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Expanding Educational Opportunity Through School and Housing Choice

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Many Twin Cities schools are segregated. Segregated schools harm children, communities, and the metropolitan region. Segregated schools intensify the region’s segregated residential patterns, concentrating poverty and magnifying its harms. This isolates the most disadvantaged children from educational and economic opportunity. To help integrate schools, and ensure equal access to opportunity, affordable housing should not be concentrated in racially or economically segregated areas, and decisions to site units should be coordinated with an expanded school choice program so opportunities are available for families to live near their children’s schools in places where job opportunities also are more abundant. In addition to describing the harms of growing regional economic and racial segregation in the Twin Cities region, this article encourages integration through expanded school and house choice.

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Segregation Hurts Everyone
According to Russell W. Rumberger and Gregory J. Palardy in *Does Re-segregation Matter?* (2005), more than three-quarters of the difference in academic achievement among students is explained by the socioeconomic status of their peers, rather than general differences in school facilities and programs. Not only do racially and economically segregated schools hurt all children, they harm disproportionate numbers of non-White children. As Gary Orfield et al. report in *Losing Our Future* (2004), among the harms of economically segregated schools (and neighborhoods) include the harms associated with racially segregated schools and dropping out of school such as unemployment, imprisonment, and impoverishment.

There is nothing short of integration to substitute for the benefits of integration. Even beyond the academic achievement and attainment benefits, “the networking effects of desegregation may be far more important than [even] the cognitive effects.”¹ For children to have a fair chance, these benefits must, as public schools were envisioned to do, as the 2005–2006 Fesler-Lampert Chair in Urban and Regional Affairs at the University of Minnesota.

**Table 1. Poverty Enrollments by School District, 2005**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Poverty enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloomington</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopkins</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edina</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnetonka</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


offer these opportunities equally. Effectively desegregating schools is a “tide that can raise all boats,” narrowing gaps that weigh on a metro region’s vitality.

During the 1980s and 1990s, as the suburbs grew rapidly, schools closed in some districts whereas other districts on the edge of the region built new ones. During those decades, the region, especially its central cities, became more racially and ethnically diverse. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (http://nces.ed.gov/datatools/), Minneapolis gained increasingly higher shares of minority and poverty enrollments, the latter increasing from 43 to 66% between 1990 and 2000. The middle class increasingly chose to locate away from high-poverty schools farther out into the suburbs, and the schools they left became severely racially and economically segregated. By 2003, 46% of reporting Minneapolis schools were hyper-segregated, with enrollments between 81 and 100% non-White. In addition, according to the Minnesota Department of Education’s 2005 School Report Card: Minneapolis, 67% of Minneapolis students presently are on free or reduced-price lunch (Table 1). The proportion of students receiving free or reduced-price lunch indicates the level of poverty within a particular school. This concentration of poverty is extreme in the national context and is especially so within the Twin Cities regional context.

The concentration of race and poverty in Twin Cities schools is revealed in maps of the region’s elementary school enrollments. Figure 1 displays the racial distributions in Minneapolis public elementary schools for the 2004–2005 school year. With the exception of a cluster of schools in southwest Minneapolis and a few

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**Table 2. Percentage of Students Passing Basic Skills Tests for Selected Minnesota Districts, 2005**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poverty enrollment</th>
<th>Pct. who passed reading</th>
<th>Pct. who passed math</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richfield</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
<td>63.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloomington</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>74.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edina</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>94.9%</td>
<td>91.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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Figure 1. Racial-Ethnic Enrollment and Lunch Status Distributions, Minneapolis Public Elementary Schools, 2004–2005

Source: Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning, Data Center, June 22, 2005.
others in the city, the overwhelming majority of schools are racially identifiable by a minority group. Nearly all of the schools in north Minneapolis are majority Black, and many of the schools in central Minneapolis are majority Latino. The few stably integrated schools in southeast Minneapolis do not offset a clear pattern of segregation elsewhere in the city.

The second map in Figure 1 displays the school lunch status of children in Minneapolis public elementary schools. It shows that the majority of Minneapolis elementary schools are majority poor. The concentration of poverty virtually mirrors the racial enrollment data in the first map.

The Minneapolis School District graduates only 55% of its students. Yet more than 91% of adults in the Twin Cities region have at least a high school diploma, and more than 33% have at least a college degree. In contrast to the 55% graduation rate in Minneapolis, adjacent school districts graduate 88 to 100% of their students, according to the Minnesota Department of Education’s 2005 School Report Card: Statewide.

The city’s 55% graduation rate compares poorly with rates of 88 to 100% in adjacent districts. As Table 2 reflects for a sample of districts contiguous to Minneapolis, the percentage of students passing the February 2005 basic skills tests further illustrates how poor performance results correlate with a school district’s level of poverty.

When families make these comparisons, those who can afford to will “vote with their feet,” accelerating patterns of middle-class flight. According to the Minnesota Department of Education’s 2005 School Report Card, Minneapolis enrollments have dropped sharply, declining 18% between 2000 and 2004, from 48,000 to 39,913 students. In contrast, public school enrollments declined only 2.1% statewide during the same period.

Racial segregation in Twin Cities schools reflects a larger pattern of residential segregation in the Twin Cities region. As Figure 2 shows, patterns

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2 “According to the most recent [Minneapolis] district data, the city’s seven high schools had a 78 percent graduation rate. However, add in the contract alternatives, such as the Center School, 2421 Bloomington Ave. S.; The City, Inc., 1315 12th Ave. N.; and others, and the graduation rate drops to 54.5 percent.” Scott Russell, “Schools Become a Big Issue in Mayor’s Race,” Downtown Journal (October 3, 2005), online.

3 According to 2000 U.S. Census data, the percentage of adults in the 13-county Twin Cities region’s with high school diplomas was 90.6%; nationwide, it was 80.4%.

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Figure 2. Racial-Ethnic Enrollment and Lunch Status Distributions, Southwest Suburban Public Elementary Schools, 2004–2005

Source: Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning, Data Center, June 22, 2005.
of segregation are emerging in the near-south suburbs of the Twin Cities. Schools such as Valley View Elementary and Partnership Academy have become clearly racially identifiable, while others such as Oak Grove Elementary and Washburn Elementary are quickly headed in that direction. As with the Minneapolis public elementary schools, economic segregation is mirroring the racial segregation in southern suburbs. Some schools are already more than two-thirds poor.

The northwest suburbs of Minneapolis are facing even greater patterns of segregation than the southwest suburbs. More than half of the elementary schools in the Osseo school district are racially identifiable and majority poor (Figure 3).

**Housing Segregation Underlies School Segregation.** Housing segregation still exists nationwide. Federal policy, along with public and private discrimination, enable housing segregation to affect communities nationwide. Families living in concentrated poverty send their children to neighborhood schools, which then become schools of concentrated poverty. Economically segregated housing is also racially segregated. Housing segregation reinforces the harms of school segregation by limiting not only school networks, but community networks as well.

Residential racial segregation today does not merely reflect economic differences—race is the difference. For example, on average a Black family in the United States that earns more than $60,000 per year “lives in a neighborhood with a higher poverty rate and lower educational attainment than the average White family earning less than $30,000.”

Compared to other groups of comparable economic status, segregation results in Blacks living in neighborhoods that are 15–20% less affluent. Indeed, “Black homeowners reside in neighborhoods that are more segregated and less affluent than their renting counterparts.”

**Steering in Real Estate Markets.** Minorities and Whites are consistently shown different segments of the housing market, thereby increasing residential segregation. John Yinger’s 1989 housing discrimination study found that perspective homebuyers of color were shown fewer homes, received less attention from brokers, and were more likely to see homes in racially integrated suburban neighborhoods than were Whites. This results in people of color often settling for less than an optimum purchase and higher housing costs.

In April 2006, the National Fair Housing Alliance (NFHA) completed a three-year, 12-city housing discrimination study titled *Unequal Opportunity—Perpetuating Housing Discrimination in America.* Using 145 sales tests in three geographic regions across the country, the NFHA found three patterns of discrimination:

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outright denial of service to Blacks and Latinos;
- significant financial incentives offered to Whites but not to Blacks or Latinos; and
- steering of potential purchasers on the basis of race or national origin.

The NFHA tests revealed steering at a rate of 87% among testers who were given an opportunity to see homes. Out of 290 total visits, there were 51 instances where Black or Latino testers were offered no service or reduced service. Testers were generally steered to neighborhoods based on race or national origin, as well as religion and family status. The NFHA also reports that schools are used as a proxy for racial or ethnic composition of neighborhoods and communities. Rather than telling White testers to avoid certain neighborhoods because of racial or ethnic composition, many real estate agents would tell the tester to avoid certain schools—schools that were racially identifiable.

**Segregated Affordable Housing.**

Housing and school segregation is also caused by the government placing disproportionate amounts of low-income family housing in poor, segregated neighborhoods. This became such a problem that the 1968 Fair Housing Act ordered the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and all federal and state grantees of federal funds to affirmatively further fair housing. Specifically, these regulations state that there is a presumption that building low-income family housing in poor, segregated, or racially resegregating areas violates the Fair Housing Act. In a case called Shannon v. HUD, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals stated that affirmatively furthering fair housing requires federal and state grantees of federal funds to take racial and socio-economic data into consideration—a colorblind approach is “impermissible.” The court said that in placing affordable housing several factors should be taken into account. These include the racial composition of neighborhoods and their schools; the location of public, middle-class, and luxury housing; the racial effect of local regulations; and past and current practices of local authorities. This command has often been ignored.

Despite the mandates in the Fair Housing Act, some public affordable housing programs continue to contribute to segregated housing patterns. For instance, units receiving support under the federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) in the Twin Cities are disproportionately located in areas that already have greater than average shares of poverty and affordable housing—the central cities and certain inner-ring suburbs. The majority of LIHTC sites are clustered in qualified census tracts which, as defined by HUD, are census tracts in which at least 50% of households have an income that is below 60% of the region’s adjusted gross median income (Figure 4).

These patterns have affected suburbs as well as the central cities. During the 1980s and 1990s when the Twin Cities’ share of non-White residents increased from 5 to 15%, the region lacked school and housing policies to inspire development in ways that did not confine its small share of impoverished residents to a few neighborhoods of concentrated poverty. Thus, as segregation’s patterns carve deeper into the landscape of the central cities, they also are being etched onto suburban school districts and neighborhoods.

Overall, these patterns mean that affordable housing provided under LIHTC not only tends to concentrate low-income households in areas already experiencing significant poverty, but also concentrates non-White households in racially segregated neighborhoods, creating more racially identifiable schools with staggering poverty enrollments.

**Integration Helps Everyone**

Students benefit from economically and racially integrated schools, and so do neighborhoods and metro regions. Research confirms that both White and Black children who attend desegregated schools are “more likely to attend integrated colleges, live in integrated neighborhoods as adults, and send their children to integrated schools.”

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Figure 4. Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) Housing Sites in Minneapolis and Surrounding Suburban Schools, 2005

- **Qualified census tracts**, as defined by HUD, are census tracts in which at least 50% of households have an income that is below 60% of the region’s adjusted gross median income.

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Integrated Schools Increase Achievement and Attainment. Based on social science research surveys reviewing four decades of research, Janet Ward Schofield has concluded that “[M]inority students who attend more racially integrated schools show increased academic achievement and progress, which are typically measured by scores on achievement tests.” Schofield finds that test scores for Latino students are higher on average when they attend desegregated schools. In a 1983 article in the American Journal of Sociology titled “The Effect of Research Methodology on Desegregation Achievement Studies: A Meta-Analysis,” Robert Crain and Rita Mahard note that for Black students, achievement gains are especially consistent when their desegregated school experience began in the primary grades.

Black students who attend racially integrated and economically integrated schools complete more years of schooling than those who attend segregated schools. College attendance rates are higher as well. In addition, both White and Black students tend to have higher educational aspirations if they have cross-race friendships, as contrasted with students who had only same-race friendships.

Integrated Schools Help Communities. If school integration involves all of a region’s socioeconomic groups, the benefits to all students and neighborhoods are significant. Students experience greater performance gains when desegregation plans extend beyond a region’s central city to include its middle- and upper-class students. Communities and the region benefit because metro-wide desegregation plans help stabilize integrated neighborhoods.

Federal and State Legal Issues in Education Segregated schooling is not equal educational opportunity. This is what Brown v. Board of Education declared in 1954. The Supreme Court’s decree in Plessy v. Ferguson that “separate but equal” schools violate the Equal Protection Clause of the U.S. Constitution was met by inaction for more than a decade. Federal court intervention was required to force local and state officials to cease operating racially separate schools. Yet, even while much progress was made during the 1970s and 1980s, the Court’s geographic limitations on desegregation remedies ensured that they could not succeed in many metro regions, especially in the North.

Unconstitutional Segregation. In the 1971 case Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, the Supreme Court ruled that “[S]tate-imposed segregation by race in public schools denies equal protection of the laws.” In a later case, Keyes v. School Dist. No. 1 (1973), the Court established that to prove a constitutional violation in federal court, plaintiffs denied equal educational opportunity must show that they are subject to a segregated education and that “it was brought about or maintained by intentional state action.” Evidence of this segregative (discriminatory) intent can include decisions affecting the following:

- attendance zones and district boundaries
- school site location
- school size
- school construction and renovation
- student assignment and transfer options
- mobile classroom units
- transportation
- faculty and staff assignments

Keyes also confirmed that districts that have operated unconstitutionally segregated schools in the past are presumed to have acted constitutionally in the present if they maintain any “racially identifiable schools.”

The Limited Scope of Federal Remedies. In Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, the Supreme Court detailed the scope of federal courts’ “broad” equitable powers to impose a range of desegregation remedies, including mandatory desegregation. Federal desegregation law began breaking Brown’s promise just three years later. In its 1974 Detroit desegregation case, Milliken v. Bradley, the Supreme Court essentially limited federal remedies for school segregation to the area within the boundaries of a single school district. Milliken required that Detroit schools be “desegregated” only by rebalancing enrollments within the boundaries of Detroit’s isolated, non-White district. In 1986, 12 years after Milliken was decided, the typical Black student in Detroit attended a school with White enrollment under 12%. By the 1990s, Detroit was the nation’s most segregated school district, and White enrollments had evaporated to 4%. Although an interdistrict remedy may work in a metropolitan area that has a large, metro-wide, school district, such single-district remedies cover far too small an area compared with the relevant housing markets in metro areas that are carved into myriad school districts.

The Promise of Equal Access to Educational Opportunity under State Law. Unlike the U.S. Constitution, the Minnesota State Constitution creates a fundamental right to public education. This is significant because whether plaintiffs must prove intentional racial discrimination, in addition to proving racially unequal outcomes, can depend on whether a fundamental right is involved. When a fundamental right is affected, plaintiffs are not required to prove that the government intended to discriminate. In Sheff v. O’Neill, the Connecticut Supreme Court (citing the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in Reynolds v. Sims) ruled that proving governmental awareness and inaction in the face of racially disparate impacts on the fundamental right is sufficient evidence to establish that the government violated the Constitution. This standard offers great promise for state court-ordered interdistrict remedies. As in Minnesota, there is a fundamental right to a public education in Connecticut. Like the Twin Cities, Connecticut was faced with segregated non-White central-city schools in Hartford, and mostly White schools in suburban districts. As in Minnesota, funding was “substantially equalized.”

The court in Sheff v. O’Neill held, however, that adequate funding to segregated schools does not provide “a substantially equal educational opportunity” when schools are severely segregated. The court was interpreting the state’s education clause, as well as Connecticut’s unusual equal protection clause—which, like the constitutions of Hawaii and New Jersey, prohibit both discrimination and segregation. Connecticut was found liable for violating children’s education and equal

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11 Sheff v. O’Neill, 678 A.2d at 1279. See also Article 13, Section 1, of the Minnesota Constitution.
poverty. For example, Barton Elementary is integrated (47% minority) and has a district spend much more than even the average, or about $11,393 per student. 

$3,000 more per pupil than the state Minneapolis district now averages about $3,000 more per pupil than the state.

In its 2006 publication Minnesota DOE's Education Finance Overview 2004–2005, Minnesota allocated an average of $8,516 on each student in the state. The Department of Education's (DOE) K–12 education Finance Overview 2004–2005, in 2005, Minnesota allocated an average of $8,516 on each student in the state. The DOE's School Report Card reports that the Minneapolis district now averages about $3,000 more per pupil than the state average, or about $11,393 per student.

Some schools within the school district spend much more than even the Minneapolis per-pupil average and invariably these are schools of concentrated poverty. For example, Barton Elementary is integrated (47% minority) and has a much lower than average percentage of students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch. According to the DOE’s School Report Card, the school spends about $9,101 per pupil, 20% less than the district-wide average. By comparison, Birchview Elementary, a CIY-receiving

Photo © Little Blue Wolf Productions/Corbis

Poverty enrollments in Minnesota charter schools are nearly twice that of traditional public schools. Roughly 54% of charter school students in the state are eligible for free or reduced-price lunches, compared with only 29% of traditional public school students.
school in the Wayzata school district, is overwhelmingly White, low-poverty, and only spends about $7,200 per student.

At the other end of the spending spectrum, Bethune Elementary is 99% students of color; more than 95% of students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch, and it spends nearly $14,000 per pupil. These differences result because state financing allocations require more funding to schools with high proportions of poor students. This financing scheme, however, has done nothing to address the concentration of poverty in these schools or the likelihood of poor performance that will flow from the concentration of poverty.

**Charter Schools Are Unproven and Severely Segregated.** A skyrocketing number of non-White families are choosing charter schools as alternatives to traditional public education. This trend provides cause for concern because segregation is more severe in charter schools than in traditional public schools, and there is little evidence that charter schools are bridging the achievement gap. Results have been mixed at best. Additionally, a significant number of charter schools have closed soon after opening because of financial mismanagement or noncompliance with reporting and disclosure requirements.

In Minnesota, the number of charter schools grew from 1 to approximately 130 between 1992 and 2006. By 2004, Minnesota charter schools enrolled 17,544 students, or roughly 2% of Minnesota students. Nearly 70% of charter students are in the Twin Cities region and nearly half of those are in the two central cities. 12

Poverty enrollments in Minnesota charter schools are nearly twice that of traditional public schools. A total of 54% of Minnesota’s charter students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch, compared with only 29% of its traditional public school students. Minneapolis and St. Paul charter school poverty enrollments are nearly 80%, a rate 10 or 11 percentage points higher than the already high poverty concentrations in those districts’ traditional public schools. 13

Minnesota’s charter schools also are racially segregated. In 2004, 53% of Minnesota’s charter school students were non-White, compared with only 19% of all public school students. Similarly, Black students make up one-third of Minnesota’s charter school enrollments, yet are only 8% of the State’s students.14 This racial gap continues to grow.

The Bush Administration’s 2004 Evaluation of the Public Charter Schools Program: Final Report, found that charter schools were less likely to meet state standards than traditional public schools, even after studying only those states with considerable numbers of charter schools, sufficient data, and a state performance standard. The share of charter schools meeting state standards trailed that of traditional public schools by between 8 and 32 percentage points.

The Bush Administration’s researchers conducted regression analyses of the results for two states with the most data to determine whether charter’s weak performance was explained by race, poverty, number of students, and student mobility. Even controlling for those factors, charter schools showed lower performance than traditional public schools.

**It Is Possible for Choice to Integrate Twin Cities Schools.** A comprehensive strategy to fully integrate Twin Cities schools is beyond the scope of this article. That being said, greater housing choice can be an effective strategy when linked with school integration efforts. A neighborhood that is racially integrated has a better chance of having schools that are also integrated. Families that currently have their children traveling great distances to attend school should have first choice to live in the affordable housing that exists near those schools.

The Metropolitan Council’s Housing Policy 13 (later renumbered Policy 39) helped the region to make a greater amount of affordable housing available in the region. Under Policy 13/39, the Metropolitan Council used its authority as an agency designated by the federal government to review applications for federal grants to implement a housing policy that encouraged subsidized housing development in the suburbs. According to the Metropolitan Council’s An Overview of Regional Housing Policy and Implementation: 1967–2002, Policy 13/39 resulted in the regional construction of 11,000 units of Project-Based Section 8 housing in the suburbs. The Metropolitan Council still possesses great power to guide the development of low-income housing in suburban areas—authority increased by the passage of the Livable Communities Act in 1995. If exercised in coordination with expanded school choice, the resulting increase in low-income housing would also strengthen regional integration efforts by deconcentrating the poverty from units clustered in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

**Conclusion**

Attending racially and economically integrated schools will result in lower dropout rates, more children going to college, increased law-abiding taxpayers, and less challenging lives for our poorest youth. The Choice Is Yours program means more opportunity. Integration does not solve all the problems of inequality, but integration has demonstrated clearer effects on expanding opportunity than any other type of solution. Money by itself is not working. Charter schools are unproven. Integration is the core upon which all other solutions are built. We must start here and build upon the foundation that integration provides.

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