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"WHAT THE RESEARCH SHOWS"

*Data research & analysis prepared for the
Community Circle Dialogues on Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities*

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The Twin Cities are severely segregated by race and income:

- The Twin Cities metropolitan area is one of the 10 most racially segregated metropolitan areas in the United States. (Harrison, Roderick J., and Daniel Weinberg, "Racial and Ethnic Segregation in 1990," Washington D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992).
- 65% of people of color living in the seven county metro area live in the central cities; and they are even more narrowly concentrated within specific neighborhoods of Minneapolis and St. Paul. (1990 U.S. Census).
- Although only 28% of the metropolitan population reside in the central cities, 60% of those in poverty in the metro area live within the central cities. (1990 U.S. Census).

Concentrated poverty is a growing concern for the Twin Cities.

- Areas of concentrated poverty are neighborhoods or census tracts in which 40% or more of the population is at or below the poverty level.
- Areas of concentrated poverty in the Twin Cities increased from 7 census tracts in 1970 to 33 in 1990. The number of people living in the Twin Cities living in concentrated poverty increased from 11,438 individuals in 1970 to 79,048 in 1990. (Paul Jargowsky, *POVERTY AND PLACE: GHETTOS, BARRIOS, AND THE AMERICAN CITY* (1997).
- Communities of concentrated poverty are disproportionately communities of color. Nationwide, 52% of people living in concentrated poverty are African Americans while only 23% are white. In the Twin Cities, approximately 3 out of 4 poor Blacks lives in concentrated poverty as opposed to 1 out of 4 poor Whites. (Id.)
- Although Blacks constitute only 3.6% of the total metropolitan population, they represent 24.3% of the region's concentrated poverty population. (Id.)

THE CAUSES OF RACIAL SEGREGATION AND CONCENTRATED POVERTY IN THE TWIN CITIES

Concentrated poverty and racial segregation are not solely the product of "natural" settlement patterns or market forces. Urban sprawl and white/middle class flight, subsidized by government policies on highway and infrastructure expansion and development, contribute to concentrated poverty and racial segregation in Minnesota.

- A recent Sierra Club study, "The Dark Side of the American Dream" ranks the Twin Cities

metropolitan area in the top 10 metropolitan areas threatened by sprawl. This same study found that between 1970 and 1990 162 "physically adequate" schools were closed in Minneapolis, St. Paul and the inner-ring suburbs, while 78 new schools were built further out. The study stated that if development in the Twin Cities was directed inward we could save \$600 million in infrastructure costs over the next twenty years.

Political fragmentation, contributing to and combined with poor regional planning, increases the racial and economic segregation of the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

- The Twin Cities are one of the most fragmented areas in the country in terms of the number of political subdivisions and school districts by area. (David Rusk, *CITIES WITHOUT SUBURBS* (1993); Myron Orfield, *METROPOLITICS: A REGIONAL AGENDA FOR COMMUNITY STABILITY* (1997)).
- This fragmentation, combined with the lack of assertive regional planning on the part of the legislature and the Met Council, has allowed segregative practices such as exclusionary zoning to proliferate. (Barbara Lukerman and Michael Kane, *Land Use Practices: Exclusionary Zoning, de Facto or de Jure*, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota (1994); The Livable Communities Housing Task Force, *Promises Deferred: An Analysis of the Affordable Housing Provisions of the Livable Communities Act* (1998)).

THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL AND ECONOMIC SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS

The racial and economic segregation in Twin Cities schools are rapidly increasing.

- The percentage of students of color in Minneapolis' and Saint Paul's public schools has increased every year since 1968.
- Minneapolis projects a minority enrollment of 78.5% in grades K-6 for the 2000-01 school year. By comparison suburban school districts enrolled no more than 28% minority students in 1994-95, and outer ring suburbs enrolled no more than 10% minority students. (Gary Orfield, et. al., *Deepening Segregation in American Schools*, (1997).
- In the 1996-97 school year, ten of Minneapolis' public schools enrolled at least 90% students of color. (Id.).
- Only 4% of Minnesota students are black but more than 53% of them attend majority non-white schools. (Id.).
- The percentage of Minneapolis Public School students eligible for subsidized lunches has grown from less than 30% in 1972-73 to nearly 70% in 1996. (Data from Minneapolis School District). In St. Paul, almost 2/3 of elementary students are eligible for subsidized lunches;

up from less than half only four years ago. (Data from Saint Paul School District).

- By contrast, less than 28% of students in all but two Twin Cities suburban school districts are eligible for subsidized school lunches. Several suburban districts have less than 8% of their students eligible for subsidized student lunches. (Metropolitan Council, *Trouble at the Core* (1992)).
- The ten poorest elementary schools in Minneapolis are 90% minority. (Minneapolis Public Schools, *Report of the Annual Racial/Ethnic Count of Students*, (1996)).

Segregation and concentrated poverty compromise student achievement.

- The Federal Government's 1966 Coleman Report concluded that the socioeconomic level of students' schoolmates was the only factor with a significant effect on a student's academic achievement. (Coleman, James, et. al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, 1966).
- Subsequent studies have found that racial composition of schools is also a factor in academic achievement:

 - higher percentages of minority students have a negative effect on student achievement (Bankston, Carl, and Stephen Caldas, "The Effect of School Population Socioeconomic Status on Individual Student Academic Achievement," *Journal of Educational Research*, (1997));
 - higher levels of segregation coincide with educational disadvantages as well as concentrated poverty (Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton, *AMERICAN APARTHEID: SEGREGATION AND THE MAKING OF THE UNDERCLASS*, (1993));
 - the racial composition of schools directly impacts educational achievement. (Jencks, Christopher, *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America*, (1972)).

Twin Cities schools with high concentrations of minority and low-income students are failing:

- Results from the 1998 Basic Standards Test:
 - There was an overall pass rate of 71% on the math portion of the test. Pass rates varied significantly, however, by racial and ethnic group and by location: 76% for Whites, 26% for Blacks, 38% for Hispanics, 39% for American Indians, and 53% for Asians. In the Twin Cities suburbs, 77% of students passed as compared to 72% of students outstate and 41% of students in the Minneapolis and St. Paul school districts. (Office of Educational Accountability, University of Minnesota, *The 1998 Minnesota Education Yearbook* (1998)).

- There was an overall pass rate of 68% on the reading portion of the test. Pass rates varied significantly, however, by racial and ethnic group and by location: 73% for Whites, 32% for Blacks, 39% for Hispanics, 38% for American Indians, and 48% for Asians. In the Twin Cities suburbs, 75% of students passed as compared to 68% of students outstate and 41% of students in the Minneapolis and St. Paul school districts. (Id.).
- Of those students entering Minnesota high schools in 1994, 78% graduated by 1998 (N.B. this calculation excludes students who transferred out of state or to a non-public school). Four-year graduation rates varied significantly, however, by racial and ethnic group and by location: 82% for Whites, 36% for Blacks, 44% for Hispanics, 41% for American Indians, and 68% for Asians. In the Twin Cities suburbs, 84% of students graduated within four years as compared to 85% of students outstate and 47% of students in the Minneapolis and St. Paul school districts. (Id.).

These severe gaps in educational achievement in Minnesota are occurring despite higher per pupil spending in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

- The average per pupil expenditure in 1998 for the Minneapolis and St. Paul school districts was \$7,730 as compared to \$5,994 in the suburbs and \$5,781 outstate. A portion of this gap is attributable to higher spending on special instruction (\$1,421 per student in Minneapolis and St. Paul compared to \$873 in the suburbs and \$803 outstate). (Id.).

Research proves that desegregation increases achievement levels for minority and low-income students.

- Researchers of the Gautreaux program in Chicago found that "Black children who moved from racially segregated housing projects to white middle-income suburbs experienced improved outcomes by every measure." (Rosenbaum, James E., et. al., "Can the Kerner Commission's Housing Strategy Improve, Employment, Education, and Social Integration for Low-Income Blacks).
- Students of color bused to desegregated suburban schools experience improvements in reading and math. (Voluntary Interdistrict Coordinating Council, Complete Eleventh Report to the United States District Court, Eastern District of Missouri 25 (Jan. 1995)).
- Following desegregation, students of color in Kansas City schools performed better than national and district norms on achievement scores. (Moore, William, *Achievement and Enrollment Evaluation of the Investigative Learning Magnet Elementary Schools, 1990-91*, 25 (Oct. 1991)).
- The achievement gap between minority and white students greatly narrowed when Dallas implemented a desegregation plan. (*Equity and Choice: Issues and Answers in the Dallas Schools*, Presentation Before the National Committee for School Desegregation, 16 (March

1990)).

Research also suggests the desegregation does not negatively affect academic performances of whites and in some cases may improve their performances.

- Both whites and blacks improved standardized test scores when desegregation was implemented in Louisville, Kentucky. (Kentucky Commission of Human Rights, *School and Housing Desegregation are Working Together in Louisville and Jefferson County, 1975-1983*, 6-8 (1983)).
- When Norfolk, Virginia implemented a desegregation plan, standardized test scores improved for both blacks and whites. (Meldrum, Christina, and Susan F. Eaton, "Resegregation in Norfolk, Virginia: Does Restoring Neighborhood Schools Work?" (May 1994).

Desegregation has positive long-term societal effects that are not reflected in test scores.

- School desegregation encourages social integration on multiple levels: black students from desegregated schools have more social contacts with whites, are more likely to live in desegregated neighborhoods, more frequently work in desegregated areas, and are more likely to have higher career goals. (Crain, Robert, and Amy Stuart Wells, "Perpetuation Theory and the Long-Term Effects of School Desegregation," (1994); Dawkins, M., and J.H. Braddock, "The Continuing Significance of Desegregation: School Racial Composition and African American Inclusion in American Society," (1994).
- Black students in desegregated schools are more likely to graduate from high school, attend desegregated colleges, and graduate with degrees in higher paying professions. McPartland, James, and JoMills Braddock, *Going to College and Getting a Good Job: The Impact of Desegregation*, (1981).

Mandatory Desegregation Plans are Most Successful at Ending Segregation.

- A study of 20 school districts found that mandatory desegregation was more likely to reduce segregation and encourage racial balance. Fife, B., *Desegregation in American Schools: Comparative Intervention Strategies*, (1992))

OTHER EFFECTS OF RACIAL SEGREGATION AND CONCENTRATED POVERTY

In neighborhoods afflicted with a concentration of poverty, families "have to cope not only with their own poverty, but also with the social isolation and economic depreciation of the hundreds, if not thousands, of other families who live near them. This spatial concentration of poor people acts to magnify poverty and exacerbate its effects." (Jargowsky, 1997)

Racial segregation and concentrated poverty encourage the disinvestment of business and industry from poor communities of color and isolate these communities from employment opportunities.

- “The Met Council estimates that 296,274 jobs will be created in the metro area in the next 15 years. Two-thirds of these jobs (195,540) will be located in the suburbs ... from 45 to 48 percent will be in low paying industries [i.e. the type of job sought by central city residents with low skill/education levels]” (Livable Communities Task Force).
- “More than 67,000 units of housing for people earning less than \$22,000 will need to be created in suburban communities over the next fifteen years if all of the people working in these new jobs in low-paying industries in the suburbs sought housing within suburban communities.” (Livable Communities Task Force).

Racial Segregation and Concentrated Poverty are two of the primary causes of high violent crime rates in poor communities of color. (Douglas S. Massey, *Getting Away with Murder: Segregation and Violent Crime in Urban America*, 143 U. Penn. L. Rev. 1203).

Crime in the Twin Cities is disproportionately concentrated in poor central neighborhoods that tend to have high minority populations.

- Overall crime rates for Minneapolis and St. Paul are two to three times higher than suburban crime rates. (Metropolitan Council, *Trouble at the Core* (1992)).
- Within Minneapolis and St. Paul, crime is disproportionately concentrated in poor neighborhoods. (Myron Orfield, *METROPOLITICS* (1997)).