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Technical *Brief*

Advantages of Single-Sex Education: An Inexpensive Opportunity for Scholastic Improvement in Mississippi

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Introduction

The idea of single-sex education began to be relegated to the exclusive domain of private schools in the '60s and '70s. Public education was maintained as strictly co-ed, to ensure equality in education and save our children from the possibility of discrimination on the basis of sex. In recent years, however, there has been a resurgence of interest in single-sex classrooms. Federal legislators and bureaucrats have responded to the wave of research pointing to the positive effects of single-sex education by allowing publicly funded institutions to implement gender grouped classrooms. Single-sex education, as a school choice, is an inexpensive and largely unexplored venue for promoting scholastic improvement in the state's public education system.

The Legal Test: Discrimination in Education

The first step toward greater educational equality was the 1954 decision of *Brown vs. Board*. The Supreme Court ruled that "In the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." This dealt mainly with the issue of race, but legislators began to tackle gender equality with Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX mandated that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

A decade later, Mississippi gained national attention with the 1982 case of *MUW vs. Hogan*. The Supreme Court ruled that it was a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to exclude Joe Hogan from the nursing program because he was male. "Our decisions also establish that the party seeking to uphold a statute that classifies individuals on the basis of their gender must carry the burden of showing an 'exceedingly persuasive justification' for the classification." However, it was of the opinion of Justice Powell and Justice Rehnquist that "The arguable benefits of single-sex colleges also continue to be recognized by students of higher education...In no previous case have we applied it (the Equal Protection Clause) to invalidate state efforts to expand women's choices."

In 1996, single-sex education met another barrier with the ruling of *United States vs. Virginia*. This case championed female admissions to the Virginia Military Institute. The court ruled that VMI's male-only admissions policy was unconstitutional as it did not show 'exceedingly persuasive justification.' However, the court also maintained that "Single-sex education affords pedagogical benefits to at least some students, Virginia emphasizes, and that reality is uncontested in this litigation. Similarly, it is not disputed that diversity among public educational institutions can serve the public good. But Virginia has not shown that VMI was established, or has been maintained, with a view to diversifying, by its categorical exclusion of women, educational opportunities within the State."

Despite the rulings in both *US vs. Virginia* and *MUW vs. Hogan*, the Court did not throw out the possibility of single-sex education completely. When George W. Bush assumed the presidency, he proposed a comprehensive education reform act -- No Child Left Behind -- in 2002. One of the provisions of

this act enabled public schools to implement single-sex classrooms. This provision, in effect, nullified Title IX. Republican Kay Bailey Hutchinson along with Democrat Hillary Clinton spearheaded the bipartisan effort to include the option of single-sex education in NCLB. Hutchinson initially introduced the amendment in 1998 but it met its demise on the desk of President Bill Clinton. In 2001 it easily passed through Congress and the White House with Hillary Clinton's endorsement.

Final regulations passed on Oct. 25, 2006, made single-sex education available to public schools, so long as provision is made for a co-educational classroom that is geographically accessible. Schools making single-sex education available to their students must provide a rationale for offering single-sex classes and conduct a review of the program every two years.

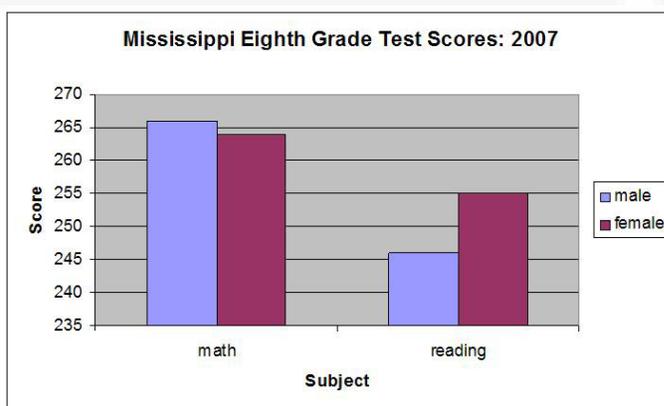
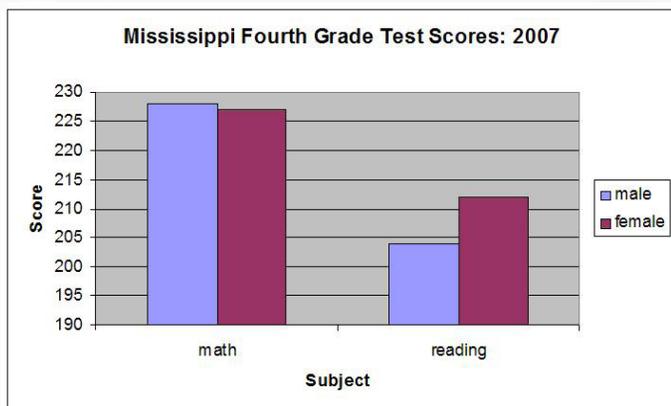
Why is Single-Sex Education Beneficial?

Why is there a resurgence in interest in single-sex education? We have known for years that the affluent members of society will pay thousands of dollars for their children to receive the benefit of single sex education in the private school sector. Why should it now become a public school choice?

1. Crossing Stereotypical Boundaries— One reason that parents choose single-sex education is in hopes that it will encourage children to participate in activities or to take classes atypical of their sex. Theoretically, students who attend a single sex school would be more likely to pursue careers outside of gender stereotypes. While we understand that not all nurses are women, and not all lawyers are men, most people will tell you that it is general knowledge that men are better at math and are more likely to major in engineering, while women seem to dominate the liberal arts. Age old stereotypes of masculinity and femininity still permeate the walls of our schools. Ideally, in a single sex environment, students would not be as subjected to stereotyping. They would choose classes based on interests and abilities rather than gender stereotypes. A girl can take computer classes, or advanced math classes without worrying that she will be the only representative of her sex. Boys can take art or poetry without his classmates questioning his masculinity.

2. Understanding Differences in Learning— Another advantage of single-sex education is that the teacher can tailor teaching strategies to meet the needs of the students. We spoke previously about gender stereotypes in education. Why do these stereotypes exist? We found that test scores tend to mimic the idea that math is a boys' subject and reading is a girls' subject. This is apparent in current Mississippi test scores.

The following data is taken from the National Center for Educational Statistic (National Center for Educational Statistics <http://nces.edu.gov/>) and measures results from NAEP tests.



Mississippi is ranked 51st in nation (data set including DC and the national average) for eighth grade math, eighth grade reading, and fourth grade math. Mississippi ranks 50th for fourth grade reading. The highest possible score for these tests is 500.

Certain biological differences between the sexes attempt to explain these gender divisions in mathematical and literary achievement. For example, boys use the hippocampus (of the brain) to comprehend mathematical concepts. The hippocampus serves as a cognitive map, helpful for spatial geometry and navigation. Girls use the cerebral cortex which is a more complex area of the brain, used for talking. Boys can be fascinated by pure math functions, while girls prefer an application to the real world for the subject material to be engaging. (Sax, Leonard. *Why Gender Matters*. New York: Broadway Books, 2005)

There are also biological differences that affect the way we process literature. Girls have stronger neural connectors in their temporal lobes. This allows for more sensually detailed memory storage (Gurian, Michael and Kathy Stevens. "With Boys and Girls in Mind" *Education Leadership* 62.3 November 2004) and therefore advantageous for reading and writing assignments. While the male fetus is still in the womb, the presence of testosterone weakens the corpus callosum, the connective tissue between the two brain hemispheres. Boys do not have the same bilateral communication in the brain that girls do. Boys therefore have to think longer with anything dealing with an emotional component or how they feel. (Dobson, James. *Bringing Up Boys*. Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 2001) Girls are more interested in broader themes in literature, or the emotional state of the fictional protagonist. Boys are more interested in non-fiction, action, adventure, and sports. Unfortunately, many of the books required by schools do not fall under these categories. Women teachers pick books that they themselves find interesting. This leaves the boys bored, left behind, and disinterested.

Although these gender differences exist, they do not connote either gender's inability to comprehend any given concept. Both male and female brains are perfectly capable of grasping both mathematics and literature. These differences show us how the brain NEEDS to learn material. If there is a right way and a wrong way to teach the different sexes, then co-education is not as "gender neutral" as previously thought.

3. Offering a sheltered environment: fostering self-assurance— More often than not, parents do not choose to send their children to private single-sex schools because they understand biological differences in learning capabilities; they choose these institutions for their sheltered environments. Parents love the idea that students will be removed from the distraction of the opposite sex. Many girls in a co-ed environment find it trying to concentrate on a lecture if they are daydreaming about the captain of the football team. While some students are caught up in impressing the opposite sex, others are afraid of them. For example, they may be afraid of sexual harassment or embarrassed by the general sexual tension of teasing comments from the opposite sex, particularly in adolescence. An isolated environment allows the students to concentrate on their studies, and it allows the more timid students to engage in classroom participation more readily.

4. Decreasing Negative Affects of Teacher-Student Miscommunication— Psychologist Colin Elliot found that eleven year old girls are ten times more sensitive to sound than boys. (Elliott, Colin. "Noise Tolerance and Extraversion in Children." *British Journal of Psychology*, 62(3):375-80, 1971) Therefore, girls are likely to be annoyed by even the slightest auditory distraction; boys in the same setting are likely to become bored and disinterested by the monotony. This hearing difference can be aggravated by the tone of the teachers voice. A male teacher may unintentionally present himself as overbearing to a female pupil by speaking to her in a heightened tone of voice which she may interpret as shouting. On the other hand, if a female teacher is speaking in a muted tone, the girls may be able to hear perfectly; the boys at the back of the class may not. When they become easily distracted, the teacher interprets their behavior as disinterest. Such instances of miscommunication can possibly account for ADD diagnoses. Most ADD cases are boys, and most of the referrals were made by teachers. Boys also account for ninety percent of discipline referrals and two thirds of learning disability diagnoses.⁵

While boys are being diagnosed as ADD, girls at the front of the room are paying attention. They are asking questions. They are not being distracted, nor are they being a disturbance. Girls are comparatively sedate. They are not perceived as disciplinary problems, nor are they thought to have ADD. If teachers can understand these subtle gender differences, they can communicate effectively with their students, and they will have to deal with less discipline problems.

National Association for Single Sex Public Education.

The National Association for Single Sex Public Education (NASSPE) was established in 2002. This non-profit association strives to promote single-sex education by offering professional development opportunities as well as effective strategies for the implementation and upkeep of a single sex program to educators and administrators nationwide. It also serves as an information source to allow parents to make informed decisions about single-sex education for their children. The NASSPE was founded by Dr. Leonard Sax, Ph.D, a psychologist and the author of "Why Gender Matters." This book is particularly enlightening on the issue of sex and gender differences. Dr. Sax's book outlines many techniques which are not only helpful to teachers but to parents as well when dealing with the sexes. For example,

- When explaining concepts to girls, it is important to maintain eye contact. It is not wise to do this with boys, however, unless you are punishing them.
- In-your-face confrontation can be very effective when disciplining boys, however it can undermine a girl's self esteem.
- Small group activity is an effective learning strategy for girls, but seldom for boys.
- Time constraints and stressful environments can be good for boys but not for girls.
- Boys seem to have heightened levels of comprehension when they are standing up.

Simplistic methods such as these can be utilized in a single-sex environment. They can also explain why seemingly "gender neutral" teaching strategies in a co-ed class are not so "neutral," when the teacher is unintentionally giving one sex the advantage at the expense of another.

Single-Sex Colleges

Single-sex education is usually perceived as synonymous with the private college. In 1960, there were 268 women's colleges in the United States. (Meyer, Peter. "Learning Separately." *Education Next*. Hoover Institution. 27 Nov. 2007 <<http://www.hoover.org/publications/ednext/11129951.html>>) By 1989, over half of them had closed. Today, the Women's College Coalition⁷ lists only 57 women's colleges. Most of these are located in the northeastern states. None of them are in Mississippi. We seem to have lost the last one with the ruling of *MUW v Hogan*.

Men's colleges are extremely rare. In the earlier part of the century, practically every college had a male-only admission policy. In an article entitled "The Final Four," the *New York Times* points out the rapid decline of men's colleges. In the mid 60s there were 250 men-only colleges in the United States. The social climate of the time quickly turned everything to co-ed. Today only four men's colleges remain. As it becomes increasingly difficult to attend a single sex college, the NCLB act is making it increasingly easy to attend a single-sex k-12 institution.

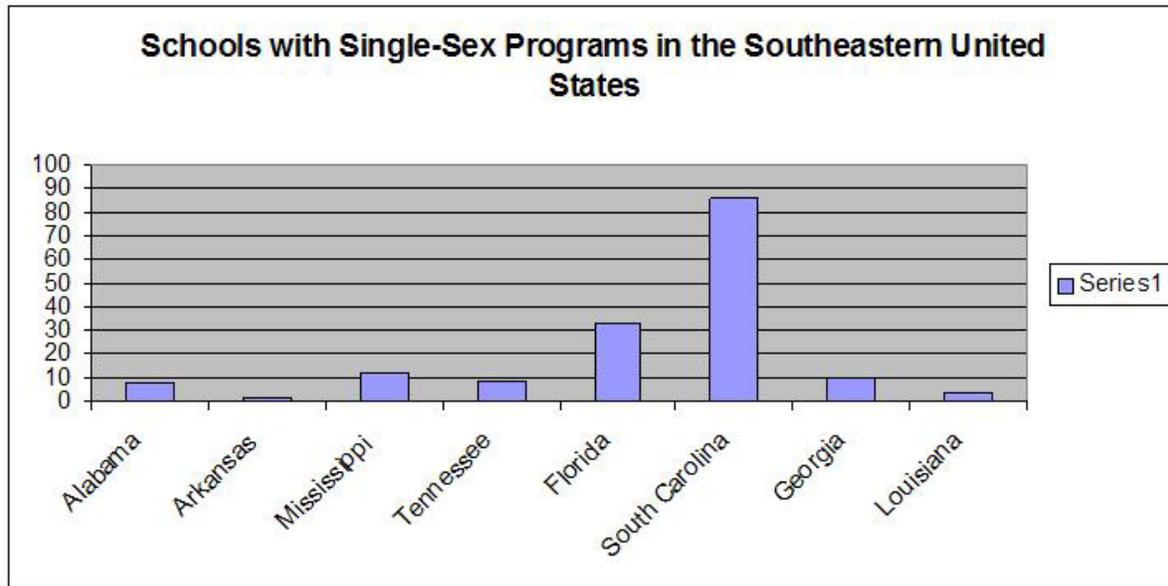
Single-Sex Education in Public K-12

One of the most outstanding examples of single-sex public schools is The Young Women's Leadership School (TYWLS) in East Harlem. The school opened in 1996 for the purpose of educating girls – the first all-girl public school to open in the United States in almost thirty years. The school caters to seventh through twelfth grade inner city girls, most of whom are black or Hispanic. Amazingly, for the seventh year in a row, TYWLS boasts an unheard-of one hundred percent rate of its graduates being accepted into college. (YWL Foundation http://www.ywlfoundation.org/network_schl_harl.htm)

TYWLS is an example of the "dual academy" -- that is, a school which only admits one sex. A dual classroom is simply a single-sex class in a co-educational school. Dual academies are not as fiscally plausible as when a dual classroom option which can offer similar benefits. With the new regulations under Title IX, implementation of a dual classroom is fairly simple and is becoming quite popular with many public school administrators because it is so inexpensive. David Chadwell, who is the director of the division of Single-Gender Initiatives with the South Carolina Department of education states that he sees no reason why a dual classroom would be a financial burden. Despite the 450 million dollars (Sax, Leonard. "The Odd Couple." *Women's Quarterly*, Summer 2002) that was supposedly made available to single-sex programs through NCLB, none of the schools in South Carolina are receiv-

ing any sort of financial assistance. Chadwell says if that money exists, South Carolina has not been able to procure any of it, and his department is trying to figure out where that money is going.

South Carolina remains the front runner when it comes to single sex education in the south. Over the past few years, eighty-six single-sex programs have been implemented in South Carolina. The state is planning to initiate a hundred more next August. Chadwell’s department is the only one of its kind in the nation. The department of Single-Gender Initiatives serves to aid single-sex schools by offering lesson strategies, they publish a newsletter entitled “Gender Matters”, and they provide training to teachers. Upon request, Mr. Chadwell will visit the schools in the state to train the teachers, free of charge. For this reason, the department is a minimal financial burden.



What is going on in Mississippi?

The John C. Stennis Institute of Government (Institute) went in search of a current and cumulative list of public schools offering single-sex classes in Mississippi; our researchers found twelve schools within ten different districts. These schools are all set up in dual classroom structure. They are mostly upper elementary or middle schools. There are no single-sex classrooms in public high schools in Mississippi.

School	Location	Grades in Single-Sex
Hunt Intermediate	Columbus	5-6th
Rowan Elementary	Hattiesburg	6th
Lipsey Middle	Brookhaven	5th
Strayhorn Elementary	Sarah	5-6th
Strayhorn High	Sarah	7-8th
Calrkdale Attendance Center	Meridian	5-6th
Flowood Elementary	Jackson	4-5th
MaGee Middle	Magee	5-6th
Mendenhall Jr. High	Mendenhall	5-8th
Batesville Intermediate	Batesville	2-3rd
Pelahatchie Attendance Center	Pelahatchie	7-8th
Hickory Flat Attendance Center	Hickory Flat	7th

All of the schools are still basically operating as pilot programs. On the whole, school administrators personally regard single-sex education to be a positive step for their school upon their current observation. They report parental satisfaction. Many, however, point out that they are waiting on more conclusive testing data before making an evaluation. One of the things that interested our researchers most -- or perhaps even puzzled them -- was the fact that very few of these schools are networking or even demonstrate awareness of other single-sex schools. Nor are teachers in single-sex environments being provided specialized training.

Although some district offices are anxiously anticipating the results of their single sex programs, some district offices are completely unaware of the new provisions under NCLB. Shockingly enough, some district offices are misinformed about single sex schools within their own perimeters, if they acknowledge their existence at all.

The MDE is at best evasive when it comes to the issue. An MDE representative was asked if the MDE could provide a list of single-sex classroom programs in Mississippi. She could not. When asked if MDE's staffers were aware of single-sex classrooms within the state, she replied, "There is awareness but I can't determine to what degree." (Name of representative withheld; private conversation with authors, December 19, 2007. While we admit that some other individual at the MDE may be more knowledgeable about MDE's efforts with single-sex education initiatives, this was the individual who MDE principals seem to believe is the individual to whom inquiries referencing single-sex education should be addressed. Mississippi is treating single-sex education as a school-by-school issue or a district by district issue, not something that the State should be involved in. The MDE has no division or network in place to help schools, and is not offering any sort of teacher training whatsoever. Proper training is a key component and has been identified as a need by several of the twelve respondent schools.

Despite the fact that there are currently twelve schools offering single-sex classrooms, during the process our researchers identified fourteen schools which have terminated a single-sex program. School administrators tire quickly of a program that does not show dramatic improvement on state testing within the first year. In most cases it was simply a pilot program that folded and was not pursued. With the lack of help that individual schools seem to be getting from the MDE, this is not surprising. For many, single-sex education is a shot in the dark. A principal becomes excited by the prospects of higher test scores and decreased disciplinary referrals and separates an entire section of sixth graders without consulting parents or equipping teachers to handle the new environment effectively.

While officials at some districts were not receptive to the idea of single-sex education, other districts were excited to learn that this option was now available to them and readily asked for any information. Many are waiting for more conclusive research but are keeping their options open. The possibility of single-sex education is definitely a consideration for many school administrators in Mississippi.

Parental Involvement

One factor contributing to the success of a single sex school or a single sex classroom is that of parental choice. Parents should be adequately informed about the differences and benefits between co-education and single sex education and they need to have an active choice in the matter. Single-sex education is not for every student, just as co-education is not for every student. Cognitive differences within a sex can be just as expansive as those between genders. Some girls may need to be in the same classroom with boys in order to excel; some students thrive on the competition. Legislators have recognized this.

Choice is not something that should be reserved for the affluent who can afford private schools. It is a choice, just as coeducation is a choice. Neither should be denied.

As educators continue to look for factors which will engage parents in the educational process, this aspect should not be ignored. Engaging the parent to understand the learning capacities, the learning objectives, and the most effective teaching strategies for boys and girls – and how they differ – is knowledge that can not only assist them in determining if a single-sex classroom is right for their child, but enhances their ability to communicate to their child in a meaningful way.

How Hard Is It, Mississippi?

Regulations on single-sex education published in the Federal Register are fairly lax; they do, however, stipulate that single-sex classrooms CANNOT be mandatory. No parent can be denied a co-ed option for their child. However, this can allow schools to be slightly deceptive. Schools can actually make an entire grade within a given school mandatory without offering a co-ed class, AT THAT PARTICULAR SCHOOL. If there is another school within the district that is geographically accessible, and none of the parents are complaining, then mandatory single-sex classes are perfectly legal.

In 2006, an eighth grader in Louisiana proved just how important school choice can be. In the case of *Seldon v. Livingston Parish School Board*, Michelle Seldon, from Denham Springs was upset when Southside Junior High School decided to terminate co-ed classrooms and implement mandatory single sex education. Seldon and her parents felt that she was being denied an equal education, and with the help of the ACLU won their case and forced Southside to return to co-education. Seldon, however is not the only one complaining.

Arguments Against Single-Sex Education.

Feminists argue that if girls are being shortchanged in education, single-sex education is not necessarily the solution, as it may enforce gender stereotypes. In and of itself, single sex education is a blatant admittance of inequality. There are many ways to improve co-education, while demonstrating to the children the equality of the sexes. The real world is co-ed, and the education system is no place to foster any sense of inferiority.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) argues that single-sex education threatens thirty-five years of progress made toward gender equality since the passage of Title IX. The National Organization for Women concurs. Single-sex education is simply not the way to address the problems faced by our schools. The American Association of University Women (AAUW) has identified several proven methods to improve co-educational classrooms without subjecting children to legalized discrimination. These include:

- A focus on core academics
- Qualified teachers
- Parental involvement
- Smaller class sizes
- Sufficient funding

The AAUW does not oppose single-sex education all together; it is, however, fearful that regulations are taken too lightly. For example, schools offering a single sex classroom have to provide a substantially equal co-ed class. It does not call for a substantially equal single-sex class. Therefore, one of the sexes is given unequal and preferential treatment. “The AAUW does not oppose the idea of single-sex education, so long as it is appropriate, necessary, and done in a manner consistent with constitutional requirements and existing anti-discrimination laws.” (American Association of University Women Educational Foundation. “Separated by Sex: A Critical Look at Single-Sex Education for Girls.” The American Association for University Women. 1998. 20 Nov. 2007 <http://www.aauw.org/research/upload/SeparatedBySex.pdf>)

One of the most distressing arguments opposing single-sex education is the correlation between single-sex education and negative body images. A study published in 1996 surveyed teenage Caucasian females in Australia from both single-sex and coed institutions. (Dyer, Geraldine, and Marika Tiggemann. “The Effect of School Environment on the Body Concerns in Adolescent Women” *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* Jan 1996. 15 Dec, 2007 http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2294/is_n1-2_v34/ai_18498762) Results demonstrated that the girls who were educated at a single-sex school were more likely to be preoccupied by their weight, despite lower body mass indices. This indicates a predisposition for eating disorders such as anorexia and bulimia. However, the prevalence of eating disorders depends upon an individual’s response to an environment. The intention of single-sex schools is to promote self-assurance. While some girls feel empowered and uninhibited in a single sex environment, others may feel self conscious.

The bottom line is that the research in American public schools is limited. There are currently years of data on record of private k-12, private colleges, or public institutions in other countries. There are no bodies of research available, from a long term standpoint, on public schools in the US. Opponents of single-sex education argue that the “positives” that have showed up in single-sex programs are more aptly attributed to circumstantial byproducts. There is no way to effectively control every cultural or socioeconomic variable. For this reason many skeptics write-off the statistics as anecdotal or fitted to a particular environment. It is the opinion of some activists that the proponents of single-sex education are basing their arguments on questionable science and psychology which seek to undermine gender equality by stressing certain biological inadequacies.

The closest model we have to demonstrate the effects of single-sex schools are the private catholic schools. Critics argue that these schools are successful because of the better caliber of students they attract. If we look at TYWLS, where all of the students are lower class inner city, we see that this cannot necessarily be true. Sociologist Cornelius Riordan argues that underprivileged students can actually benefit the most from single sex schooling. (Riordan, Cornelius. "Single-Gender Schools: outcomes for African and Hispanic Americans." Research in Sociology of Education and Socialization. 10 1994: 177-205) These underprivileged students performed better on tests, were more likely to do their homework, and showed more interest in leadership opportunities. TYWLS is a case in point. If Riordan is correct, then Mississippi fits the bill. The state average for students who qualify for free or reduced lunch is 70% of the school population. Seven of the schools mentioned earlier exceed this average and six are predominantly black. (Great Schools.com <http://www.greatschools.net>) Mississippi educates thousands of children who come from financially distressed homes in economically depressed communities. We are also a state where minorities often constitute a majority.

Conclusion

The success of single-sex education depends upon a concerted effort to provide an educational environment with trained teachers to cater to the needs of the specific gender.

This is a much bigger picture than just producing higher test scores. This is about giving parents choice in education to provide the most effective public education to their children. And it is about realizing and reacting to the differences we have known exist with respect to learning issues and functions in order to afford the student the best available education for him or her. And it may be just the process to assist in rectifying our educational failures without introducing the particular needs for extensive funding. If affording this option of single-sex education can assist only 50% of the students in a district to make scholastic improvement – if affording this option can decrease the high school drop out rate by even as little as 10% -- isn't it worth a try?

About the Authors

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Lydia Quarles is a Senior Policy Analyst at the John C. Stennis Institute of Government, Mississippi State University. She received her Juris Doctorate in 1975 from Cumberland School of Law, Samford University, and her MA and BA from Mississippi University for Women, in 1972 and 1971 respectively, in political science and communication. After over a dozen years in the private practice of law in Alabama and Mississippi, she joined the Mississippi Workers' Compensation Commission as an Administrative Judge in 1993. Eight years later, in 2001, she was appointed Commissioner of the agency. In 2006, she resigned to join the Stennis Institute.

Quarles remains active in bar work, and currently chairs the Women in the Profession Committee, a standing committee of the Mississippi Bar. She also serves as co-chair of the Mississippi Supreme Court's "Gender Fairness Implementation Study Committee" and acts as the Chief Operating Officer of the Workers' Compensation Section of the Mississippi Bar. She is a fellow of the Mississippi Bar Foundation, a recipient of the Mississippi Bar's Distinguished Service Award, a member of the Mississippi School for Math and Science Foundation Board and a member of the MUW Alumni Board. Quarles was recently honored by the American Bar Association's Administrative Law and Regulatory Practice Section, receiving the Mary C. Lawton Award for lasting contributions to the Mississippi Workers' Compensation Commission in the areas of alternative dispute resolution and access for Hispanic workers. In 2004, Quarles was named one of Mississippi's 50 Leading Business Women by the Mississippi Business Journal; the Journal recognized her service to the State as a Commissioner as well as entrepreneurial skills developed in her property management business in Starkville, Spruill Property Management, LLC.

MARIANNA PRATHER

Marianna Prather is a freshman at Mississippi State University. Originally from West Point, she attended the Mississippi school for Mathematics and Science before she decided to forego senior year and attend MSU as an early admission. Marianna is first and foremost an English major, although she is hoping to pursue a double major in art. She participates in various campus organizations including College Republicans, Reformed University Fellowship, and Silver Wings. As a member of the Stennis Montgomery Association, Marianna helped in the preparations for the 2007 Mississippi Gubernatorial Debate which was held on the MSU campus. Marianna began working as a research assistant to Lydia Quarles at the Stennis Institute in August of 2007. Before she came to the Institute, she was employed by the law firm of Edwards, Storey, Marshall, Helveston and Easterling in West Point.

About the Institute



Elected to the United States Senate in 1947 with the promise to "plow a straight furrow to the end of the row," John C. Stennis recognized the need for an organization to assist governments with a wide range of issues and to better equip citizens to participate in the political process. In 1976, Senator Stennis set the mission parameters and ushered in the development of a policy research and assistance institute which was to bear his name as an acknowledgment of his service to the people of Mississippi.

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