

BAY AREA METRO AREA

State: California

Census Designation: San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA



We turn our attention from the east coast to the west coast, looking at the San Francisco Bay Area, with a particular focus on Oakland and the East Bay. Although this report focuses on the separation of white from Black and Hispanic students, the Bay Area, like many others across the United States, has a long, well-documented history of discrimination against people of Asian descent, including the brutal treatment of Chinese railroad workers in the late 19th century (Lew-Williams 2018). It is also the exception among our case studies in that Asian people constitute a very large share of the areawide student population (about one-quarter).

Between 1900 and 1970, Asians represented only 3-8 percent of the Bay Area's residential population, with that share increasing rapidly since then. Segregation between white and Asian residents in the Bay Area, while substantially lower than Black/white segregation, is only slightly lower than that between Hispanic and white residents (Frey 2021).

Yet the impact of this segregation on outcomes, including school funding, may be somewhat different. For instance, the available evidence suggests that, today, Asian people experience greater rates of intra- and especially intergenerational mobility than their Black and Hispanic counterparts, thus attenuating the negative effects and persistence of segregation (Massey 2020; Sakamoto, Goyette, and Kim 2009). In addition, nationally, the adequacy of K-12 funding (from the SFID) in the typical Asian student's district is less adequate than, but roughly similar to, that of the typical white student (Baker, Di Carlo, Reist et al. 2021), though this varies by district and metro area (in the Bay Area, actual spending is a few hundred dollars per pupil below estimated adequate levels in the typical Asian student's district, and about \$1,000 above for white students). None of this at all diminishes the significance of over 150 years of discrimination and racism against Asian immigrants and Asian Americans, in the Bay Area and elsewhere, but, in order to maintain consistency between case studies, we will focus mostly on white, Black, and Hispanic residents and students.

In fact, the Bay Area's population overall was at least 90 percent white for much of the 20th century. This started to change quickly during the 1970s, and by 2010, the white share of the population had declined to 42 percent, with large concurrent increases in the share of Asian and Hispanic residents. The area's Black population share, in contrast, grew rapidly from the 1940s all the way through the 1970s, maxing out at around 9 percent in 1980 and 1990 (Menendian and Gambhir 2018).

In the East Bay, upon which we will focus here, the area's Black population share is a bit higher, and it has its roots in the early 20th-century migration of Black workers to West Oakland, seeking jobs with the railroad (e.g., as porters) and at the ports, among the only jobs open to them (McBroome 1993). Further movement of southern Black workers to the area, spurred by jobs created during World War I (e.g., shipbuilding), was met with intense white opposition (Rhomberg 2007). Segregation in the area, as in every other metro area discussed above, was created and maintained first by racial ordinances/zoning in the earliest years of the 20th century, and then by racial discrimination in FHA and other federally insured loan programs (and federal housing) throughout the middle part of the 20th century, as well as the widespread use of racially restrictive covenants during this same time (HoSang 2010; McBroome 1993; Montojo, Moore, and Mauri 2019). Segregation within the city was also pronounced: by 1950, 90 percent of Oakland's Black population lived in just 22 percent of Census tracts (Self 2003). And suburbanization in the area, as elsewhere, was a mostly white, highly segregative process.

In fact, as late as 1963, the Oakland Tribune published "white only" real estate listings (Self 2003). These listings were eventually put to a stop by adoption of the state's own Rumford Fair Housing Act, named for William Byron Rumford, the first African American from Northern California to serve in the Legislature. But, the following year, real estate interests backed a constitutional amendment, Proposition 13, which banned anti-discrimination laws altogether

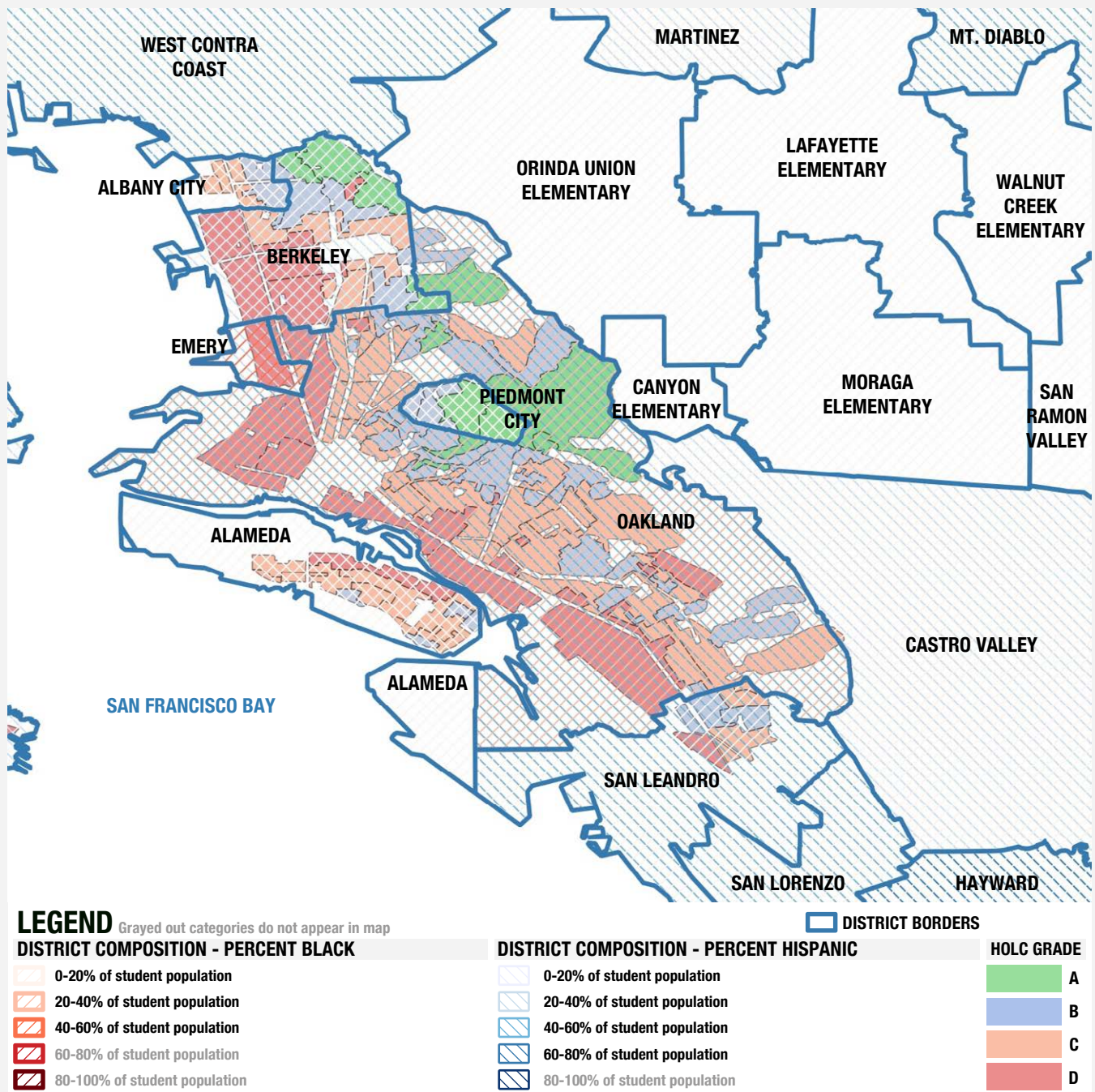
(McBroome 1993; Self 2003). The proposition passed but was eventually overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1967 (*Reitman v. Mulkey* 1967).

As in most of the other metro areas discussed in this report, one additional element driving residential housing segregation in the East Bay area

was the development of regional transportation policies, which favored the mobility needs of white suburbanites over the Black and Hispanic families living in the city (Golub, Marcantonio, and Sanchez 2013). Making things worse, urban renewal and highway and rail construction displaced thousands of minority families, including as many as 10,000

Figure 7

SCHOOL DISTRICT STUDENT RACIAL/ETHNIC COMPOSITION MAP, BAY AREA METRO AREA, 2018



To improve visibility of HOLC zones, map does not include entire metro area. See Box 1 for information on measures.



people in West Oakland between 1960 and 1966 alone (Rhomberg 2007; Self 2003).

The Bay Area, to be fair, put forth some comparatively bold early efforts to achieve integration. Even federally funded housing projects were being integrated through what was described as a “checkerboarded” pattern of alternating racial/ethnic assignments, though this occurred primarily in Black areas. Such efforts, however, were far less successful at bringing Black residents to majority-white areas (Golub et al. 2013).

Figure 7 presents the composition map for the eastern part of the Bay area surrounding Oakland. Since Black and especially Hispanic students constitute approximately half of the student population of the districts in the map, many of them have darker stripes. All of the D-graded HOLC zones in the map are located within five districts—Alameda, Berkeley, Emery, Oakland, and San Leandro—which together serve around one-third of the students in the map’s districts, but around 60 percent of their Black students (the share of Hispanic students across these districts is roughly consistent with that of the mapped districts overall).

All of these districts also contain at least some area that was A- or B-graded by the HOLC. This includes Oakland Unified, in which C/D zones are clearly concentrated on the western side of the district, and A/B zones on the eastern side. This may be due in part to the fact that, throughout the first half the 20th century, Black families moved into the city seeking jobs in the ports and shipyards, and thus lived closer to the coast (a similar pattern is found in Alameda, directly to the west of Oakland, where the one D-graded zone spans much of the coastline of the harbor).

Perhaps most blatantly, Piedmont City Unified’s borders are encompassed entirely by the heavily-Black/Hispanic Oakland Unified. As Oakland expanded throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, Piedmont refused to be folded into the larger city (Hambrick 2019). The district consists entirely of neighborhoods that received HOLC grades of A or B, and, due to its having resisted multiple attempts

at incorporation into and integration with Oakland Unified over the years, as well as (not coincidentally) its high property values, today it serves a mostly white student population (Dearing 2020).

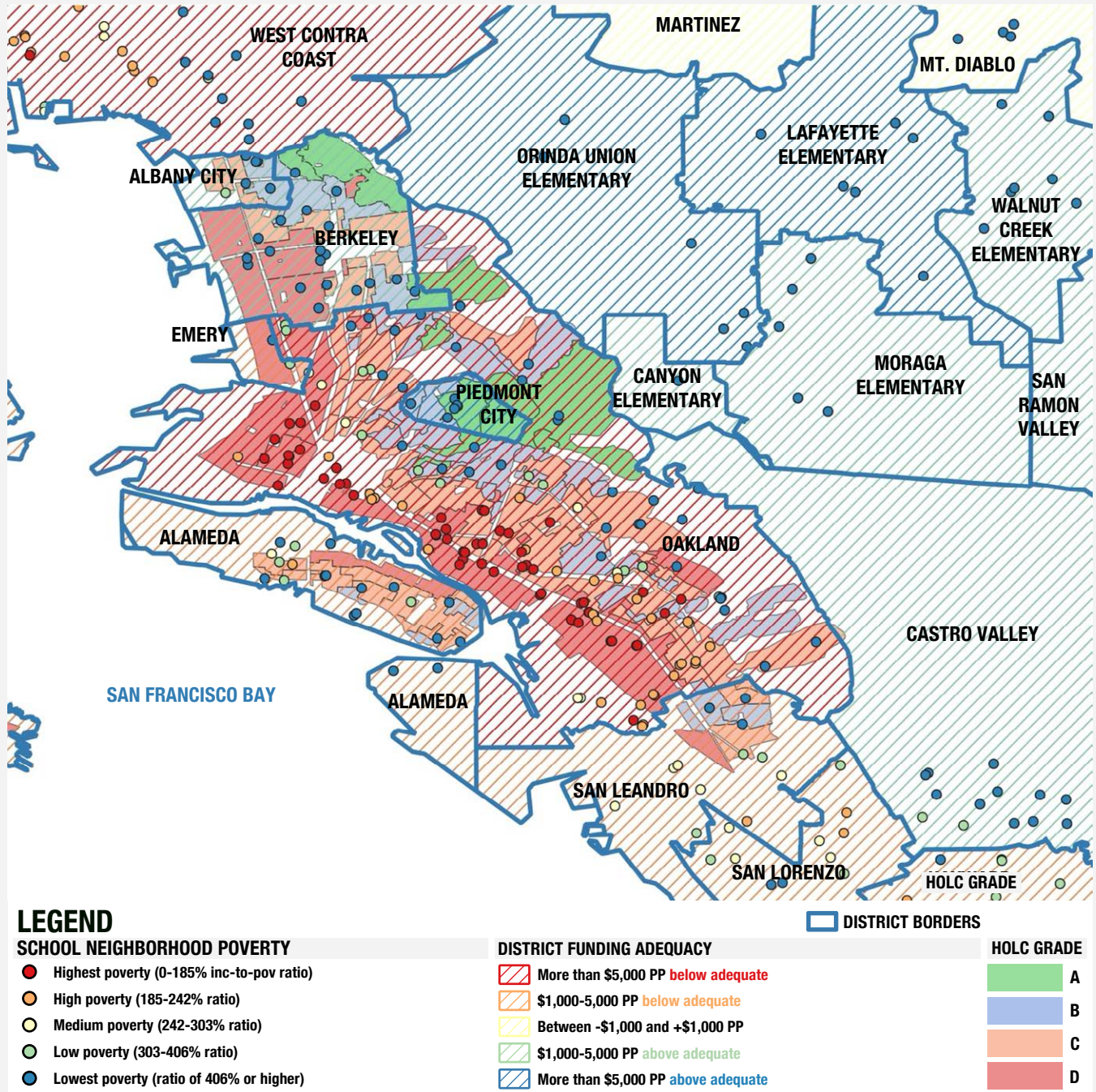
Outside of the five heavily HOLC-graded areas, there are several, mostly geographically large districts that are a mixed bag in terms of the racial/ethnic composition of their students. Steering, blockbusting, and other tactics helped to keep many of these districts, such as the elementary-only districts of Walnut Creek and Lafayette to the east of Oakland, almost exclusively white throughout the 1970s, and mostly white today (Link 1971).

San Lorenzo, to the south of Oakland, was incorporated and began development in 1944 under a covenant barring nonwhite residents from all new housing built (Stiles 2015). In San Leandro, also to Oakland’s south, segregation was strictly enforced not only with covenants, but also by the vigilance of private neighborhood associations that reportedly kept nonwhite families from even viewing available properties (i.e., steering), keeping the area all-white for decades after the *Shelley* decision (National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing Inc. 1971). Though the early 1970s, the Black share of the resident population in San Leandro and San Lorenzo was under 1 percent (Montejo et al. 2019). Today, both districts’ students are majority-Black/Hispanic, due largely to the in-migration of Hispanic residents in recent decades (though both San Leandro and San Lorenzo also serve substantial Black populations—13 and 10 percent, respectively).

The funding map presented in Figure 8 shows the variation in funding adequacy and the dispersion of school neighborhood income-to-poverty ratios (dots), both within districts as well as between adjacent communities. First, as in the Baltimore metro, virtually every single school with a high-poverty surrounding area (the red dots) is located in the C- and D-graded areas within one central city district (Oakland Unified), whereas the areas with lower-risk HOLC ratings (blue and green shading), in Oakland and elsewhere, are populated almost exclusively by schools in higher-income neighborhoods (blue and green dots).

Figure 8

SCHOOL DISTRICT FUNDING ADEQUACY MAP, BAY AREA METRO AREA, 2018



To improve visibility of HOLC zones, map does not include entire metro area. See Box 1 for information on measures.



Interestingly, though, a few districts in the area, such as Alameda City Unified and Berkeley Unified (and even parts of the central and eastern sections of Oakland Unified) are home to relatively large portions of land that received C/D HOLC grades in 1935-40 but also to schools serving higher-income

neighborhoods today. In this sense, the zones in these districts are a bit exceptional among their counterparts in our other six metro areas, though Berkeley, in which covenants and redlining were extensive (Wollenberg 2008), was also home to a comparable portion of land that received A or

B HOLC ratings (as well as to a major research university). Today Berkeley is segregated internally (Daniels 2013; Montojo et al. 2019).

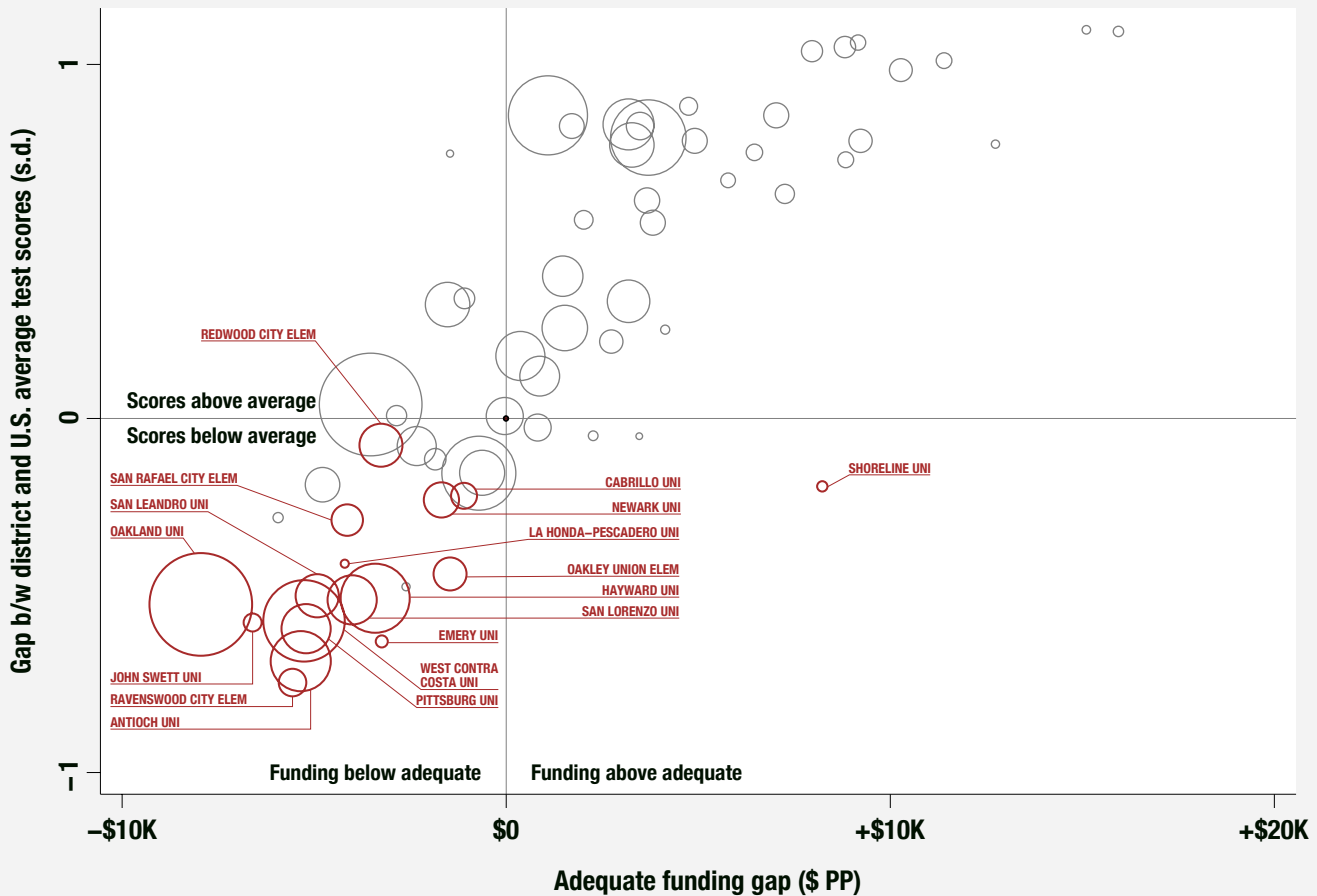
The distribution of funding adequacy across districts corresponds quite well with the HOLC grades. Again, with the exception of Berkeley, every district containing a D-graded zone spends below our estimated adequate levels today, while the vast

majority of districts in which there were no graded zones (e.g., the large area of districts to the east of Oakland) spend above adequate levels. In addition, every district that serves a substantial Black/Hispanic population (Figure 7) is funded below adequate levels.

Figure 9 visualizes the relationship between funding gaps and outcome gaps for all districts in the Bay Area (including the West Bay as well as a few East Bay

Figure 9

STUDENT OUTCOME GAPS BY ADEQUATE FUNDING GAPS, BAY AREA METRO AREA DISTRICTS, 2018



Red markers with labels are majority—Black/Hispanic districts



Data source: School Finance Indicators Database; Stanford Education Data Archive

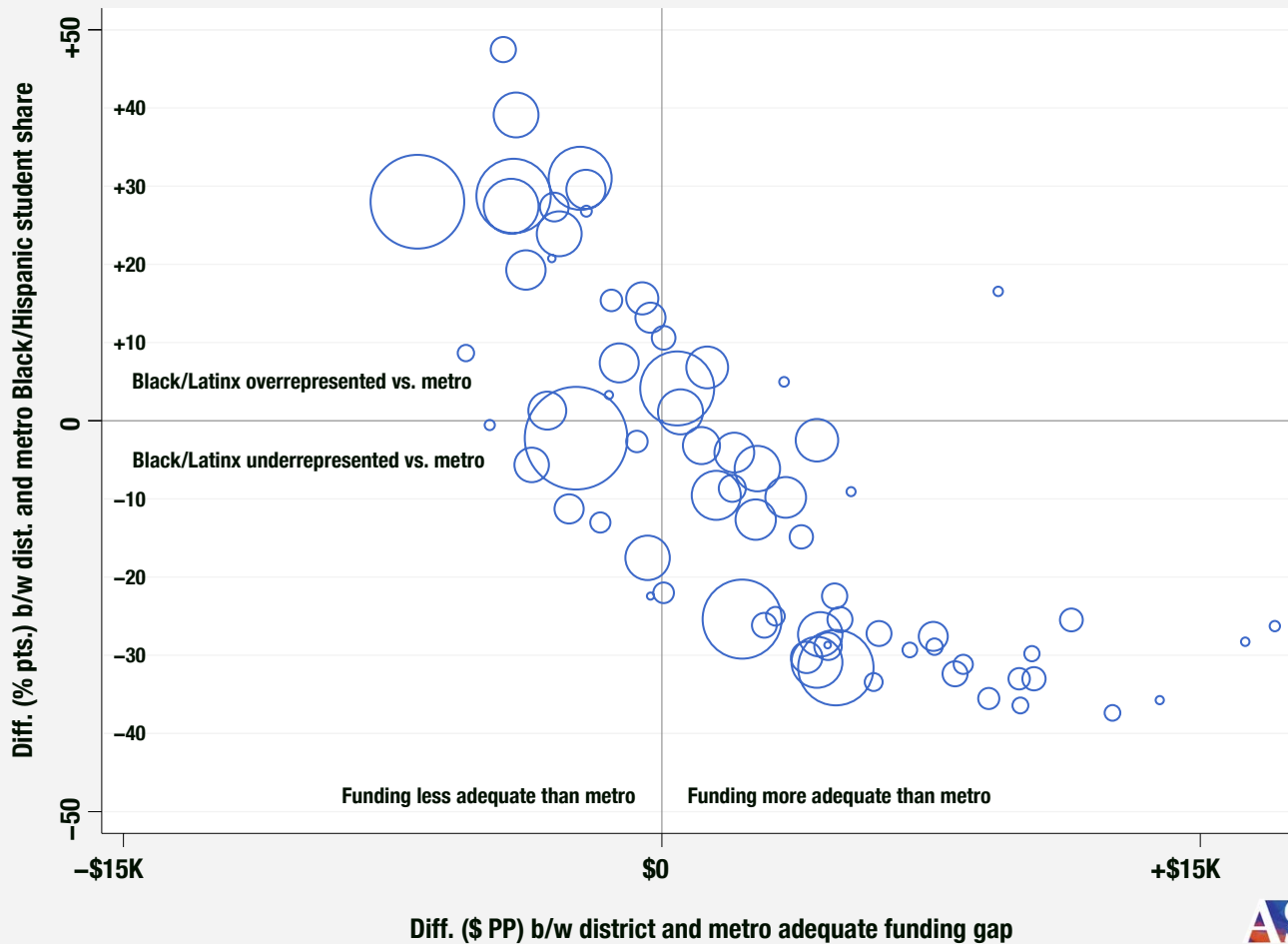
Note: Markers weighted by student enrollment. Outcome gaps (y-axis) are the difference in average math and reading scores (in standard deviations) between each district and the U.S. average. Funding gaps (x-axis) are the difference between actual spending per pupil and estimated spending required to achieve national average test scores.

districts not depicted in the maps). Due to the area's relatively large Hispanic population, almost one in four districts serves a majority-Black/Hispanic student population (and that's despite a substantial Asian population areawide). All but one of these districts is located in the lower left quadrant of the plot, with below-adequate funding and scores below the U.S. average. The sole exception—Shoreline Unified—is a tiny district (about 500 students) that is a severe outlier.

Conversely, the districts in the upper right quadrant (above-adequate funding, above-average scores) are exclusively those serving student populations that are not majority Black/Hispanic (though about half of the latter are not majority white, due mostly to large Asian student populations). There are 20 districts in Figure 9 that serve a majority-white student population, and 18 of those districts are in the upper right quadrant. None is in the bottom left quadrant.

Figure 10

RELATIVE BLACK/HISPANIC STUDENT SHARE BY RELATIVE ADEQUATE FUNDING GAP, BAY AREA METRO AREA, 2018



Data source: School Finance Indicators Database

Note: Markers weighted by student enrollment. Relative Black/Hispanic share (y-axis) is the difference (percentage points) between each district's Black/Hispanic student share and that of its metro area overall. Funding gaps (x-axis) are the difference between districts and their metro areas in the gap between actual spending per pupil and estimated spending required to achieve national average test scores. Plot includes districts with non-missing adequacy estimates in the metro area.

Given the area's large Black and especially Hispanic student population, as well as its representation of Asian students, we present one additional scatterplot in Figure 10. Instead of defining racial/ethnic composition in absolute terms (majority or percent Black/Hispanic), on the vertical axis of this plot we present composition relative to the metro area (i.e., the difference, in percentage points, between each district's Black/Hispanic percentage and that of the Bay Area metro overall). Districts with either higher positive or lower negative values on the vertical axis (markers toward the top or bottom of the plot) are those in which Black/Hispanic and white students, respectively, are disproportionately concentrated. For instance, the topmost circle in the plot is the Ravenswood City Elementary district, which serves a student population that is just over 89 percent Black and Hispanic (83 percent the latter). Since the Bay Area overall is about 41 percent Black/Hispanic, Ravenswood's relative Black/Hispanic share is roughly +48, or 48 percentage points above the metro area overall.

Similarly, on the horizontal axis, funding gaps are also presented relative to the metro, with adequacy defined as the difference (in dollars per pupil) between each district's funding gap and the overall metro area gap. The plot, therefore, examines whether districts serving a disproportionate share of the area's Black/Hispanic students also have less adequate funding than does

the typical district in that same metro area. This visualizes the relationship between segregation and equal opportunity in a manner that partially accounts for the fact that metro areas vary in their racial/ethnic composition as well as their overall funding adequacy.

The pattern of the circles in the plot suggests a fairly consistent negative correlation (the enrollment-weighted correlation coefficient is -0.84). In other words, relative adequacy decreases as the relative Black/Hispanic share increases. As is clear in the top left portion of the plot, with one exception (again, the tiny Shoreline district all the way to the right), every single one of the 17 districts in which Black and Hispanic students are overrepresented by at least 10 percentage points is funded less adequately than the metro area on the whole (or, in one case, within \$50 per pupil).

Among the 11 districts in which the gap is at least +20 percentage points, all are funded worse than the metro, with negative gaps ranging from roughly \$2,000 per pupil in Emery United to nearly \$8,000 per pupil in Oakland Unified. Conversely, there are 30 (mostly small) districts in which Black/Hispanic students are underrepresented by at least 20 percentage points (the bottom right of the plot), 29 of which spend more adequately than the typical Bay Area district (and the sole exception, Sunol Glen Unified, serves 293 students in total).

This section is from the report, "**Segregation and School Funding: How Housing Discrimination Reproduces Unequal Inequality**," available at: <http://shankerinstitute.org/segfunding>