Joint Center for Housing Studies
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The Vicious Cycle: Segregated Housing, Schools and Intergenerational Inequality

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August 2006
W06-4

Prepared by the Civil Rights Project of Harvard University

Introduction

Metropolitan Boston, one of the nation's largest urban areas, is in the midst of sweeping transformations. It is growing slowly in population but is sprawling ever further from its historic core[1], mostly with very low density housing in one of the nation's most expensive markets[2]. Whites[3] are aging, having smaller families, and moving away from the city and the metro area in significant numbers. For the first time in its history, the region's future is strongly tied to nonwhites, many of them immigrants. But as the population changes, segregation and deeply rooted inequalities persist and may even be deepening, and we lack public policies to address the challenges of social transformation.

This study is about the way in which housing shapes opportunity and equity in metro Boston, especially through the schools, as the area is transformed by demography and by streams of migration into and among its sub-regions. The study goes further to sketch a template for analyzing the role of housing in creating opportunity in public schools—a central institution of our great urban areas. This template is not based on any suggestion that metro Boston is a typical or representative urban community—it is distinctive in a number of ways—but that the processes and cycles so strongly apparent here deserve the closest attention elsewhere. Much of American knowledge and policy about cities is based on work in a handful of great cities. Research often only considers conditions in the central city or even in particular neighborhoods, or it focuses on housing without considering its relationship to socialization and education of children or the changing multiracial context of the nation and its metros. This study focuses on the metropolitan area as the only reasonable unit of analysis of broad social trends in a predominantly suburban, overwhelmingly metropolitan society in which residential segregation of minorities is a basic structural reality.

As a region that emerged from the collapse of old industries with a major expansion of high tech in the l980s, metro Boston's future is increasingly linked to its education system and to the success of that system in preparing the far more diverse future workforce. There is disturbing evidence, however, that minority young people are not making the connections they

[1] Fulton, William, Pendall, Rolf, Nguyen, Mai and Harrison, Alicia, "Who Sprawls Most? How Growth Patterns Differ Across the U.S.", Washington: Brookings Institute Survey Series, July 2001, http://www.brook.edu/es/urban/publications/fulton.pdf

[2] Heudorfer, Bonnie and Bluestone, Barry, The Greater Boston Housing Report Card 2004: An Assessment of Progress on Housing in the Greater Boston Area, Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University, September, 2005, http://www.curp.neu.edu/pdfs/Housing%20Report%20Card%202004.pdf

[3] Unless otherwise noted, the term "whites" refers to "non-Hispanic whites."

need and that the policies being implemented are not working to accomplish this goal. The metro area, now dominated by its outer suburban ring, contains vast resources and some of the country's finest public school and college opportunities, but they are very unequally distributed by location, race and ethnicity. The politics of a very fragmented area with a small central city have not been favorable for recognizing or addressing those inequalities.

The Boston metro area is a very successful community in many respects. It has transformed itself into a leading center of technology, and it has long been a great center of higher education. It has survived the dramatic loss of industry and industrial jobs with an explosion of well-paying jobs in finance, technology, bio-tech and other sectors. Its housing is among the nation's most valuable, and a vast amount of wealth has been created. Massachusetts is among the nation's leaders in educational achievement. Like many of the largest metros, it is a major immigration destination and is experiencing rapid increases in diversity.

The Boston region has distinctive qualities. It is one of the whitest and most slowly growing metropolitan areas. Its racial diversity came much later than many areas, and its minority leadership is much less powerful. Its central city has a very small proportion of the metro population (only one-ninth, far less than most large cities) and is experiencing more gentrification than many other central cities. The city and many of its "suburbs" actually began centuries ago as independent small towns and villages. Many of the communities in the inner part of the metro were incorporated a century or more before the United States was created, so the nature and intensity of localism has extremely deep roots. The state has a larger share of private schools and a much larger share of private universities than the national average. In terms of national politics, the state is far more liberal than the norm, with a Congressional delegation in 2005 that is all Democratic. The region's racial history and policy has been distinctly mixed. Boston was a great center of the abolitionist movement. The state passed pioneering civil rights laws, such as the 1965 Racial Imbalance Act and a law against "snob zoning" by suburban towns. But the implementation of school desegregation in Boston in 1974 was probably the most contentious and unsuccessful urban case in the nation. At the same time, some other communities bordering Boston have been exemplars of community success in integration.

It is doubtless true that all major urban centers have strikingly distinctive features. What are important for the broader implications drawn from this study are not those special

characteristics but the nature of the self-perpetuating cycle of inequality, with housing and education at the center. The cycle is far from unique in Boston, and some of the key elements, such as residential and educational segregation, are actually more severe in other locations. This study suggests possible ways of examining these relationships and considering whether or not various differences in demography, governmental structure, and policy may or may not alter the cycle.

Thinking about Housing Inequality

Housing is much more than a commodity, an investment, or an industry, though it is clearly each of those. It is a massive and central part of the American economy and a huge influence on the economic situation of families. But, beyond that, housing determines a family's location, and because of that, housing is the fulcrum of opportunity, linked to many factors critical to success of adults and children in American society. The story of family mobility in American society is about finding a good place to live and moving, over time, into more and more desirable communities and schools. This is basic to the American dream and a policy goal that is supported by massive tax subsidies and other policies that have helped make the U.S. a country where the large majority of white people own their own homes, homes that have deeply shaped the lives of many millions of middle class families.

The locational consequences for families are so obvious that most white Americans with children do not even think of looking and are rarely shown housing in communities that do not offer largely white middle class schools and connections with other families they see as peers. Black and Latino families, even those with money to buy in a very expensive market, have a fundamentally different experience. The inequality of outcomes seems normal to the majority society because it appears to be based very largely on economic success, which is seen as the product of hard work and effective competition—fundamental values in an individualistic market economy. Most blacks and Latinos see it differently, and recent research has produced considerable evidence supporting their views.

This study argues that the housing market is flawed in many fundamental ways that tend to perpetuate or even deepen intergenerational inequality. Recent data from metro Boston show that it is usually not possible for even those blacks and Latinos who succeed economically in spite of segregated and inferior schooling and discrimination in the labor markets, to obtain the

same kinds of housing-linked opportunities as whites. If this is true, it means that, independent of individual work and success, there are serious differences in opportunity to acquire housing wealth, healthy and safe environments, positive peer groups for children, good local health care, convenient access to areas of greatest job growth, high quality public services, networks to jobs and college, and many other forms of opportunity. This study argues that the most profound of these inequalities, because of forces and policies that produce much more segregation for the young, is severe location-based inequality of educational opportunity. This dynamic is a devastating threat in a society in which acquisition of equal or better education is one of the only ways to achieve more equal outcomes in an economy where employment and earnings are more and more tightly linked to educational attainment in the post-industrial era.

The overall pattern of segregation by residence is serious, but the consequences are intensified considerably for young people. White families with children live in more segregated communities than whites in general, and the public schools—where the vast majority of nonwhites attend—are even more segregated than the residential patterns of the school age population would suggest. Private and charter schools are more segregated still. School segregation is not just by race but almost always by poverty as well for black and Latino schools. For new immigrants from disadvantaged backgrounds, there is often segregation by ethnicity, by poverty, by location, and by language. The segregation is linked to systemic inequalities in all of the aspects of education most powerful in determining future prospects—qualifications of teachers, preparation of peers, power of communities, range and quality of curriculum, and connections and networks with higher education and employment. High poverty schools face challenges of student health, extreme instability of the student population, low parent education, language issues, and negative neighborhood influences that are often overwhelming.

This syndrome of separation and inequality is very often fatal to the educational prospects of these students. Despite the force of this pattern, the courts and school authorities have been dismantling or threatening much of the modest school desegregation that moved children across the color lines to schools with greater opportunity. They are also strongly subsidizing systems of charter schools that are even more segregated than the public schools. The Massachusetts Supreme Court rejected efforts to equalize fiscal resources in 2005.

The system is, of course, built on the interaction of housing segregation and school district boundary lines. In the absence of effective school desegregation policies, location is

destiny, and segregated housing for families, reinforced by differential use of private schools, produces education that is starkly polarized.

At its worst, housing becomes the fulcrum of a vicious cycle for many nonwhite families. Even those with higher incomes end up in a place where their children get less prepared, face a regime of increasingly demanding tests, and encounter forbidding costs of college-- the other central part of the contemporary American dream. Some researchers claim that these children also face social pressure against academic achievement. These children do not obtain the intellectual and social capital and the networks necessary to compete fairly, and they often end up with education and employment that do not adequately support their families or secure housing in a location that will protect and nurture their future. This is a syndrome of self-perpetuating racial and ethnic inequality.

Background

Metro Boston, and other great American urban centers of the early 21st century are facing challenges that test their social, political, and economic institutions. The nation's institutions were framed at a time of self-sufficient farmers in a 95 percent rural society, but today, four of every five Americans live in metropolitan areas[4]. The nation was founded and grew for generations as a society of villages and small cities, a society dominated almost completely by white Protestant men. Boston was a center of the creation of a new nation two and a half centuries after it was founded by the Pilgrims. The revolution that made the colonies a nation grew out of a strategy of defiance of British policy framed in meetings in Boston's Old South Church, and the "shot heard round the world" that began the war of independence took place after the British marched out to the village of Lexington, Massachusetts.

Two hundred and thirty years later, metropolitan Boston has become one of the nation's largest urban settlements, a world city. Lexington is an elite suburb surrounded by layer after layer of outer suburbs. Walden Pond, Plymouth and old Salem are well within the suburban ring. Massachusetts has absorbed huge waves of immigration from Ireland, Italy, and elsewhere that have become part of the mainstream of a state that greatly feared them. But now, Massachusetts' limited population growth comes from international immigration that is heavily Latino and

[4] U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, March 2002, Racial Statistics Branch, Population Division, Population by Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Residence, Sex, and Race and Hispanic Origin: March 2002, http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/race/black/ppl-164/tab21.txt

Asian. The increasingly diverse metropolitan society is characterized by profound racial and economic divisions and, in many ways, is trying to cope with current divisions through institutions that were established to meet vastly different needs in the distant past.

The forces changing metro Boston are reflected most clearly in the outward march of housing and employment, as large expanses of farmland and forest give way to new suburbs even though overall population growth is slow. Urbanized land area is expanding seven times as rapidly as the population in metro Boston.[5] Though many communities were organized hundreds of years ago, a substantial share of the region's housing units and even neighborhoods have been created from raw land in the last generation, and these new or rapidly growing communities, some of them rich with jobs and strong educational opportunities, have been marketed almost entirely to white buyers. At its center, metro Boston is a walking and horse-drawn carriage city of the 18th and 19th centuries, a city with European density and appearance. Further out, within the inner beltway, it is a strange combination of some of the nation's oldest small industrial cities (satellite cities) surrounded by early middle class "streetcar suburbs" and more typical post-World War II subdivisions. At its rapidly expanding periphery there is suburban sprawl in communities that could be in suburbs of New Jersey or Chicago or California. In fact the new suburbs are being built at a much lower density than California's. The look and the shopping centers and the social structure of life built around younger families with children is much the same. Although people across this vast area tell outsiders that they are from Boston, these are fundamentally different kinds of communities linked by some webs of interdependency, but profoundly separated on many dimensions of social life, economics, and governance. The separation is especially severe for the young in the most important public institution shaping their future, the public schools.

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[5] Fulton, Pendall, Nguyen and Harrison, Al , 2001, Appendix B, p. 28.
Orfield, Myron, Luce, Thomas and Oleson, Benjamin, "Boston Metropatterns: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability in Greater Boston," Metropolitan Area Research Corporation, Minneapolis, MN, October, 2001, http://www.metroresearch.org/maps/region_maps/boston.pdf
The Brookings study used the National Resources Inventory National Survey of Land Use as a source and covered a five county area of Eastern MA. It shows population growth in Metro Boston 1982-1997 of 6.7% and growth of urbanized land of 46.9%. Myron Orfield's report "Boston Metropatterns" used Census Bureau data as a source and covered a 162 community area in Eastern MA. It concluded: "Between 1970 and 1990, greater Boston's urbanized land area grew by 34 percent and population grew by only 5 percent--a ratio of nearly 7 to 1." Both ratios are about 7 to 1 over the 27-year period.

Metro Boston: Its Housing and Its People

The seven counties[6] that make up the vast urbanized Metro Boston area in Eastern Massachusetts were home to 5,290,000 residents in 2000. For the purposes of this study, the metropolitan area is divided into five regions: City of Boston, inner satellite cities, outer satellite cities, inner suburbs, and outer suburbs.

Satellite cities are those areas defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget as "central cities" as of 1999, plus other cities with population densities over 10,000 people per square mile. "Inner" satellite cities include Brockton, Cambridge, Chelsea, Everett, Lynn, Malden, Somerville, Gloucester, and Waltham.[7] "Outer" satellite cities include Worcester, Leominster, Attleboro, Fall River, Fitchburg, Lawrence, Leominster, Lowell, and New Bedford. These cities were established centuries ago and have a rich historical past. Lawrence and Lowell, for example, were some of America's first industrial cities, located at the fall line of rivers, where water power could drive mills and machines. Cambridge and Somerville were some of the most densely populated urban communities in the nation at the turn of the twentieth century, manufacturing everything from Model T's to leading brands of candies. Brockton was the great center of shoe making, and Gloucester and New Bedford were important fishing ports. All of these are now well within the expanding boundary of suburbanization.

Metro Boston satellite cities tend to have substantial rental and multifamily housing and a wide range of housing types and prices. A number of these communities had old and long-standing small minority settlements that became magnets for later population growth. These networks and the presence of minority institutions and affordable housing created favorable conditions for the development of diverse populations. Subsidized housing is heavily concentrated in the inner core of the metro, including Boston and several of the satellite cities.[8] Very few other communities have met the state goal of having one-tenth of their units affordable.

Inner suburbs are those non-city areas that lie roughly within the Route 128 inner beltway, excluding the City of Boston and designated inner satellite cities.

Outer suburbs are those huge non-city areas that lie roughly outside of Route 128.

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[6] In this study, Metro Boston is defined as the Massachusetts portion of the Boston New England County Metropolitan Area (NECMA,) including the following counties: Bristol, Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Plymouth, Suffolk, and Worcester.

[7] Central cities that lie within Route 495 are considered inner satellite cities; those that lie without, outer satellite cities.

[8] Massachusetts Dept. of Housing and Community Development Data reported in Metropolitan Area Planning Council, *A Decade of Change: Growth Trends in the Greater Boston Area—1990 to 2000*, pp. 60-61.

Metro Boston Decentralization

The decentralization of metro Boston is evident by examining the share of the housing stock located in each sub-region over time. Just after the beginning of post-World War II suburbanization in 1950, the City of Boston had only 19 percent of the metro area housing stock, and the satellite cities contained a substantially larger share (32 percent.) During the next half century, the vast majority of the net growth occurred in the outer suburbs. Between 1970 and 2000, the City of Boston added a net of only 19,000 units and had only one-eighth of the housing units in the metro by 2000. The inner suburbs saw very little change during this period, having been largely built out earlier. The satellite cities gained 82,000 units but saw their share of the metro total decline to about a fourth. Over the same period, the outer suburbs added 398,000 units, and by 2000 they had more than four times as many units as the City. While the outer suburbs clearly dominated, their growth rate was a relatively modest 60.2 percent in three decades, far less than outer suburbia in more rapidly growing regions of the country. Still, the growth alone in the outer suburbs was much bigger than the total housing stock located in the City.[9] This pattern of decentralization can be seen clearly by examining the share of each municipality's housing stock that has been built since 1970 (**see Table 1--map.**) Less than a quarter of the stock in Boston, the inner suburbs and the satellite cities was built since 1970. In contrast, over half of the stock in many of the outlying suburbs was built in the past three decades.

One of the problems of urban analysis is that the media and political powers tend to concentrate first on cities and then on the suburbs as an entity, as "suburbia", the term invented by Boston urban planner Robert Wood in his classic book of that name.[10] By the time suburbia was recognized, the concept was already a distortion. The reality was not the endless homogeneous large scale tract housing created in the Levittown developments but a messy mix of older urban core cities, built out pre-automobile suburbs, the world class technology industry exploding around the region's inner beltway, Route 128, the predecessor of the Silicon Valley as the great center of the computer revolution, and garden variety post-war suburbs.[11]

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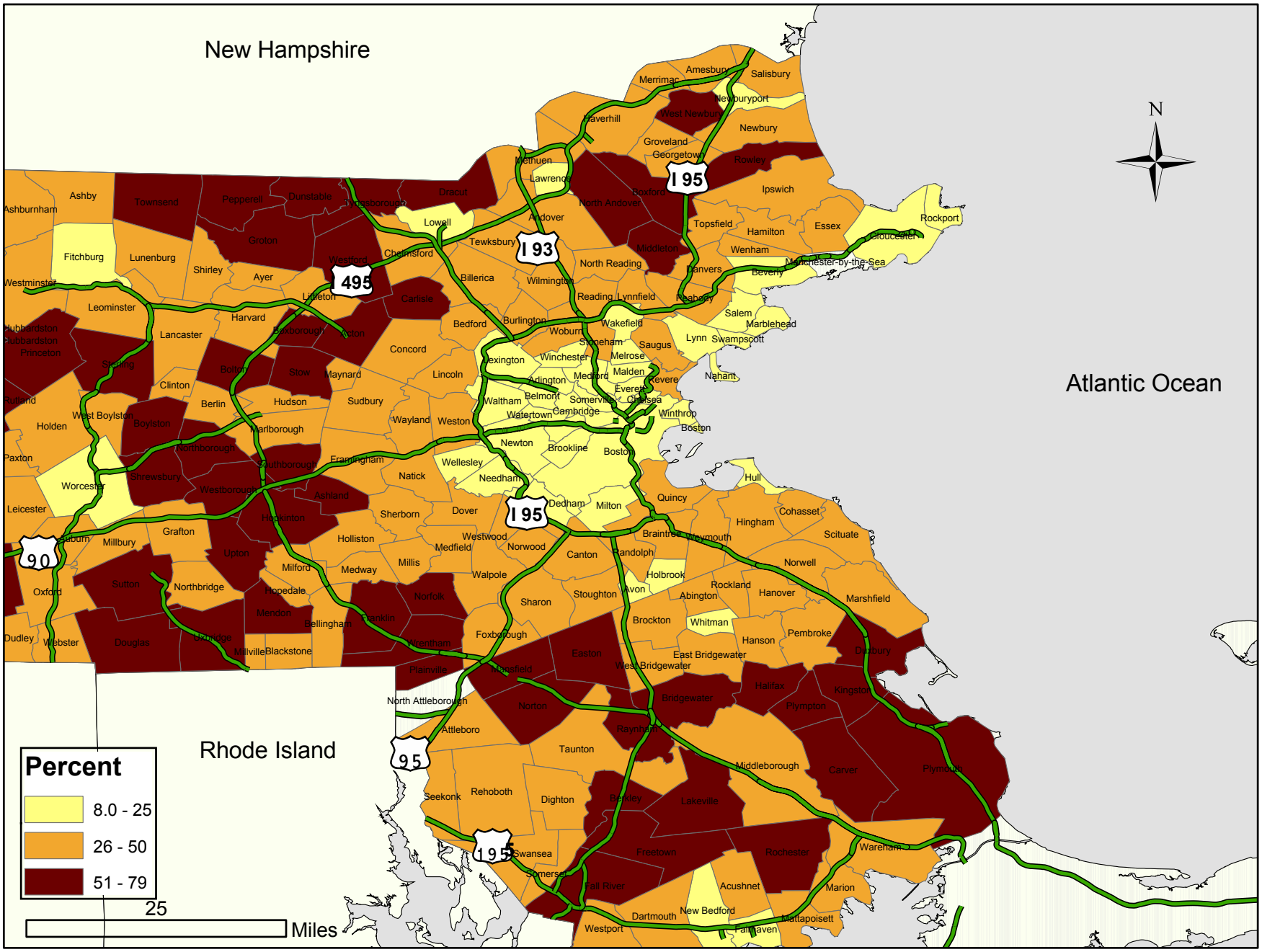
[9] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Decennial Censuses of Housing, 1950 to 2000.

[10] Wood, Robert C., *Suburbia: Its People and their Politics*, Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1958.

[11] Saxenian, *Regional Advantage: Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128*, Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1994. Saxenian argues that metro Boston lost its strong initial advantage as the center of computing technology because of regional traditionalism and fragmentation caused by corporate rigidity and a failure to create a flexible culture of continuous innovation. This study raises some similar issues about the region.

Share of Housing Units Built Since 1970 (Percent)



Source: 2000 Census, Summary File 3.

Table 1

Metro Boston's housing expansion could have been accommodated in a far more compact geographic area had housing built after mid-century been anything like the housing built earlier. A 2005 study for the Massachusetts Housing Partnership found that, if the outer suburbs had lot sizes at the national average, the region's very high housing prices would fall by more than a fourth.[12] Instead, development of housing, land use regulations, and marketing practices resulted in a compact older area with viable mass transit and a true urban culture being engulfed in sprawl that has much lower density than even the often ridiculed pattern of Los Angeles. A recent study suggests that markets that are fragmented into many independent municipalities are more likely to sprawl, particularly if, as in Boston's suburbs, their schools are financed primarily from local property taxes.[13] This is, no doubt, a reflection of strategies of local land use control that try to maximize the amount of tax revenue per house and minimize the ratio of children to tax revenue in order to lower the burden of school costs which are largely financed by local property taxes. One recent study in the Boston area suggested that only houses valued over $550,000 produce enough revenue to pay for educating their children.[14] Needless to say, such considerations work very powerfully against permitting construction of rental housing units with enough bedrooms for children, particularly subsidized housing. In educational terms, of course, the result of such land use is the creation of schools where almost all of the children are affluent and have highly educated parents, districts where the low density means almost all children require transportation to school, but where mass transit for workers from outside is not viable.

One part of the cycle of inequality comes from the way that residential sorting—resulting from land use controls—creates some schools where almost all students have substantial resources and supplemental educational experiences. Such schools post very high average test scores, since those scores are very strongly linked to family socio-economic status, parent education level, and peer group influences. Those scores are then strongly marketed in the real estate industry and by communities as proof of education quality—for example, in annual lists published by the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Magazine*, as well as being featured on many

[12] "Less Land Cuts Home Prices, Study Finds," *Boston Globe*, Nov. 8, 2005.
Moscovitch, Edward, "Open Space, Housing Construction, and Home Prices: What's the Payoff from Smart Growth?" September, 2005. http://www.mhp.net/termsheets/cape_ann_report.pdf
[13] Fulton, Pendall, Nguyen and Harrison, July 2001.
[14] Carman, Ted, Bluestone, Barry and White, Eleanor, "Chapter 40R School Cost Analysis and Proposed Smart Growth School Cost Insurance Supplement," Commonwealth Housing Task Force, May 14, 2005, http://www.curp.neu.edu/pdfs/SchoolsHousingFINALrev.pdf

websites. That reputation, in turn, creates housing demand and can be capitalized into higher prices for otherwise identical homes. Those rising prices create additional wealth for the families who own homes there and additional stratification for those who move in, which continues to feed the syndrome. Professor Amy Stuart Wells of Teacher's College at Columbia has reported that her project's in-depth interviews of families show a tendency of school test scores to influence whites to move away from integrated neighborhoods into more distant, whiter suburbs, since most people interpret the scores as a measure of school quality not of social class composition.[15] Unfortunately, the simplistic presentation of these scores obscures the fact that middle class test scores are unchanged and there are many other gains in diverse schools.

Racial Change

Metro Boston was an overwhelmingly white region until the recent past, a place where diversity tended to be talked about in terms of nationality and where the relatively small black and Latino populations were clustered in just a few areas. During the 1950-1970 period the metro was 96 to 98 percent white with less than one black in thirty and virtually insignificant Asian and Hispanic populations. Although the city of Boston had a much higher share of black residents, it was just one-sixth black in 1970, four years before the school desegregation conflict.

Table 2[16]

Racial/Ethnic Composition of Metro Boston: 1950-2000 (Percent)

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1950	98.3	1.6	0.1	NA
1970	96.3	3.2	0.4	1.1
1990	87.5	5.3	2.6	4.7
2000	81.3	7.2	4.6	6.6

Source: Decennial Censuses of Population, 1950-2000.

[15] Wells, Amy Stuart and Holme, Jennifer Jellison, "No Accountability for Diversity: Standardized Tests and the Demise of Racially Mixed Schools" in *School Resegregation: Must the South Turn Back?* edited by John Boger & Gary Orfield, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

[16] Race classification was by observation in 1950; self-identified thereafter. "Asian" includes Japanese and Chinese in 1950; Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino in 1960 and 1970 and all Asians in 1980-2000. "Hispanic" refers to "persons of Spanish language" in 1970 and is not mutually exclusive with race categories. In 1980-2000 people self identified as being of Hispanic origin. In 1980-2000, "whites", "blacks", and "Asians" refer only to the non-Hispanic members of those groups.

The Boston metro grew by only 5.8 percent during the l990s and even more slowly since 2000. The metro area would have actually declined in population without the contribution of nonwhite immigrants with higher birth rates. As the metro increased by 288,000 residents overall between 1990 and 2000, whites declined by 42,000, and the metro went from 87 percent to 81 percent non-Latino white. Latinos, now the largest minority group, increased by 49 percent, blacks grew by 33 percent and Asians soared 89 percent from a small base. The city of Boston became majority non-white for the first time. A number of inner suburban and satellite cities also lost substantial numbers of whites.[17]

Over the 2000-2004 period, the region had one of the highest domestic net outmigrations, losing a net of 174,000 people and only posting any positive growth because 126,000 immigrants were added to a small natural increase.[18]

As the Baby Boom generation reaches retirement and the population ages, the urgency of developing and using the talents of the changing population of greater Boston is underlined by the coming change in the labor force supply. Projections of public high school enrollment in Massachusetts suggest a peak in the 2005 and 2006 school years at about 298,000 and then a decline of 34,000 to a level of 264,000 by 2014, a decline of more than a tenth.[19] In the third of a century from 1970 to 2002 the share of greater Boston's births to immigrant families surged from 9 percent to 24 percent of the total. Between l990 and 2002 alone, the increase was from l8 percent to 24 percent, and more than one in twenty children (5.4 percent) had parents who were undocumented.[20] These immigrants were not coming from the traditional European destinations, but from places like the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and many parts of Asia. The combination of fewer graduates, jobs that require more education, and a growing share of the population coming from groups that have traditionally had limited success in school produces an urgent economic and social challenge. We face this challenge in a particularly acute form in the Boston area because of its highly advanced technology, education, and finance sectors and its slow population growth.

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[17] Tabulations of the 1990 and 2000 Decennial Censuses redistricting files.
[18] U.S. Census Bureau, Cumulative Estimates of the Components of Population Change for Counties of Massachusetts: April 1, 2000 to July 1, 2004 (CO-EST2004-04-25), http://www.census.gov/popest/counties/CO-EST2004-04.html
[19] Hussar, W.J., *Projections of Education Statistics to 2014* (NCES 2005-074), Washington: Government Printing Office, 2005, table 8, pp. 54-55.
[20] Camarota, Steven A., "Births to Immigrants in America, 1970 to 2002," Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, July 2005, pp. 25-26.

Segregation Patterns

There are a great many discussions about the housing crisis of supply and cost in the metro Boston region[21] but very little serious policy debate about segregation and its consequences. This study argues that debates about housing policy that focus only on supply and price and ignore residential location's central role as the fulcrum of opportunity badly miss the point. The reality of piling multiple layers of subsidies to develop new low cost housing in areas where the result will be to concentrate still more very poor young people in segregated and impoverished schools that have been failures for decades shows the cost of separating debates about housing from those of other essential dimensions of opportunity. Families desperately need housing, but if the housing is not connected to safety, education, socialization into middle class networks, and job opportunities, it will be limiting. For minorities and disadvantaged families with children the locational impact of housing is at least as important as the physical features.

Considering housing merely in terms of structural attributes or even hopeful ways to improve neighborhoods often obscures consequences for children. If new housing connects them to networks of failure and deeply inadequate schools with negative peer groups and exposure to violence, it may be seriously destructive. At a time when a rapidly growing share of young people in the metro area are from groups that have typically not had the benefits of housing located in viable communities, these issues become much more important for the overall community. The consequences of failure will become much worse. Decisions about subsidized housing should include a serious assessment of educational opportunities for the children forced by poverty to live there.

Segregation is measured in several ways, but one of the most common is the segregation or dissimilarity index that measures the degree to which a population is distributed randomly across space by race (full integration) or the degree to which each geographic area is dominated by a particular racial or ethnic group (segregation.) On this scale zero equals a random nonracial distribution by race and l00 equals absolute apartheid, in which each geographic area is inhabited completely by one group. On this dimension, in metro Boston, 66 percent of blacks would have had to move to achieve full integration with whites in l990. This number fell slightly to 63 percent in 2000. For Latinos, who became the largest minority in the region during the decade,

[21] Weismann, Gretchen, "More than Shelter: Housing the People of Greater Boston," in Charles Euchner, ed., *Governing Greater Boston: The Politics and Policy of Place*, Cambridge, Rapport Institute for Greater Boston, 2002, pp. 143-180.

the percent that would have to move to achieve full integration increased from 58 percent to 60 percent, nearly the same as the black level.[22] These high levels of segregation existed in spite of a substantial movement of blacks and Latinos into the suburban ring and gentrification occurring in parts of Boston and some satellite cities. In spite of hundreds of thousands of housing transactions in the l990s, there was little progress on desegregation.

An analysis of home sales from 1993 to 1998 by Dr. Guy Stuart of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government showed that the number of black and Latino homeowners increased rapidly in the housing boom of the l990s. Furthermore, most of the increase was outside of the city of Boston. However, almost half of the black and Latino purchasers were buying homes in just seven of 126 communities in the metro.[23] Most of these communities were not even suburbs in the true sense but satellite cities with relatively weak school systems and considerable segregation. Forty percent of black and 60 percent of Latino homebuyers were purchasing homes outside of Boston during this period. Ninety percent of whites were also buying outside the city but in very different places. Stuart concluded that, although homeownership was increasing for minorities, "There is a danger that the benefits of such ownership may not accrue to them."[24] In 94 other cities and towns, the black and Latino buyers together made up less than 2 percent of the sales during this period. The seven communities where blacks and Latinos made up more than a tenth of the buyers in the mid-1990s were all satellite cities, except for Milton, rather than traditional suburbs, and none was in the higher job growth outer suburbs. Milton was adjacent to a satellite city. One of the observations from the Stuart study that holds possible promise for the future is the dramatic housing turnover that occurs in just six years in an older metro. In a society where the average family moves every six years, and families with young children move more often, a real change in housing market opportunities could generate large social and educational changes.

Causes of Housing Segregation in Metro Boston

Despite substantial research covering different time periods in different localities, many people still attribute residential segregation to differences in income or preferences and then

[22] Calculations based on the 1990 and 2000 Decennial Censuses by census tract.
[23] Stuart used the Boston Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area, an area smaller than that used in other parts of this study, with a l990 population of 3.22 million, of which 18 percent lived in the City of Boston.
[24] Stuart, Guy, "Segregation in the Boston Metropolitan Area at the End of the 20th Century," Cambridge: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, 2000, executive summary, pp. 1-2.

dismiss it as the natural outcome of market forces. In fact, although there are important differences in preferences and income between racial groups, neither can explain much of the segregation. Instead, segregation appears to reflect a series of "market imperfections" that are so fundamental that housing only vaguely resembles a true market for metro African American and Latino families.

The Role of Income

Massey and Denton, in their classic *American Apartheid*, concluded after the 1990 Census, "The residential segregation of African Americans cannot be attributed in any meaningful way to the socioeconomic disadvantages they experience, however serious they may be."[25] The situation for metro Boston blacks confirms their findings: segregation measures remain high between blacks and whites whether we examine those households with incomes below $30,000 or those over $100,000. Even when we examine segregation rates between blacks of certain incomes and whites overall (not necessarily whites in the same income group as blacks), rising incomes bring only moderate decreases in segregation for blacks. Asians have lower segregation rates overall, and these do decline as income rises. Massey and Denton found that, unlike blacks, segregation of Hispanics and Asians in America in 1990 fell as socio-economic status rose. But, Hispanics in metro Boston in 2000 faced a situation of rising segregation that is closer to the black experience. Though slightly less segregated than blacks overall, rising incomes for Hispanics seem to make no difference in decreasing their isolation from whites. Given that no other ethnic group had ever experienced segregation on the black level and that the intergenerational consequences for blacks had been enormous, this trend deserves the closest attention.

Segregation partially reflects the distinct city/suburb split between whites and blacks/Hispanics, even among those of higher incomes. Upper-income blacks are much more likely to reside in the City of Boston than are upper-income whites. Forty percent of metro Boston black households with incomes over $100,000 in 1999 lived in the City of Boston, versus just 7 percent of upper-income white households. Yet, even within the City, higher incomes did

[25] Massey, Douglas and Denton, Nancy A., *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 88.

not bring more integration for blacks. In fact, lower income households were actually more integrated, possibly reflecting progress in the desegregation of subsidized housing.

Additional analysis, using estimates of the amount that metro Boston homebuyers of different races paid for their homes, the spatial location of homes selling in those price ranges, and the spatial location of where homebuyers of different races actually bought homes also confirmed that segregation goes far beyond affordability. Harris and McArdle used information on mortgage loan amounts from the 1999-2001 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act datasets to predict the spatial distribution of recent homebuyers by race and the mortgage amount borrowed.[26] The mortgage amount, of course, was not the only factor in determining where buyers could purchase. Acknowledging that buyers of color who borrow the same mortgage amounts as whites may still be purchasing less expensive homes because of their inability to afford the same down payments, the analysis checked various loan-to-value ratios to assess the impact of differing down payment levels. While African-American and Latino homebuyers do face greater affordability constraints, affordability cannot explain existing levels of segregation. In fact, those, African Americans and Latinos who could afford to buy in a wide range of outer suburban communities, are concentrating in Boston, certain satellite cities and a few inner suburbs, often the same places experiencing the largest declines in white homeowners. At the same time, in eighty percent of the metro's cities and towns, African-American and Latino homebuyers are purchasing at less than half the rate that we would expect based on affordability alone. Money matters in explaining Boston's residential patterns, but race is much more important.

The Role of Preferences

Research on attitudes of black and Latino residents shows extremely little preference for living in segregated minority neighborhoods. Strong majorities favor integrated communities, but there is also significant reluctance, particularly among blacks, to be pioneers into all-white areas. Most blacks and Latinos believe that minorities experience discrimination in housing markets. Both national and local evidence indicates that this is true. A recent study of both survey and Census data from metro Boston, Detroit, Atlanta and Los Angeles found a pattern in

[26] Harris, David J. and McArdle, Nancy, "More than Money: The Spatial Mismatch Between Where Homeowners of Color in Metro Boston Can Afford to Live and Where They Actually Reside," The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, 2004, http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/metro/residential_choice.php

which middle class blacks who prefer to live in integrated neighborhoods end up in much blacker and less privileged neighborhoods than do whites with the same education and income and who also state a preference for integrated neighborhoods. This research showed that even "when controlling for the residential preferences of blacks, on average, they are still forced to buy homes in racially isolated neighborhoods."[27] Highly qualified blacks preferring integrated communities ended up living in neighborhoods that were 30 percent white, on average, compared to similar whites who ended up in neighborhoods that were, on average, 85 percent white.[28] Thirty percent white neighborhoods, of course, are often not stably integrated but in the midst of resegregation.

Dynamics of the Housing "Market"

The white public often dismisses claims of housing discrimination and demands for civil rights initiatives because they believe that their ability to buy in certain neighborhoods is due purely to the resources they've accrued through hard work and that others are free to do the same. Most economic analysis of housing choice simply postulates a market and then treats the outcomes as products of market choices.

The housing market has some of the characteristics economists look for in a perfect market—there are many suppliers, the market has been very successful in drawing investment and producing units even faster than population growth, there are millions of transactions each year in a very mobile society, and a great many participants have been able to gain both opportunities and wealth though home ownership. A huge supply of housing has been created in the last half century, and whole new massive communities have emerged even in the older slow-growth metros of the Northeast—all signs of a vibrant market.

The ideal of a market as a fair and efficient distributor of goods and services (and the opportunities attached to them) assumes certain fundamentals. The market must be free for sellers and buyers to enter, rising demand which raises prices must be allowed to increase supply, there must be adequate information about what is being offered, sellers must treat all potential buyers equally, decisions about sales must rest on purely financial terms. In other words the true market gets its efficiency from eliminating irrelevant aspects of transactions and

[27] Adelman, Robert M., "The Roles of Race, Class, and Residential Preferences in the Neighborhood Racial Composition of Middle-Class Blacks and Whites," *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 86, no. 1, March 2005, p. 221.
[28] Ibid., pp. 209, 224.

reducing the outcomes to a payment of money. Adam Smith, the founder of modern economics, wrote: "Give me what I want, and you shall have this which you want, is the meaning of every such offer; and it is the manner that we obtain from one another the far greater part of those good offices which we stand in need of."[29]

Once having defined the characteristics of a true market, it is easy to specify what flaws caused by exclusion or discrimination might look like. What if buyers were not free to enter? What if sellers were forbidden by local policies to produce some very desirable and needed and highly profitable products? What if some buyers were denied information for reasons that had nothing to do with their ability to buy? What if some groups of sellers were denied the opportunity to sell things in most of the market? What if people were afraid of intimidation and threats if they bought something? What if financial institutions would not back investments by some groups of buyers on non-financial grounds? What if sellers refused to sell or intentionally limited information to some groups of buyers while others had special access and favorable treatment?

Our research suggests that the white public and the major leaders of the greater Boston area treat the outcomes of housing as the product of market forces, but that the market, which works well for whites and for at least a substantial segment of Asians is flawed on all of these major aspects for blacks and Latinos. Buyers are not shown the same goods, nonwhite sales agents are not hired in most parts of the market, information and networks are very unequal, producers are not allowed to produce the goods most in demand in many areas, government-subsidized housing which determines location for many poor people is built where the schools are weak and segregated, wealth accumulation is greater for those who can buy in the white market, and capital is often allocated differentially by race. These differences likely underlie findings in a 2005 survey of metro Boston in which 77 percent of blacks and 58 percent of Latinos said that there was white resistance to selling or renting housing to their group. Seventy-one percent of blacks and 64 percent of Latinos felt that there were problems of information about housing. Eight-five percent of blacks and 69 percent of Latinos spoke of fears that "they would not be welcome in a particular community." More than half of blacks and a third of

[29] Smith, Adam, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776.

Latinos said that members of their group miss out on good housing opportunities "very often" because of fear that they will not be welcome.[30]

There is, unfortunately, still both direct and indirect evidence of discrimination and unequal treatment in the metro Boston housing market. Minority home buyers are much more likely to be denied regular mortgage financing in the market. In fact, the sub prime share of loans made to upper-income blacks is more than twice as high as the sub prime share of loans made to low-income whites.[31] On the supply side, there are very few non-white brokers hired by real estate firms in the highly profitable suburban real estate market where the great bulk of sales take place.[32] In other words, minority families who search for housing with real estate sales agents of their own race are likely to be in the parts of the market where the schools are not strong and where their broker has no listings in outlying areas.

In 2004 and 2005, the Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston conducted two series of audit tests to determine the extent and nature of discrimination against minority home seekers in offices of large chain realtors in 14 cities and towns and "found a pattern of differences in treatment that disadvantaged homebuyers of color in 17 of the 36 matched paired tests." Well trained testers went into the same office asking about available housing. Comparison of the treatment of white and minority testers showed that "white homebuyers received greater access to agent services, viewed more homes, and received more listings than better qualified African American and Latino homebuyers working with the same real estate agency. Testers of color were told they must have mortgage pre-approval letters before making appointments to view homes while such requirements were not invoked or enforced with white testers. Testers of color were steered to other communities than those where they sought to live and to different communities than their white counterparts."[33] A second round of tests with both couples asking about the very same property found that whites "were given more information, were provided greater access to the realtors, and shown more homes in more towns. Realtors shared more

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[30] Louie, Josephine, *"We Don't Feel Welcome Here": African Americans and Hispanics in Metro Boston*, The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, April 2005, pp. 23-26.

[31] Campen, Jim, "The Color of Money in Greater Boston: Patterns of Mortgage Lending and Residential Segregation at the Beginning of the New Century," The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, January 2004, http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/metro/Campen.pdf

[32] Blacks receive less than a twentieth and Latinos less than a fifth of the jobs in suburban real estate in comparison with their proportion of the suburb's labor force. McArdle, Nancy, *Racial Equity and Opportunity in Metro Boston Job Markets*, The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, December 2004, p. 16.

[33] Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, "You Don't Know What You're Missing: Realtors Disadvantage African American, Latino Homebuyers," October 2005.

information with white homebuyers, noting when the sellers were motivated or had dropped the price. Realtors pursued white homebuyers via phone and email to become their buyer's agent, but made no such pursuit of more qualified buyers of color. Instead, testers of color were plied with more questions about their qualifications."[34] The differences in treatments were undetectable by the minority couples until they later found out how the whites were treated. Discrimination was both commonplace and well hidden. Local civil rights lawyer Nadine Cohen, of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights, commented: "Unfortunately, the results are in line with what we've see in studies from the 1980s on. Whites and Latinos are treated differently between 50 and 60 percent of the time."[35] If the recent tests reflect overall market conditions, any black or Latino home seeker making two housing inquiries could expect to be discriminated against in at least one.

The important conclusion of the analysis presented in this paper thus far is that the existing pattern of housing segregation and the current operations of the housing market are not basically the product of economics or preferences; thus the resulting segregation of education is not preferred and is involuntary. The rest of this paper will illustrate the way that segregation is concentrated and intensified in schools and the ways that segregated minority schools are clearly inferior, perpetuating the effect of discrimination into the next generation. The conclusion explores what the metro Boston experience suggests in the way of possible solutions.

The Broader Context and the Focus on Education

Housing segregation has many consequences, some of which have been studied and debated for decades, for example John Kain's "spatial mismatch" studies that showed the racially mismatched relationship between residence and the location of new jobs. This is strikingly clear in contemporary Boston, with almost three-fourths of the job growth going into outlying suburbs with few non-white residents.[36] The fact that middle class whites get housing that is more valuable in areas where their equities are multiplied and become the source of differential family wealth has long been studied by economists. Public health studies show that local access to high quality medical care in segregated minority areas is strikingly unequal, and there is evidence of

[34] Ibid.
[35] Miller, Yawu "Housing Testers Find Widespread Bias in Local Real Estate Market," *Bay State Banner*, October 6, 2005.
[36] McArdle, *Racial Equity and Opportunity in Metro Boston Job Markets, 2004*.

disproportionate exposure to lead and other toxins and high asthma incidence.[37] These relationships also include exposure to crime and violence[38], unequal local cultural activities, racially polarized politics and manipulation of electoral districts,[39] and many other aspects of life that affect development and opportunities. While it is impossible to deal with all of these issues, and the debates and complexities that surround them in a single paper, readers should keep in mind that the inequalities in education described here are only one central element in a many layered system of inequalities affecting black and Latino families in segregated communities.

The reasons why this paper will focus so strongly on education include the following: 1) schools are much more sharply linked to location by legal limits on where students can go to school, limits that do not exist in the housing and employment markets; 2) the intergenerational dimension is easiest to see in the educational system, whose basic purpose is to prepare the next generation; 3) education is an overwhelmingly public responsibility and there is a great deal of detailed data available by race and ethnicity; and 4) housing and community development policies and programs often ignore educational consequences of their actions and those may ultimately be the most important consequences of segregation for families. Thinking about segregation's consequences in the long run, a strong argument can be made that school inequality is both the most important impact and the one that can be most directly and immediately affected by public policy.

Education and Transmission of Location-Based Inequality

Education is the surest way to transmit class advantages between generations. That is why powerful and affluent families focus so intensely on access to the right schools and colleges. By the same token, inferior education and too little schooling are perhaps the largest threats to

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Boston Public Health Commission, "DataReport: A presentation and analysis of disparities in Boston," June, 2005. http://www.bphc.org/disparities

37Acevedo-Garcia, Dolores, "Future Directions in Residential Segregation and Health Research: A Multilevel Approach," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol 93, no. 2, February 2003.

Faber, Donald R. and Krieg, Eric J., 'Unequal Exposure to Ecological Hazards 2005: Environmental Injustices in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," October 12, 2005, http://www.ace-ej.org/EJReport05/Executive%20Summary%202005.pdf

[38] Brooks, Lisa E., Solomon, Amy L., Keegan, Sinead, Kohl, Rhiana, and Lahue, Lori, *Prisoner Reentry in Massachusetts*, Washington: Urban Institute, March 2005.

[39] A Federal District Court ruled in Feb. 2004 that the state legislature had violated the Voting Rights Act by creating a district with a 98 percent minority population, denying minority voters fair representation, (*Black Political Task Force v. Galvin)*, 300 F. Supp. 2d 291 (D. Mass. 2004). The ensuing scandal led to the resignation of the extremely powerful Speaker of the House, Thomas Finneran.

maintaining secure middle class status. Children need to complete high school to go to college and must have the tools to succeed in college. The likelihood of achieving all of these milestones is strongly related to housing segregation. More and more, the job market and middle class status are built around educational credentials, and the market is increasingly unforgiving.

One need only read the local press or the real estate ads or listen to the talk at any middle class white social occasion to know that white families think about these issues all the time and that they believe they can and do purchase access to superior schooling in their housing decisions. Magazines and newspapers are full of lists and tips about school quality, usually based on test scores.[40] Minority families also give extremely high importance to educational opportunity, but their children often end up in much weaker schools, even after controlling for their income. This is surely one of the powerful instruments of perpetuating intergenerational inequality. If a child has the same intelligence and desire but goes to a school with weaker and less experienced teachers teaching a more regimented and less challenging curriculum to classes that are less prepared, in schools with inexperienced leadership, massive annual turnover of students, and a great many family problems, that child is likely to make far less progress.

A basic reality of contemporary metropolitan segregation is that it is more serious for children than for adults, more limiting for the long-term than the immediate future. This makes it somewhat less visible to adults but ultimately far more consequential. Residential segregation of children in metro Boston is more serious than segregation for the population of all ages, and school segregation is more serious than residential segregation of children. This intensifying effect can be seen in **Table 3**. For example, while the metro area was 81 percent white in 2000, the average black resident lived in a census tract that was just 44 percent white and the average black child in a neighborhood that was 42 percent white. While the average public school was 75 percent white, the typical black student attended a school that was 38 percent white, half the metro average. In contrast, the typical white student attended a school that was 86 percent white. School segregation is not just isolation by race or ethnicity; it is a double or triple kind of

[40] Ozment, Katherine, "The Best Schools: Smart Answers," *Boston Magazine*, September 2005, pp. 133-140; "2005 MCAS Results," *Boston Globe* on-line, Table: "Top Ranked 10th Grade Districts."
Boston.com, downloaded October 19, 2005.
Tina Cassidy, "Homes and Schools: Whether You Have Children or Not, the Quality of the School System Affects the Value of your Home, "Boston *Globe*, April 21, 1996, Real Estate Section, A71, A76.

segregation strongly related to all of the most important influences on academic and economic success.

Table 3

Exposure of Different Racial Groups to Whites in Neighborhoods and Schools (Percent)

Total Population	White share of Metro	White share of tract where avg. white resides	White share of tract where avg. black resides	White share of tract where avg. Hispanic resides
Neighborhood (tracts)	81	87	44	54
Under 18 Population	**White share of Metro**	**White share of tract where avg. white under 18 resides**	**White share of tract where avg. black under 18 resides**	**White share of tract where avg. Hispanic under 18 resides**
Neighborhood (tracts)	81	89	42	53
Public School Students	**White share of Metro Public Schools**	**White share of school that avg. white attends**	**White share of school that avg. black attends**	**White share of school that avg. Hispanic attends**
Public Schools	75	86	38	41

Note: Population data as of 2000; school data from 2001-02 school year.
Source: 2000 Decennial Census and National Center for Educational Statistics, Common Core of Data.

Unequal Neighborhood Resources Affect Schooling and Peer Groups

Many resources of neighborhoods and schools are strongly related to the average income of those neighborhoods. Affluent neighborhoods tend to have better opportunities on virtually all dimensions, including the opportunity for families to rapidly accumulate wealth in terms of equity that comes with the growth in value of their homes in the real estate market. In metro Boston, the average white child living in the suburbs in 2000 lived in a neighborhood[41] where the average family income was $68,000, while the average black or Hispanic child who lived in the city of Boston or the older satellite cities lived in a vastly different community with average incomes from $29,000 to $37,000. Children with far higher incomes in communities with far deeper resources have a different set of experiences and opportunities in and out of school. Their friends are on a path that almost always leads to college. The average white child in the suburbs lived in a community where poverty was almost invisible, below 5 percent. Blacks, Hispanics, and even Asians who lived in the city of Boston lived in communities where 23 to 24 percent of the families were below the official poverty line[42]. In the city of Boston and the satellite cities, more than 40 percent of the Hispanics and Latinos and more than a third of the blacks came from homes where the home language was not English[43] compared to eleven percent of suburban whites.[44]

Professor Mary Pattillo-McCoy's study of the black middle class shows that black middle class families face the constant nearness of ghetto conditions and temptations of ghetto behavior in sharp contrast to the multiple middle class relationships and safety nets white families experience.[45]

The way in which the neighborhood differences are linked to race and ethnicity rather than income was well described in a 2003 study:

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[41] Neighborhood is defined as a Census tract, a geographic unit of a few thousand residents designated by the Census Bureau. Although the Census makes an effort to have these represent communities, they may or may not correspond to the definition of a neighborhood in the minds of local residents. However, this is the best approximation that is available in official statistics.

[42] Logan, John R., Oakley, Deirdre and Stowell, Jacob, "Segregation in Neighborhoods and Schools: Impacts on Minority Children in the Boston Region," The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, 2003, table 5, p. 10, http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/metro/BostonSegregation.pdf

[43] Boston is a major center of black immigration from Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

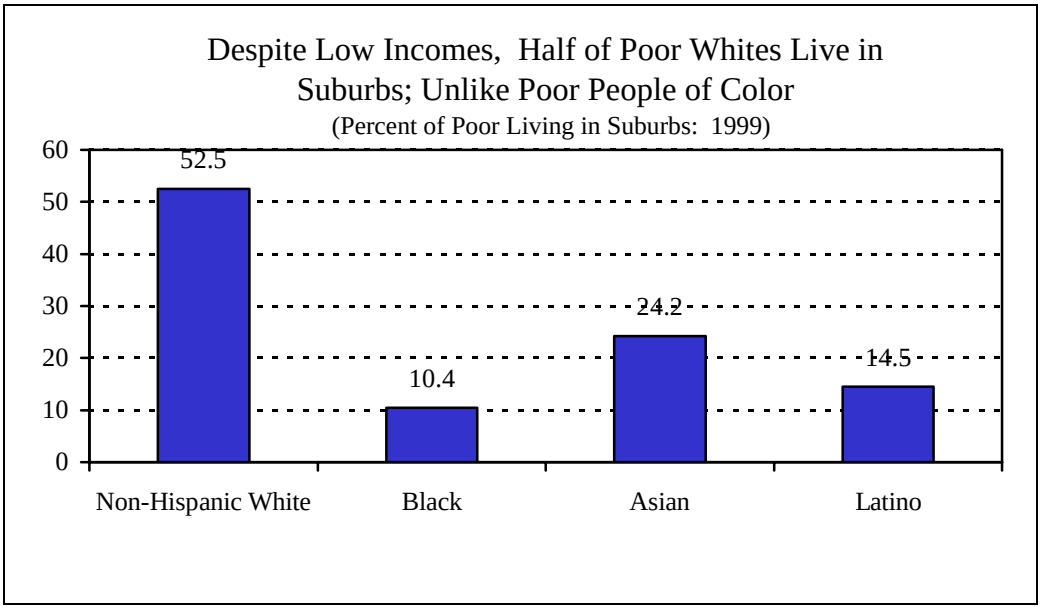
[44] Logan, John R., Oakley, Deirdre and Stowell, Jacob, 2003, http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/metro/BostonSegregation.pdf

[45] Pattillo-McCoy, Mary, *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril among the Black Middle Class*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1999.

> Poor blacks and Latinos are more than twice as likely to live in high poverty neighborhoods as poor whites. Indeed, a substantial share of poor whites reside in largely middle-class suburban neighborhoods….Incredibly even black and Latino households with incomes over $50,000 per year are twice as likely to live in high poverty neighborhoods than whites with incomes less than $20,000.[46]

These differences are tightly linked to the much higher propensity of metro Boston's poor whites to live in the suburbs and poor minorities to live in the cities (**Table 4**). Over half of poor whites live in suburban locations, compared to just 10 percent of poor blacks, 15 percent of poor Latinos, and 24 percent of poor Asians. Very significant differences persist even if we exclude elderly members of the population from our analysis.

Table 4[47]



Minorities not only live in neighborhoods with higher levels of poverty, but also neighborhoods with high levels of other measures of social distress. These measures include having a high share of female-headed households with children, a high share of high school dropouts, and a high share of males detached from the labor force. Poor Latinos and blacks in

[46] McArdle, Nancy, "Beyond Poverty: Race and Concentrated Poverty Neighborhoods in Metro Boston," The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University 2003, p. 1. http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/metro/McArdleBostonPoverty.pdf

[47] McArdle, Nancy, "Beyond Poverty: Race and Concentrated Poverty Neighborhoods in Metro Boston," 2003.

metro Boston are three times as likely as poor whites to live in neighborhoods that have at least three out of four indicators of distress (**Table 5).**

Residents of poor neighborhoods are much more likely to be victims of crime, and poor neighborhoods are those to which incarcerated criminals return in large numbers without education and with a criminal record, virtually unemployable.

Table 5

Poor Blacks and Hispanics Are Much More Likely to Live in Severely Distressed Neighborhoods than Poor Whites: 1999

Share Living in Tracts With:	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
High Share of Female-Headed Families w/Children (Over 23.4%)	19.5%	63.9%	28.4%	61.0%
High Share High School Dropouts (Over 15.9%)	22.1%	22.5%	20.9%	40.3%
High Share People in Poverty (Over 20.9%)	24.7%	55.5%	46.1%	61.1%
High Share Males Detached From Labor Force (Over 33%)	21.8%	59.8%	43.5%	59.7%
At Least 3 of 4 Characteristics (Severely Distressed)	**15.9%**	**47.7%**	**22.2%**	**51.7%**

Note: Cutoffs for each category were set at one standard deviation above the average value of all tracts.
Source: 2000 Decennial Censuses, Summary File 3.

Such neighborhoods produce very different kinds of schools in a society in which school finance is heavily dependent on property tax revenue and voluntary contributions of money and other resources to schools are much greater in more affluent communities. (In 2005, the Massachusetts Supreme Court rejected a lawsuit aimed at further financial equalization among school districts).[48]

There are many kinds of interactions between the schools and housing market that reinforce segregation. In areas that are integrated, minority families tend to be younger, have more elementary children, and enroll a much higher percentage in public schools. These factors combine to resegregate schools (even when the neighborhoods are well integrated), which

[48] *Hancock v. Driscoll*, 443 Mass. 428 (2005).

diminishes the attraction of the neighborhood for white families. Since neighborhoods must, on average, replace their population every six years, this can produce rapid resegregation, particularly of the school age population, even if no white household flees. Since concentrated minority schools tend to produce lower achievement and graduation levels, they build in problems for the labor market that strongly affect the next generation of the community and gravely threaten the ability of those without good education to have any choice in the housing market. This, in turn, dooms their children, in most cases, to clearly inferior schools, etc., in a continuing cycle of inequality.

The Battle for Desegregation in Metro Boston

The modern civil rights era began with *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, outlawing mandatory segregation laws in the seventeen states and the nation's Capitol, which were still completely segregated 90 years after the Civil War. "Separate but equal" had been a basic principle of Constitutional law since the l896 *Plessy v. Ferguson*[49] decision but had never been successfully implemented. In *Brown*, the U.S. Supreme Court concluded that such separate schools were "inherently unequal," that they created irreversible harm for children's lives, and that "it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education." "Such an opportunity," the Court continued, "where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms." Resistance to *Brown* was so fierce because the struggles about fairness in public transport, in voting, even in employment and housing were not so immediate or as fundamental as changing the way children were trained for life and work and taught about our society. Eventually, after passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which cut off funds to illegally segregated districts and gave the Justice Department the power to sue recalcitrant school districts, the South changed, and its schools became the nation's most integrated by 1970. By 1971 the Supreme Court had ruled that desegregation in the South must be immediate, comprehensive, and involve teachers as well as students and include busing if necessary.[50] The same kind of power was never brought to bear, however, on the North.

[49] *Plessy v. Ferguson* , 163 U.S. 537 (1896).
[50] *Swann v. Charlotte Mecklenberg Board of Education*, 401 U.S. 1 (1971).

School desegregation efforts only began to seriously affect the North after the Supreme Court's decision in the *Keyes* (Denver) case in 1973, its first case supporting desegregation orders outside the South.[51] *Keyes* held that where a civil rights lawyer could prove a history of discriminatory practices, the courts should order desegregation within the school district. That same year, however, the Court ruled in *Rodriguez* that the federal courts could not order financial equalization among school districts, that there was no Constitutional right to equal educational resources.[52] The very next year, the year of Boston's desegregation, the Supreme Court decided by 5-4 to limit urban desegregation plans to single school districts, separating urban minority children from suburban middle class schooling opportunities. The city of Boston unsuccessfully urged the Supreme Court to include suburbs in desegregation plans, correctly predicting that limiting them to the city would harm the city, consequences much like those predicted by Justice Thurgood Marshall in his dissent in the case—that it would perpetuate the segregation of minority students and force the courts to adopt plans within heavily minority central cities that would only speed the resegregation process which had long been under way.[53]

These decisions required urban desegregation in the North, where almost every city that was taken to court was found guilty of using official power to segregate students, but the plans were often ineffective and temporary in big cities. While there were many minority students in districts all over the rural and small city South, the black and Latino students in the North and West were very concentrated in a small number of big cities that had been losing white students for many years as suburbanization took hold. These decisions effectively divided the housing market into one section where whites faced mandatory desegregation with substantial numbers of minority and poor kids and another much larger section, which had almost all of the new housing, where the schools were overwhelmingly white and middle class, and where there were no federal desegregation requirements.

Two decades later, three Supreme Court decisions between l991 and 1995 limited school desegregation even within single districts, authorized a return to segregated neighborhood schools, and limited the extent of financial remedies that courts could order to make up for the harms of intentional segregation. Sometimes increasingly conservative courts even prohibited

[51] *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado*, U.S. (l973).
[52] *San Antonio Independent School Dis. v. Rodriguez*. 411 U.S. 1 (1973).
[53] *Bonner-Lyons v. School Committee of City of Boston*, 480 F.2d 442 (1973).

voluntary race-conscious plans to maintain desegregated schools where local authorities believed integration to be a crucial local educational and social goal.[54]

In many ways, metro Boston provides an important example of the dynamics of segregation in metropolitan areas. It has been a focus of attention for desegregation efforts in the urban North. There has probably been more attention to the violence attached to the implementation of the Boston court order in l974 than to all of the other Northern desegregation plans.[55] No other city had so much defiance by local officials and so much violence by white mobs, and no other city experienced so rapid a decline in white enrollment following desegregation, developments that made communities across the nation and in other parts of the metro area resolve not to be "like Boston." Although there were many successful experiences within Boston, and a choice-based "controlled choice" plan emphasizing parental selection among educational alternatives replaced the original plan, Boston's problems created deep racial polarization and a negative image of race relations in the city that has continuing force. These feelings are still apparent in a 2005 survey of blacks and Latinos in the metro region that showed that 80 percent of African Americans and 50 percent of Latinos saw discrimination as very serious or somewhat serious problem.[56]

In spite of the widespread perception of white hostility, however, there is a continuing belief by blacks and Latinos that school integration, such as it was, had helped minority students and an even stronger belief that more should be done. Forty six percent of African Americans and 60 percent of Latinos stated that integration had "improved the quality of education received by African Americans and Hispanic students in metro Boston communities." Those living outside of Boston, where there was more integration, were more positive.[57] Eighty three percent

[54] The Civil Rights Project cosponsored a conference on the resegregation of the South in Chapel Hill with the University of North Carolina and the Thurgood Marshall School of Law at Southern University in Houston. The nineteen new studies produced for that conference and exploring many dimensions of Southern resegregation can be found at www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu and in, *School Resegregation: Must the South Turn Back?,* John Charles Boger & Gary Orfield, Editors, University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

[55] Lucas, J. Anthony, *Common Ground*, New York: Vintage Books, l985.
Scott, B. Marvin, *Schools on Trial: An Inside Account of the Boston Desegregation Case*, Cambridge, Abt Books, l981.

[56] Louie, Josephine, *"We Don't Feel Welcome Here": African Americans and Hispanics in Metro Boston*, The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, April 2005, p. 34.

[57] Ibid., p. 36.

of metro African Americans and 81 percent of Latinos thought that more should be done to foster integration in 2005.[58]

Although the great wars over desegregation in Boston happened three decades ago, the issues are still very much present in the metro area. In Boston a major push by the City Council and the Mayor to consider a return to neighborhood schools in 2004 ran up against serious community resistance in spite of the fact that there were few white children left in the city. In minority neighborhoods there was a belief that the schools would be less adequate or insufficient in number and that their children would lose a chance to get access to the strongest schools located in whiter neighborhoods. Parental attitudes toward schooling had become much less linked to location and more to reputation. In the school choice process most parents preferred schools outside their neighborhood.

Outside of Boston, in the rest of the metro area, where desegregation plans existed they were the product of two forces, the state's Racial Imbalance Act and a voluntary exchange program beginning in the l960s allowing some Boston minority students to attend white suburban schools. The Racial Imbalance Act mandated that districts must devise plans to remedy segregation as it developed and offered state funding for building schools in less segregated locations and other solutions. The voluntary student transfer policy, METCO[59], was the outgrowth of the civil rights movement of the l960s. It has received modest funding from the state (although much less funding per student than charter schools receive, despite the fact that charters are more racially segregated than public schools as a whole). More than 30 school districts currently accept more than 3000 Boston students.

Neither of these efforts produced anything like the vitriolic resistance experienced in Boston. Most of the suburban districts had very few minority students, and several of those that were quite diverse, including Cambridge and Lynn and Worcester, have developed effective desegregation plans. While state governments, under four successive conservative Republican Governors and the state education officials they appointed, substantially reduced resources for these efforts since the early 1990s, the plans remained. No suburb has withdrawn from voluntary desegregation plans.

[58] Ibid., p. 37.
[59] See http://www.metcoinc.org, the state also supported a similar small program in the metro Springfield area in Western Massachusetts.

Inherent in seeking solutions largely within a single district, however, was the lack of any significant remedy for either Boston or the satellite cities and suburban communities that became largely nonwhite due to the spread of segregated minority housing. In terms of the broad flows of people within the metro housing market, the power of any district serving a small fraction of the metro to control or redirect outcomes was limited, except in cases where a relatively modest change in the local equilibrium could make a difference.

Boston Metropolitan School Demographics[60]

Metro Boston schools are overwhelming white and suburban. Latino students are the largest minority group at ten percent, followed closely by black students (9 percent) and Asians, 5 percent (**Table 6**).[61] Of the 767,601 students attending 1,457 public schools in 2001-02, 76 percent were whites, and seven out of every ten students attended schools in the suburbs, where the enrollment increased almost a third over twelve years from l989-2001. By contrast, Boston's city district enrolled just eight percent of metro students.

Whites accounted for four of every five students attending public schools in the inner suburbs and nine-tenths (91 percent) in outer suburban students[62]. In the satellite cities, where Latinos are concentrated, more than a fifth of the students were Latino.

[60] Many of the statistical computations in this paper are based on the following Civil Rights Project report: Chungmei Lee, *Racial Segregation and Educational Outcomes in Metropolitan Boston*, The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, April, 2004, supplemented by new data and data from other reports from authors including Erica Frankenberg, John Yun, Sean Reardon, John Logan, Nancy McArdle and the author of this study, who supervised all of the other reports as Director of The Civil Rights Project. All data is footnoted to its original source and many of the reports can be found at www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu.

[61] Because Native Americans are not present in the Boston Metropolitan Area in enough numbers for an accurate portrayal of their demographic changes, they are not included in the analysis and discussion.

[62] Lee, Chungmei, 2004.

Table 6[63]

Enrollment and Racial Composition of Public Schools by Location and Race, 2001-02

	White (%)	Black (%)	Latino (%)	Asian (%)	Percent of Total Enrollment by Region (Column Percentages)
Boston	15	47	28	9	8
Inner Satellite Cities	47	22	22	8	9
Outer Satellite Cities	55	8	28	9	13
Inner Suburbs	82	5	4	9	11
Outer Suburbs	91	2	3	3	59
Total Enrollment	76	9	10	5	100

*Note: Totals may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Enrollment in the City of Boston grew only five percent in twelve years, while the outer suburbs grew 31 percent and, by 2001, enrolled three out of every five students (**Table 7**).[64] Though a great deal of press coverage of school policy focuses on Boston, the outer suburbs have more than seven times as many students.

[63] Lee, Chungmei, 2004. Analysis of the National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, 2004.
[64] For the most part, the suburbs are small and predominantly white. The 20 largest suburbs are still more than 80 percent white and except for Newton, enroll less than 10,000 students. Framingham, Quincy, Brookline, Revere, and Salem are suburbs (as defined by the Office of Management and Budget) where at least 30 percent of the student body is non-white.

Table 7[65]

Growth of Enrollment Across Boston Metropolitan Area, By Region (1989-2001)

	1989		2001		Growth (1989-2001)	Percent Change (1989-2001)
	Enrollment	*Percent of Total*	Enrollment	*Percent of Total*		
Boston	59,184	*9*	62,141	*8*	2,957	5
Inner Satellite Cities	61,942	*10*	70,403	*9*	8,461	14
Outer Satellite Cities	86,210	*14*	99,612	*13*	13,402	16
Inner Suburbs	75,821	*12*	84,881	*11*	9,060	12
Outer Suburbs	347,768	*56*	455,453	*59*	107,685	31
Total	625,552	*100*	767,601	*100*	142,049	23

Minority students comprise an increasing share of enrollment, with gains most notable in the satellite cities where minority home buying is concentrating. In the inner satellite cities, the African American share of the total student population increased from an eighth to more than a fifth. The Latino presence doubled, surging from 11 percent to 22 percent. Asian students were more evenly spread, making up about a tenth of students in all regions except the outer suburbs, where they were about 3 percent. White enrollment was highly skewed, with just two percent of all metro white students in Boston, compared to 71 percent in the outer suburban schools.

More than half of black students in the entire metro in 2001 attended schools in just two districts: Boston and Brockton (a satellite city that was 40 percent minority). Only a fifth of black students (22 percent) attended suburban schools.

Almost half of Latino students attended school in three districts: Boston, Lawrence, and Worcester. The satellite cities are central to the Latino educational experience, and some of them have even deeper educational problems than Boston. Chelsea, the most Latino district, had schools considered so weak that the state government took the extraordinary step of suspending the school district and turning it over to Boston University in 1989; Lawrence, the center of Latino residence in the outer satellite cities, faced corruption and a state takeover.[66]

[65] Lee, Chungmei, 2004. Analysis of the National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, 2004.
[66] Kernike, Kate, "State Education Chief Seeks Takeover of Lawrence Schools," *Boston Globe*, February 10, 1997, p. B3.

There are also pockets of very disadvantaged Asian communities in some of the satellite cities. One ninth of the Asian students attend school in just one city, Lowell, which has high concentrations of Cambodians who face stiff educational challenges.[67]

Interracial Exposure of Students Across the Boston Metropolitan Area

Given the residential segregation among sub-regions and the extreme fragmentation of the metro into small school districts, many students have relatively little exposure to students of other races. In fact, Boston is the most fragmented metro area in the country in terms of the division of students into multiple school districts.[68] Sixty percent of all metropolitan white students attend intensely-segregated-white schools—those that are 90 to 100 percent white. In the outer suburbs, over 70 percent of white students attend such schools.

Since most metro black students attend school in Boston and Brockton and there are few in white suburbia, it is not surprising that more than a quarter (27 percent) of the black students attend intensely segregated schools with zero to ten percent white students, in this overwhelmingly white metro.

Latinos in Boston schools are also highly segregated—54 percent attend intensely-segregated-minority schools that are less than one-tenth white. Some satellite cities are also severely segregated, especially in the outer areas. For instance, many Latinos attend school in Lawrence, a very poor city that is the center of the region's growing Dominican population. Considered as a small urban housing market, Lawrence has the highest level of residential segregation for Latinos in the United States.[69]

Asian segregation patterns are bimodal in Boston and the inner satellite cities. On the one hand, more than one third of Asian students in Boston (34 percent) attend intensely-segregated-minority schools. On the other hand, about 12 percent of the city's Asian pupils attend schools where more than half of the student body is white, similar to the pattern of Boston's white students.[70] Outside Boston, some Asian subgroups, largely children of affluent suburbanites with college degrees, attend schools with very substantial white enrollment.

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[67] U.S. Census Bureau. Census 2000, Summary File 1. Table PCT5.
[68] Data from unpublished analysis by David Y. Miller, University of Pittsburgh, provided by David Rusk.
[69] According to rankings provided by the Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, University at Albany, http://mumford.albany.edu/census/data.html
[70] 2000 Census, Summary File 4.

Others, predominantly those lower income students living in inner satellite cities and Boston, attend much more segregated schools. Metropolitan segregation is tending to produce very different intergenerational patterns of opportunity for students of different Asian nationalities and circumstances.

Double Segregation: Relationship between Poverty and Racial Segregation

Racial segregation in metro schools is almost always accompanied by social class segregation.[71] Concentrated poverty is powerfully related to both school opportunities and achievement levels. Past research has shown that segregated schools tend to have high concentrations of poverty, rapid turnover of teachers and students, untreated health problems, lower involvement by parents, less experienced teachers, lower per student expenditures, high dropout rates and lower test scores.[72] Students attending these schools tend to have weaker networks to college and jobs than students in desegregated settings.[73] Suburban schools tend to provide a more college-oriented curriculum, have experienced teachers, and offer competition

[71] Poverty levels are measured by the percent of students eligible for free or reduced lunch.

[72] Orfield, Gary and Lee, Chungmei, *Why Segregation Matters: Poverty and Educational Inequality*, The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, January 2005.
Balfanz and Legters found that cities with high dropout rates also had high poverty rates. See Balfanz, R. and Legters, N., "How Many Central City High Schools Have A Severe Dropout Problem, Where Are They Located, and Who Attends Them?" Paper presented at the Dropout conference, Graduate School of Education at Harvard University, 2001.
See also Schofield, J.W., "Review of Research on School Desegregation's Impact on Elementary and Secondary School Students" in Banks, J.A. and Banks, C.A.M. (eds.) *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education.* New York, NY, Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1995.
Natriello, G., McDill, E.L., and Pallas, A.M., *Schooling Disadvantaged Children: Racing Against Catastrophe*, New York, NY, Teachers College Press. 1990.

[73] In Georgia, Freeman, Scafidi, and Sjoqist found that teachers who transferred moved to schools with higher student achievement and fewer minority and poor students. See Freeman, C., Scafidi, B., and Sjoquist, D.L. (2002). "Racial Segregation in Georgia Public Schools, 1994-2001: Trends, Causes, and Impacts on Teacher quality." Paper presented at Resegregation of Southern Schools Conference, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
Anyon, J., *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Educational Reform*, New York, NY, Teachers College Record, 1997.
Dawkins, M.P. and Braddock, J.H., "The Continuing Significance of Desegregation: School Racial Composition and African American Inclusion in American Society," *Journal of Negro Education.* 63(3): 394-405, 1994.

from better prepared classmates.[74] Students exposed to diverse educational settings are more likely to live and work in diverse settings.[75]

Virtually all highly segregated minority schools in metro Boston face conditions of concentrated poverty (**Table 8**). Of the many schools that were 90-100 percent white, 73 percent had 10 percent or fewer low-income students.[76] Almost all (97 percent) of the intensely segregated black and Latino schools—those with 90 percent or more black and Latino students—had majorities of poor students.[77] Only one percent of intensely segregated white schools, those 90-100 percent white, had a majority of students in poverty. The correlation between percent black and Latino enrollment and percent poor is very strong (r=.85).

Highly segregated minority schools almost always confront conditions rarely encountered in the region's many intensely isolated white schools. Almost one in five (18 percent) of black and Latino students attend the most segregated schools. These tend to be schools labeled as "failures" under various accountability policies such as the No Child Left Behind law's requirement of "adequate yearly progress" and to be the "dropout factories" where the majority of the students do not graduate.

[74]Eaton, S.E., *The Other Boston Busing Story*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. In this study, Eaton documents the experiences of scores of Boston students who had access to the white suburban public schools and the powerful impact this has had in their adult lives.
See also Wells, A.S., and Crain, R.L., "Perpetuation Theory and the Long-Term Effects of School Desegregation," Review *of Educational Research*, 64, 531-555, 1994.
[75]Kurlaender, Michal and Yun, John T, *The Impact of Racial and Ethnic Diversity on Educational Outcomes: Cambridge, MA School District*, The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, January 2002.
[76] Students receiving free or reduced price school lunches because of low family income levels.
[77] Frankenberg, E., Lee, C., and Orfield, G., "A Multiracial Society with Segregated Schools: Are We Losing the Dream?" Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, 2003, Table 9.

Table 8 [78]

Relationship of Segregation by Race and by Poverty, 2001-02

	Percent Minority Students in Schools									
% Poor in Schools	**0-10%**	**10-20%**	**20-30%**	**30-40%**	**40-50%**	**50-60%**	**60-70%**	**70-80%**	**80-90%**	**90-100%**
0-10%	73	59	23	10	1	1	0	0	0	0
10-25%	21	19	28	14	8	3	3	0	0	0
25-50%	5	16	30	47	35	21	8	2	2	3
50-100%	1	5	19	30	55	75	90	98	98	97
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% of Schools	**48**	**15**	**8**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**5**

Unequal Teacher Qualifications Reinforce Double Segregation

One of the most powerful influences on academic achievement is the presence of qualified and experienced teachers in the classroom. This is the reason, for example, for the central place that the requirement that all teachers be "highly qualified" occupies in the federal No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Unfortunately, in metro Boston there was a direct link between the segregation of a school and the percent of teachers with state certification. In the typical suburban school with about nine-tenths white students and less than a tenth of students in poverty, about 94 percent of the teachers were certified (**Table 9)**. In the schools with similarly small poverty levels that were more than half nonwhite, only 69 percent of the teachers were certified. In the schools with both high minority and high poverty enrollment, 22 percent of the teachers *lacked* certification. Research regularly shows that teachers leave high poverty minority schools much more rapidly than middle class schools. It is very likely that data on average years of teaching experience, were it available, would also show important differences by race and poverty composition of schools. This outcome is part of a typical pattern in which the most qualified teachers are found in the schools that need them the least, and the least qualified serve in the schools separated by race and poverty.

[78] Lee, Chungmei, 2004. Analysis of the National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, 2004.

Table 9[79]

Race and by Poverty and Teacher Certification, 2000-01

Share of Teachers that are Certified

	Percent Minority in Schools			
% Poor in Schools	**0-10%**	**10-25%**	**25-50%**	**50-100%**
0-10%	94	95	90	69
10-25%	89	75	80	71
25-50%	--	86	81	83
50-100%	93	98	88	78
% of Schools (Row Totals)	25	23	19	33

Triple Segregation: Isolation of English Language Learners

Not only are students segregated by race and poverty, they are also highly segregated by language. Latino and Asian English Language Learners (ELLs) are highly isolated compared to English speakers across the whole Boston metropolitan area (**Table 10**).[80] The average Latino ELL student attends a school that is 47 percent Latino, more than three times the exposure of the average English Language Speaker to Latino students (14 percent).[81] Asian ELL students experience, on average, more than three times as much exposure to fellow Asian students (25 percent versus 7 percent) as English speaking Asians. Both are even more isolated within Boston.

Given the fact that these students often are placed in low achieving classes with many other students who don't speak English, and Latinos increasingly live in segregated neighborhoods, these students are much less likely to have regular contact with high achieving fluent native English speakers, contact which could speed English acquisition and raise academic achievement.

[79] Lee, Chungmei, 2004. Analysis of the Office of Civil Rights E&S data.

[80] The computations are derived from numbers reported to the Office for Civil Rights by schools for the year 1999-2000.

[81] Students who are not classified as English Language Learners are not necessarily native English speakers, but for clarity of language, the author refers to a "non-English Language Learner" as an "English Language Speaker."

Table 10[82]

Racial Composition of Schools Attended by English Language Learners in Boston Metropolitan Area, 2000-01

Average Percent of Each Race in School (%)	*Racial Composition of School Attended by Average:*			
	English Language Speakers	**English Language Learner**	**Latino English Language Learner**	**Asian English Language Learner**
White	67	40	31	48
Black	12	20	16	15
Latino	14	30	47	12
Asian	7	10	5	25
Total	100	100	99	100

Latino and Asian English Language Learners are similarly isolated in the outer satellite cities. The average Latino English Language Learner there attends a school where more than half of the students are Latino. The average Asian English Language Learner attends a school where 32 percent of the students are Asian.

Many of these students face isolation from whites, from middle class students, and from fluent English speakers—three way inequality whose impacts are often compounded by other policies. Massachusetts is one of three states (also CA and AZ) that have banned bilingual education by state referendum, ending the controversial practice many researchers believe produces the best likelihood of gaining strong command of academic English for disadvantaged immigrant children. The state is also training few Latino teachers who could communicate with Spanish-speaking parents, in part because of the obstacle created by a demanding license examination and the end of affirmative action at the University of Massachusetts. It has also imposed a mandatory exit test from high school which requires a high level of English mastery and which has been a very serious obstacle for many immigrant children. This high school exit exam is also required for college admissions and increasingly used to make decisions about financial aid, all compounding the problems of unequal language development in unequal and segregated settings.

[82] Lee, Chungmei, 2004.

Segregation and Achievement Test Scores

The dominant educational reforms at both the state and federal levels since the 1983 Reagan Administration report, *A Nation at Risk*[83], have involved raising standards and requirements and test-based accountability. The theory of both the state reform laws and No Child Left Behind has been that if schools and districts and students were held accountable to meet tough standards, racial gaps would be resolved. The MCAS testing system has been the centerpiece of Massachusetts's educational reform in recent years and is used to evaluate the success of schools and to target sanctions both under state policy and under the federal No Child Left Behind Act. The MCAS is required for high school graduation and college access for all students in the state. Since these state standards have been given such extreme importance in defining the minimum education required in the state, it is important to examine the relationship between race, location and achievement scores.

Ideally, it would be best to compare the test results of students of different races and income levels who attend schools of differing racial and poverty profiles. Unfortunately, the Massachusetts Department of Education has refused to release individual level data, so we can only compare average achievement levels of schools with various levels of racial and poverty segregation. Because of the strong correlation between racial and poverty segregation, all except two high schools that are more than 60 percent minority also have more than half low income students. Average school level scores show the kind of peer groups that exist in different kinds of schools. As long ago as the l966 Coleman Report, it has been clear that one of the most important influences on student achievement levels is the achievement level of fellow classmates in school.[84]

Metro Boston tenth graders in schools with few poor and minority students in the student body did well (**Table 11**).[85] On average, 96 percent of students passed the English Language Arts MCAS on their first try. In contrast, only 61 percent of the students enrolled in intensely-segregated-minority, low-income schools passed. When students pass at the first testing their teachers can move on to more advanced work. Since the fates of failing students and schools are

[83] National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk*: *The Imperative for Educational Reform*, April 1983, http://www.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/index.html
[84] Coleman, James S. et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, Washington: Government Printing Office, l966.
[85] We are aware that students have many opportunities to retake the MCAS after their 10th grade so these are not the actual numbers of students who fail to graduate. This analysis is to show the relative preparation of the students at the 10th grade level. The state has not yet provided the data that would allow for computations for retest data.

tied to the test, those with serious problems tend to focus relentlessly on test preparation and drill, not more advanced or creative college preparation.

Table 11[86]

10th Graders Passing MCAS English Language Arts on First Try, by Race and Poverty, 2002-03

	Percent Minority in Schools									
% Poor in Schools	**0-10%**	**10-20%**	**20-30%**	**30-40%**	**40-50%**	**50-60%**	**60-70%**	**70-80%**	**80-90%**	**90-100%**
0-10%	96	97	94	98	0	0	0	0	0	0
N	99	22	5	2						
10-25%	91	82	91	91	80	0	0	0	0	0
N	15	5	11	2	2					
25-50%	90	89	76	84	92	80	83	0	0	50
N	3	3	3	2	2	6	2			2
50-100%	0	0	0	42	70	90	79	70	67	61
N				2	4	3	4	7	4	9
% of High Schools (Column Totals)	53	13	9	4	4	4	3	3	2	5

National research has shown that high-minority and high-poverty schools often face the strongest pressures to perform under federal and state policies that direct sanctions against schools on the basis of average test scores.[87] 32 of 38 schools in Massachusetts facing corrective action under No Child Left Behind in 2003 were predominantly minority schools. Almost a third of these schools were located in Boston alone. In the suburbs, MCAS scores for schools with concentrations of minority, poor, or limited-English-speaking students are much lower than those of their higher-achieving counterparts.[88] In effect, since test scores are so strongly linked to the socio-economic status (SES) and race of school communities, one could say that the schools are being sanctioned because of their segregation.

[86] Lee, Chungmei, 2004. Calculations of MCAS data obtained from the Massachusetts Department of Education. http://www.doe.mass.edu/mcas/results.html?yr=03

[87] Sunderman, Gail L., Kim, James S. and Orfield, Gary, *NCLB Meets School Realities, Lessons from the Field*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 2005.

[88] Schworm, P., "Lingering MCAS Achievement Gap Troubles Educators." The Boston Globe, Globe West, December, 14, 2003, p. 1.

One of the problems of high stakes accountability policies that blame the teachers for the test scores (which are actually more strongly linked to SES than teacher impact) is that sanctions punishing teachers who work in segregated schools can speed up the exit of qualified teachers from the schools where they are most needed. Even if a teacher makes a real difference in achievement of a student who enters her classroom three grade levels behind, that student will, on average, score much lower than a better prepared student with a worse teacher in an affluent school. Teachers surveyed in two urban districts in 2004 reported that relatively few were planning to stay in their high poverty schools more than five years in any case, and that excessive test pressure would speed their departure.[89] Other recent research has shown that white teachers, who are still the vast majority of certified teachers, systematically leave resegregated schools.[90] At a time when the great majority of new teachers are still suburban white women from segregated backgrounds, this pattern is part of the vicious cycle of inequality based on residential segregation.

Segregation, Dropouts, and Dropout Factories

Dropout rates in segregated schools are extremely high. According to recent estimates by the Urban Institute, the dropout rate for students in the largest 47 urban districts is nearly twice the national average. Only about half of blacks and Latinos are graduating from high school on time.[91] The worst problems are concentrated in segregated urban high schools across the country and in the rural South. According to the U.S. Census, the economic cost of dropping out is more than a quarter million dollars over the course of a person's working life.[92] Even more disturbing is the fact that the earnings gap for dropouts has increased greatly. Dropouts earned 90 percent as much as high school graduates in 1975 but only 70 percent as much in 2003, due to changes in

[89] Tracey, Christopher, "Listening to Teachers: Classroom Realities and NCLB," in Sunderman, Kim and Orfield, 2005, chapter 5.
[90] Freeman, Catherine E., Scafidi, Benjamin and Sjoquist, David, "Racial Segregation in Georgia Public Schools, 1994-2001: Trends, Causes, and Impact on Teacher Quality," in John Boger and G. Orfield, eds, *School Resegregation: Must the South Turn Back*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005, pp. 148-163: Eric N. Hanushek, *Why Public Schools Lose Teachers*, Working Paper 8599, Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2001.
[91] Orfield, G., Losen, D., Wald, J., and Swanson, C., "Losing Our Future: How Minority Youth are Being Left Behind by the Graduation Rate Crisis." Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, 2004.
[92] U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Manufacturing," on-line table, modified October 2, 2003 (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2003, Table 380); U.S. Census Bureau, 2003, Table POV29; U.S. Census, The Big Payoff: Educational Attainment and Synthetic Estimates of Work-Life Earnings, (2003). Retrieved February 18, 2004 from http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/p23-210.pdf

the economy. Unemployment is nearly twice as high.[93] Dropouts often find part-time, no-benefit employment and are very disproportionately involved in crime.

There is a high correlation between segregation and dropout rates. In Massachusetts as a whole, graduation rates for low and high poverty schools differ by 28 percentage points. Nationally more than three quarters of students in low-poverty schools were estimated to have graduated from high school on time, compared to less than half of the students (49 percent) in high-poverty schools that Robert Balfanz of Johns Hopkins has named "dropout factories."[94]

In the segregated schools within metro Boston, there are huge losses of students before graduation (**Table 12**). Less than half of the students in schools with high concentrations of poverty and minority students graduate on time (45 percent), compared to more than three quarters (78 percent) of their peers in low-minority schools.[95]

At a metro level, 67 percent of white students were estimated to graduate on time in 2001, and 60 percent of Asian students, but only 49 percent of black students and 41 percent of Latinos.

Table 12[96]

Metro Boston Graduation Rate (Cumulative Promotion Index) by Race and Location, 2001-02

	Metro Total	Boston	Inner Suburbs	Outer Suburbs	Inner Satellites	Outer Satellites
White	67	48.9	79.7	75.1	58.3	56.2
Black	48.8	42.2	65.4	64.2	64.4	47.4
Hispanic	40.9	30	56.1	54.8	54.5	41.5
Asian	59.9	68.9	73.8	74.2	58.2	44.5
Total	60.2	41.9	80.5	77.4	59.8	51.5

[93] Ibid.
[94] In the Swanson study, low poverty schools are schools with less than 38 percent of their students eligible for free and reduced lunch; schools that are high poverty schools have more than 38 percent of their students eligible for free and reduced lunch.
[95] The calculations reported in this study differ from those developed by the Urban Institute in 2 ways. Districts with less than five enrolled students of a particular race/ethnicity of interest in grade 10 in 2002 were excluded from analysis, and if the number of students enrolled in a specified grade exceeded the number enrolled in the previous grade during the preceding year, enrollment of the latter grade was revised to equal the enrollment in the previous grade during the preceding year.
[96] Lee, Chungmei, 2004. Analysis of the National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, 2004.

Segregation and the Path to College: The AP Dearth

Completing high school is essential but insufficient for secure middle-class status. There is a very large and growing premium paid to those who receive at least a BA degree, which is a prerequisite for the graduate and professional training that leads to the best jobs and income. The relative availability or absence of Advanced Placement (AP) courses is a good rough measure of the path to college provided by different types of schools. Because the content of the courses and tests is set by the College Board rather than individual schools and districts, it is easier to compare offerings across schools and districts. These courses are especially important because they not only get special weight in admissions and aid decisions, but they also count for college credit and shorten time and cost to graduation as well as provide valuable pre-college skills. This provides an unearned advantage to students from schools that are rich in these courses compared to those with few to none. Among the 217 high schools in metro Boston just 51 had 7 or more AP courses per 1000 students.

About one-fifth of metro white students attended those elite schools but only one-twentieth of the region's African American and Latino students did. White schools with less than a ten percent black and Latino enrollment had an average of 6.9 AP courses per 1000 students. Almost 70 percent of white students attended these segregated white schools.[97] In comparison, highly segregated minority schools offered an average of 2.5 AP classes per 1000 students. [98] Other studies indicate that schools with the strongest focus on college also tend to have the most informed counseling, strongest peer networks, and are especially targeted for recruitment by colleges. Since strong colleges are typically not set up to deal effectively with students who are not prepared as freshmen, these differences in preparation can be decisively important and are another cost of segregation.

Segregation, SAT, Applications, Admissions, and Aid

Going to college and graduating is a complex and multi-stage process. Desire for college education is now extremely high in all groups in the society but there is very unequal success in taking the necessary sequence of steps. At each stage along the path, students from different areas have, on average, very different success.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Data from Massachusetts Department of Education as published by Tracy Jan, The Boston Globe, "State High Schools Log on For AP Courses," July 18, 2005, p. A1, computed by Nancy McArdle.

Metro Boston white and minority areas have very different levels of college enrollment and completion. Minority schools have lower SAT test scores, and their students apply to fewer colleges. The practice of the Massachusetts State Board of Higher Education and the University of Massachusetts in raising admissions standards and cutting remedial courses on four-year campuses also tend to build into the higher education system the disadvantages of very unequal high school preparation. The College Board reported in 2005 that the state's black-white gap was growing in both SAT math and verbal tests, an average 100 point difference.[99] Since there is a very strong relationship between test scores and parental income and education levels, heavy use of standardized tests scores as barriers to college access tends to perpetuate inequality.

The state's students tend to do very well in national comparisons, ranking first, for example, in the 2005 report of National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) data, so the level of competition is high, but there is great inequality among the high schools. Most of the state's college opportunities are in private rather than public colleges. Unlike other parts of the country, higher education in New England has been dominated by private colleges, and the public sector has been a poorly financed afterthought. The one reasonably competitive public campus in the state, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, has given up on affirmative action, one of the only public flagship institutions in the nation to end this policy without external compulsion. In the more immediate Boston metro, the University of Massachusetts at Boston experienced its peak representation of black and Latino students relative to the 18-24 year-old population in l996, as did the flagship campus in Amherst. Also during this period, as affirmative action was abandoned, there was a substantial increase in the number of students refusing to report their race or ethnicity, leading to a probable substantial underreporting of the size of the white enrollment.[100]

The state also raised admissions standards for public campuses and shifted aid from students in poverty to students with high test scores under the Adams scholarship program adopted by the state board of higher education on the recommendation of Governor Mitt Romney after it was rejected by the legislature. The decision to award scholarships for free tuition to state universities on the basis of test scores, whether or not there was any financial need, had the wholly predictable impact of diverting aid to a group of recipients who were overwhelmingly

[99]Vaishnav, Anand, "Mass. SAT Scores Up Again, But Racial Disparities Persist," *Boston Globe*, Aug. 31, 2005.
[100] Computations by Nancy McArdle from institutional research offices at the University of Massachusetts and the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census.

white and to many who had no need for the state assistance.[101] Prior to the Adams scholarship, the state's aid system was directed at meeting financial need. When this new policy is fully operational, it is estimated that it could be as much as a third of the state's aid budget, which was in any case far too small to deal with the soaring costs of college. Federal changes compounded this problem. In this period the Federal need-based program also was falling further and further behind the cost of college attendance, and changes in program administration meant that two parent families were expected to contribute 27 percent more than previously and single-parent families 39 percent more.[102] With inadequate aid to lower income students, the families with the greatest housing-based wealth had another critical advantage over those with less or none since they could readily obtain low cost home equity loans to help pay college costs.

One of the current struggles for college access involves the situation of undocumented alien students. Under the Supreme Court decision in the l982 case, *Plyler v. Doe*[103], U.S. students without documents have an absolute right to a free public education, but that right ends before college. About one-twentieth of the births in metro Boston are from undocumented residents, according to a recent estimate. To deal with the problem that undocumented resident high school graduates faced at the college level, nine states have enacted laws authorizing them to pay in-state tuition for public colleges rather than the out-of-state tuition that is more than twice as high (these students are not eligible for federal financial aid in any case).[104] Governor Mitt Romney vetoed such a law passed by the Massachusetts legislature in 2004.[105]

Because college tuition and fees in Massachusetts and other states have risen much faster than family income, and family income has become more unequal, there is a huge gap in college going and college completion by income level in the country. Most four- year colleges that offer admission to low income students offer them financial aid packages that leave large unmet need gaps that families without wealth or higher incomes can rarely meet. Students forced to take on excessive work during college or to begin in community college rather than four-year campuses

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[101] Heller, Donald E.,"The Devil is in the Details: An Analysis of Eligibility Criteria for Merit Scholarships in Massachusetts," Donald E. Heller and Patricia Marin, (eds,) *State Merit Scholarship Programs and Racial Inequality*, The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, October 14, 2004.
[102] "College Affordability Trends by Parental Income Levels and Institutional Type, 1990 to 2004," *Postsecondary Educational Opportunity*, Sept. 2005, pp. 1-16.
"Raising the Eligibility Bar," *New York Times*, June 5, 2005.
[103] *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 (1982).
[104] The proposed federal "Dream Act" would change federal scholarship policy.
[105] Schweitzer, Sarah, "Colleges Try to Help Newcomers with Tuition," *Boston Globe*, July 26, 2005.

face a severely lower probability of graduation and a high risk of leaving with no degree and serious debt. Massachusetts had 25.8 percent nonwhite enrollment (including Asians) at its public two year colleges in 2004 but only 14.4 percent at its public four-years, considerably lower that the percent in private four-year campuses, possibly reflecting changes in affirmative action and college tuition and aid policies.[106] Unequal preparation, connections, skill attainment, family wealth, and aid—all of which are related to segregation—have powerful intergeneration effects, further locking in the vicious cycle.

How Education Affects Employment: Another Part of the Cycle

Education is strongly related to jobs, and income has strong effects on all aspects of family life, including the possibility of paying for better housing and neighborhoods, which would then be connected to better schools and peer groups for children. Studies of the Boston labor market and hiring practices in the mid-1990s showed that education mattered greatly.[107] Black men "earned 69 percent as much as similar white men," due primarily to their inability to get jobs "that provide secure, steady full-time" work. This failure was, in part, because of racial assumptions by employers relating to stereotypes about race, communities, and city schools.[108] Hispanic workers also earned much less then whites but, authors Barry Bluestone and Mary Stevenson concluded, the reason was primarily because of lower qualifications, indicating that more education could have large positive effects in breaking the cycle.[109]

Employers told pollsters that they wanted workers with a high school diploma. Eighty percent of the low skill jobs in Boston required a high school diploma by the mid-1990s, compared to 61 percent in the satellite cities. 69 percent of employers wanted specific experience, 81 percent wanted references, all for modest jobs.[110] Qualifications for entry level jobs were higher in Boston than in similar studies of metro Atlanta, Detroit and Los Angeles. "Only one in twenty jobs require no high school diploma, training, experience or references."[111] More than a third of the employers said that their requirements were likely to increase, deepening

[106] Almanac Issue, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, August 26, 2005, p. 64.
[107] Bluestone, Barry and Stevenson, Mary Huff, *The Boston Renaissance: Race, Space and Economic Change in an American Metropolis*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000.
[108] Ibid., p. 200.
[109] Ibid., pp. 199-200.
[110] Ibid., pp. 335-337.
[111] Ibid., 336.

the mismatch.[112] The metro's huge dropout rate for blacks and Latinos is a crisis for the labor market and their families and communities.

Employers also had stereotypes about the Boston public schools compared to suburban or parochial schools. "At times, complaints about the Boston schools surely mean exactly no more than what is said," commented the researchers, "at other times, they represent a coded way of expressing an aversion for inner city workers."[113]

There is accumulating evidence that desegregated educational experiences clearly change the opportunities available to students and can transform life chances. It is also one of the only policies that has the potential to change the attitudes and preparation of the region's whites to deal with the continuing racial transformation which will make metro Boston a far more diverse society in their generation. Surveys of students in Lynn and Cambridge, two of Boston's satellite cities, indicated that there were very positive attitudes about living and working together among high school students in integrated schools. From an economic development perspective, it means an opportunity to better prepare the growing nonwhite portion of the labor force and to prepare all groups to work more effectively together and better serve a far more diverse regional and national market. From the perspective of social policy it means a chance for excluded groups to better develop their human capital, and better support their families and communities, to increase the number of successful citizens contributing resources to the society and reduce the number who are marginalized, criminalized, and require incarceration or massive social support.

It is clear that all of these outcomes, in turn, have ongoing intergenerational consequences. The fate of a child fathered by a dropout who cannot hold a good job and gets in trouble with the law is radically different from the fate of one fathered by an employed young man with even a minimum of postsecondary education. Among other things the second child is much more likely to grow up with two parents in a safer neighborhood with better schools and a peer group more likely to support positive aspirations. When multiplied by tens of thousands and with residential segregation concentrating the cumulative negative impacts on segregated and racially changing communities, the consequences for the metro's future are very large.

[112] Ibid., 338.
[113] Ibid., 349.

Conclusions

Residential segregation in metro Boston has a large impact on intergenerational inequality by excluding young blacks and Latinos from the opportunities they need to have a fair chance for success. It is clear that this segregation is basically involuntary—it goes well beyond that reflected by preferences and desires, it has very high costs, and it is based to a considerable extent on discrimination and fear of white resistance. Forced denial of equal education on the basis of housing segregation is a very serious matter in a society where all the population growth is nonwhite, nonwhites receive less education, and educational qualifications for jobs are rising. Simply moving across the color line would not in itself create racial equality in the metro—but it could greatly increase the possibility for more equal opportunities, given the advantages enjoyed by most white communities. The effects would be larger of course with policies to increase fair treatment within the better schools and institutions and if an effort were made to retrain their staffs and enforce civil rights law and policies. Research in schools has confirmed Gordon Alport's theory a half century ago in *The Nature of Prejudice* that creating conditions of equal status interaction with strong leadership committed to a positive vision of race relations and fair rules fairly applied are necessary to realize more of the potential benefits of diversity. Research in programs training teachers and administrators how to do this in newly desegregated schools, with relatively simple interventions showed substantial benefits. Stably integrated residential communities often have positive leadership, strong law enforcement against steering and other fair housing violations, and work to train community staff in race relations and cultural understanding as well as the goal of long-term positive integration. Crossing the color line is not sufficient unto itself, but it is a necessary first condition for achieving a successful and fair multiracial society.

This study has focused on the educational costs of segregation, in part, because they are the clearest to demonstrate and affect such a large segment of the population for the rest of their lives. The schools offer much richer racial data than other vital sectors, such as employment, health, safety, and a variety of others which operate primarily though decisions made in private markets. We know where all students attend school, a number of the important characteristics of their schools, and some of the educational outcomes. A great deal of education data is in the public sector, particularly since the movement for standards-based reforms and the No Child Left

Behind law required the publication of far more data. Moreover there is a rich body of research on how these factors shape academic attainment and future opportunities.

Furthermore, the right to equal public schooling is far clearer in American ideology than the right to a house or a job, which are generally seen not as something that should be equal but as rewards appropriately related to unequal achievements. Both conservatives and liberals, however, affirm the importance of education for opportunity and believe that all students should have a full opportunity to be educated. Although the implications they draw from this principle vary widely, this doctrine is enshrined in many state constitutions and was the fulcrum for the most dramatic civil rights decision of the twentieth century, the l954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that was the beginning of the end of the Southern system of legally imposed racial segregation.

Housing and school opportunity are directly linked because most students are assigned to school on the basis of a residence, even more so now since the dismantling of desegregation plans which had partially offset residential segregation. Few are given the opportunity of leaving the municipality in which they live to attend school, in contrast to the more metropolitan dimensions of searching for housing and employment, which are not formally limited by official boundary lines. Residential segregation affects all of these opportunities, but in schooling the element of choice is typically most limited. Though schooling is seen as the most important channel for expanding opportunity, and the only one in which public institutions are the primary provider, it is the most spatially constrained.

This study shows that defects of the Boston metro housing market mean that, although whites are free to purchase higher school quality by buying in more expensive and exclusive suburbs, blacks and Latinos with similar incomes and goals typically get far less. Their schools are systematically unequal in a variety of ways that are related to lower graduation rates, lower achievement gains, less powerful networks and connections to colleges and jobs, and less success in higher education. Children from segregated communities and schools have less skill in crossing the race and class lines that must usually be crossed to have success in the American middle class. These inequalities mean that the next generation of successful black and Latino families will have systematically less opportunity in the most important institutions outside their families—schools—which help determine their human capital and life chances. Some students, of course, overcome these unequal educational opportunities, and a few schools perform better

than others with high poverty and segregation, but more typically they add to a set of other inequalities to create a damaging complex of forces pushing young blacks and Latinos toward an unequal future with widening gaps between the races. While doing very little to work to combat segregation, we are even abandoning efforts that have had some success, substituting policies that either punish the victims of unequal opportunity or rely on market solutions which, in a market contaminated by racial inequality and without effective civil rights protections, may only intensify the inequalities. The existing trends clearly suggest more polarization, a large loss of talent, and a downward spiral in terms of the society's human capital and civic and social prospects as the population changes.

None of these factors is inexorable. In fact, things have gotten slowly better on some dimensions, such as black-white residential segregation. Further, in spite of the overall reality of a system of racial separation and inequality, there are examples of policies and experiences that are very positive within the metropolitan area that could point the way to better outcomes. Clearly the huge movement of minority families outside the city of Boston has potential for better outcomes. These positive changes, which partially offset some of the negative trends, suggest that with a focused effort we could begin to create forces that would move toward more integration.

Understanding metro Boston, or any modern American metro, is not perceiving a world that is finished and fixed, but something that is constantly moving and changing. On a map each of the scores of municipalities and school districts is clearly separated, and in a data table we can describe each of the communities and classify them by type and by composition. But the reality is that, between one Census and the next, new families may move into two-thirds or more of the houses and apartments or condos in any given community. The reality is one of streams of people moving among millions of housing units and population flows between the sectors of metropolitan space. The challenge is to change the flows so that each time we take a statistical snapshot of the region, the separations and inequalities are decreasing. Since we know that most minority families wish to live in integrated communities and that many white families say they would accept or even prefer multiracial communities and schools for their children, and since we know that there are successful multiracial communities and school systems in the metro, the real need is for policies that would change the flows enough to create less resegregation and a spreading pattern of significant stable integration of housing and education.

There are some indicators in the housing market that suggest the scale of the needed changes in flows are less than in the past, since the black residential segregation levels have modestly declined, and a substantial number of multiracial communities are developing.[114] And there are Boston area communities with considerable diversity in their schools that have maintained substantial levels of desegregation for a long time and have healthy housing markets. By looking to these successful examples and the recommendations of groups of experts working actively against segregation, such as the Greater Boston Fair Housing Center, as well as experiments elsewhere, we could begin to frame a positive policy agenda.

Integration is not terribly difficult in operation. We have learned a lot about the ways to successfully run multiracial schools, and most people in integrated schools and neighborhoods express very positive views. Often, however, integration is very difficult to initiate. Changing from segregated residentially based schools to desegregated schools can be a very visible and frightening policy for many whites who believe stereotypes or have experienced negative racial change and ghettoization. Often these fears are inflamed by demagogic politicians. Segregation, on the other hand, is very easy to initiate; in fact, it is the almost inevitable effect of doing nothing. But it is extremely difficult to overcome its effects, and it tends to generate deep forces perpetuating itself, fueling cycles of increasing inequality. So the problem becomes one of leadership and leverage, of law and politics. In a conservative era there is very little positive leadership on these issues.

Since housing is the underlying mechanism of this intergenerational inequality, housing integration policies are, obviously, central to a solution. The complex of policies that could make a difference would address each of the types of market imperfections through the appropriate mix of law enforcement, sanctions, alternative policies, incentives and supports. Since there is a great deal of inertia in the housing segregation system and only limited public policy tools in very decentralized markets which are hard to monitor and change, there would doubtless also need to be positive efforts to break down stereotypes and fears on both sides of the white-nonwhite color lines so that fewer housing decisions were based directly or indirectly on

[114] For example, the number of census tracts within the City of Boston in which at least three of the major racial or ethnic groups make up at least ten percent of the population increased from 30 in 1990 to 48 in 2000. McArdle, Nancy, "Race, Place and Opportunity: Racial Change and Segregation in the Boston Metropolitan Area: 1990-2000," 2003, p. 32.

fears and stereotypes about race and racial change. But the details of the housing remedies are beyond the scope of this study focusing on the school dimension of the system.

The consequences of housing segregation are, of course, magnified by the fragmentation of municipalities and school districts in metro Boston. Boundary lines defining even nearby communities in ways that create profoundly unequal resources and a momentum of growing inequality when overlaid on a pattern of residential segregation compound the injuries. Accepting the boundaries and differential patterns of development actually creates a momentum for steadily intensifying inequalities. Those communities that succeed in excluding all but the most affluent whites and Asians experience rising values and rising demand and tend to draw in the most positive kinds of economic development and growth in tax revenue and good job opportunities, which further enrich the community and create the possibility of financing even more unequal amenities while providing the residents with large increases in property values. In political terms, the segmentation produces racially oriented politics with little incentive for people to create cross-racial coalitions or to see collaborative solutions. In fact, there is often a temptation for politicians to play on white fears and stereotypes relating to immigration, criminal justice, language, housing, welfare and other racially sensitive issues. Thinking about remedies involves thinking about solutions that cross boundary lines and challenge political opportunism.

School Desegregation as a Partial Answer

Educational segregation is only part of the system of racial separation, but it is more than a mere reflection of housing and boundary realities—it is also a vital component in the spread of residential segregation and the undermining of residential integration in racially changing communities, as well as a cause of unequal education and socialization, which profoundly affect employment opportunities. It is a basic component of the self-perpetuating cycle of segregation and inequality.

School policies have power to change these relationships, however, in ways that either diminish or intensify racial separation and its consequences. If housing segregation has massive educational consequences, and the way schools and school districts are organized intensify those consequences, it is clear that changing some aspects of school organization and policies could help. A basic effect of school desegregation policies that succeed is breaking the link between residence and double, or triple, school segregation for minority students. Those policies can

provide black and Latino students from segregated neighborhoods access to schools in middle class communities with much richer educational opportunities.

Drawing attendance lines in a way that concentrates minority students in a school with a small white minority tends to speed white departure from that neighborhood. Creating a choice program where students can select schools within some complex nonracial system tends to produce loss of middle class and white students and increases racial and economic stratification. On the other hand, choice systems that give preference to choices that increase desegregation and forbid those that undermine it have had very different consequences in Lynn and Cambridge. The most radical form of school desegregation, mandatory integration on a racial balance model across entire housing markets, tends to produce an increase of housing integration because it ends the incentive for whites to flee to overwhelmingly white areas (there are none) and removes the fear of residentially based resegregation of neighborhood schools-- outcomes that tend to produce higher levels of stable residential integration and increase the possibilities for positive race relations and academic success in the interracial schools. On a far less controversial scale, committed regional collaboration on metropolitan magnet schools, student transfer policies, civil rights enforcement, and housing and taxation policies would create a much less racially polarized and unequal urban complex.

School desegregation that offers access to desegregated middle class schools provides access to better opportunity, it does not guarantee success. This study is not primarily about the specific measured educational effects of segregation and integration, though those are substantial and have been much studied. Impacts depend to a considerable extent on how desegregation is done and the earlier preparation of students. But the way social scientists often conceptualize these issues has serious limits. The argument in desegregation research, in the interpretation of hundreds of studies, usually is about effect sizes, with test score changes over a relatively short period as the outcome variable, with the implicit assumption that desegregation is some kind of uniform treatment determined by the racial composition of the school that can be adequately evaluated within a relatively short time frame. The assumption is that unless there are large testing effects the treatment is unnecessary. Desegregation, however, is not a uniform treatment; it produces deep long-term changes, and many of the most important consequences are about life

chances, not test scores.[115] Clearly graduation, socialization, and future success are fundamental goals of students and parents.

Most evidence of the effects of integration shows significant benefits in achievement and life chances on a variety of dimensions. None of these studies, however, suggests that desegregation, especially desegregation as currently implemented, is a panacea that will end educational inequality. It is related, however, to somewhat higher test scores, higher graduation rates,[116] and greater success in college. This paper's basic goal has been to show systemic differences in opportunity—defined as opportunity to be in schools where more students graduate, where the teachers are more qualified, where the level of competition and peer groups are better, where the teachers face fewer of the disruptions and instability caused by conditions of families living in concentrated poverty, where the school and neighborhood is safer, where there are more pre-collegiate courses and counseling and links with colleges.

In much contemporary public debate, desegregation is considered a failure if it does not eliminate racial gaps, yet segregation of entire cities is not considered a serious problem if a handful of "break the odds" schools can be found while 90 percent of the schools lag far behind. In public policies like No Child Left Behind, the blame is shifted to the students and teachers in the segregated schools. When middle class and professional whites think about their own children, the goal is to obtain a full set of equal or superior opportunities, and provide support and encouragement to them to use them. In a society where minority families start behind and face many negative forces, a school that offers equal opportunity is a minimal standard.

This study does not claim that school desegregation is the most powerful possible form of desegregation, only that it is the only one that can potentially be implemented quickly on a large scale through public institutions. Almost nine-tenths of children attend public schools. Major housing desegregation would, doubtless, put many minority students in much better schools on a much better basis—as local residents with rights in the schools and networks of peer contacts outside the school setting as well as much more positive networks for their parents. But only about one twentieth of the housing stock is in public hands or publicly subsidized, and governmental control over most of it is very limited. Housing integration experiments have

[115] Schofield, Janet Ward, "Maximizing the Benefits of Student Diversity: Lessons from School Desegregation Research," in Gary Orfield, ed., *Diversity Challenged*, Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2001: pp. 99-110.
[116] Christopher B. Swanson, "Sketching a Portrait of Public High School Graduation: Who Graduates? Who Doesn't," in Gary Orfield, ed., *Dropouts in America: Confronting the Graduation Rate Crisis*, Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2004, pp. 29-30.

positive effects but are very small scale—all of them together probably do not reach the number of children affected by one major school desegregation plan. Until we get much more far-reaching housing remedies, school desegregation is the only major tool that can break into the vicious cycle of intergenerational racial inequality of opportunity based on residential separation.

The question is, what can really be done about the schools in a metro with the grim history of the violence and resistance against desegregation as in Boston, the most fragmented system of suburban school districts in the nation, and the huge and highly segregated white outer suburban population continuing to sprawl outward at ever lower densities, further and further away from the centers of minority residence? Obviously, there is no simple answer, but there are three very positive experiences that deserve attention and were carried out in spite of the Boston failure. Two are stories of desegregation achieved with some clear benefits in satellite cities which faced many challenges, and the other is a pioneering and long-running, if small, example of interdistrict transfer of students.

The satellite city of Lynn has pulled away from a path of rapid resegregation with relatively modest steps sweepingly upheld by a federal court in a 2003 Federal District Court decision and sustained by the Court of Appeals. Lynn is a satellite city of 89,000 people along the coast 9 miles North of Boston that had a 37 percent nonwhite population as of 2000. Hispanics were the largest minority group, with 18 percent of the total population, followed by blacks with 12 percent and Asians with 8 percent. The schools had larger minority enrollments with 42 percent whites, 29 percent Hispanics, 15 percent blacks and 14 percent Asians, including substantial disadvantaged Asian enrollment. The city adopted a voluntary desegregation plan in l987 to try to avoid both rapid resegregation and ghettoization and the possibility of a lawsuit for mandatory student transfers if nothing was done. The plan allowed for students to attend their local neighborhood schools if they wished and to transfer between schools if the transfer decreased segregation, but forbade transfers between schools if they increased segregation. Under the plan, according to evidence cited by the federal courts in their decisions, the previous racial transition of the city stopped, the schools improved and their resegregation was curtailed, and there was extensive evidence of positive educational and social outcomes for all groups of students.

The court concluded that Lynn's desegregation plan had reversed a serious crisis of white flight from the community. As the minority enrollment surged from 9 percent to 26 percent

between the late l970s and l987, and four concentrated, clearly unequal, minority schools and one segregated middle school emerged, whites were rapidly bailing out of what they likely saw as another ghettoizing community in racial transition and decline. Massachusetts Assistant Attorney General Richard Cole, who defended the Lynn plan in Federal court, summarized the conditions the city confronted:

> Lynn's segregated schools were plagued by racial strife and interracial violence between its white and nonwhite students, with high levels of self-segregation by race, poor academic performance, low attendance rates, high rates of discipline, and low community confidence in the school system…. Lynn experienced an alarming rate of white flight, with white enrollment declining an average of 5% each year for the 10 years preceding the plan . . . White families with school-aged children were moving out of the City of Lynn at high rates. Because of school climate issues, white students were opting to leave the school system for private and parochial schools in increasing numbers.[117]

After considering the evidence, the Federal trial court concluded that the plan has fostered a positive racial climate, increased the educational choices and opportunities for all groups of students, and had also achieved "increased attendance, improved school discipline, a stable enrollment of white students and safer schools."[118] The court concluded that the evidence showed that without a plan segregation would return with "a host of pernicious consequences."[119]

The success of the Lynn plan and the victory in court came in a community that had been facing the kind of classic story of spreading segregation and racial transition that had affected so many other Boston area communities. A relatively modest intervention that created no serious community strife had sufficed to change the momentum of the process and produce a range of positive community and educational outcomes for a considerable period of time. This does not mean, of course, that the same plan would work in all communities, but it does suggest that appropriate school policies could actually address not only school issues but have a real impact on the housing market and changing residential patterns as well. The decision of the U.S.

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[117] Cole, Richard W. "Fostering an Inclusive, Multiracial Democracy: How Attorneys and Social Scientists Made the Case for School Integration in Lynn Massachusetts," paper originally presented at Harvard Law School, Sept. 2004, revised October 2005.
[118] *Comfort v. Lynn School Committee*, 283 F. Supp. 2d 328 (D. Mass. 2003), at 376.
[119] Ibid.

Supreme Court in December 2005[120] not to review the Lynn case means that the decision of the Court of Appeals is final and that Boston area communities and the state government have significant legal latitude to take positive action to foster integrated schools.

Cambridge school officials have confronted different problems. Cambridge is an old industrial city right across the Charles River from Boston that is the location of two of the world's great universities, Harvard and MIT, and many related labs and activities; but it is also a city with old and dense housing, a city that had rent control until it was repealed in the mid-l990s, many low income tenants, and a city with a large stock of subsidized housing, accounting for about a sixth of its units, as well as extremely expensive private housing. Many of the residents are either students in the colleges or well-to-do families that use private schools. It is also a major immigrant destination and received a very large immigration from Haiti in the 1980s and l990s that substantially affected the school enrollment numbers. Cambridge had been a national pioneer in devising a special form of desegregation known as "controlled choice," which required all families to rank their preferred schools and then assigned students to them randomly from among those making requests within racial guidelines. This system avoided racial segregation. Given the tremendous racial and social class differences within the city, it was clear that Cambridge would experience rapidly accelerating segregation if forced to abandon its desegregation strategy. After the Boston Latin school *Wessman* decision[121] eliminating a racial set-aside for black and Latino students in Boston's most highly rated 'exam' school, the Cambridge school committee adopted an economic desegregation strategy with a racial desegregation backup plan if the result of controlled choice plan to produce economic diversity resulted in racial segregation. A survey of Cambridge's city-wide high school showed that students of each racial group had very positive experiences in the school and felt that they had gained both knowledge and preparation to live and work effectively in a very diverse setting.[122]

Metropolitan Boston is also home to one of the oldest city-suburban voluntary desegregation policies. METCO, the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunities, has been in operation for more than a third of a century. More than 30 Boston suburbs voluntarily receive about 3200 minority transfer students from the city, and none have withdrawn in spite of

[120] Certiorari was denied December 4, 2005, (*Boston Globe*, Dec. 5, 2005).
[121] *Wessman v. Boston School Committee*, 996 F.Supp. 120. (D. Mass. 1998).
[122] Kurlaender, Michal and Yun, John T, *The Impact of Racial and Ethnic Diversity on Educational Outcomes: Cambridge, MA School District*, The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, January 2002.

the explosive battles in Boston or the long-term failure of the state government to adequately reimburse their costs in providing the spaces. Though the program serves only a few thousand students, it is very popular, has strong support in many suburban communities and faces an intense demand from minority families in Boston.[123] Large numbers of METCO parents would prefer to live in the suburbs and a substantial fraction say they would move out of Boston if the suburban school options were not available for their children.

However, while METCO provides better schooling opportunities for the students that it serves, it is small-scale and very inadequately funded by an unsupportive state government, surviving only with the help of the suburban systems. In addition, demand for school transfers far exceeds the readiness of higher-performing schools to accept transfers, with the number relatively constant for many years.

There are a variety of modest efforts that could begin to produce different outcomes. The Lynn experience suggests that, in some circumstances, a modest change in the equilibrium of demand can produce very positive results. The state's extensive network of highly segregated charter schools could be given a requirement to recruit for diversity and to provide transportation to students from other communities. The transfer right from failing schools under No Child Left Behind could be changed from a meaningless right within districts with few good schools to a right to transfer to the suburbs. METCO's huge waiting list could be accommodated, desegregating another fifth or so of Boston's students. Positive efforts could be made in gentrifying neighborhoods in Boston and some of the satellite cities to recruit newcomers into improved or new schools to add social class diversity and more community support to the schools. With higher income and whiter populations moving into areas whose schools have heavy enrollments of low income, minority and immigrant children, there would be an opportunity for skillful school leaders to reach out to the newcomers, provide integrated high quality schools that would persuade them to stay in the community and raise their children in the public schools, increasing support for the schools and bringing resources into those schools that would enrich the education of both groups of students. So far very little has been done to take advantage of this opportunity.

[123] Eaton, S.E., *The Other Boston Busing Story,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001. In this study, Eaton documents the experiences of scores of Boston students who had access to the white suburban public schools and the powerful impact this has had in their adult lives.

The basic message of this report is that the educational consequences of residential segregation in metropolitan areas have profound intergenerational consequences, make a mockery of the promise of equal educational opportunity, feed the vicious cycle of racial inequality and separation, and that some very important things can and should be done to break that destructive cycle. To do them it is essential to think about housing as a key element in educational opportunity and to recognize that, far from having a true market or fair system of choice in either of these spheres, metro Boston has very severe racial barriers and boundaries that limit and threaten its future. This cycle can only be broken if it is recognized and there is a serious public commitment to integration.

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