



Summary

## Minority Suburbanization, Stable Integration, and Economic Opportunity in Fifteen Metropolitan Regions

A report to the Detroit Branch, NAACP  
by the Institute on Race and Poverty

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Many African Americans and Latinos settled in the nation's suburbs during the 1980s and 1990s. Segregation also moved to the suburbs. As a result, many households of color have unequal access to opportunity.

This four-part summary report is about equal access to opportunity. It is about how residential segregation persists as a barrier to educational and economic opportunity in our nation's major metro regions, including Detroit.

### One Equal Access to Opportunity is the Reason these Research Findings Matter

Equal opportunity promises that race and ethnicity will not affect access to economic opportunity. But in many metro regions, neighborhoods of color are furthest from where economic opportunities are growing. Many neighborhoods of color are highly segregated economically as well, distancing the least fortunate from the social networks and experiences vital for finding work and improving long-run economic opportunities.

Not only does residential segregation create barriers to economic opportunity in the form of jobs and income, it creates barriers to wealth accumulation. This study found, for example, that while half of blacks in the regions studied now have suburban addresses, most black suburbanization has occurred in the older, inner-ring suburbs that experience considerable fiscal stress.

Fiscal stress jeopardizes home values and quality of life by straining local public services. The public services are important to quality of life because they include schools, parks, and infrastructure. At the same time that fiscal stress reduces services, it tends to drive up local taxes. As a result, homeowners in these places can be deprived of one of the most important sources of wealth accumulation: increases in home equity value.

Equal opportunity also promises that race and ethnicity will not prevent children of color from receiving the same quality public education accessed by white children. Yet

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residential segregation means segregated schools, even though a half-century ago, “separate but equal” was rejected as an unconstitutional denial of equal opportunity.

### Integration and Access to Opportunity

Segregated neighborhoods reduce quality of life, economic opportunity, and educational opportunity for their residents. This results from the loss of social and economic diversity that occurs when middle-class households flee segregating neighborhoods, leaving behind concentrated poverty, which harms individuals, their communities, and the region.

Poor individuals living in concentrated poverty are far more likely to become pregnant as teenagers,<sup>1</sup> drop out of high school,<sup>2</sup> and remain jobless<sup>3</sup> than if they lived in socio-economically mixed neighborhoods. The challenges associated with concentrated poverty, such as higher crime rates and poor health, also burden local resources and discourage investment. The region becomes less attractive for economic growth as the pool of skilled workers declines along with the quality of life.

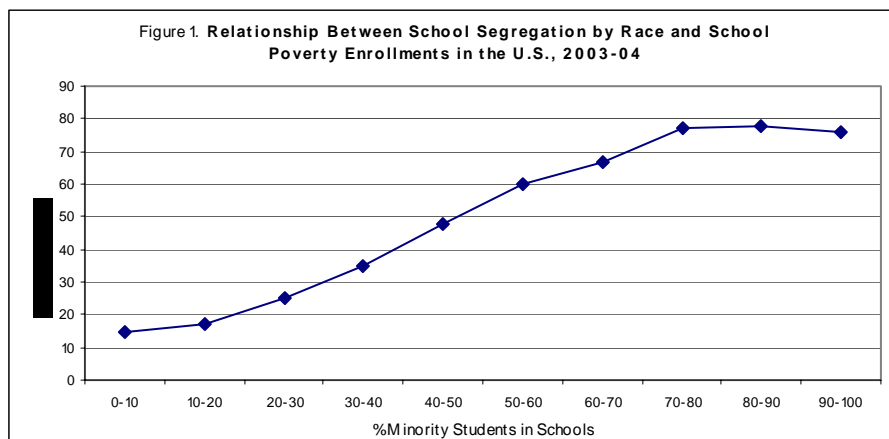
People of color especially are harmed by concentrated poverty, as they are much more likely than whites to live in high-poverty areas. Discrimination in the housing and lending markets, racial steering, and

predatory lending contribute to this inequity. African Americans and Latinos at all income levels are “steered” by real estate agents who show them only a small subset of the market;<sup>4</sup> mortgage lenders lend them less money than they lend to whites of comparable backgrounds.<sup>5</sup>

Residential segregation also results in racially segregated schools, which generally bear large poverty enrollments (Figure 1). In the Detroit region, 78 percent of non-Asian minority elementary students attended high-poverty schools in 2001, compared with only eight percent of white students.<sup>6</sup>

Segregated schools have fewer economic resources,<sup>7</sup> receive limited political attention, and are without the social networks that support academic achievement and lead to employment opportunities.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, the benefits of socially and economically integrated schools<sup>9</sup> are so significant that a key theme in research findings since the 1960s is that the social and economic makeup of a school is the most important factor in a student’s success, second only to the demographics of a student’s own household.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, the research conclusions are introduced with the following overview of school desegregation, especially as it played out in Detroit.



Source: Adapted from Orfield & Lee (2006), Table 14, p.31.<sup>11</sup>

## How the School Integration Promise was Broken in Detroit

Since the Supreme Court decided *Brown v. Board of Education*<sup>12</sup> in 1954, “separate but equal” schools have been unconstitutional. But twenty years later, another Supreme Court school desegregation case broke *Brown’s* promise, and appears to have doomed many school integration efforts and affected neighborhood stability.

It was in Detroit that federal school desegregation doctrine began breaking *Brown’s* promise. The turning point was the Supreme Court’s 1974 desegregation case, *Milliken v. Bradley*.<sup>13</sup>

In *Milliken*, the Supreme Court severely restricted the geographic scope of federal remedies for school segregation. *Milliken* limited the area that could be included in a school desegregation plan to a single school district.

The *Milliken* equal protection class-action lawsuit had many parties. First-named parties included defendant **William Milliken**, governor of Michigan, and plaintiffs **Ronald** and **Richard Bradley**, public school students.

But residential segregation processes operate at a regional scale, while most metro regions, especially in the North and West, are fragmented into dozens upon dozens of school districts. A single-district school desegregation remedy generally cannot succeed unless a metro region has a consolidated school district as large as the region’s housing market.

Under *Milliken’s* single-district restriction, therefore, whether nonwhite, poor students can attend integrated middle-class schools is determined “to a substantial degree on how their state happened to organize its school districts.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, in jurisdictionally fragmented metro regions, such as Detroit and Minneapolis-St. Paul, *Milliken’s* single-district restriction appears to have

undermined school desegregation efforts by omitting nearly all of the middle-class schools and most of the white students.

By exempting nearly all of the nation’s white, middle-class school districts from school integration remedies, *Milliken* likely made white flight worse. By forcing this divide between the schools included in, and excluded from, a desegregation plan in a jurisdictionally fragmented metro region, *Milliken* made possible increased social and economic polarization between these two groups of public schools.

As concentrations of poor and nonwhite students increase in the small number of a region’s schools that are included in a single-district desegregation plan, the desegregation “remedy” tends to trigger increased middle-class and white flight. These families’ flight to the communities whose schools are excluded from the plan further destabilizes integrated neighborhoods, which tends only to worsen the concentrations of poverty in the segregated schools.

In contrast, if quality, socially and economically diverse public schools are available throughout a metro region, a major incentive for white flight is removed. The findings from the research reported below suggest that metro-level school integration plans not only can facilitate equal access to opportunity, but also can help stabilize integrated neighborhoods.

Indeed, among the conclusions of the present research, reported in Part Three, is that the stability of integrated neighborhoods is affected by whether a school integration remedy covers most of a metro region. If, instead, it affects only the small geographic area within a single district in a multi-district metro region, as *Milliken* did in Detroit and elsewhere, neighborhoods are likely to be less stable.

### What *Milliken v. Bradley* Meant for Detroit

Despite the enormous racial imbalance between Detroit and its suburbs, the 1974 *Milliken* decision required that Detroit schools be “desegregated” by rebalancing school enrollments solely within the boundaries of the City of Detroit.

In **1973**, the **District’s** student enrollment was only **30 percent white**.

The entire **metro region**, including the City of Detroit, was **81 percent white**.<sup>15</sup>

The Supreme Court approved the District’s single-district desegregation plan in 1977.<sup>16</sup>

By **1986**, the average black student in the Detroit School **District** attended a school with a **white enrollment below 12 percent**.<sup>17</sup>

As of the 1990s, the Detroit School District was the nation’s most segregated school district.<sup>18</sup>

By the **1990s**, the **District’s** student enrollment was **four percent white**.<sup>19</sup>

Detroit also was the nation’s most segregated metro region.

The story of the retreat from *Brown’s* promise of equal educational opportunity in the face of persistent residential segregation is larger than Detroit. Nationwide, school integration gains for blacks have been declining since the 1980s—back to levels not seen since 1970 and earlier. Suburban racial segregation is among the factors contributing to this trend.

### SCHOOL INTEGRATION MODELS

Kentucky and North Carolina each offer an encouraging model.

#### *Louisville*

#### **Jefferson County Public Schools**

Louisville is one of the nation’s 25 largest metro regions. It is included within Jefferson County Public Schools, among the 30 largest school districts in the nation.

Just prior to the *Milliken* decision in 1974, a court ordered the merger of the city and county districts in Jefferson County. A single-district integration remedy restricted to the City of Louisville would be futile, the court reasoned, because most white residents lived in Louisville’s suburbs, while Louisville itself was predominantly black.

Busing to achieve integration has occurred at the county-wide level ever since. In recent years, school assignments have been based on considerable student choice; the use of both attendance boundary and clustering approaches; and broad racial guidelines to prevent school resegregation.

Studies show positive performance and attendance outcomes for black students who attend the District’s integrated schools.<sup>20</sup>

#### *Raleigh-Durham*

#### **Wake County Public Schools**

The large Wake County district came under fire in the 1990s from white litigants and a conservative federal court. Pressured to abandon its long-standing racial integration efforts, the District responded in 2000 by adopting a five-part approach to continuing to foster diversity in its schools.

Recognizing that “the dynamics of a school begin to change when many kids without basic skills are placed in one classroom,”<sup>21</sup> the District limits the share of students per school that are performing below grade level to less than 26 percent of a school’s enrollment.

Similarly, to ensure that no school is burdened with enormous poverty enrollments, the share of students on free or reduced-price lunches in any school cannot exceed 40 percent of enrollment. Additionally, the district considers a student’s proximity to school, enrollment stability, and the extent to which a school is under- or over-enrolled in making student assignments.

Test scores have improved for the District’s poor, black, and Latino students.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, research reveals clear correlations between the level of poverty in the District’s schools and how well students perform.<sup>23</sup>

### School Segregation *Worsened* after the 1980s

In 1954 when *Brown* was decided, school segregation was so near-complete that only one out of 100,000 black students in the South attended a majority white school. It took ten years and court-imposed desegregation plans to make any progress in response to *Brown's* decree that all children have a constitutional right to equal educational opportunity.

After federal court-ordered desegregation programs got underway, the share of black

students with opportunities to attend non-segregated (“majority white”) schools first increased—and then decreased. In the South, for example, the history is as follows:

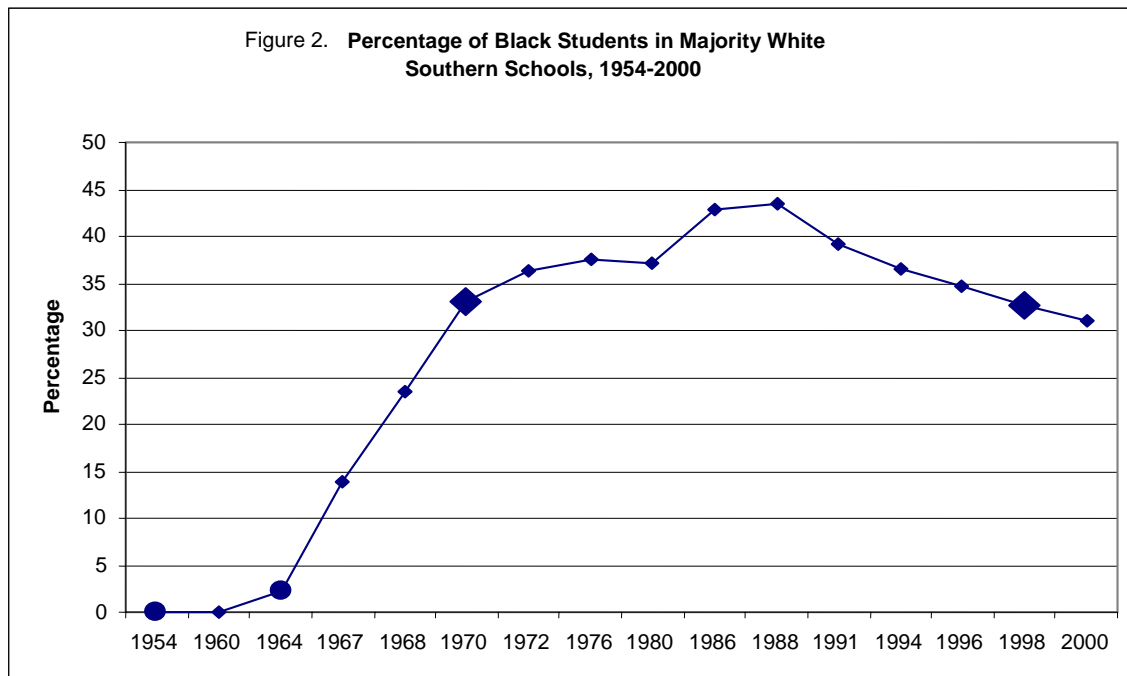
1964: 23 of 1,000 black students.

1970: 331 of 1,000 black students.

1988: 435 of 1,000 black students (peak).

1998: 327 of 1,000 (*below* 1970 levels).

2000: 310 of 1,000



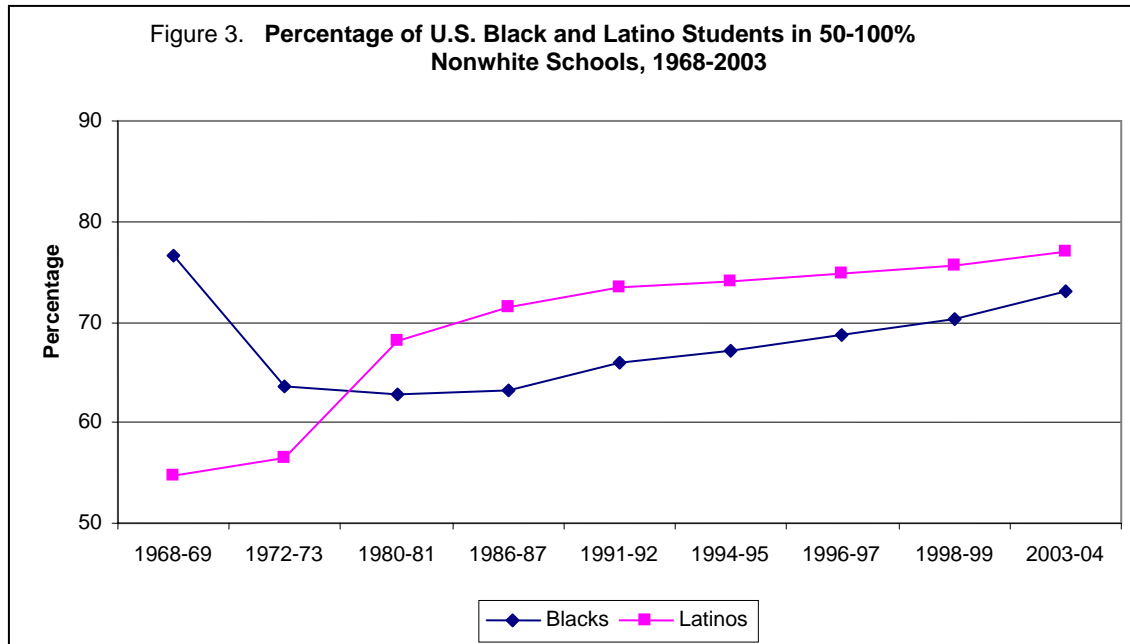
Source: Adapted from Frankenberg, Lee & Orfield (2003) Table 10, p. 37.<sup>24</sup>

The history summarized in Figure 2 is the story of defiant resistance to *Brown* (1954-64); rapid desegregation progress after federal courts began ordering desegregation (1964-72); little change around and after the *Milliken* decision (1972-88); and reversal of gains (since 1988).

Nationwide, while school segregation declined for black students during the 1960s and 1970s, it *increased* for Latino students.<sup>25</sup> During the 1980s, however, the trends

converged. Ever since, school segregation has worsened for both black and Latino students. (Figure 3.)

Some may be surprised that school integration for black students has been declining ever since the latter 1980s.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, few may realize that school segregation for Latino students has only increased across several decades. (Figure 3.)



Sources: Adapted from Frankenberg, Lee & Orfield (2003), Table 9, p. 31; Orfield & Lee (2006) Table 3, p. 10; Table 4, p. 11.<sup>27</sup>

As of 2003-04, the average black student in the U.S. attended a school that was 70 percent nonwhite. The average Latino student attended a school that was 72 percent nonwhite. In contrast, the average white student attended a school that was 22 percent nonwhite.<sup>28</sup> In the Detroit region, school segregation is even worse.<sup>29</sup>

School segregation is a mirror of residential segregation, which continues to shape the nation's landscape despite the considerable

gains in black and Latino suburbanization reported in Part Three.

As background to those research conclusions, Part Two introduces the fifteen metro regions that were the subject of the research, and also explains how neighborhoods in those metros were classified as *integrated* or *nonintegrated*. Part Three then presents the conclusions from the research findings, and highlights the results for Detroit.

**CENSUS DATA and RACIAL-ETHNIC TERMS** This research is based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau. For clarity, this report adopts the terms used by the Census Bureau for data collection and analyses: *white* means non-Hispanic white; *black* means non-Hispanic black; and *Hispanic* is an ethnic category that includes Latinos, Chicanos, and others.

Two

## Overview: Fifteen Metro Regions and Neighborhood *Integration*

The fifteen metros were selected to include regions from throughout the nation, and to reflect a range of racial-ethnic compositions. Each is among the nation's 25 most populous metro regions, yet their populations vary significantly from the smallest in 2000 (Portland, at 2.3 million), to the largest (New York, at over 21 million).

Over 6 Million	4-6 Million	2-3 Million
21 New York	Philadelphia	Mpls-St. Paul
16 Los Angeles	Boston	Cleveland
9 Chicago	Detroit	San Diego
8 Washington, DC	Houston	St. Louis
	Atlanta	Portland
	Miami	

Racial-ethnic composition in the fifteen metros ranged from 37 percent white (Houston) to 85 percent white (Minneapolis-St. Paul). Black shares ranged from three percent (Portland) to 29 percent (Atlanta).

20-29% Black	17-19% Black	3-8% Black
Atlanta	St. Louis	Los Angeles
Washington, DC	Chicago	San Diego
Detroit	Cleveland	Mpls-St. Paul
Miami	Houston	Boston
Philadelphia	New York	Portland

Hispanic population shares in 2000 ranged from 2 percent (St. Louis) to 40 percent (Los Angeles and Miami).

16-40% Hispanic	6-9% Hispanic	2-3% Hispanic
Los Angeles	Portland	Cleveland
Miami	Atlanta	Detroit
Houston	Boston	Mpls-St. Paul
San Diego	Philadelphia	St. Louis
New York	Washington, DC	
Chicago		

Neighborhoods were classified as *integrated* or nonintegrated using a seven-category typology. It is derived from a classification approach<sup>30</sup> that has been adapted and applied by others investigating residential integration and segregation.<sup>31</sup>

As is common research practice, Census tracts were used as proxies for neighborhoods. Each tract was classified as one of the seven neighborhood types based on its racial-ethnic population shares.

Of the seven neighborhood types, four are defined as *Non-Integrated* –

### 1. Predominantly White

*Less than 10 percent black &  
Less than 10 percent Hispanic*

### 2. Predominantly Black

*Greater than 50 percent black &  
Less than 10 percent Hispanic*

### 3. Predominantly Hispanic

*Greater than 50 percent Hispanic &  
Less than 10 percent black*

### 4. Black and Hispanic

*Greater than 10 percent black &  
Greater than 10 percent Hispanic &  
Less than 40 percent white*

– and three as *Integrated*.

### 5. White-Black Integrated

*Less than 10 percent white &  
Greater than 50 percent black &  
Less than 10 percent Hispanic*

### 6. White-Hispanic Integrated

*Greater than 10 percent white &  
Less than 50 percent Hispanic &  
Less than 10 percent black*

### 7. Multi-Ethnic

*Greater than 10 percent black &  
Greater than 10 percent Hispanic &  
Greater than 40 percent white*

For the analysis of neighborhood stability, neighborhoods whose racial compositions qualified them as one of the three integrated types in 1980 were deemed *stably integrated* for the two decades if they remained an integrated type in each of 1990 and 2000, irrespective of whether they changed to a different integrated neighborhood type.

Part Three summarizes the conclusions from the research findings for the fifteen metro regions and highlights Detroit.

Three

## Conclusions for the Fifteen Metros and the Detroit Metro Region

Across the fifteen metro regions, the 1980s and 1990s brought modest increases in the percentage of neighborhoods that are integrated, and in the percentage of people living in integrated neighborhoods. This was due largely to declining white population shares as racial-ethnic diversity increased. Growth of the Hispanic population was a major factor in the increasing diversity.

Compared to the fifteen metros overall, the Detroit metro region has the most extreme patterns of racial-ethnic residential segregation. As other research finds, Detroit also is the nation's most segregated metropolitan region by many measures. Residential segregation in Detroit remained largely unchanged during the 1980s and 1990s, even as the share of black residents in the suburbs increased nine points, to 26 percent, and the share of suburbanized Hispanics inched up to 67 percent.

The following summary provides both the overall conclusions for the fifteen metro regions, as well as the metro-specific conclusions for Detroit.

### ***1. The fifteen metros and their suburbs became significantly more racially and ethnically diverse during the 1980s and 1990s.***

A surge in the Hispanic population share was the biggest factor bringing significantly more diversity to the fifteen metros. The Hispanic population share doubled to 18 percent by 2000.

In contrast, Detroit's 2000 Hispanic population share was nearly the smallest among the regions, at three percent, up only one percentage point from 1980.

Across the fifteen metros, the white population share dropped to 59 percent. The number of whites declined in all but three regions—Atlanta, Portland, and Minneapolis-St. Paul. By 2000, whites were a minority group in Miami, Houston, and Los Angeles. The black share essentially remained unchanged, at 15 percent.

Detroit's black population share increased slightly, from 19 to 21 percent, during the two decades. Its black population share was third-largest among the metros in both 1980 and 2000.

Detroit's white population share, sixth-largest among the metros, decreased by seven percentage points, to 72 percent in 2000. This was a much smaller change than across the fifteen metros overall, perhaps because the region experienced nearly no population growth for twenty years (three percent, contrasted with the 24-point growth rate for the fifteen metros together).

### ***2. Half of the metros' black residents, and two-thirds of their Hispanic residents, had suburban addresses by 2000.***

Beginning from a modest base of 36 percent in 1980, 49 percent of blacks lived in the suburbs by 2000 (compared to 84 percent of whites). Black suburbanization tended to occur more in older, often fiscally stressed, inner-ring suburbs.

Detroit's black suburbanization share is the lowest among the fifteen metros, and its white suburbanization share the highest, consistent with the region's extreme residential segregation. Black suburbanization mostly occurs adjacent to extremely segregated central city

areas in older, financially stressed suburbs.

By 2000, 96 percent of Detroit's whites lived in the suburbs, compared to 26 percent of the region's blacks.

Detroit's 70-point difference between the share of whites and blacks living in the suburbs is *twice* the spread for the fifteen metros overall.

For the fifteen metros overall, the share of Hispanics living in the suburbs increased eight points, to 63 percent by 2000.

Although 67 percent of Detroit's small Hispanic population share lived in the suburbs by 2000, the share of the region's Hispanics living in segregated neighborhoods increased much more than for the fifteen metros overall.

***3. Demographic change contributed to an increase in the share of neighborhoods that were integrated, yet segregation continued to characterize racial-ethnic residential patterns in most places.***

Overall, 29 percent of neighborhoods in the fifteen metros were integrated in 2000, up from 22 percent in 1980. But this reflected no change in the share of white-black integrated neighborhoods, which remained at eight percent after twenty years.

Detroit's share of white-black integrated neighborhoods *declined* one percentage-point during the same period, to nine percent.

In response to increased black residential mobility, the black-white dissimilarity measure of residential segregation did improve slightly between 1990 and 2000, declining from 73 to 69 percent overall among the fifteen metros.

Detroit's change was smaller, and it still had the highest dissimilarity value by 2000, at 85 percent.

***4. The shares of both whites and blacks living in same-race neighborhoods declined during the two decades; in contrast, the share of Hispanics living in same-race neighborhoods increased.***

Overall, the share of blacks living in predominantly black neighborhoods decreased 15 points, to 43 percent, although much of this decrease was due to an increase in the share living in black-Hispanic neighborhoods. There was only a four-point increase in the share of blacks living in integrated neighborhoods, to 21 percent.

The share of black residents in Detroit that lived in integrated neighborhoods *declined* two-points during the two decades, to 11 percent.

After twenty years, there was only a three-point decline in the share of Detroit's black residents living in predominantly black neighborhoods, and the share—80 percent—is nearly twice that for the fifteen-metros overall. It was fully ten points higher in 2000 than in Cleveland, which had the second-highest percentage of black residents in predominantly black neighborhoods.

Overall, the share of whites living in predominantly white neighborhoods decreased 13 points, to 63 percent. Only two points of the 11-point increase in the share of whites living in integrated neighborhoods is accounted for by whites living in white-black integrated neighborhoods.

In Detroit, whites remain extremely segregated: 87 percent lived in predominantly white neighborhoods in

1980, the same percentage as in 2000. In 2000, only a few metros had similarly high white shares in predominantly white neighborhoods, and those regions had very small black population shares compared to Detroit.

In contrast to both blacks and whites, Hispanics experienced *increased* residential segregation across the metros overall, with an eight-point increase, to 35 percent, in the percentage of Hispanics living in predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods.

Although Detroit's Hispanic population share increased only *one* point across twenty years, to three percent, Hispanic segregation jumped from zero to *thirteen* percent by 2000.

**5. Of the neighborhoods that were integrated in 1980, many were not stably integrated.**

Many of the integrated neighborhoods in the fifteen metros were in transition to a segregated state during the two decades. An integrated neighborhood was more likely to become a segregated neighborhood by 2000 than to remain integrated if, in 1980, it was 23 percent black plus Hispanic, or 24 percent Hispanic, or 29 percent black (depending on the type of integrated neighborhood).

In Detroit, there were few integrated neighborhoods in 1980, and fewer by 2000. During the same period, the share of predominantly black neighborhoods jumped from 15 percent to 23 percent, suggesting that considerable neighborhood transition and white flight accompanied black suburbanization during the two decades.

**6. In another set of metro regions with large-area school integration programs during the 1980s and 1990s, there was a different, and encouraging result: significantly greater neighborhood stability correlated with county-wide or metro-wide school integration programs.**

A different set of 15 metro areas did *not* show the same tendency to resegregate from 1980 to 2000. These were regions that had county- or metro-wide desegregation plans that included busing.

In the 15 regions with metro-level school integration programs, neighborhoods that were integrated were integrated in 1980 did not show the same tendency to resegregate during the two decades, regardless of their initial racial-ethnic mix.

Comparison Metros
Charlotte
Daytona Beach
Greensboro
Indianapolis
Lakeland
Las Vegas
Louisville
Nashville
Orlando
Pensacola
Wilmington
Raleigh-Durham
Sarasota
Tampa-St. Petersburg
West Palm Beach

Detroit did not become more integrated during the 1980s and 1990s. The Supreme Court's 1974 *Milliken* decision restricted court-ordered school desegregation in the region to solely the single district comprising the City of Detroit. A single-district plan was imposed even though the City was more than two-thirds black while adjacent suburbs and school districts were almost entirely white.

This study suggests that the resulting white flight in the Detroit region increased segregation and neighborhood instability. This and other studies suggest that this may not have happened if a regional-level school integration plan been implemented during the 1970s, instead of *Milliken's* single-district constraints.

The same likely is true in other metro regions, such as Minneapolis-St. Paul, that were forced to use small-area (generally central-city only) school integration programs.

*7. During the 1990s, while the spatial patterns of job growth varied considerably among the metro regions, the rate of job growth generally was higher in second- and third-ring suburbs where black and Hispanic population shares tended to be smaller.*

In general, this (and other) research suggests that higher levels of residential segregation tend to correspond with reduced proximity to jobs for residents of color.

In several of the fifteen metros, the overall pattern of job change during the 1990s was away from neighborhoods with large and growing populations of color. In Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis, job growth occurred in the areas of those regions that had, overall, the smallest populations of color.

In Detroit, jobs grew in some third-ring suburbs and some exurban areas. They declined significantly in the City of Detroit and several of its first-ring suburbs, and in Flint. These are places with large and growing black population shares, and are places experiencing noticeable population declines.

Because housing markets and the dynamics of segregation and economic development operate at the regional level, policy responses must be addressed at the regional level, and ongoing research must investigate issues affecting opportunity at regional scales.

#### Four Policies and Action to Promote Equal Access to Opportunity

Residential segregation can be a barrier to educational and economic opportunity. Like most dynamics in metro regions, housing markets and the processes of segregation operate at the regional level, not within municipal boundaries. That is why regional-level approaches are necessary to protect equal access to opportunity.

The research conclusions highlight the need to target policies at the regional level in order to dismantle unequal barriers to opportunity. They also show the importance of investigating further the ways that residential segregation creates barriers to opportunity, and how regional-level policy responses can ensure access to opportunity for metropolitan residents of all races and ethnicities.

##### ► End Racial-Ethnic Steering and Housing Discrimination

To end the invidious discrimination that African American and Latino home buyers experience in the form of racial steering requires unified action. Coalitions committed to enforcing federal and state fair housing laws must collect data on local steering practices and then bring actions on behalf of homebuyers who have experienced steering.

Resources are available to help local groups collect data using paired-tester studies. In addition, home owners and those in the market to buy homes can be interviewed to determine which information, areas, and homes they were (or were not) told about and shown. Together, this information can become the foundation for seeking enforcement of fair housing laws against realtors and real estate agencies that persist in racial-ethnic steering practices.

► **Eliminate Predatory Lending and Mortgage Lending Discrimination**

Despite fair lending laws, there remains a “dual” mortgage market. Especially pernicious are the subprime lenders who target minority neighborhoods and low-income homebuyers to buy mortgages with excessive interest rates and outrageous terms, leaving them vulnerable to foreclosure. Disclosure, antifraud, and fair lending laws must be enforced by coalitions who assist individual buyers by arming them with information to resist predatory lenders, and bringing actions on their behalf against predatory lenders.

► **Create Pro-Integrative Affordable Housing**

In order that all residents have a genuine choice where to live and can access economic opportunity, affordable housing must be available throughout a metro region. It is important, for example, that the significant quantity of affordable housing that is produced under the federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program not be sited in places of concentrated poverty.

► **End Exclusionary Housing Practices**

All jurisdictions within a metro region should provide their share of a region’s affordable housing so all residents have real options to live near job opportunities and quality public schools. Exclusionary land use policies that block development of affordable housing must be modified accordingly.

► **Provide Public School Choice**

Families of color must have the same choice that white families have to send their children to quality, socially and economically integrated, public schools. Region-wide school choice programs can provide this option to all families, and thus remove inequitable barriers to educational opportunity.

► **Continue Empirical Research at the Regional Scale**

To inform residents, activists, and policy makers, empirical research must investigate, at the regional level, not only the social and economic realities of those regions, but the impacts of past and proposed policy initiatives. For example, regional-level research can investigate the extent to which various school integration approaches contribute to equal access to educational opportunity, and how they affect residential segregation and neighborhood stability.

A regional approach is essential to the health and stability not just of our central cities but of our suburbs. A regional approach is needed to ensure that children’s educational opportunities are not restricted because of where their families happen to live within a metro area. And it is needed to ensure that families have access to safe and affordable housing, and to jobs, based not on their skin color or residential address, but on their aspirations and effort.

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## For Maps & More Information

To read more about this research, and to view the 249 maps for the fifteen metro regions, go to the IRP home page,

[www.irpumn.org](http://www.irpumn.org)

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Crane, "The Effects of Neighborhoods on Dropping Out of School and Teenage Childbearing," in *The Urban Underclass*, C. Jencks and P. Peterson, eds. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1991), pp. 299-320; Susan E. Mayer, "How Much Does a High School's Racial and Socioeconomic Mix Affect Graduation and Teenage Fertility Rates?" in *The Urban Underclass*, pp. 321-41; Douglas A. Massey and Nancy S. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 169-70; Dennis P. Hogan and Evelyn Kitagawa, "The Impact of Social Status, Family Structure, and Neighborhood on the Fertility of Black Adolescents," *American Journal of Sociology* 90 (No. 4, 1985):825-55; Frank F. Furstenburg, Jr., et al., "Race Differences in the Timing of Adolescent Intercourse," *American Sociological Review* 52 (1987):511-18; Elijah Anderson, "Neighborhood Effects on Teenage Pregnancy," in *The Urban Underclass*, pp. 375-98; Sara McLanahan and Irwin Garfinkel, "Single Mothers, the Underclass, and Social Policy," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501 (1989):92.

<sup>2</sup> Crane, "The Effects of Neighborhoods," pp. 274-320; Mayer, "Graduation and Teenage Fertility Rates," pp. 321- 41; Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, pp. 169-70.

<sup>3</sup> Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*, pp. 180-82.

<sup>4</sup> Margery Austin Turner and Stephen Ross, "How Racial Discrimination Affects the Search for Housing," in *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*, Xavier de Souza Briggs, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute 2005), pp. 81-100; Margery Austin Turner, et al., "Discrimination in Metropolitan Housing Markets," Final Report Submitted to the Dep't of Housing and Urban Development (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, Nov. 2002), pp. A3-1 to 3-19, 6-1 to 6-13, [www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/410821\\_Phase1\\_Report.pdf](http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/410821_Phase1_Report.pdf); John Yinger, *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation 1995), pp. 51-61; George C.

Galster, "Racial Steering in Urban Housing Markets: A Review of Audit Evidence," *Review of Black Political Economy*, 18 (Winter, 1990):105-129.

<sup>5</sup> William Apgar and Allegra Calder, "The Dual Mortgage Market: The Persistence of Discrimination in Mortgage Lending," in *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*, Xavier de Souza Briggs, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute 2005), pp. 81-100; John Yinger, "Cash in Your Face: The Cost of Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Housing," *Journal of Urban Economics* 42 (1997):339. Yinger found that discrimination in housing and financing markets costs blacks and Hispanics, on average, more than \$3,000 regardless of whether they encounter intentional discrimination. Yinger's previous research found stark racial differences in lending policy, even controlling for differences in lender policy and individual borrowers' economic characteristics. See Yinger, *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost*.

<sup>6</sup> Myron Orfield and Thomas Luce, "Michigan Metropatterns: A Regional Agenda for Community and Prosperity in Michigan" (Minneapolis: Ameregis, Apr. 2003), p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Racially segregated schools tend to be overcrowded, staffed by larger shares of uncertified teachers, have low expectations, and limited facilities. Sharon Lewis et al., "Great Expectations: Reforming Urban High Schools: An Education Forum With Urban Educators and Leaders" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Oct. 2000), [www.cgcs.org/pdfs/hsreform.PDF](http://www.cgcs.org/pdfs/hsreform.PDF)

<sup>8</sup> Segregated schools can expose students to an oppositional culture that discourages academic achievement and attainment, and perpetuates negative social networks that isolate students from the skills and social networks that offer validation, information, and sponsorship. Terea Wasonga & Dana Christman, "Perceptions and Construction of Meanings of Urban High School Experiences Among African American University

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Students: A Focus Group Approach,” *Education and Urban Society* 35 (2003):181, 183, 198.

Segregated schools “often transmit lower expectations to minority students and offer a narrower range of educational and job-related options.” Michael A. Boozer, et al., “Race and School Quality Since *Brown v. Board of Education*” (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Papers Econ. Activity 1992), citing Marvin Dawkins & Jomills Braddock, “The Continuing Significance of Desegregation: School Racial Composition and African American Inclusion in American Society,” *Journal of Negro Education* 63 (1994):394. See also Janet Ward Schofield, “Review of Research on School Desegregation’s Impact on Elementary and Secondary School Students,” in *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, James Banks and Cherry McGee Banks, eds. (1995), p. 597.

Racially and economically segregated schools have significantly higher dropout rates than do nonsegregated schools. Gary Orfield, et al., “Losing Our Future: How Minority Youth are Being Left Behind by the Graduation Rate Crisis” (Joint report of The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University and The Urban Institute, Mar. 2004), p. 4 [www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/dropouts/LosingFuture\\_Executive.pdf](http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/dropouts/LosingFuture_Executive.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., Amy Stuart Wells & Robert L. Crain, *Perpetuation Theory and the Long-Term Effects of School Desegregation*, 64 *Review of Education Research* 64 (1994):531, 552, 531 (reviewed 21 studies; desegregated schools permit “access to high-status institutions and the powerful social networks within them.”); Richard Kahlenberg, *All Together Now: Creating Middle-Class Schools Through Public School Choice* 26-30 (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute 2001) (reviewing studies finding greater educational attainment for poor students and for black students who attend racially and economically integrated schools); *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003) (“Numerous studies show that student body diversity promotes learning outcomes, and better prepares students for an increasingly diverse workforce and society, and better prepares them as professionals.”).

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<sup>10</sup> James Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (“The Coleman Report”) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office 1966); Russell W. Rumberger and Gregory J. Palardy, “Does Resegregation Matter? The Impact of Social Composition on Academic Achievement in Southern High Schools,” in *School Resegregation: Must the South Turn Back?* John Charles Boger & Gary Orfield, eds. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2005), p. 128. The Coleman Report and subsequent research find that student achievement is most influenced by the student’s and school’s socioeconomic circumstances. As one author summarized it, “ambition is contagious.” Richard Rothstein, *What Do We Know About Declining (Or Rising) Student Achievement?* 129-30 (Arlington, VA: Educational Research Service, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> Adapted from Gary Orfield and Chungmei Lee, “Racial Transformation and the Changing Nature of Segregation” (Harvard University: Civil Rights Project, Jan. 2006), Table 14, p. 31, [www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/deseg/Racial\\_Transformation.pdf](http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/deseg/Racial_Transformation.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> *Brown v. Board of Educ.*, 347 U.S. 783 (1954).

<sup>13</sup> *Milliken v. Bradley*, 418 U.S. 717 (1974).

<sup>14</sup> Gary Orfield, “Metropolitan School Desegregation: Impacts on Metropolitan Society” in *In Pursuit of a Dream Deferred: Linking Housing and Education Policy*, John Powell, Gavin Kearney, & Vina Kay, eds. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001), p. 129.

<sup>15</sup> *Milliken*, 418 U.S. at 765 n.1 (Marshall, J., dissenting).

<sup>16</sup> *Milliken v. Bradley*, 433 U.S. 267 (1977) (*Milliken II*).

<sup>17</sup> Gary Orfield, Franklin Monfort, and Melissa Aaron, “Status of School Desegregation 1968-1986: Segregation, Integration, and Public Policy,” (Report for the National School Board Assoc., Council of Urban Boards of Education, March 1989), p. 26.

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<sup>18</sup> Gary Orfield, "Schools More Separate: Consequences of a Decade of Resegregation" (Harvard University: Civil Rights Project, July 2001), Table 6, p. 25, [www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/deseg/Schools\\_More\\_Separate.pdf](http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/deseg/Schools_More_Separate.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Black students attending the District's majority-white schools had better attendance records than those attending segregated schools, and their test scores improved. The percentage of black students scoring in the lowest category on reading tests decreased from 41 percent in 1998, to 28 percent in 2003 (for whites, the change was from 16 to 13 percent). Chris Kenning, "Louisville Schools Lead in Integration," *Courier Journal*, May 16, 2004, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Tim Simmons, "School Plan Signals New Chapter in Integration," *The (NC) News and Observer*, Jan. 16, 2000 (quoting Superintendent Bill McNeal).

<sup>22</sup> Between 1998 and 2005, the percentage of the District's black students performing at grade level increased from 57 to nearly 80 percent, while for Latino students, performance increased from 66 percent to 77 percent. The District's overall numbers rose ten points, to 90 percent. Quality Matters Committee "Quality Matters 2005: A Wake Community Review of the Public's Schools," (Raleigh, NC: Wake Education Partnership, p. 17, [http://www.wakeedpartnership.org/Research&Reports/documents/Quality\\_Matters\\_2005.pdf](http://www.wakeedpartnership.org/Research&Reports/documents/Quality_Matters_2005.pdf)

Similarly, performance results for free-lunch students improved. The share of third through eighth graders performing at grade level jumped from 54 percent (reading and math) in 1998, to 77 percent (reading) and 80 percent (math) in 2005. Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> The correlation was especially strong at the elementary level. Large differences in a school's poverty enrollments (e.g., five percent versus 40 percent) accounted for as much as two-thirds of a year of student progress. Evaluation and Research Department, "The Effect of School

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Poverty Concentration in WCPSS" (Raleigh, NC: Wake County Public Schools, March 2001), p. 7. Contact person: Karen Banks, Ph.D. (919) 850-1863.

<sup>24</sup> Erica Frankenberg, Chungmei Lee & Gary Orfield, "A Multiracial Society with Segregated Schools: Are We Losing the Dream?" (Harvard University: Civil Rights Project, Jan. 2003), Table 10, p. 37, [www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/reseg03/AreWeLosingtheDream.pdf](http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/reseg03/AreWeLosingtheDream.pdf)

<sup>25</sup> Historically, school desegregation efforts focused on black-white integration, although a 1973 Supreme Court case recognized that Latino students should be included in demographic counts and desegregation plans. *Keyes v. School Dist. No. 1*, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).

<sup>26</sup> Three early 1990s Supreme Court school desegregation cases significantly weakened federal school desegregation law. *School Board of Oklahoma City v. Dowell*, 498 U.S. 237 (1991); *Freeman v. Pitts*, 503 U.S. 467 (1992); *Missouri v. Jenkins*, 515 U.S. 70, 87 (1995).

<sup>27</sup> Frankenberg, Lee, and G. Orfield "A Multiracial Society," Table 9, p. 31; G. Orfield and Lee "Racial Transformation," Table 4, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> G. Orfield and Lee "Racial Transformation," Table 2, p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> M. Orfield and Luce, "Michigan Metropatterns," p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Ingrid Gould Ellen, "Stable Racial Integration in the Contemporary United States: An Empirical Overview," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20(1) (1998):27-42.

<sup>31</sup> David Fasenfest, Jason Booza, and Kurt Metzger, "Living Together: A New Look at Racial and Ethnic Integration in Metropolitan Neighborhoods, 1990-2000" (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, Apr. 2004), [www.brookings.edu/urban/pubs/20040428\\_fasenfest.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/urban/pubs/20040428_fasenfest.pdf)

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