



A Civil Rights Agenda for the Next Quarter Century

Capitol Hill Research and Policy Briefing

March 13, 2024 • 11:45am – 3:45pm (ET)

Russell Senate Office Building, Room 188 • 2 Constitution Ave NE, Washington, DC 20002

Wifi Network: SENATE_GUEST | PW: 118congress

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

11:45 Doors open/Box Lunch available

12:15 Welcome: [Senator Chris Murphy](#) (D-CT)

Session 1: Patterns of Racial Change and Implications

12:20 Introductions: Moderator [Gary Orfield](#), UCLA Civil Rights Project

12:25-1:05 Presentations:

[Ryan Pflieger](#), UCLA CRP, *Brown at 70: Abandoning the Dream?*

[Jennifer Van Hook](#), Penn State U., *The Composition of the School-Age Population in the U.S.*

[Erica Frankenberg](#), Penn State U., *Suburban School Segregation Intensifying in a Policy Vacuum*

[Carolyn Liebler](#), Univ. of MN, *American Indian & Alaska Native Populations: Envisioning the Future*

[Susan Faircloth](#), Two Feathers LLC, *The Federal Trust Responsibility: Justice for American Indians & Alaska Natives*

1:10-1:40 Q&A

1:45 Implications for Future Policy: Gary Orfield

1:50 Break

Session 2: Policy Choices and Opportunities to Advance Civil Rights

2:10 Introductions: Moderator [Patricia Gándara](#), UCLA Civil Rights Project

2:15-2:55 Presentations:

[Raul Hinojosa](#), UCLA, *U.S. Economic Vitality Depends on Immigration*

[Manuel Vazquez Cano](#), Education Northwest, *Bilingual Education and America's Future*

[Kimberly Young](#), Culver City USD, *Bridging Social Divides through Racially Integrated Learning Opportunities*

[Jacob Faber](#), New York University, *Housing in the 21st Century: Proposing Universal Vouchers*

[Emma García](#), Learning Policy Institute, *The Cost of Inaction Threatening America's Future*

3:00-3:30 Q&A

3:35 Implications for Future Policy: Patricia Gándara

3:40 Where Do We Go from Here?

**program subject to change*

Co-Sponsored by:



PRESENTATION DESCRIPTIONS

Session 1

1. *Brown at 70: Abandoning the Dream?*

Ryan Pflieger, UCLA Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles

As we mark the 70th anniversary of the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision *Brown v Board of Education*, extreme levels of segregation, by both race and class, is growing in all parts of the country with detrimental educational consequences. Continuing racial change in segregated U.S. public schools means Whites and Asian attend schools that are middle class while Black and Latinos go to those of concentrated poverty with far more limited opportunities. Where it is possible-- and it still is possible in many areas—desegregation properly implemented can make a very real contribution to equalizing educational opportunities and preparing young Americans for the extremely diverse society in which they will live and work and govern together.

2. *The Changing Composition of the School-Age Population in the U.S.*

Jennifer Van Hook, Pennsylvania State University

Many regions across the nation will continue on the current path towards increasing racial and ethnic diversity. These demographic changes are “baked in” because most children in immigrant households are U.S. citizens, who will become the parents of America’s future. As such, more and more schools, including those in regions that have not already dealt with demographic change, will need proactive policies to meet the education needs of both this diverse student body and the U.S. economy overall.

3. *Suburban School Segregation Intensifying in a Policy Vacuum*

Erica Frankenberg, Pennsylvania State University

American suburbs now contain 30% of all K-12 public school students (14.4 million) in the nation, far more than the 6 million students in the same metros’ urban areas. Suburban schools educate more than half of the Asian, Black, Latinx and immigrant students living in large metros. More than 1 in 3 low-income families lives in the suburbs. Suburban schools and communities are increasingly unequal -- and left to manage racial change without assistance. There is, however, sufficient diversity to produce more integrated schools and classrooms. Thoughtful policy utilizing research-based strategies *can* address the needs of these schools.

4. *American Indian and Alaska Native Populations: Envisioning the Future*

Carolyn Liebler, University of Minnesota

There is a large increase in people identifying as American Indian and Alaska Native and weak educational outcomes for these students. Native peoples in the U.S. also continue to face disproportionate challenges in health, employment, and housing. The first step in creating good policy to address AIAN needs is to collect reliable data about the (future) size, age structure, and locational distribution of the population. Current methods for counting Native Americans yield inconsistent and unreliable results. The U.S. needs to revise its data policy for this population, including offering assistance so the tribes can lead and participate in data collection.

5. *The Federal Trust Responsibility: Justice for American Indians and Alaska Natives*

Susan Faircloth, Two Feathers Consulting, LLC

While the federal government recognizes the right of Native nations to exist as sovereign, quasi-independent political entities, including the right to determine who is eligible for membership or citizenship within a particular Tribal nation, the federal government lacks consistency in the ways in which it identifies Native peoples, as evidenced by the multiple definitions of Indigeneity used by the various branches of the federal government. As Tribal nations work with state and federal governments to affirm their sovereignty and their right to determine the futures of their Nations and their citizens, it will be critically important for each of these actors to have a clear understanding of who the American Indian and Alaska Native population is, particularly in terms of health, education, social well-being, economic development and self-sufficiency, among other factors.

Session 2:

1. U.S. Economic Vitality Depends on Immigration

Raul Hinojosa, University of California, Los Angeles

The U.S. population continues to age out of the work force. This is expected to create major setbacks for the nation's productivity and sustained growth-- if the challenges are not addressed urgently. Soon we won't have enough workers to support vital economic sectors. Public policy needs to consider where the labor supply is most lacking. Understanding the key dynamics driving our population change as well as potential sources of population growth and applying that knowledge to immigration and labor policy could sustain U.S. economic growth. Given the age structure of the U.S. population, immigration is the only viable source of young workers.

2. Bilingual Education and America's Future

Manuel Vazquez Cano, Education Northwest

More than 1 out of 4 students in our country comes from an immigrant home where a language besides English is often spoken. Careful studies over decades show that bilingual education yields numerous educational and other advantages. The United States lags behind most other advanced nations where bilingual education is the norm. Yet there is growing demand for these programs across the country. The nation should expand access to these programs in order to remain competitive in a globalizing world. Research presented offers suggestions for how to go about this at the federal, state and local levels.

3. Bridging Social Divides through Racially Integrated Learning Opportunities

Kimberly Young, Culver City Unified School District

As conservative governors and legislatures across the nation seek to limit learning and discussion in schools about race and racial history, schools, educators and policymakers can positively address racism's impact on learning and opportunity. Looking beyond the pervasive segregation of schools and school districts, pedagogies and curricula that are welcoming for white students can be exclusionary for students of color and reproduce the experience of segregation even when students are in the same classroom. Schools can play a pivotal role in elevating important conversations about race, connect neighborhoods and communities, and bridge social divides through racially integrated learning opportunities.

4. Housing in the 21st Century: Proposing Universal Vouchers

Jacob Faber, New York University

Dramatic racial inequalities persist in U.S. housing opportunity. In 2019, 73% of White Americans and 60% of Asian Americans were homeowners, compared to 48% of Latinx and 41% of Black Americans, the lowest rate for Blacks since the Fair Housing Act passed in 1968. People of color are more likely to be rent stressed -- spending more than 1/2 of their income on housing -- living in unhealthy, crowded situations and experiencing eviction at higher levels. Housing connects people to opportunity. A large expansion in federal housing assistance, such as a universal voucher triggered by housing poverty, could create conditions that produce educational benefits, safety, employment, cleaner air and overall wellbeing for children.

5. The Cost of Inaction Threatening America's Future

Emma García, Learning Policy Institute

The U.S. was, until late in the 20th century, the top producer of college graduates in the world. As of 2023 we have fallen behind precipitously, no longer amongst even the top 10 of educated nations. By not developing the promise of large swaths of our nation's youth, who are mostly young people of color, we are missing out on economic potential and future advances—in science, technology, the arts and more. Failure to educate young people to their potential is diminishing our future. Economic analyses show billions of dollars are squandered by this disinvestment. How much could the U.S. economy and society gain if only by developing the talent that is currently neglected?

PRESENTER BIOS

Jacob Faber is an associate professor of sociology and public service in New York University's Robert F. Wagner School of Public Service and holds a joint appointment in NYU's Sociology Department. His research and teaching focuses on spatial inequality. He leverages observational and experimental methods to study the mechanisms responsible for sorting individuals across space and how the distributions of people by race and class interact with political, social, and ecological systems to create and sustain economic disparities. While there is a rich literature exploring the geography of opportunity, there remain many unsettled questions about the causes of segregation and its effects on the residents of urban ghettos, wealthy suburbs, and the diverse set of places in between.

Susan Faircloth recently stepped away from her academic appointments to form an independent education consulting group, Two Feathers Consulting, LLC after 20 years as a professor and academic leader. In this role, she aims to directly engage and serve individuals, communities, schools, and organizations. Dr. Faircloth is an enrolled member of the Coharie Tribe of North Carolina. Her research and service center around Indigenous education, the education of culturally and linguistically diverse students with special educational needs, and the moral and ethical dimensions of school leadership. She has published widely in such journals as *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *Harvard Educational Review*, *The Journal of Special Education Leadership*, *International Studies in Educational Administration*, *Values and Ethics in Educational Administration*, *Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education*, *Rural Special Education Quarterly*, and *Journal of Disability Policy Studies*.

Erica Frankenberg is a professor of education and demography in the College of Education, and affiliate law faculty at the Pennsylvania State University; she is also director of the Center for Education and Civil Rights and an associate director of the Social Science Research Institute. Her research interests focus on racial desegregation and inequality in K-12 schools, and the connections between school segregation and other metropolitan policies. She has written extensively about centering civil rights within an education policy research agenda at the federal level and brings her unique expertise in spatial and segregation analysis in schools to bear on this project.

Patricia Gándara is research professor of education and co-director of the Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA. She is an elected fellow of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) and the National Academy of Education. In 2011 she was appointed to President Obama's Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanics, and in 2015 received the Distinguished Career Award from the Scholars of Color Committee of the American Educational Research Association. She has been a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center in Italy, the French-American Association at Sciences Po Graduate Institute, Paris, and an ETS fellow at Princeton, New Jersey. Gandara's latest books include *Schools Under Siege: Immigration Enforcement and Educational Equity* (w Joy Ee) and *The Students we Share: Preparing US and Mexican Teachers for Our Transnational Future* (w Bryant Jensen).

Emma García is a research manager at the Learning Policy Institute. She works with the Early Childhood Learning, Educator Quality, and Equitable Resources and Access teams and has extensive research experience in the fields of economics of education, education policy, and quantitative methods. García has held research positions at the Economic Policy Institute, the Center for Benefit-Cost Studies of Education, the Campaign for Educational Equity, the National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, and the Community College Research Center. She has consulted with national and international organizations, including the National Institute for Early Education Research, MDRC, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank and has published academic and policy studies on the production of education, educational equity, teacher labor markets, international comparative education, and cost-benefit analysis of education interventions. García is adjunct professor at Georgetown University's McCourt School of Public Policy.

Raul Hinojosa is the founding director of the North American Integration and Development Center (NAID) and associate professor at UCLA in the César E. Chavez Department of Chicana, Chicano and Central American Studies. Hinojosa is the author of numerous articles and books on the political economy of regional integrations including trade, investment and migration relations between the U.S., Mexico, Latin America and the Pacific Rim. He has been a visiting scholar at the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank and "A Civil Rights Agenda for the Next Quarter Century," UCLA Civil Rights Project, March 13, 2024

at several institutions in Mexico and the United States. Dr. Hinojosa founded the NAID Center at UCLA in 1995, which is dedicated to developing innovative research agendas and policy pilot projects concerning globalization and development.

Carolyn Liebler (she/her) is an associate professor of sociology and a faculty affiliate of the Institute for Social Research and Data Innovation at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities. Her research focuses on the intersection of population studies and the social construction of race, with a special emphasis on how data on Indigenous peoples and Tribal Nations can be interpreted and used in good way. Liebler completed the NIH-funded demography training program at the University of Wisconsin's Center for Demography and Ecology and her post-doctoral training was at the Minnesota Population Center working with IPUMS USA. She has a B.A. degree in sociology with a minor in statistics from Rice University, and M.S. and Ph.D. degrees in sociology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Gary Orfield is distinguished research professor of education, law, political science and urban planning at UCLA. His research interests are in the study of civil rights, education policy, urban policy, and minority opportunity. He was co-founder and director of the Harvard Civil Rights Project, and since 2006 is co-director of the UCLA Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles. His central interest has been the development and implementation of social policy, particularly the impact of policy on equal opportunity for success in American society. Orfield is a member of the National Academy of Education and has received numerous awards, including the Teachers College Medal, Social Justice Award of the AERA, the American Political Science Association Charles Merriam Award for his "contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research," and honorary Ph.Ds. Recent books include *The School Voucher Illusion: Exposing the Pretext of Equity* (with K. Welner and L. Huerta), and *The Walls Around College Opportunity: The Failure of Colorblind Policy*.

Ryan Pflieger is the senior policy research analyst at the UCLA Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles. His published research examines racial and class equity at the intersection of education and society. One strand of his research focuses on racial justice in education, including segregation and racialized discipline. Motivated by a desire to make scholarship relevant to policymaking, another facet investigates the political uses of data. A third strand examines the promises and problems of using education to address economic inequality and poverty. Previously Ryan worked for the Strategic Data Project at Harvard University, Newark Public Schools, and the National Education Policy Center. He received a doctoral degree in Educational Foundations, Policy, and Practice at the University of Colorado-Boulder.

Jennifer Van Hook is the Roy C. Buck Professor of Sociology and Demography at the Pennsylvania State University, and non-resident fellow at the Migration Policy Institute. Her research focuses on the demographics of immigrant populations and the socioeconomic integration of immigrants and their children. She has published research on the size, characteristics, and dynamics of the unauthorized foreign-born population. She also has ongoing research projects that focus on the relationship between immigrant legal status and the health and well-being of immigrants and their children, and she is co-authoring a book on the educational integration of Mexican immigrants and their children and grandchildren across the 20th century. Dr. Van Hook received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Texas-Austin.

Manuel Vazquez Cano is a bilingual and bicultural Latino immigrant who grew up in Oxnard, California. He is a managing researcher at Education Northwest, where he conducts research and provides technical assistance to states and districts focused on multilingual education. Manuel's work aims to support states and districts cultivate education systems where multilingual students experience academic success and pathways to multilingualism. Manuel holds a Master of International Affairs degree from Columbia University and is wrapping up a Ph.D. in quantitative research methods in education at the University of Oregon.

Kimberly Young is a lead ethnic studies teacher at Culver City High School and co-chair of the Social Science Department. Dr. Young has taught in Oakland and Culver City for more than fifteen years. A graduate of UCLA's Educational Leadership Program, her doctoral research analyzed effective ethnic studies instruction in K-12 education and centered on the work of ethnic studies classroom teachers.

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

Presentations from this briefing are based on extensive research commissioned by the Civil Rights Project for the initiative, “A Civil Rights Agenda for the Next Quarter Century.” These published papers (and those forthcoming*) are publicly available on the Civil Rights Project [website](#).

Brown at 70: Abandoning the Dream?*

Ryan Pflieger and Gary Orfield, Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles, UCLA

The Changing Racial and Ethnic Composition of the School-Age Population in the U.S.

Jennifer Van Hook, Alain Bélanger, Patrick Sabourin and Nicolas Patoine Hamel

Understanding Suburban School Segregation: Toward a Renewed Civil Rights Agenda

Erica Frankenberg and Genevieve Siegel-Hawley

American Indian and Alaska Native Populations: Envisioning the Future

Carolyn Liebler

More than a Civil Rights Agenda: Upholding the Federal Trust Responsibility for American Indians and Alaska Natives*

Susan Faircloth

U.S. Economic Vitality Depends on Immigration*

Raul Hinojosa and Marcelo Pleitez

Bilingual Education and America’s Future: Evidence and Pathways

Lorna Porter, Manuel Vazquez Cano and Ilana Umansky

Racial Reckoning and the Role of Schooling: Exploring the Potential of Integrated Classrooms and Liberatory Pedagogies

Suneal Kolluri, Kiane I. Hypolite, Alexis Patterson and Kimberly Young

Housing in the 21st Century: Taking Stock and Seeking Inequality*

Jacob Faber

The Key Economic Role of Improving Education for Students from Minority and Low-Income Backgrounds for a Dynamic Economy and Fairer Society*

Henry Levin and Emma García