Education, Segregation, and Structural Inequality

Schools, SCOTUS, and the Resegregation of America

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SCOTUS and Entrenchment of "De facto" Segregation

- Structural inequality in education cannot be fully understood without examination of court decisions
- These court decisions must be understood in the context of spatial geography
- * "De facto" segregation in education = De jure segregation in residential patterns
- Important Court cases:
 - Brown (1954); Green v. New Kent County (1968); Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg (1971); San Antonio v. Rodriguez (1973); Milliken v. Bradley (1974); Oklahoma City v. Dowell (1991); PICS v. Seattle (2007)



Brown Decision and the Early Years

- Overturns Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) and rules that separate facilities are inherently unequal as a violation of Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment
- In Brown II (1955), Court rules that school districts must desegregate "with all deliberate speed."
 - Responsibility for desegregation is given to local school boards
 - Leaves room for districts to resist

The Brown (1954) decision rules de jure school segregation unconstitutional



Green v. New Kent County (1968)

- New Kent County schools use a freedom of choice plan
- SCOTUS rules that the plan was ineffective, and that "The time for mere 'deliberate speed' has run out."
- Critical part: school boards have an affirmative duty to dismantle and eliminate racially unitary school systems



Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg (1971)

- Consolidated school district with segregated schools as a result of housing patterns
- SCOTUS rules that lower courts have three powerful tools at their disposal:
 - Racial quotas can be used as a starting point
 - Courts can redraw district lines as a corrective measure
 - Courts can mandate busing
- The last time SCOTUS is unanimous on a school segregation case



San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez (1973)

- Plaintiffs argue there is a fundamental right to education, and that Texas
 Alternative
 Alterna school financial system violates Equal Protection Clause of 14th Amendment
- District Court agrees
- SCOTUS rules against
 - There is no constitutional right to education
 - Unequal school funding is not illegal
 - Poverty does not make for a suspect class



Milliken v. Bradley (1974)

- Plaintiffs argue that Detroit schools were segregated as a result of *de jure* housing policies
- District Court orders Detroit schools and 53 adjacent suburban school districts to desegregate
 - Busing is the only viable solution
- SCOTUS disagrees:
 - Cannot force busing across school district lines
 - A Detroit-only desegregation plan is only solution
 - But how?



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Oklahoma City Schools v. Dowell (1991)

- Oklahoma City schools were under a court-ordered desegregation plan since the early-60s
- 1972-1977: court ordered busing program
- Question for SCOTUS: Can court-mandated
 desegregation plans continue in perpetuity?
- Answer: No
 - Once vestiges of *de jure* segregation are removed, schools no longer have burden to continue
- In short, school segregation based on racialized housing patterns is legal





Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1 (2007)

- Seattle schools used race as tiebreaker for admission to competitive high schools
- PICS sued, arguing it was a violation of Equal Protection Clause of 14th Amendment
- SCOTUS rules plan is unconstitutional
 - Students cannot be classified on basis of race, despite goal of diversity/integration
 - Race cannot be used as determinative factor
 - Seattle was never under a desegregation order, so no compelling state interest in using race for admission
- In short: Segregation based on housing patterns is not illegal





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Where are we today?

- Over half of US students attend a racially concentrated school
- Racialized poverty is a "double whammy" for students of color
- School integration is one of the best means of achieving racial equity
 - But re-segregation has accelerated in recent decades
- School segregation is tied directly to residential segregation

School districts where there is an uneven distribution of Black students and White students across schools.



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Where do we go from here? Caveats:

- Equal Protection Clause has become a double-edged sword
- * We cannot reliably look to the courts for remedies
 - Connections between racialized residential patterns and school segregation are well known but legally unassailable
- "De facto" school segregation is a misnomer
- School reform alone is a dead end: school of choice, voucher programs, charter schools, etc. do not address root problem

Where do we go from here? Some ideas:

- Housing voucher programs need to focus on high-opportunity areas, not high-poverty ones
- LIHTC program needs to prioritize development in low-poverty areas with high-quality schools
- Solution & Zoning reform
- Better enforcement of anti-discrimination laws
- Increase access to capital for communities of color