaign for Grade Level Reading. *Attendance in Early Grades: Why It Matters for Reading*

¹⁴ Chang, Heady N, and Mariajosé Ramero. *Present, Engaged and Accounted For: The Critical Importance of Addressing Chronic Absence in Early Grades*. National Center for Children in Poverty, 2008 http://www.nccp.org/publications/pdf/text_837.pdf

¹⁵ W.Nickens, M.D.. Washington (DC): National Academies Press (US); 2001. *Inequality in Teaching and Schooling: How Opportunity Is Rationed to Students of Color in America*. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK223640/>

¹⁶ “Advanced Mathematics” is defined by the US Department of Education as Trigonometry, Algebra, Analytic Geometry, Pre-calculus, Math Analysis and Statistics/Probability

¹⁷ “Advanced Placement” refers to curricula created by the College Board in a wide array of subjects meant to introduce students to college-level coursework

¹⁸ Connecticut School Finance Project (2015). *The Mismatch Between Funding & Needs*. New Haven, CT. Available from <http://ctschoolfinance.org/resources/the-mismatch-...>

¹⁹ Nicholson-Crotty, Sean & Grissom, Jason & Nicholson-Crotty, Jill & Redding, Christopher.. *Disentangling the Causal Mechanisms of Representative Bureaucracy: Evidence From Assignment of Students to Gifted Programs*. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 2016 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301344998_Disentangling_the_Causal_Mechanisms_of_Representative_Bureaucracy_Evidence_From_Assignment_of_Students_to_Gifted_Programs

²⁰ “Exclusionary Discipline.” *NCSSD*, 20 Feb. 2017, supportiveschooldiscipline.org/learn/reference-guides/exclusionary-discipline.

²¹ Fabelo, Tony, Michael D. Thompson, Martha Plotkin, Dottie Carmichael, Miner P. Marchbanks, III, and Eric A. Booth. *Breaking Schools Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Student Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement*. Rep. The Council of State Governments: Justice Center and Public Policy Research Institute, 19 July 2011. Web. https://csjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Breaking_Schools_Rules_Report_Final.pdf

²² *Ibid.*

²³ American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force. *Are Zero Tolerance Policies Effective in Schools?: An Evidentiary Review and Recommendations*. Tech. American Psychological Association, Dec. 2008. Web. <https://www.apa.org/pubs/info/reports/zero-tolerance.pdf>

²⁴ Connecticut Department of Education. “Suspension Rates, Trend by Race/Ethnicity.” 2015, <http://edsight.ct.gov/SASPortal/main.do>

²⁵ Connecticut (State). Legislature. General Assembly. An Act Concerning Out-Of-School Suspensions And Expulsions For Students In Preschool And Grades Kindergarten To Two.(Public Act 15-96). 2015 Regular Session. <https://www.cga.ct.gov/2015/act/pa/2015PA-00096-R00SB-01053-PA.htm>

²⁶ Connecticut, USA. State Department of Education. *Suspensions and Expulsions in Connecticut*. By CT Department of Education. May 2017. http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/board/boardmaterials050317/report_on_student_discipline.pdf

²⁷ Skiba, Russel J, et al. *The Color of Discipline: Sources of Race and Gender Disproportionality in School Punishment*. Indiana Education Policy Center, 2000, *The Color of Discipline: Sources of Race and Gender Disproportionality in School Punishment*, www.indiana.edu/~equity/docs/ColorOfDiscipline.pdf.

²⁸ *Ibid*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Gilliam, Walter S., Angela N. Maupin, Chin R. Reyes, Maria Acavitti, and Frederick Shic. *Do Early Educators’ Implicit Biases Regarding Sex and Race Relate to Behavior Expectations and Recommendations of Preschool Expulsions and Suspensions?* Issue brief. Yale University Child Study Center, 28 Sept. 2016. http://ziglercenter.yale.edu/publications/Preschool%20Implicit%20Bias%20Policy%20Brief_final_9_26_276766_5379.pdf

³¹ *Understanding School Expulsions in Connecticut*(Rep.). (2017, December 6). Retrieved from http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/board/boardmaterials120617/understanding_school_expulsions_in_connecticut.pdf

³² Fabelo, Tony, Michael D. Thompson, Martha Plotkin, Dottie Carmichael, Miner P. Marchbanks, III, and Eric A. Booth. *Breaking Schools Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Student Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement*.

³³ American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force. *Are Zero Tolerance Policies Effective in Schools?: An Evidentiary Review and Recommendations*

³⁴ Attendance Works, and Campaign for Grade Level Reading. *Attendance in Early Grades: Why It Matters for Reading*

³⁵ Gershenson, Seth, Cassandra M. D. Hart, Constance A. Lindsay, and Nicolas W. Papageorge. *The Long-Run Impacts of Same-Race Teachers*

³⁶ Fabelo, Tony, Michael D. Thompson, Martha Plotkin, Dottie Carmichael, Miner P. Marchbanks, III, and Eric A. Booth. *Breaking Schools Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Student Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement*.

³⁷ The standardized test given to Connecticut students in 3rd -8th grades.

³⁸ It should be noted that the substantive difference between the national average and the “School Day” SAT are that the national average includes all students who took the SAT voluntarily as compared to the “school day” which was a required exam for 11th graders. Because of this, national SAT averages may be inflated as compared to the “School Day” as students who voluntarily taken the SAT may have been better prepared via prep courses, self-studying etc. College Board. *SAT Understanding Scores - 2017*. Rep. New York: College Board, 2017. <https://reports.collegeboard.org/sat-suite-program-results/class-2017-results> .

³⁹ University of Connecticut. *2017 Fact Sheet*. Issue brief. University of Connecticut, 2017. <http://uconn.edu/content/uploads/2017/01/INT-003-Fact-Sheet-011117-WEB-1.pdf>

⁴⁰ State Department of Education. (2016). Minority Teacher Recruitment Policy Oversight Council. Retrieved from <http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/cwp/view.asp?a=2762&Q=336576>

⁴¹ The Albert Shanker Institute. *The State of Teacher Diversity in American Education*.

⁴² Noonan, R., Ruth, L., Shemitz, E., Siegel, K., Hudson, C. S., & Updergrove, N. (2017). *Impact of the final FY 18-19 Budget on Children and Families*(Issue brief).

⁴³The City of New Haven. “Youth Stat.” *The City of New Haven*, 2016, www.newhavenct.gov/gov/depts/youth_services/stat.htm

⁴⁴ Gilliam, Walter S., Angela N. Maupin, Chin R. Reyes, Maria Acavitti, and Frederick Shic. *Do Early Educators’ Implicit Biases Regarding Sex and Race Relate to Behavior Expectations and Recommendations of Preschool Expulsions and Suspensions?*

⁴⁵ Wald, Johanna. *Can “De-Biasing” Strategies Help to Reduce Racial Disparities In School Discipline*. 2014, , www.indiana.edu/~atlantic/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Implicit-Bias_031214.pdf.

⁴⁶ Connecticut State Department of Education. (2018, January). *Standards for Educational Opportunities for Students Who Have Been Expelled*(United States of America, Connecticut State Department of Education, State Board of Education). Retrieved from http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/board/boardmaterials010318/Standards_for_Alternative_Educational_Opportunities_for_Students_Who_Have_Been_Expelled.pdf

⁴⁷Noonan, Ray. *Equal Funding for Equal Effort: A Model to Reform Property Tax Funding for Local Education in Connecticut*. *Connecticut Voices for Children*, 2017, , www.ctvoices.org/sites/default/files/Property%20Tax%20Report%20FINAL.pdf.

⁴⁸Two Brookings Scholars, Jon Valant and Daniel Newark, have noted that “a large portion of the American public remains generally unconcerned about test score gaps between white and minority children, and many Americans attribute the gaps that exist exclusively to minority parents and children rather than to broader social or historical causes.” from Race, class, and Americans’ perspectives of achievement gaps by Jon Valant and Daniel Newark, Monday, January 16, 2017; accessed 8/8/2017 <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/2017/01/16/race-class-and-americans-perspectives-of-achievement-gaps/>

⁴⁹ Harris, Angel L. *Kids Don't Want to Fail*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England, Harvard University Press, 2011

⁵⁰ Ladson-Billings, G. “From the Achievement Gap to the Education Debt: Understanding Achievement in U.S. Schools.” *Educational Researcher*, vol. 35, no. 7, Jan. 2006, pp. 3–12., ed618.pbworks.com/f/From%20Achievement%20Gap%20to%20Education%20Debt.pdf.