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School Segregation: A Modern Issue

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Introduction:

There is a value in education. Education is a place where a child grows on an individual level and also where they learn how to be a citizen in the greater community. The intellectual and social development that a child receives during their time in education plays a major role in shaping the future of a nation. There is a flaw in the modern day education system that has existed throughout all of U.S. history. This flaw plays a negative role in the life of children and thus harms the greater society. This flaw is school segregation. In the United States today school segregation has been on the rise. School segregation has strong and powerful roots within the education system of the United States and this segregation is a threat to the growth and development of the greater American society.

In 1954 the Supreme Court declared in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* that separate could not be equal, and segregated schools created a disadvantage to minority students that was unconstitutional. After this decision there were attempts at integration. However, sixty years have passed, and school segregation is still prevalent today. Segregation is still at large within the United States. School segregation occurs most drastically in the Midwest, yet it is seen within all parts of the country. Today, nearly fifty percent of public schools throughout the United States are poor. This becomes problematic when the enrollment in public schools is majority-minority (Brownstein 2014). Statistics show that black students today are as segregated as they were in the 1960s (Brownstein 2014).

When discussing modern day school segregation, it is important to address what exactly this means. School segregation today is not simply about race as it was in the 1950s, but is also about socioeconomic status (GAO 2016). While there are a number of different attempts to end segregation throughout history it has continued. School segregation has been adaptable to change

and resistant to policy. There are a number of different factors that have created and maintained segregation within our education system. The main factors this research will examine are school secessions, funding, private schools, and residential segregation. Each of these factors play a major role in the creation and the maintenance of school segregation in the modern day. These factors are often looked at as isolated influencers; however, it is the intersection of each that has created a permanence of segregation in our education system.

Education plays a crucial role in the lives of students and school segregation can hinder the educational process. An example of how this segregation harms students in their education development comes with the discrepancies of education quality. Students in lower funded minority districts are seen to have less adequate educations than their white higher funded peers. This puts minority students at a disadvantage and prevents them from equal opportunities (GAO 2016). Segregation matters for a different reason as well. Studies have shown that students who learn in a diverse environment end up receiving a better academic as well as social education. Studies have been conducted that prove students who learn in a diverse environment end up receiving more out of their education (Gurin 2004). The world is becoming more diverse, and it is important to understand and be accepting of diversity within an individual life. School segregation thus harms all students, regardless of their race. Clearly school segregation has negative impacts on modern society and policymakers should focus more heavily on reform.

Looking further into the impacts of school segregation statistics from a 2016 Government Accountability Office found data which supports negative impacts arising from school segregation based on wealth and race. The report found that schools with 75 to 100 percent of students who were either black or Hispanic and eligible for free or reduced lunch offered less math, science, and college preparatory classes (GAO 2016). In addition, students in these schools

were held back freshman year in disproportionate numbers. According to the GAO report, “an extensive body of research over the past 10 years shows a clear link between schools’ socioeconomic composition and student academic outcomes” (GAO 2016). Students in low income families show worse outcomes than students from middle-class families. This sets students’ back and does not give them equal opportunity at an education.

While there have been attempts at reforming the education system in the United States toward making schools more integrated there has not been wide success. As stated, there are a number of different intersecting factors that have made school segregation a lasting structure within our society. Reforms for school segregation must be addressed on a wider scale. The factors that create and maintain segregation cannot be taken individually, but instead must be looked at together. Simply fixing one factor of segregation may allow for improvement, but the segregation will just resurface in a different way. In order to eliminate the permanence of segregation within the United States it will be necessary to make wide scale educational reform. Wide scale educational reform is a major task, but it is certainly necessary because education plays one of the biggest roles in shaping individuals and the community. There is a great importance in ensuring our education system attempts to become the best it can because with this comes a better overall nation.

School segregation has had a long and complicated history in the United States. The research begins with background on the history of segregation in the United States. After the background information is given a data analysis of each factor (school secessions, funding, private schools, and residential segregation) affecting segregation is explained and examined. After explaining the factors, they are analyzed in the way that each influences and reinforces the other. The analysis of the factors clearly shows that school segregation has and continues to be

maintained by the intersection and the mutual reinforcement of the factors studied. The results show that these different factors have a negative influence on education in the United States that should be of greater concern to politicians as well as society as a whole. As the nation continues to divide and polarize education is at the heart of every growing problem.

The United States has been built upon separation based on a number of different aspects. The main sources of this separation have been based on race and wealth. School segregation is a part of the core of this separation and is one of the main reasons that separation has continued to be such a strong aspect of this country. However, it is important to understand that the solution for this problem does not lie within school segregation alone. Separation, isolation, and polarization are aspects built into the American society, which are maintained through a hierarchy that operates within the United States. This hierarchy creates a separation and a division that is based on a number of things: race, gender, class, sexuality, religion, and many other aspects. The results of this research show that school segregation is a contributing factor to separation in the United States; though it is an important factor, segregation is only one. The development of this segregation is a part of a much bigger issue in American society where individuals do not know how to interact and relate with those who are different than themselves. The research in this project concludes the intersection and mutual enforcement of factors that create and maintain school segregation reveal a larger issue than just school segregation. What it reveals is there is a problem of polarization in the United States that is so deeply intertwined into how our society operates that the factors that influence it intersect and give each other more power. The country faces a time where society continues to divide more and more, and while people try to look in one place for a solution, they will never find it because it is not located in

one place it is located everywhere. Separation is at the root of what developed into being American society today.

The importance in this study of school segregation in the modern day is that education has and always plays a central role in the development of society. The children in schools today are the next generation that shapes the future of American society. Education is so essential to the way a child develops into an American citizen. A school is not a place where they simply learn subjects, but it is where they learn to be an individual. Education is at the core of both intellectual and social development. The way the current system of American education is run reinforces lack of diversity, lack of understanding for those that are different than oneself, and the continuance of separation in society. Children are learning in schools that are homogenous to their race and socioeconomic position. When one grows and develops in a situation like this, they do not learn how to interact with those that are different than them, and they do not learn about the broader society and the differences that exist. They instead remain inside of a little bubble of familiarity that follows them around and keeps them in the same place for their entire lives.

Literature Review:

Large amounts of research have been conducted on how education funding impacts segregation within schools. Rachel R. Ostrander is an Associate at the Law Offices of Vincent P. Hurley and Government Civil litigation defense firm. Ostrander conducts research in which she concludes that modern day school segregation is the result of funding disparities. Ostrander refers to the “urban-migrant dilemma in education” (2015). This urban-migrant dilemma is occurring because low income, inner city urban families are stuck in lower funded schools due to the low property values in these areas. On the other hand, families who have more income are

able to move to locations that have better schools with better resources. The results of this urban-migrant problem are schools that become more and more homogenous. (Ostrander 2015)

Ostrander suggests that this de facto segregation has been challenged, but progress remains slow and the courts do not have the power to make meaningful changes in the way funding is distributed. Commonly found in previous research on funding is that responsibility for funding is shared among local, state, and federal governments.

Many scholars draw a lot of attention to school secessions and their contribution to school segregation. Research conducted by these scholars find that school secessions, which lead to schools heavily segregated by race and class, have become methods for segregation that are socially and culturally accepted throughout the nation. Erika Wilson, Assistant Professor of Law, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, illustrates the concept of these secessions. She refers to school secessions as “the new school segregation” and describes them as a district “seceding from racially diverse, county-based school districts and forming their own racially homogenous school districts” (Wilson 2016). Explained by Wilson, this method of segregation is crucial, yet under examined. It occurs through an intersection of state and local government law. State and local law allows municipalities discretion to determine the use of their services and public education falls within this. By using their taxation and zoning policies municipalities can create their own district communities. These district communities often occur along racial and class lines, creating districts separated by wealth and race (Wilson 2016). Wilson explains that the justification for these actions is based on the argument of localism, or the idea that a small, municipally based school structure is better. Wilson’s concern is that this segregation has now been legally and culturally normalized and will continue to create unjust division in school systems. Wilson’s examination on school secessions makes the claim that they are being used as

“race-neutral proxy to create segregated school systems that are immune from legal challenge” (2016). Wilson finds school secessions as a tool used to form wholesale resegregation of schools and determines it to be a main factor in school segregation that needs to be addressed. Derek W. Black (2017), Professor of Law at the University of South Carolina and former school desegregation lawyer, also focuses on school secessions as a concern for segregation in education throughout the United States. Black has studied and witnessed secessions over his years of research and finds that as long as secessions operate behind furthering educational quality or school choice the courts are willing to give it sanctions (Black 2017).

Other scholars acknowledge residential segregation as one of the main factors behind school segregation. Erika Frankenberg (2013), assistant professor in the department of education policy studies in the College of Education at the Pennsylvania State University, is one scholar who believes residential segregation maintains racially isolated schools. Frankenberg acknowledges the reciprocal relationship between residential segregation and school segregation. After conducting a study on the impact of residential segregation on school segregation Frankenberg analyzed that there is a strengthening link between the two and she argues that that residential segregation should become more of a governmental focus because it would eliminate residential segregation and thus aid in school segregation (2013). As another scholar, Richard Rothstein, explains “education policy is constrained by housing policy: it is not possible to desegregate schools without desegregating both low-income and affluent neighborhoods” (Rothstein 2014). Rothstein is a research associate of the Economic Policy Institute and a fellow at the Thurgood Marshall Institute of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and of the Haas Institute at the University of California. His research has found school segregation to be de jure, or resulting directly from racially-motivated and public policy that specifically works to create

segregation. Segregation thus is an intentional creation in the United States and is the result of policy efforts and initiatives on both the residential and educational spectrum.

Private schools are a factor of school segregation that highly debated and heavily discussed. Salvatore Saporito and Deenesh Sohnl (2006) conduct an in-depth study on the influence of private schools. Their research shows that private schools do have an impact on increasing segregation within district. They conclude that if students were to attend their neighborhood schools instead of enrolling in private and charter schools the public schools would be more diverse. These alternatives to public schooling promote segregation and the authors recommend that desegregation efforts are furthered and there is an expansion that promotes student mobility across public, private, and charter schools. Charles T. Clotfelter (2004) also believes that private school enrollment heavily impacts school segregation. Clotfelter focuses his research especially on the South and finds that districts in the South have used private schools as a means for whites to avoid exposure to non-Whites. In a study conducted Clotfelter concluded that there are clear impacts of private schools in racial segregation for students in K-12. Looking at enrollment data he found that when the minority level in a school is above 55% there is a significant jump of white enrollment in private schools in the South. The jump is from 12% to 19% enrollment and this trend continues as minority percentages rise (Clotfelter 2004). Significant amounts of data from researchers show that private schools certainly have an impact on school segregation, and this impact can grow to be even more significant depending on the region.

Overall, scholars and researchers debate over which factors of school segregation have the most impact and should most be addressed. This research is valuable and useful in attempts to decrease segregation and promote integration throughout the United States. What seemed to

be lacking in previous research is the way in which multiple factors intersect and mutually reinforce each other. The analysis of the factors of funding, school secessions, residential segregation, and private schools shows that these factors all interact and intersect with one another. Thus the research in this study adds a valuable contribution to previous research by showing that instead of looking at segregation in schools on a micro level a macro level examination is essential when addressing the issue at large. Through this approach it is seen that school segregation plays a larger role of continuing the separation that is so well a part of American society and continues polarization.

Research Design:

After examining the works of other scholars on school segregation this project looked at the history and the background of school segregation. The findings showed that segregation in schools is something that has historical and structural roots. Next, four factors that were seen to have major influences on contemporary school segregation were examined. Funding, school secessions, residential segregation, and private schools were each seen to play a major role in the maintenance and creation of school segregation in recent years. This was concluded after conducting research on each of these factors and examining how they operate in the education system today. The study of the factors showed that they do not exist in isolation, but instead exist in an intersecting and mutually reinforcing way. After analysis of the four factors of school segregation data showed that these four factors play a role in the maintenance of one another. Thus the conclusion was drawn that school segregation is a contemporary issue that exists structurally within the United States and solutions to this problem must come from comprehensive reform.

Background:

Segregation, in a number of forms, has occurred throughout the history of the United States. Recently, there has been a spike in the amount of school segregation that exists nationwide. Though segregation exists all throughout the nation, the extent to which it occurs varies by region. It can be noted that segregation is highest in the Northeast. There are also variations state to state with New York having the highest amount of segregation and West Virginia have the most integration. Looking at statistics the Government Accountability Office (GAO 2016) report, it was found that from the 2000-2001 school year to the 2013-2014 school year the number of public schools K-12 that were in high poverty and the number that had majority African-American or Hispanic students had a significant increase. The number of schools during these years rose from 7,009 to 15,089, or from 9% to 16%. Schools today are considered racially and socio-economically isolated. Meaning that 75% of students in schools are of the same race or class. (GAO 2016)

The data that shows a growth in racial and socio-economic isolation exposes an important fact: segregation no longer occurs simply along racial lines as it did in the past. Today poverty and socioeconomic status are also highly linked with segregation (Chokshi 2014). Research from the Civil Rights Project shows that racial composition in schools has had drastic changes since the 1990s through recent years. The changes include a drop in white students in public schools from about 69% to 50% and an increase in Latino student enrollment in public schools from 11% to 25%. Black student enrollment has remained around the same of about 15%. (Civil Rights Project 2012)

The United States has had a long and complicated history with school segregation. Up until the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* U.S. schools were nearly completely segregated. After this decision the United States government began enforcing integration

throughout the nation. This was a difficult process that occurred throughout the late 1950s and 1960s. After *Brown* there have been a number of additional court decisions that are important to note when examining school segregation. In the first few decades following the 1950s there were cases which supported the integration process. However, beginning in the 1980s there were decisions that began to scale back on these efforts and have had influenced how school segregation operates today. (Teaching Tolerance)

One such case that should be noted is the 1972 case of *Wright v. Council of the City of Emporia*. This is an important case because it shows the continued effort of the Court to integrate schools. In this case the Supreme Court determined that public school districts could not avoid desegregation efforts by developing new, mostly white “splinter districts.” This tool of separating out districts has been common throughout history and will be examined in more detail. This case is important to note because the Court rules against “splinter districts” and says this is an unlawful method of districting. Later in 1973 the Supreme Court makes a decision that backtracks on desegregation efforts. This case is *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*. This is an important case in which the Supreme Court rules that education is not a fundamental right. Education not being a fundamental right then, according to the Court, justifies the idea that under the Constitution there are no requirements for equal education expenditures within a state. This ruling has had major historical impacts and is an influencer in why minority and poor children are stuck in lower-income and inferior schools. (Teaching Tolerance)

In the 1986 decision of *Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk Virginia* it was determined that once a school district has met its goals the district will be released from its desegregation plan. This led to schools pushing to meet their goals and in 1988 school integration reached its all time high with 45% of black students attending majority-white schools.

Post meeting their desegregation quotas schools could then begin to scale back on desegregation efforts. After *Riddick* desegregation effort enforcement by the courts began to recede (Teaching tolerance). In 2007, *Parents Involved v. Seattle* was decided. This was a highly debated case about whether or not voluntary school integration plans are unconstitutional. The Supreme Court ruled that these types of plans were in fact unconstitutional. The ruling in this case is important when looking at modern day school segregation because this decision opened the door for modern segregation. Essentially, this ruling made very few incentives for schools to continue desegregation efforts (Oyez). Today, there is a current case that has recently been appealed. This case deals with a district in Jefferson County Alabama attempting to secede from the predominately black county into its own district. The appeal is being filed by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund after a District Court ruled in favor of the secession. This case and the impact of school secessions will be more thoroughly analyzed (Marcotte 2017).

School segregation is adaptable and a flexible process. By examining these court cases we can see how school segregation has managed to reform itself into making a lasting impact on American education. These cases provide necessary background information for the rest of the paper and provide information on how school segregation is not caused by one factor, but instead by multiple factors that have intersected with each other throughout history. Also important to note is the significance of the judiciary when it has come to education in the United States. The decisions made by the Supreme Court have set the tone for how school segregation is handled. These decisions shape the education system in the United States. Court rulings throughout history have varied, however the common trend within the court is that they are not willing to take an extra step when it comes to education. The court has not taken a greater step of enforcement of equality of education, instead they nearly ensure that there is adequate effort at

providing an education. This unwillingness to do more when it comes to education has a major impact on the factors of school segregation and is important to address.

Data Presentation:

Funding:

In the United States public schools are funded through a combination of federal, state, and local sources. However, it is not possible to provide a specific breakdown of how schools across the nation are funded because it varies greatly from state to state, and within the states from district to district. To show this variation we can look at the state-to-state spending in 2015. New York's per-student spending was the highest with \$21,206 per student, the national average was \$11,392 per student, and Utah spent the lowest at \$6,575 per student. A large portion of school funding is based on local property taxes. The results of this are that there are large disparities in funding among wealthy and impoverished communities. (Biddle and Berliner 2002) The distribution of public school funding thus contributes to the socioeconomic segregation that occurs within schools. As was determined in the court case of *San Antonio v. Rodriguez* there is no Constitutional right to education so funding does not have to be equalized. The results of this are schools highly segregated by wealth in the United States.

There is a shared responsibility of education funding between local communities, states, and the federal government. This shared responsibility results in a lack of accountability for actions and policies which hurt schools. While the primary financial responsibility for schools is the state, the federal government continues to take on a prominent role in funding and policy decisions. Meanwhile, the main portion of school funds comes from local taxes. With this contortion of responsibility there becomes a lack of accountability from each source for the problems that occur within education (Ostrander 2015). No one government entity is taking

responsibility for flaws in funding. Instead each pushes the issue off onto another and the result is the issue does not get address and remains flawed. Without any entity taking responsibility for disparities in funding the problems continue to grow and the disparities widen.

An additional issue with school funding is that there is a focus on education outputs as a measure of adequacy (Ostrander 2015). The current system of Common Core uses standardized tests as a measure of quality of the system. This system is problematic and negatively impacts the way education operates today. A problem with this method of funding is without equalization of funding many schools that have far fewer resources and lower quality educators. This results in lower achievement levels in these schools. In the U.S. education system, schools that have higher performances receive more funding and the lower schools that need more funding continue to receive less. This is a problematic form of funding. One scholar's description provides as a description of this cycle.

“It is a self-perpetuating cycle. The problem is perpetuated because children are not able to gain access to critical funding needed to adequately educate them and to enable higher performance. This is the urban-migrant problem in a nutshell. This leaves deficiencies in the quality of education that these children will receive under Common Core Standards and possibly other outputs based assessment models for determining funding.” (Ostrander 2015)

These systems are in place because there is a belief that schools that perform better are more deserving than those that do not. In addition, there is a belief that this system will provide motivation for higher achievement in schools. However, this does not hold to be true when looking at research. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) studied and found that per student expenditures are not the best determinant of student achievement so schools with

high performances do not achieve more than their counterparts. What has been found to be affective is the coupling of sufficient funding, having an understanding of racial demographics, and acknowledging racial segregation and disparities (Ostrander 2015). While these are found to bring more academic success the current system still operates based on test scores as a measure of adequacy and schools that score higher are rewarded while schools that score lower are punished.

Examination of educational funding shows that funding plays an essential role in education adequacy. Funding has impacts on all aspects of the education system. Our current system that allows for such unequal distribution of wealth is perpetuating the problem of segregation. Low-income students are highly segregated and trapped in schools with others of the same socio-economic status as themselves. This has negative impacts on students in many ways. The students in lower-income neighborhoods have an educational disadvantage by having less resources along with less adequate education. Also, these children experience negative self-image and sense of hopelessness (Ostrander 2015). These students are then likely to grow up remaining in their same low socioeconomic status and the cycle repeats. Thus, funding in education creates and maintains a permanence of school segregation within the United States.

School Secessions:

Public schools in the United States are sorted by district boundary lines. This is an interesting part of school systems because it can be used both to integrate schools, and also to segregate schools depending on how the lines are drawn. There is a method of school segregation that had been used after the *Brown* decision that is starting to reemerge today. This method is known as school secessions and it is evident throughout the country, but is becoming prominent in the South (Brownstein 2014). Within the last five years, over ten suburban municipalities in

the South have seceded, or have attempted to secede (Wilson 2016). Essentially, secessions are when school district boundary lines are drawn in a way that creates majority white, middle class suburban municipalities. These communities secede from their county based districts and create their own school districts in areas where the broader district is typically heavily diverse in terms of race and socioeconomic class. This method of school secession does not use direct discriminatory or racist justification for their actions, however, the undertones certainly exist (Black 2017).

Legally, this municipality secession occurs because of state and local government law. State and local governments give residents in municipalities discretion in providing some services. An example of one of these services is public education. One of the powers that come with this discretion is significant powers over zoning and taxation policies. These policies have the ability to include some residents while excluding others. These exclusionary zoning techniques typically separate residents along lines of race and class. The justification for these actions is in a localism argument. This is the idea that a small, decentralized, municipal school governance is preferred (Wilson 2016). Those who support the secessions believe that county-based districts are too large and too diverse to be efficient and fulfill student's educational needs. Opponents of the secessions argue that this method is an attempt to backtrack on desegregation efforts. They point out the fact that these municipal based schools end up separating among race and class lines. The greater school district ends up harmed by secessions because the middle class individuals take their tax money out of the greater district. (Wilson 2016)

School secessions are an important and underrated method of segregation. "Racial segregation in schools is now both legally and culturally normalized" (Wilson 2016). Desegregation efforts have begun to erode in recent years. This happens culturally from doubts

about the merits and the efficiency of school desegregation, and also legally by more leniency from the courts on desegregation standards. Immediately after the *Brown* decision there were many municipalities in the South that attempted to secede. The 1972 decision of *Wright v. Council of Emporia*, however, ended these attempts by ruling that if the secessions hurt the county school's ability to desegregate than they were not justified and thus were illegal (Teaching Tolerance). This decision showed an aggressive move by the courts in support of desegregation. This has now begun to erode over the years. This erosion can be seen in the modern day within Jefferson County, Alabama.

In Jefferson County, Alabama a number of secessions have taken place. One of these secessions is currently being challenged by the Jefferson County Board of Education. A community in Jefferson County, known as Gardendale, is attempting to secede. The Board of Education argues that the secession of Gardendale will create more segregation within the county and violates desegregation orders. The impact this secession will have can be seen in the numbers. Jefferson County has diverse demographics with 46% being white, 45% Black, 6% Hispanic, and 57% socioeconomically disadvantaged. Meanwhile, Gardendale is significantly less diverse with 88% being white, 8% Black, 1% Asian, 1% Latino, and 4.8% being socioeconomically disadvantaged (Wilson 2016). If Gardendale were to draw new boundary lines it would create a municipality that is majority white and middle-class and would take diversity and funds out of the greater Jefferson County. This example shows the impacts that occur when schools secede. Secessions only occur with municipalities that have the resources and funding that can afford to secede from the greater districts. The major problem with secessions is that while it might increase the education and quality of schools in the seceded

districts, it leaves other districts behind, and these districts are typically filled low income and minority students.

The example in Jefferson County clearly shows that the variable of school secessions creates and maintains segregation. This form of segregation was common right after the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Today, they are again starting to become more apparent in the South. This is a very direct form of segregation that should be examined and taken seriously or else it can begin to have major impacts on districts all throughout the country. A number of different states through the U.S. no longer have legal protections against secession as a method for segregating schools since the courts have become more lenient in their desegregation enforcement. Results are more homogenous school districts throughout the county. So while this variable of segregation has been relatively small scale and more apparent the South it has drastic impacts and has potential to grow having a major impact on public education nationwide

Housing and Real Estate:

One area where there is a core of separation in the United States is in housing. Owning a home in the U.S. is a major building block of civic life and this ownership is a way of creating stability in the lives of families. However, there is a history of housing segregation in the United States. The residential segregation of black Americans was, and has been, a permanent feature in the housing patterns in the U.S. This segregation was a part of local, state, and federal policy during the 20th century. Particularly, after World War II blacks were migrating into the North from the South and instead of being able to purchase a home, receiving stability and resources for their families that would bring long term benefits, they were lumped into highly segregated ghettos (Fulwood 2016). This process was known as redlining, and this sought to maintain racially white neighborhoods. There was a large boom in home ownership from the 1930s and

1960s and the federal government financed majority of these homes, but they left black applicants out. This separation during the middle of the 20th century was the core of segregation of black Americans into urban communities. Evidence for this is seen in the data: over the last two generations 48% of black families have lived in poor neighborhoods, while only 7% of white families have lived in poor neighborhoods (Rothstein 2014).

In 1968 the United States passed the Fair Housing Act. The purpose of this Act was to create equal housing opportunities regardless of race, religion, or national origin. While this was a landmark case there has been little legislation since this time to continue the enforcement of this Act. With this lack of enforcement comes a continuation of residential segregation. Residential segregation is an important player in school segregation because of the reciprocal relationship between the two. When it comes to residential segregation and school segregation the two are seen to reinforce each other. Residential segregation plays a role in maintaining and creating school segregation because school's composition is created by students' locations and the neighborhoods in which they live. Students get assigned schools based on where they live residentially so residential segregation will result in the school also being segregated. Evidence also shows that schools influence residential segregation, making the relationship reciprocal. Schools impact residential segregation because families take the quality of schools into account when they are selecting where they want to live. In addition, a study shows that students who attend integrated schools are more likely to move into neighborhoods that are more diverse. This study showed that if you reduced school segregation, neighborhood segregation could be reduced up to 31% (Frankenberg 2013). "Research on actual neighborhood choices has suggested that white families make efforts to live in predominantly white neighborhoods, while nonwhite families show a greater tolerance for integrated neighborhoods" (Saporito and Sohoni 2006).

Residential and school segregation have thus seen little remedy since the *Brown* decision or the Fair Housing Act

Private and Charter Schools:

The history of private schools in the United States is long and complicated and has many ties to religion. The importance of private schools in this research involves their growing importance since the 1960s. Private schools saw a great increase in the South post *Brown v. Board of Education*. For example, in Mississippi between 1967 and 1972 the private school enrollment jumped from 3.5% to 10.6% (Clotfelter 2004). The enrollment increase in Mississippi was an exiting of white students from public schools, especially in districts with majority black school children. Increased private school enrollment spiked up like this all throughout the South in the midst of desegregation orders. The reason for this increase again ties back to the country's roots in racism and separation. Private schools during this time, especially in the South, provided White families the opportunity to avoid desegregation efforts. The areas in the South during the 1960s which had the highest enrollment in private schools were the areas where there were minority concentrations at or above 55% (Clotfelter 2004). Private schools gave, and continue to give, Whites the opportunity to avoid being in minority schools. The result of this is a furthering of the racial disparity between public and private schools. Private schools "made significant racial integration in the schools virtually impossible to achieve." Private school enrollment does play a significant role in exuberating school segregation in public schools.

There is often a debate that occurs among scholars on whether or not private schools, charter schools, or school choice play a role in creating segregation in schools. The evidence above shows how it does play a role. There is further evidence to suggest the negative impacts on diversity in education with private schools. Two researches conduct a study in which they link

maps of school attendance for 22 of the largest public school districts in the United States. The results show that if children attended their local public schools instead of attending private schools, the public schools would become more diverse. An in-depth study of the influence of charter and public schools found that “public schools that have private and/or magnet schools within their catchment areas have disproportion fewer white children than do schools without nearby private or magnet schools” (Saporito and Sohoni 2006). Specifically, if there is a private school in the area of a public school the enrollment of white students in the public school is 1.6% lower than if there is no private school. This number grows as the number of private schools in the area grow. If there are two or three private schools there are 4% few white students in public schools. Most significant, if there are more than three private schools in an area the number of white students enrolled in public schools will drop by over 10% (Saporito and Sohoni 2006).

Looking at private schools in the United States, we can see how prominent efforts to maintain segregation are. As residential segregation has played a huge role in separating out individuals based on race, private schools have played a role in maintaining this segregation when residential segregation was not as big of a player. Private schools gave white families who lived in areas where non-white populations were relatively high another out and another opportunity to move their children away from minorities. Important to note is the role that private entities in general have played in separation throughout history. When the courts determined that public accommodations can not discriminate based on race, private entities popped up in order to compensate for these decisions. Individuals often use private entities to continue discrimination and limit those they provide their services to. This is exactly what was occurring in the 1960s. Private schools placed limitations and restrictions on who could and could not enroll into schools and race was one of the main factors in this. Thus, discrimination had

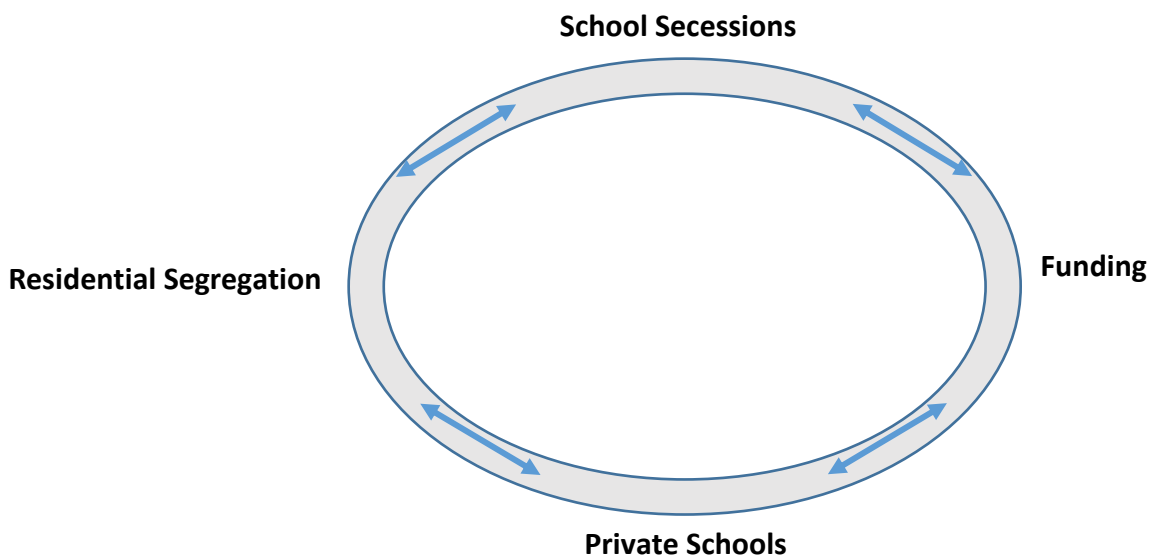
legal protection in the U.S. This is similar to how the government used redlining as a means to regulate and limit enrollment from receiving federal aid to by homes. The examples given in residential segregation and the development of private schools it is clear how the United States uses tactics in all realms of social living to block out minority Americans from receiving equal rights and equal opportunities.

Today the data and statistics on private school's ability to increase racial segregation is particularly important. The current administration, run by President Trump and Education Secretary Betsy DeVos, has vowed that their priority when it comes to education will be school choice. Basically, the goal of school choice is to provide funding for students to find alternatives to public schools known as schools that are poor educational options and enroll in private or charter schools. Apart from data that schools the negative impact private school enrollment can play there has been an overall issue of the privatization of education. The privatization of schools matters because this in a sense is treating education as a business. The Supreme Court has declared children do not have a right to equal education, but every child does have a right to education. Here comes the flaw with privatization of schools, they cannot operate as a business does. Every child has a right to an education. So every child regardless of behavior, skin color, reading ability, testing ability, etc. must receive an education. The purpose of a business to take the best and make the most of it, but schools should not pick and choose their "products" or "materials." A place must be found for every child. Privatization of schools means that the focus becomes on cutting costs and producing high test scores instead of developing children who are learning how to be good and competent citizens who work to better their lives and the overall state of society. "The best schools value quality over costs" (Ravich 2013). Eliminating

enrollment in public schools will have negative impacts on the purpose of education in the United States.

Analysis:

After examining school funding, school secessions, housing segregation, and private school enrollment it is clear that each one of these factors has played a role in the creation as well as the maintenance of school segregation throughout U.S. history. After exploring these factors individually one thing becomes clear: these factors do not exist in isolation, but instead each intersects with the other factors. These factors can be looked at side-by-side and in doing this it can be seen why school segregation has developed such a permanence in the American education system. Essentially, there is a circular relationship among these variables and they exist in unison.



The intersection and mutually reinforcement of these factors happens in a variety of different ways. The image above gives a sense of how this circular relationship operates. First,

analyzing the variables of residential segregation and private schools we can see how the two operate in a way that maintains segregation within schools. In areas where there are white or middle class students and minority or lower class students living in close proximity with one another, schools end up much more diverse. However, private schools give white or middle class students the option to avoid going to these more diverse schools and enroll into the private schools which are much less diverse. The results of this on residential segregation is that even though students live in areas that are in close proximity they attend different schools. By attending different schools, they do not interact with each other the way they would if they went to the same school. This creates a sense of residential segregation among individuals of different backgrounds, even though they are all living relatively close to each other.

Residential segregation and school secessions relate in that the secessions occur in smaller majority white and middle class communities within the greater more diverse district. The residential segregation that creates and maintains these majority white middle class communities reinforces the ability for schools to secede because these communities have more resources and higher property tax income so it makes school secessions beneficial. People in the district who can afford to and want to send their kids to the smaller seceded schools will then move into these smaller communities thus reinforcing the furthering of residential segregation.

The variables of school funding and school secessions can also be analyzed. School funding and school secessions exist and operate closely with one another in their maintenance for school segregation. One way this happens is that it is due to the flaws in educational funding that provide a financial incentive for secessions. The inequities in school funding make it beneficial for schools to secede from the larger districts. Wealthier communities can secede from their larger district and create a smaller district in which they can take their wealth and make a school

district that has better funding than that of their previous district. These two factors thus mutually reinforce one and other because it is due to local control of funding that allows communities to secede and makes this secession beneficial and profitable. This cycle ends up having very negative impacts on poorer districts by taking funding out of the district and leaving schools further segregated by race and socioeconomic class. In addition, they intersect because if you were to simply modify the policies that create unequal funding in a place like Jefferson County you would create more equal schools, but due to secessions the schools would still be largely segregated by race. This begins to show us why larger scale reforms are necessary in fixing school segregation. Segregation is a part of American society and this separation based on race and poverty level is very clear. It is adaptive and has the ability to adjust and change in order to persist. Thus simply equalizing funding is not enough of a change because segregation may already exist or could reappear in the form of secessions.

Private schools and funding have an interesting relationship with one another that has had historical significance. Part of the process of private schools is that they are independent schools and are thus not administered by national, state, or local government and majority of their funding comes from tuition. The results of this is that private schools have an ability to select their students based on different criteria. In the past private schools were able to racially segregate their schools in a more outright way. Recently, they are able to keep their school's majority white or middle class by keeping tuition prices high and being selective in their admissions standards. The ability to fund the schools with little to no governmental funding allows for the schools to discriminate and remain segregated.

The analysis of the intersection and mutual reinforcement of the factors funding, school secessions, residential segregation, and private school enrollment shows that school segregation

is not a simple or accidental part of American education. These factors work for each other to keep the other strong and keep them operating. What is revealed after analyzing these factors is the deep roots of separation that exist in the United States. The separation based on race and wealth affects an individual from a very young age. Education is where a person first begins to develop and they experience this separation immediately in their lives which makes it seem normal and separation becomes a routine for people in their lives.

Conclusion:

Education is the root for changing the norms of society. It is in a child's education that they are giving the means to make something of their lives. With a country built on separation, education is one of the main forces that can either reinforce this separation or that can be the means to change this separation. Why exactly is education so important? It is because of the role that it plays within our society. Education serves the purpose of developing students in minds and in character. Education is how children grow up to be smart, competent, and wise citizens. Those children who learn and develop under the education system are the ones who one day grow up and are the next leaders and shapers of society. "Public education is an essential part of the democratic fabric of American society (Ravitch 2013). Because of the great and essential role education plays in the United States the research in this project has a great importance. The education system in America is flawed and these flaws are having negative impacts on the entire nation.

The research in this project exposes some of the flaws the education system has. School segregation is a very serious and important influencer on educational adequacy in the United States. While the data and analysis exposes some of these problems and addresses the issue of school segregation in a broader way, there are limitations for this research. There are many ideas

for solutions to one or more of the factors that cause segregation. However, as is seen school segregation is a structural part of modern day education and there cannot be one simple solution. This research was limited to examining a few of the main factors causing school segregation, yet there are many more. This research shows that segregated schooling is an issue that does not have a simple solution, but instead education in the United States will need comprehensive reform in order to bring any remedy to the problem of school segregation. Discovering that the segregation is a part of a bigger issue of separation and polarization in the United States placed limitations on the extent that a solution to the problem could be suggested. Instead, what was found is that the issue faced is much larger and requires a much more complicated fix. If elimination of school segregation is at all possible it is certainly not within the near future and a substantial amount of additional research would need to be conducted.

For myself, I will continue to conduct research in school segregation and the impact that it has in my Sociology Senior Inquiry. Within this project I will more closely examine the impact that segregation has on students at Augustana college. This research will be conducted by examining survey results, which look at the academic and social implications of segregation and lack of diversity in the student body at Augustana. In addition, perceptions of school segregation by Augustana students' will also be examined. Through this research, further implications of the importance of comprehensive school reforms will be seen from a sociological perspective. When tied together with the political research from this project there will be an overall benefit of examining segregation within multiple social science fields.

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