

Zoned for Success: How Urban Planners Can Promote Educational Equality

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**Abstract**

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Abundant research connects residential patterns of segregation to the educational achievement and opportunity gaps between lower-income students of color and higher-income white students. The purpose of this thesis is to explore how urban planners can remediate residential segregation to create more integrated schools and, in turn, help bring about a more equitable education system. Using a combination of primary sources (conferences and symposiums) and secondary sources (a literature review of nearly 100 scholarly and archival documents), this thesis identifies the challenges and opportunities related to overcoming residential and school segregation. The research revealed that urban planners can enable mixed-income and mixed-race school districts in four major ways. First, urban planners can work to repeal various forms of exclusionary zoning that prevent low-income families of color from living in affluent and high achieving school districts. Secondly, planners can pressure localities to remove expulsive elements from zoning codes that interfere with the education and health of low-income students of color. Thirdly, urban planners can propose inclusionary zoning techniques to encourage affordable housing in expensive areas. Fourthly, urban planners can promote federal subsidized housing programs that are focused on improving educational outcomes for low-income students of color. This thesis concludes with advocating regional planning over local planning as a method of achieving educational equality.

# Zoned for Success

**How Urban Planners Can  
Promote Educational Equality**



Graduate Thesis by Sophie A. Glass  
Committee Chairs: Sharon E. Sutton and Nancy D. Rottle

The Department of Urban Design and Planning  
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# **Zoned For Success: How Urban Planners Can Promote Educational Equality**

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# Dedication

To my grandma, Bernice "GG" Glass,  
for her encouragement while I wrote this thesis  
and for her belief in the importance of education.



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# Abstract

Abundant research connects residential patterns of segregation to the educational achievement and opportunity gaps between lower-income students of color and higher-income white students. The purpose of this thesis is to explore how urban planners can remediate residential segregation to create more integrated schools and, in turn, help bring about a more equitable education system. Using a combination of primary sources (conferences and symposiums) and secondary sources (a literature review of nearly 100 scholarly and archival documents), this thesis identifies the challenges and opportunities related to overcoming residential and school segregation. The research revealed that urban planners can enable mixed-income and mixed-race school districts in four major ways. First, urban planners can work to repeal various forms of exclusionary zoning that prevent low-income families of color from living in affluent and high achieving school districts. Secondly, planners can pressure localities to remove expulsive elements from zoning codes that interfere with the education and health of low-income students of color. Thirdly, urban planners can propose inclusionary zoning techniques to encourage affordable housing in expensive areas. Fourthly, urban planners can promote federal subsidized housing programs that are focused on improving educational outcomes for low-income students of color. This thesis concludes with advocating regional planning over local planning as a method of achieving educational equality.

Keywords: education, race, exclusionary zoning, inclusionary zoning, residential segregation, school segregation, regional planning

## Part I: Introduction

When Jada was in third grade, her mom took her out of the Akron, Ohio public schools and put her into the neighboring Copley-Fairlawn public schools.<sup>1</sup> When Jada switched schools she said, "It was weird at first. The teachers were more serious. They really buckled down. I just knew that it was more educational." Jada noticed a difference because her former school district only met 20 percent of the state's educational goals while her new school district met 100 percent of the state's educational goals.

When asked about the school itself, Jada said, "It was huge. The library was so big and had many books, and they had a greenhouse, and they had, like, a small trail in the back if you wanted to go for a walk during recess. It was amazing."

After two years in the Copley-Fairlawn schools, Jada was kicked out. To go to Copley-Fairlawn, her family had been giving their grandfather's address (who lived in Copley-Fairlawn) as their home address.

When Jada returned to the Akron schools as a 5<sup>th</sup> grader, she recalled, "The kids didn't really listen to the teachers as much... I knew that I wasn't really going to learn as much as I could." At the end of the year said, Jada was frustrated and said, "I think it's just the dumbest thing ever... How come I can't get the same education where I live as people who live three miles away from me? I don't think it's fair that I can't learn as high quality as they can just because I'm in a different district."

Jada's experience and aggravation is a reflection of the unequal public education system in the United States. Public schools are often a mirror of the resources in their neighborhoods, which means that low-income students and students of color often have very different educational experiences than their affluent and white peers. As a result, affluent and white students typically have higher academic achievement rates than low-income students and students of color. The achievement gap perpetuates the lifelong economic, health and political disadvantages faced by people of color and low-income individuals.<sup>2</sup>

Where does this achievement gap come from? One answer lies in the systems that schools use to assign students and acquire funding. As Figure 1 on the next page shows, the combination of assigning students to schools based on geographic attendance areas and funding schools through property taxes creates an inextricable link between education and

"I think it's just the dumbest thing ever. How come I can't get the same education where I live as people who live 3 miles away?"  
-Jada, 5<sup>th</sup> Grader

<sup>1</sup> "512: House Rules," narrated by Ira Glass, This American Life, NPR, November 22, 2013, <http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/512/house-rules>

<sup>2</sup> de Souza Briggs, Xavier. "Introduction" in *The Geography of Opportunity, Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005.



Figure 1. Ties Between Location and Education

place.

The ties between education and place **give rise to a major problem: the achievement gap cannot close unless US society begins undoing the legacy of residential segregation.**

It is no accident that communities in the United States are divided along economic and class lines. Land-use regulations and housing policies have created “favored quarters” where wealth and white privilege are concentrated.<sup>3</sup> Arguably, these favored quarters also have some of the nation’s best educational opportunities. **This thesis posits that to create an equitable education system, urban planners need tools to break down the barriers to affluent neighborhoods so that low-income students of color can have access to the superior schools in these upper-income areas.** Creating more integrated residential environments will, in turn, help close the opportunity gap that lies at the heart of the achievement gap.

Since urban planning decisions (including zoning and housing policy) have played a major role in creating uneven educational opportunities, it would make sense for urban planners to devote considerable attention to remedying inequities in education. However, urban planners often ignore the connections between land-use and education. This is puzzling since urban planners have a long history of working with other disciplines: they have aligned themselves with public health officials to promote healthy communities, they have associated with environmentalists to advocate for sustainable cities and have collaborated with the economic development practitioners to create prosperous places. Yet educators and urban planners typically work in separate realms.

But slowly, a movement is emerging that is drawing the connections between urban planning and education. This thesis will contribute to the larger conversation by seeking to answer the question: **“What land-use tools and housing policies can urban planners use to undo residential segregation to help create equal educational opportunities for low-income black students and affluent white students alike?”**

To answer this question, I conducted an in-depth literature review and attended conferences on the subject. Part II of this thesis explains my research methods in greater detail. Part III of this thesis analyzes the challenge at hand: the persistence of educational inequality due to residential segregation.

Chapter 1 of Part III begins by explaining two ways of understanding education inequality by contrasting the “achievement gap” with the “opportunity gap.”

Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of the history of school segregation. I describe various theories on how racially and economically integrated schools benefit education, and offer many valid reasons why it is imperative to foster integrated schools. However, I also offer a critique of the theories that purport racial and economic integration improves educational outcomes.

Chapter 3 explores the topic of residential segregation. To provide background information, I describe how racial zoning codes, covenants and housing policies have contributed to residential segregation. I also paint a picture of the current state of residential segregation.

Chapter 4 addresses some of the causes of residential segregation in greater detail, namely “exclusionary” land-use regulations that prevent low-income people and people of color from living in certain areas (see Figure 2). Large-lot zoning is one of the worst offenders when it comes to creating expensive and exclusive neighborhoods that are predominantly white and middle to upper class. Other regulations, including urban growth boundaries, adequate public facility ordinances, permit caps and permit moratoria have also been accused of shutting out poor residents and residents of color. However, as I show, certain policies are more exclusionary than others.

Chapter 5 moves into a discussion of “expulsive” land-use regulations that push out existing low-income communities and communities of color. Expulsive land-use regulations include actions like siting toxic facilities in poor neighborhoods and government-induced gentrification that displaces existing residents. Any type of expulsive land-use regulation can impact the racial and class composition of neighborhood schools and can contribute to educational opportunity gaps.

Part IV moves into a discussion of the opportunities that exist to remedy the educational opportunity gap. I begin in Chapter 6 by covering some of the tools that planners have to mitigate the effects of exclusionary and expulsive zoning in order to create more equitable educational environments. I show how inclusionary zoning can contribute to more affordable places to live and learn.

Chapter 7 shifts into a discussion of affordable housing policy because simply changing land-use regulations cannot overturn the current patterns of residential segregation. Here I touch on major forms of assisted housing (public housing, housing vouchers, Hope VI and Choice Neighborhoods) and explain how each has impacted education. I also share several examples of places that have successfully linked housing and education policies to foster educational equity.

Lastly, Part V synthesizes the challenges and opportunities presented in Part III

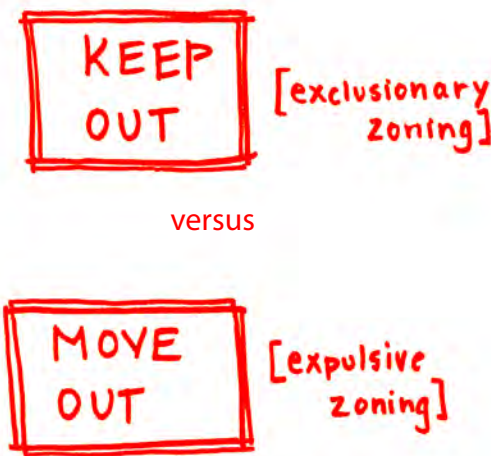


Figure 2. Exclusionary v. Expulsive Zoning

and Part IV, respectively. I reiterate the local land-use tools and housing policies that can open up exclusive areas with top quality schools. I also argue that urban planning can embrace certain tenets of regional planning in order to get to the heart of the educational opportunity gap. Specifically by embracing regional planning's emphasis on equitable resource distribution, urban planners can help low-income families and families of color live in neighborhoods with high-performing and nurturing schools.

Figure 3 (below) illustrates the main concepts of this thesis and how I move from identifying the problem, to discussing challenges, to highlighting opportunities, to concluding with an alternative planning approach.

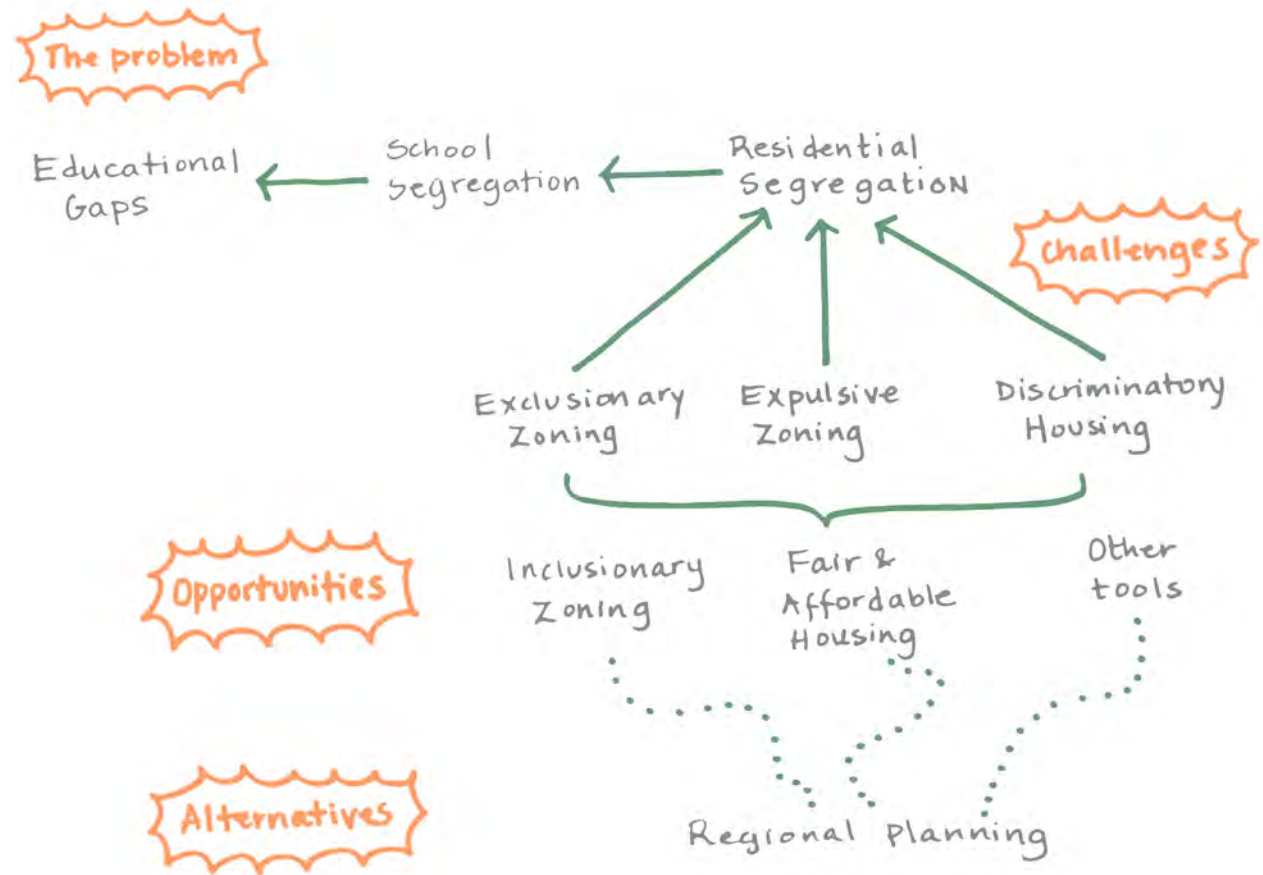


Figure 3. Concept Map

It is important to note that throughout this thesis I primarily focus on the educational gaps between white and black students, as opposed to looking at the gaps between white students and other racial and ethnic groups like Latinos, Asians, American Indians/Alaska Natives, Pacific Islanders or first-generation immigrant groups. Despite the importance of educational gaps between all racial, ethnic and other groups, the intensity of anti-black land-use and housing policy in the United States has usually been more pronounced than discrimination against other people of color.<sup>4</sup> Hence, the black-white educational gap is extremely relevant to urban planners.

While this thesis primarily focuses on the land-use and housing regulations that underpin segregated and unequal schooling, it is imperative to ask *why* these exclusionary and discriminatory regulations exist in the first place. One explanation is that the underlying motive for land-use regulations and housing policies is the preservation of white privilege. Many critics argue that zoning originated precisely to preserve residential class segregation and property values.<sup>5</sup> According to the scholar Yale Rabin, the use of zoning increased rapidly “only after its potential for enforcing separation and protecting established privilege was understood and appreciated.”<sup>6</sup> Even the 1926 Supreme Court case that established the constitutionality of zoning (*Euclid v. Ambler Realty*) was loaded with racial and class biases. For example, Chief Justice Sutherland referred to apartments as “parasites” in his majority opinion and alluded to low-income people as nuisances.<sup>7</sup>

Over the past century, progressive planners have called out some of zoning’s classist and racist origins.<sup>8</sup> As I discuss various forms of discriminatory regulations and policies, it is important to keep in mind that often these regulations are the symptoms (and not causes) of classist and racist societies.<sup>9</sup>

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4 Massey, Douglas S, and Nancy A Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.

5 Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

6 Rabin, Yale. “Expulsive Zoning: The Inequitable Legacy of Euclid,” in *Zoning and the American Dream: Promises Still to Keep*, ed. Charles Haar, et al. (American Planning Association and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1989).

7 *Euclid v. Ambler Realty*. 22 Ill.297 F. 307 (N.D. Ohio 1924)

8 Lees, Martha A. “Preserving Property Values - Preserving Proper Homes - Preserving Privilege: The Pre-Euclid Debate over Zoning for Exclusively Private Residential Areas, 1916-1926.” *University of Pittsburgh Law Review* 56 (1995 1994): 368.

9 Sutton, Sharon and Susan Kemp, “Place: A Site of Social and Environmental Inequity,” in *The Paradox of Urban Space: Inequality and Transformation in Marginalized Communities*.

## Part II: Research Methodology

To justify my central thesis about the necessity of urban planners to get involved with creating educational opportunities for all, I drew on both secondary and primary sources (see Figure 4 on the following page).

The secondary sources included nearly 100 scholarly and archival documents. Using the University of Washington's libraries and academic search engines, I accessed peer-reviewed articles in academic journals, including scholarly journals in education, economics, geography, human resources, and law. As part of my literature review, I examined numerous court cases related to school desegregation, land-use zoning and affordable housing. My secondary sources also included publications from prominent and credible think-tanks, including the Brookings Institution, the Lincoln Land Institute, the Civil Rights Project (Harvard University) and the Center for Cities and Schools (UC Berkeley). Lastly, I relied on a number of books related to (1) housing, (2) education, and (3) race, place and inequality:

### Housing

- *American Metropolitcs: The New Suburban Reality* (Orfield)<sup>10</sup>

### Education

- *After Brown: The Ruse and Retreat of School Desegregation* (Clotfelter)<sup>11</sup>
- *Closing the Opportunity Gap* (Carter)<sup>12</sup>
- *School Siting and Healthy Communities* (Miles, Adelaja, Wyckoff)<sup>13</sup>

### Race, Place and Inequality

- *American Apartheid* (Massey, Denton)<sup>14</sup>
- *Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity* (Bullard)<sup>15</sup>

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10 Orfield, Myron. *American Metropolitcs: The New Suburban Reality*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002.

11 Clotfelter, Charles T. *After Brown: The Rise and Retreat of School Desegregation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004.

12 Carter, Prudence L, Welner, and Gloria Ladson-Billings. *Closing the Opportunity Gap What America Must Do to Give Every Child an Even Chance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. <http://www.myilibrary.com?id=477036>.

13 Miles, Rebecca, Adesoji Adelaja, and Mark A Wyckoff. *School Siting and Healthy Communities: Why Where We Invest in School Facilities Matters*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2011.

14 Massey, *American Apartheid*.

15 Bullard, Robert D. *Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity*. Cambridge, Mass.:

- *The Geography of Opportunity, Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America* (de Souza Briggs, Wilson)<sup>16</sup>
- *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century* (Bullard)<sup>17</sup>
- *The Paradox of Urban Space: Inequality and Transformation in Marginalized Communities* (Sutton, Kemp)<sup>18</sup>

In addition to the review of secondary sources, I drew upon primary sources by attending two conferences where I was part of lively discussions on topics related to my thesis. First, I attended the “Housing + Transportation + Education” symposium on February 12, 2014 in Denver, Colorado. The objective of this symposium was “to better understand the housing-transportation-education dynamic and identify ways to increase opportunities for families with children to secure affordable housing in neighborhoods that offer good schools as well as good access to public transit (or otherwise allow for reduced car usage and transportation costs).”<sup>19</sup>

During the course of this all-day symposium, over 17 professionals and academics spoke about the challenges and opportunities surrounding the nexus between housing, transportation and education. Approximately 80 people attended this symposium and contributed to a larger dialogue about how to better align policies for shared successes. Mile High Connects, the Center for Cities and Schools, Enterprise Community Partners, the National Housing Conference and the Natural Resources Defense Council all co-sponsored this symposium.

Following the policy symposium, I attended the New Partners for Smart Growth Conference (Feb. 13-15). I participated in sessions titled “Resilient Communities: Resources and Case Studies for Smart School Siting,” “Lessons from the Vacant School House: Turning Empty Buildings into Assets,” and “Advancing Regional Equity through Collaboration: Public Housing Agencies and Metropolitan Planning Organizations.”

These sessions provided a valuable framework for understanding educational opportunity and achievement gaps. Furthermore, they provided a wide spectrum of case

MIT Press, 2007.

<sup>16</sup> de Souza Briggs, Xavier. *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005.

<sup>17</sup> Bullard, Robert D. *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, and Politics of Place*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.

<sup>18</sup> Sutton, Sharon E., and Susan P. Kemp. *The Paradox of Urban Space: Inequality and Transformation in Marginalized Communities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

<sup>19</sup> “The Housing, Transportation, and Education Nexus: Enabling all families to harness regional opportunity” (briefing paper presented at the Housing, Transportation and Education Nexus Policy Symposium, Denver, Colorado, February 14, 2014).



Figure 4. Research Methods

studies that illustrated how land-use and housing policy affect education. These conference sessions also exposed me to academic scholars on pertinent subjects and contributed to the sources I used in my literature review.

Over the course of eight months, I synthesized these two sources of data into a critical framework of how urban planning is related to the educational inequality. Identifying the challenges related to segregation, land-use and education (Part III) helped me identify the opportunities to change the status quo (Part IV).

## Part III: Challenges

Part III of this thesis explores the way that residential segregation contributes to school segregation that results in educational opportunity gaps between lower-income students of color and upper-income white students.

To understand the complexity of this challenge, I explain the basics of educational gaps, school segregation and residential segregation. Then I describe some of the regulatory causes of residential and school segregation including discriminatory affordable housing policies, exclusionary zoning and expulsive land-use regulations.

### Chapter 1: Educational Gaps

To begin this discussion of educational gaps, land-use regulations and housing policy, I start by covering two ways of measuring the unequal education system in the United States. The first, and more common method is the achievement gap that quantifies different educational outcomes between different racial and economic groups. The second method is the opportunity gap, which examines how different inputs shape very unequal educational paths for lower-income and black students as compared to higher-income and white students. See Figure 5 for a visual representation of these different methods.

#### The Achievement Gap

The educational achievement gap measures differences in test scores and graduation rates among different economic classes and races. Looking at race, most of the progress in closing the black-white achievement gap in reading and mathematics occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. Since then, the overall progress in closing the black-white achievement gap has slowed.<sup>20</sup> Focusing on the National Assessment of Educational Progress exams for 2007, white students had higher scores than black students, on average, on all assessments. Specifically, 4<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade white students had average scores that were at least 26 points higher than black students in reading and math, on a 0-500 scale.<sup>21</sup> National mathematics test score data for 12th grade students show that the average black student scores 0.85 standard deviations below the average white student.<sup>22</sup> What this amounts to is the average

20 Barton, Paul, and Richard Coley. *The Black White Achievement Gap: When Progress Stopped*. Prince: Educational Testing Service, 2010. <http://www.ets.org/Media/Research/pdf/PICBWGAP.pdf>.

21 Vanneman, Alan, National Center for Education Statistics, and Institute of Education Sciences (U.S.). *Achievement Gaps: How Black and White Students in Public Schools Perform in Mathematics and Reading on the National Assessment of Educational Progress*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Dept. of Education, 2009.

22 Jonathan Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

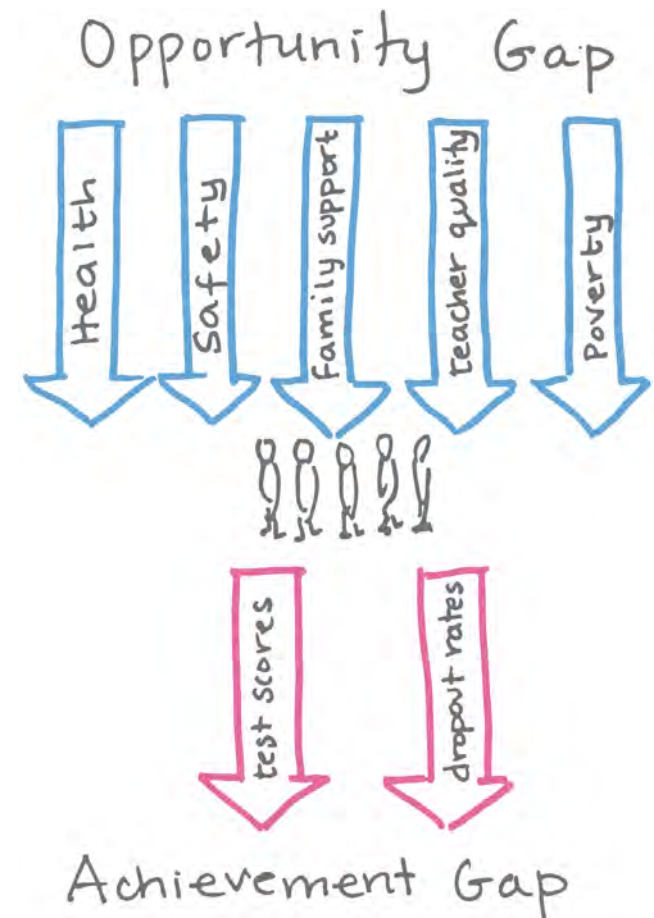


Figure 5. Opportunity vs. Achievement Gaps



Figure 6. Reading Test Failures in High Poverty Schools



Figure 7. Reading Test Failures in Low Poverty Schools

white 13-year-old reads at a higher level and performs better in math than the average black 17-year-old.<sup>23</sup>

In terms of dropout rates, 9.6 percent of black high school students dropped out of school in 2013 while only 5.2 percent of white high school students dropped out.<sup>24</sup> Put differently, black individuals aged 25 and older are twice as likely as white individuals to have not completed high school.<sup>25</sup>

Shifting the focus to economic class, children who live in poor urban neighborhoods are at a greater risk for school failures as expressed by poor standardized test results, grade retention, and high dropout rates.<sup>26</sup> This translates into some pretty stark statistics. For example, the majority of high school dropouts – 60 percent – come from the bottom 20 percent of families by income.<sup>27</sup>

Additionally, more than half of 4th and 8th graders who attended high-poverty schools in 2009 failed the national reading test (see Figure 6), compared to fewer than 20 percent of students from the same grade levels who attended low-poverty schools (see Figure 7).<sup>28</sup>

The achievement gap has come under criticism for perpetuating the idea that educational gaps are personal failures or the failures of an entire social group. Instead of blaming individuals, it is important to look at the grossly unequal conditions that cause achievements gaps in the first place. This next section proposes an alternative way of understanding unequal educational experiences along class and race lines.

23 Orfield, Gary. "Housing Segregation Produces Unequal Schools," in *Closing the Opportunity Gap*.

24 "High School Dropout Statistics: Statistic Brain." Accessed April 24, 2014. <http://www.statisticbrain.com/high-school-dropout-statistics/>.

25 Rothwell, Jonathan, Brookings Institution. *Housing Costs, Zoning, and Access to High-Scoring Schools*. Brookings Institution. <http://www.brookings.edu>, 2012.

26 Katz, Bruce. "Neighborhoods of Choice and Connection: The Evolution of American Neighborhood Policy and What It Means for the United Kingdom." *The Brookings Institution*. Accessed January 28, 2014. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2004/07/metropolitanpolicy-katz>.

27 Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

28 Schwartz, Heather. *Housing Policy Is School Policy: Economically Integrative Housing Promotes Academic Success in Montgomery County, Maryland*. The Century Foundation, 2010. <http://tcf.org/assets/downloads/tcf-Schwartz.pdf>.

## The Opportunity Gap

While the achievement gap measures the symptoms of a failing system, the opportunity gap analyzes the causes of this failing system. The opportunity gap examines conditions that exist both in and out of school that influence learning, such as school quality, health, housing and nutrition, safety and enriching experiences. Most importantly, the opportunity gap shifts the accountability from children to their context.<sup>29</sup>

A major factor that puts black and poor children on uneven footing is their inadequate schools. For example, many poor and black students attend schools with limited resources, less experienced and credentialed teachers, less educated parents, high student turnover, overcrowded and disorderly classrooms, and a host of other problems.<sup>30</sup> In fact as Figure 8 shows, the average black student is enrolled in a school that scores at the 37th percentile while the average white student is enrolled in a school that scores at the 60<sup>th</sup> percentile.<sup>31</sup>



Figure 8. School Percentiles and Race

Looking at economic class, Figure 9 shows how the average low-income student attends a school that scores at the 42nd percentile on state exams, while the average middle/high-income student attends a school that scores at the 61st percentile on state exams.<sup>32</sup>

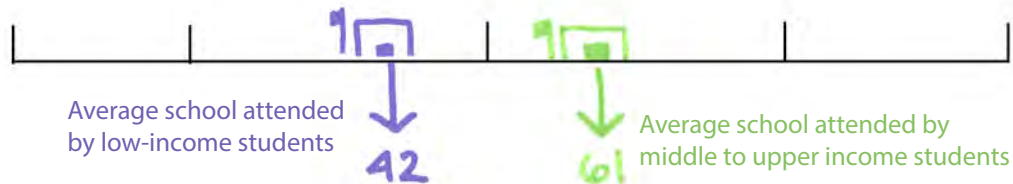


Figure 9. School Percentiles and Income Levels

Clearly there are real and measurable differences in the education available to students based on socioeconomic class and race. This next chapter discusses the connections between educational gaps and school segregation.

29 Orfield, "Housing Segregation."

30 de Souza Briggs, Xavier. "More Pluribus, Less Unum? The Changing Geography of Race and Opportunity" in *The Geography of Opportunity*.

31 Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

32 Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

## Chapter 2: School Segregation

One contributor to the educational opportunity gap is the degree of segregation that still persists within the US public school system between black and white students, as well between lower and higher income students. Segregated schools are extremely effective delivery systems for unequal educational opportunities.<sup>33</sup>

But how did the nation arrive in this place of segregation and unequal opportunity? In this chapter, I provide a short history of school desegregation and then discuss the current state of school resegregation (see Figure 10). Afterwards I share different theories on how school racial and economic segregation impacts education. The affluence hypothesis is one theory that espouses that exposure to higher income students improves educational performance. However, this hypothesis is loaded with controversial racial and class implications and as such, I will provide a critique of this theory.



Figure 10. Desegregation and Resegregation

### Brief History of School Segregation

School segregation has taken many shapes and forms throughout American history. School segregation by race and ethnicity was legal until the mid-twentieth century. In 1946, the court case *Mendez, et. al. v. Westminster* ruled that segregating Mexican and Mexican-American students from white students was unconstitutional.<sup>34</sup> Eight years later, the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) case declared that the “separate but equal” doctrine established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) was unconstitutional.<sup>35</sup> *Brown* outlawed school segregation and required districts with segregation policies to implement desegregation plans. Over the years, school districts have employed a wide range of desegregation techniques: redistricting, controlled choice plans, creative school siting and boundary drawing, socioeconomic assignment plans, inter-district transfer programs from city to suburb, intra-district magnet schools and inter-district magnet schools.<sup>36</sup>

Despite the Supreme Court’s initial leadership with school desegregation, over the latter half of the twentieth century, federal and state courts have mostly protected local interests over regional educational equity. The starkest example of this was the US Supreme

33 Mickelson, “Exploring the School-Housing Nexus: A Synthesis of Social Science Evidence,” in *Finding Common Ground: Coordinating Housing and Education Policy to Promote Integration*. Poverty & Race Research Action Council and the National Coalition on School Diversity, 2011. <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/HousingEducationReport-October2011.pdf>.

34 *Westminster School District of Orange County v. Mendez*, (9th Circuit Court 1947).

35 *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, (347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686, 98 L. Ed. 873, 1954).

36 Tegeler, Phillip. “Introduction” in *Finding Common Ground: Coordinating Housing and Education Policy to Promote Integration*. Poverty & Race Research Action Council and the National Coalition on School Diversity, 2011. <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/HousingEducation-Report-October2011.pdf>.

Court case *Milliken v. Bradley* in 1974 that addressed the question of whether schools in the city of Detroit could enact a desegregation plan that involved the surrounding suburbs.<sup>37</sup> The judges ruled that it was unconstitutional to mandate a regional desegregation plan that required students to cross school district lines (i.e., for students in suburban school districts to attend schools in urban school districts). The court ruled that the only situation in which regional desegregation could be mandated was when a court could demonstrate that a jurisdiction “intended” to cause harm to communities of color – something that has been very difficult to prove.<sup>38</sup> In essence, *Milliken v. Bradley* signaled the end of metropolitan-wide school desegregation efforts.<sup>39</sup>

In the 2000s, *No Child Left Behind* legislation challenged the *Milliken* ruling by encouraging inter-district transfer agreements. However, these agreements were few and far between. One reason for this was that the agreements did not provide legal incentives to enact them. In addition, many schools did not have the capacity to accept transfers and often the schools involved in transfers were demographically similar.<sup>40</sup>

### School Segregation by Race

How has school segregation changed since *Brown v. Board of Education*? Nationally, segregation for blacks declined substantially following the *Brown* ruling and reached its lowest point in the late 1980s. However since 1986, in nearly all school districts with more than 25,000 students, black students have become more racially segregated from white students in their schools.<sup>41</sup>

Recent trends indicate that the nation’s school districts are becoming more diverse (higher percentages of black, Latino, Asian and other racial/ethnic groups) but also more segregated.<sup>42</sup> In numbers, this means that the average black student today attends a school that is 50 percent black even though black students only comprise 16 percent of all public school enrollment (see Figure 11).<sup>43</sup>

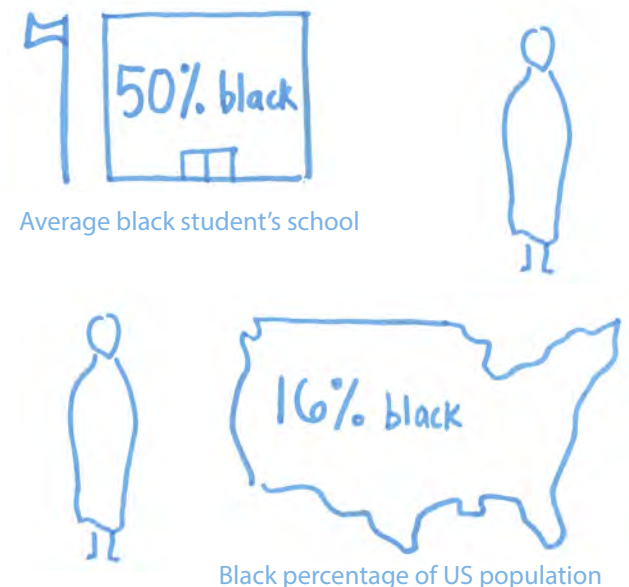


Figure 11. Black Segregation by School and Nation

37 Milliken v. Bradley, (418 U.S. 717, 94 S. Ct. 3112, 41 L. Ed. 2d 1069, 1974 U.S.).

38 powell, “Structural Racism and Spatial Jim Crow” in *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century*.

39 Clotfelter, *After Brown*.

40 DeBray, Frankenberg. “Federal Legislation to Promote Metropolitan Approaches to Educational and Housing Opportunity” in *Finding Common Ground: Coordinating Housing and Education Policy to Promote Integration*. Poverty & Race Research Action Council and the National Coalition on School Diversity, 2011. <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/HousingEducationReport-October2011.pdf>.

41 Baum, Howell. “Commentary: Smart Growth and School Reform: What If We Talked about Race and Took Community Seriously?” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 70 (2004): 14–26.

42 Frankenberg, Erica, Chungmei Lee, and Civil Rights Project (Harvard University). *Race in American Public Schools: Rapidly Resegregating School Districts*. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, 2002.

43 Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

Other evidence also highlights resegregation trends. In 2000, over 70 percent of African American students attended schools where students of color were the majority; 40 percent of African American students attended schools that were 90-100 percent black.<sup>44</sup>

Why have schools started to re-segregate after decades of integration? One reason is that the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions of the 1990s lessened the burden that school systems were required to meet to prove that they had fully "desegregated." As a result, the districts that have been released from desegregation requirements all show decreasing levels of black-white exposure.<sup>45</sup> For example, Minneapolis Public Schools ended its desegregation plan in the mid-1990s and returned to neighborhood-based schools. Since that time, Minneapolis Public Schools have trended towards re-segregation, reflecting the residential segregation that exists throughout the metropolitan areas.<sup>46</sup>

Another explanation is that the impact of the *Milliken* ruling has prevented metropolitan-wide desegregation. As a result of *Milliken*, courts are limited in their ability to require school districts to mitigate the entrenched patterns of white affluent suburbia and concentrated urban poverty. The inability to desegregate across district lines has produced an increase in elementary and secondary school segregation by race as well as by class.<sup>47</sup>

### School Segregation by Economic Class

Shifting the focus to economic segregation, poor students have become more concentrated in schools with other poor students since 1998.<sup>48</sup> Only 5 percent of public schools in the 100 largest metropolitan areas could be described as "truly integrated" by income.<sup>49</sup> Today, the average low-income student attends a school where 64 percent of fellow students are low-income, though they only represent 48 percent of all US public school students (see Figure 12).<sup>50</sup> Economic segregation is associated with larger test score gaps between poorer and wealthier students, even after controlling for broad economic and demographic factors.<sup>51</sup> I expand upon the educational implications of economic and racial segregation in this next section.

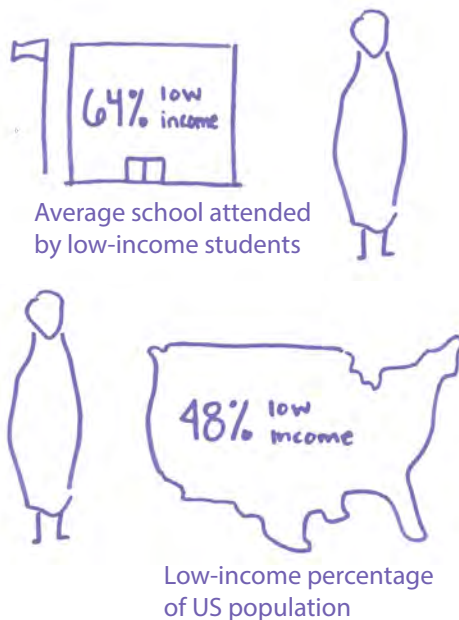


Figure 12: Class Segregation by School and Nation

- 44 Bullard, "The Black Metropolis in the Era of Sprawl," in *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, and Politics of Place*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.
- 45 Frankenberg, *Race in Public Schools*.
- 46 Frankenberg, *Race in Public Schools*.
- 47 de Souza Briggs, "More Pluribus, Less Unum?"
- 48 Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.
- 49 Schools can be defined as economically integrated if its share of low-income (free or reduced lunch eligible) students falls within five percentage points—plus or minus—of the metropolitan average. See Jonathan Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.
- 50 Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.
- 51 Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

## School Segregation and Educational Gaps

A large body of research suggests that desegregating schools improves academic outcomes for poor students and students of color. Why is this? One explanation is that schools that are predominantly composed of students of color are highly correlated with high-poverty schools.<sup>52</sup> These schools are also associated with low parental involvement, lack of resources, less experienced and credentialed teachers, and higher teacher turnover—all of which combine to exacerbate educational inequality for students of color.<sup>53</sup> Desegregation can place students of color in schools with better opportunities and higher achieving peer groups.<sup>54</sup>

One of the first studies that ascertained the positive impacts of desegregation was the 1966 report *Inequality of Educational Opportunity*, also called “The Coleman Report” (after its lead author, James Coleman). In the Coleman Report, researchers used data from over 600,000 students and teachers across the country and found that differences in school resources explained only a small portion of differences in school achievement (as measured by test scores) for both white and minority students.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, the demographics of the students (including racial composition, parents’ educational background, at-home resources) explained far more.<sup>56</sup> In other words, the social and economic background of a student’s classmates can influence his or her achievement.<sup>57</sup>

The theory that disadvantaged black children learn better in racially and economically integrated classrooms is part of the “affluence hypothesis” that states that “the presence of middle-class, affluent, neighbors is positively related to adult employment and children’s educational attainment and eventual earnings.”<sup>58</sup> Policy makers have used the affluence hypothesis to advance desegregation efforts on the grounds that integrating schools might lead to higher academic achievement of low-income students of color.<sup>59</sup>

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52 Frankenberg, *Race in Public Schools*.

53 Frankenberg, *Race in Public Schools*.

54 Frankenberg, *Race in Public Schools*.

55 Coleman, James S, United States, Office of Education, and National Center for Education Statistics. *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, Washington: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education; [for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1966.

56 de Souza Briggs. “More Pluribus, Less Unum?”

57 Clotfelter, *After Brown*.

58 Rosenbaum, DeLuca, and Tuck, “New Capabilities in New Place: Low-Income Black Families in Suburbia,” in *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*.

59 Clotfelter, *After Brown*.

## Critique of the Affluence Hypothesis

While many studies point to the value of integrating poor and black students into affluent white schools, this approach has many hazards and drawbacks too. Namely, aiming to integrate poor and black students is often founded on the notion that black public spaces (i.e. black schools) are problematic and in need of discipline.<sup>60</sup> Many believe that striving to break apart predominantly black schools is a revitalization of “culture of poverty” theories that attest that mere contact with wealthier and white students is somehow “redemptive.”<sup>61</sup>

Critics of the affluence theory claim that blindly supporting economic integration in schools ignores thirty years of anthropological and sociological research that shows how the social organization of schools, the construction of knowledge, dominant ideologies and cultural practices produce educational inequality along lines of race, ethnicity, language, and culture, even in mixed-income and racially integrated schools.<sup>62</sup> In other words, simply integrating schools does not change the institutional systems or individual living conditions that disadvantage so many students of color.

While this thesis is primarily about ways land-use and housing policies can promote desegregation, the arguments above serve as an important reminder that not all desegregation efforts have noble intentions or beneficial outcomes. In the remainder of this thesis, I aim to distinguish between actions that are genuinely in the interest of improving academic experiences for low-income and black students and actions that are covering up an intention to dissolve communities of color.

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<sup>60</sup> Lipman, Pauline. “The Cultural Politics of Mixed-Income Schools and Housing: A Racialized Discourse of Displacement, Exclusion, and Control.” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2009): 215–36. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1492.2009.01042.x.

<sup>61</sup> Lipman, “Cultural Politics.”

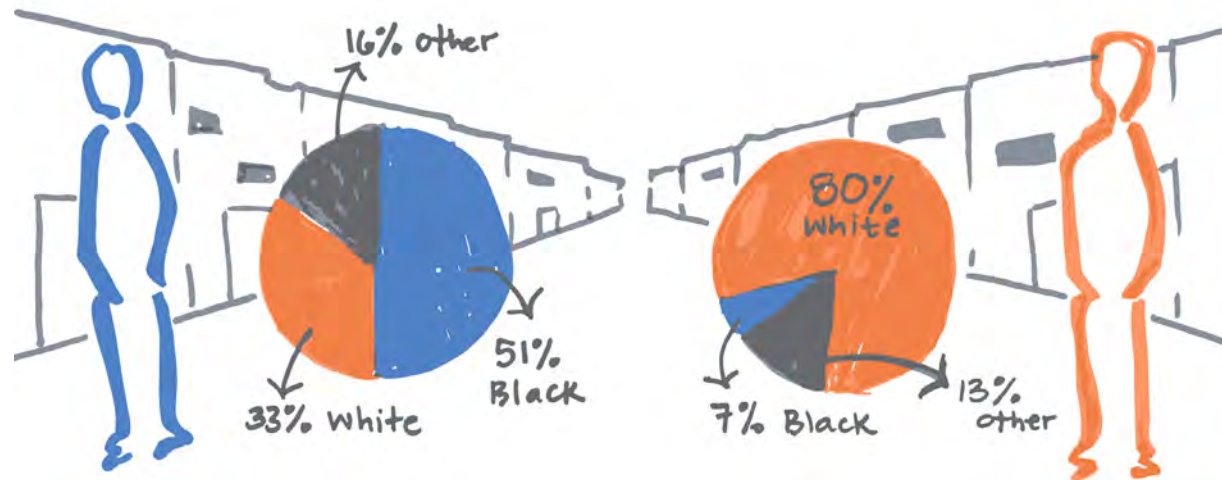
<sup>62</sup> Lipman, “Cultural Politics.”

## Chapter 3: Residential Segregation

Racial and economic segregation between schools and school districts is largely a function of segregated neighborhoods, cities and regions. This is due to the fact that most students in the United States are assigned to a school based on a geographic catchment area. Residential segregation has profound implications on academic outcomes and achievement. In fact, somewhere between 25 percent and 60 percent of SAT test score gaps between black and white students can be explained by residential segregation at the metropolitan scale.<sup>63</sup> To get an accurate sense of residential segregation by both race and class, this section covers trends and current conditions related to residential segregation.

### Residential Segregation by Race

Today, the average white urbanite lives in a neighborhood that is 80 percent white and 7 percent black.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, the average black urbanite lives in a neighborhood that is 51 percent black and 33 percent white.<sup>65</sup> Figure 13 depicts these statistics.



Average black urbanite's neighborhood

Average white urbanite's neighborhood

Figure 13. Average Neighborhood Racial Composition for Black and White Urbanites

"They can't get in here.  
We watch it. Every time  
we hear of a negro moving  
in... We respond quicker  
than you do to a fire."  
-Mayor of Dearborn, MI  
1956

63 Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

64 Sutton, "Place: A Site of Inequity."

65 Sutton, "Place: A Site of Inequity."

And although most poor white families live in mixed-income communities with decent schools, most poor black families live in impoverished neighborhoods where their children attend significantly under-resourced schools. This implies that where Americans can and choose to live is not simply a function of economics.

Black-white residential segregation declined from 1900-1960 at the regional and state levels and then leveled off. By contrast, racial segregation increased at the neighborhood level during that same period, and after 1970 segregation also rose at the municipal level.<sup>66</sup> As Figure 13 shows, from 1970 to 1990, the degree to which black residents were racially isolated geographically at the neighborhood level rose from .160 (using a dissimilarity index where 0 represents total integration and 1 represents complete segregation).<sup>67</sup>

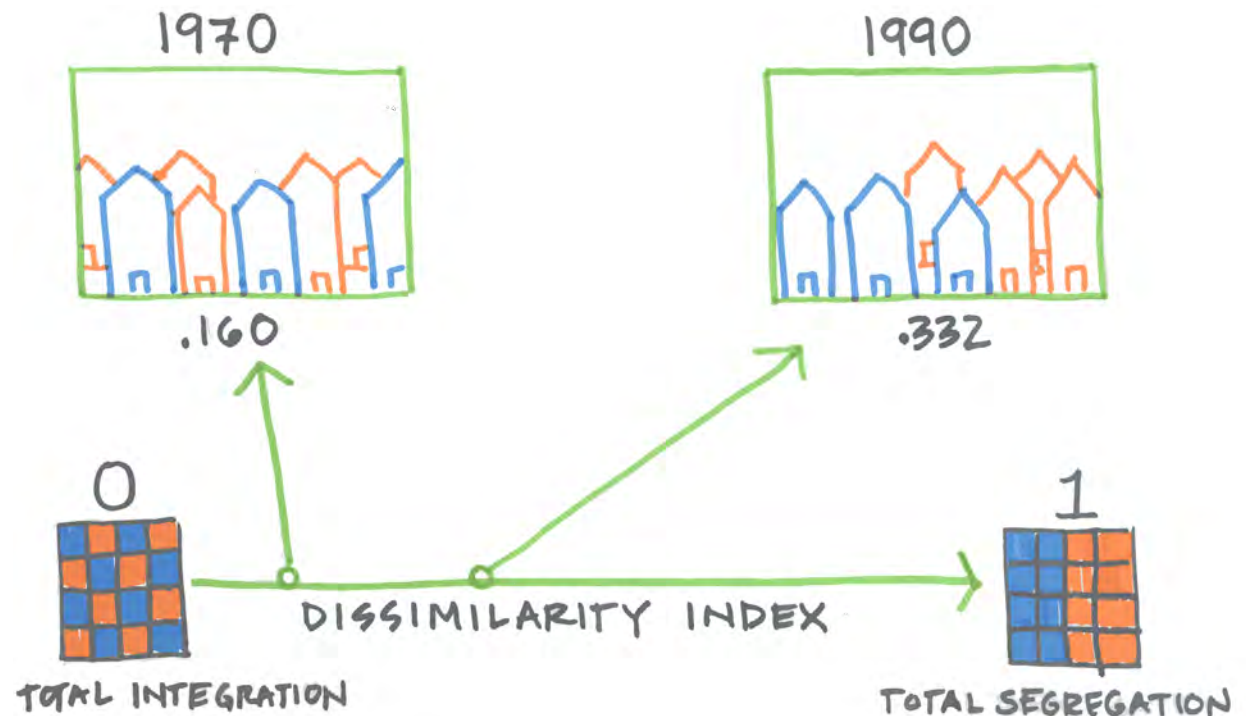


Figure 14. Racial Isolation from 1970-1990

<sup>66</sup> Massey, Douglas and Mary Fischer. "The Geography of Inequality in the United States, 1950-2000." *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* 2003, no. 1 (2003): 1-40.

<sup>67</sup> Massey, "The Geography of Inequality."

The increase in neighborhood racial segregation is in line with the finding that school district segregation has increased.<sup>68</sup> In fact, between-district segregation now explains a much larger share of overall segregation than in previous times. In the most segregated metropolitan areas, between-district segregation represented less than 4 percent of all segregation in 1970, compared with an astonishing 84 percent in the year 2000.<sup>69</sup>

### Residential Segregation by Economic Class

The United States is highly segregated by economic class. At the local level, both affluence and poverty are geographically concentrated.<sup>70</sup> There was an increase in the concentration of poverty on the neighborhood level from 1970-1990, followed by a decrease in concentration from 1990-2000.

Looking at metropolitan areas, states and large regions in the United States, income segregation decreased from 1950-1980, increased from 1980-1990 and then decreased again from 1990-2000. In total over the past fifty years, income segregation has declined between regions by 56 percent, declined between states by 38 percent and declined between metropolitan areas by 31 percent (see Figure 15).<sup>71</sup>

### Reasons for Residential Segregation

It is no accident that neighborhoods, metropolitan areas, states and regions are segregated. Throughout American history, local, state and federal governments have enacted policies that have marginalized people of color and poor people.

Racial zoning was a local land-use practice in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that segregated races into separate neighborhoods and streets. The earliest case of explicit racial zoning occurred in San Francisco when the city issued an expulsive anti-Chinese ordinance in 1860.<sup>72</sup> This ordinance required all persons of Chinese descent to move out of a San Francisco neighborhood within 60 days. While this ordinance expelled a certain nationality, most racial ordinances excluded certain races by preventing them from moving to certain neighborhoods in the first place.



Figure 15: Economic Class Segregation in Regions, States and Metropolitan Areas

68 Clotfelter, *After Brown*.

69 Orfield, Myron. *Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability*. Washington, D.C.; Cambridge, Mass.: Brookings Institution Press; Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1997.

70 Massey, "The Geography of Inequality."

71 de Souza Briggga. "More Pluribus, Less Unum?"

72 Dubin, "Junkyards to Gentrification."

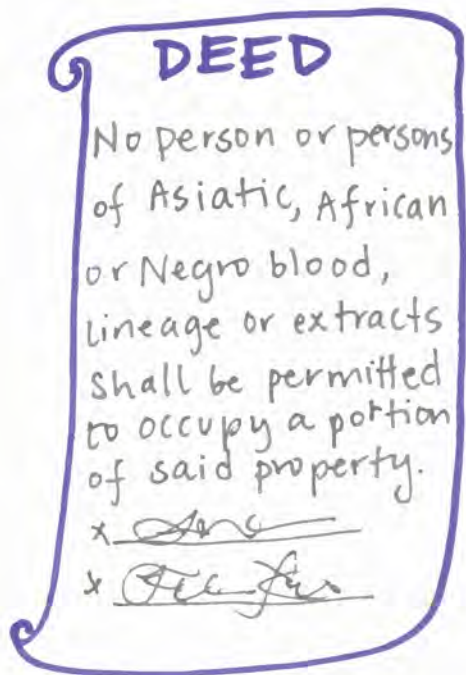


Figure 16. Racial Covenant

The United States' policy of racial zoning was declared unconstitutional in 1917 with the court case *Buchanan v. Warley*. In this case, the Supreme Court held that a Louisville, Kentucky, city ordinance that prohibited the sale of real property to black Americans violated the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>73</sup> Even though racial zoning was technically illegal after 1917, local governments found ways to continue separating people of different races.

For example, private deed racial restrictions (also called racial covenants) persisted after the *Buchanan v. Warley* ruling. Racial restrictions mushroomed during the 1930s and 1940s, particularly in the northern, western, and mid-western regions of the country.<sup>74</sup> However, that did not exempt the northwest. In Seattle, many racial covenants are still on the books today, even though they are unenforceable. For example, in the Queen Anne neighborhood, some house deeds still have this clause: "No person or persons of Asiatic, African or Negro blood, lineage, or extraction shall be permitted to occupy a portion of said property" (see Figure 16).<sup>75</sup>

On a federal level, the US government has contributed to a racialized landscape in a variety of ways. The federal government was responsible for a great deal of mortgage redlining during the twentieth century. For example, a federal underwriting manual for home mortgage insurance explicitly sought assurance that an area would not be "invaded" by "incompatible" racial and social groups.<sup>76</sup> The 1934 National Housing Act also targeted funding to racially homogeneous white neighborhoods and gave preference to the (mostly white) suburbs.

The Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal Program was one of the most egregious examples of racial segregation by the federal government. From 1949-1974, the federal government financed over 2,000 urban renewal projects that dislocated thousands of black households and confined them to segregated and inferior housing.<sup>77</sup> In effect, the government created areas of concentrated poverty, which negatively impacted the performance of neighborhood schools.<sup>78</sup>

However, the federal government has made some strides over the past half-century. The Fair Housing Act – originally enacted in 1968 – has been extended to cover a range of discriminatory practices beyond the mere sale or rental of housing. Today, the Fair Housing

73 Buchanan v. Warley, (245 U.S. 60, 1917).

74 Dubin, "Junkyards to Gentrification."

75 "Racial Restrictive Covenants." *Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project*. Accessed May 8, 2014. <https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/covenants.htm>.

76 Sharon Sutton, "Place: A Site of Inequity."

77 Dubin, "Junkyards to Gentrification."

78 Dubin, "Junkyards to Gentrification."

Act includes prohibitions against racial steering, race-based appraisal practices, redlining, exclusionary zoning and planning, public housing site selection and demolition, and discriminatory community development activities.<sup>79</sup>

Despite legal protections against discriminatory housing, subsidized housing can still inadvertently perpetuate residential and educational segregation. As I discuss in Section IV, each type of affordable housing program (hard unit, voucher and mixed income) has its own unique impact on educational opportunities.

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79 Dubin, "Junkyards to Gentrification."

## Chapter 4: Exclusionary Regulations

Place, race and opportunity have been formally linked for generations through land-use regulations. To understand the various linkages, this chapter starts by providing an overview of land-use regulations and then focuses on the main thrust of this thesis and explains how certain types of land-use regulations have created segregated places, segregated schools and unequal educational opportunities.

### Overview of Land-Use Regulations

Land-use regulations include laws and statutes that prescribe the appropriate use of property or the scale, location and intensity of development. Land-use regulations often refer to zoning, subdivision rules, special use permits, impact fees and site plan regulations. They also encompass growth management tools like urban growth boundaries and adequate public facility ordinances. Land-use regulations shape many aspects of people's lives, including the density, diversity and design of the places they live and work. By extension, these regulations also have a large impact on education.

Since land-use regulations encompass a wide range of policies and laws that impact both the supply and demand for housing, it is difficult to make sweeping claims about the impacts of land-use regulations on affordability and racial segregation. In order to get a more fine-grained understanding of land-use regulations' impact on housing and school segregation, this chapter explores five types of exclusionary land-use regulation and how they impact education.

Today, many of the most obvious forms of racial zoning and racial covenants have been outlawed under federal, state and local laws. Yet perfectly legal land-use regulations still have profound inadvertent effects on the racialization of America's cities and suburbs. These regulations are often referred to as "exclusionary zoning" and are loosely defined as land-use regulations that prevent the construction of multifamily units, rental units, affordable units or just decrease the overall supply of housing (see Figure 17).<sup>80</sup>

Even though local governments dictate zoning, the federal government has weighed in on exclusionary land-use regulations. As mentioned earlier, Section VIII of the Fair Housing Act (1968) has provided a legal basis for challenging exclusive land-use controls. However, when plaintiffs have challenged exclusive land-use regulations in the Supreme Court, the justices have upheld exclusionary zoning in many cases. For example, in the case of *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp* (1977), the Supreme Court

## Exclusionary Zoning



Decreased  
multifamily  
units



Decreased  
rental units



Decreased  
affordable  
units



Decreased  
housing  
supply

Figure 17. Exclusionary Zoning

80 Pendall, Rolf. "Local Land-Use Regulation and the Chain of Exclusion." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 66, no. 2 (June 30, 2000): 125-42. doi:10.1080/01944360008976094.

upheld exclusionary zoning policies in suburban Chicago that prevented a low-income housing development from being developed. The Supreme Court ruled that their zoning was constitutional on the grounds that the plaintiffs could not prove the jurisdiction *intended* to exclude low-income people in its zoning code.<sup>81</sup> As many inclusionary housing advocates have pointed out, proving intentionality in a court of law is an exceptionally high burden of proof.

In the following pages, I discuss more specific types of land-use regulations and their impacts on segregation and education. I will start by analyzing large-lot zoning and then move into an examination of the effects of urban growth boundaries, adequate public facility ordinances, permit caps and permit moratoria.

My analysis will rely on the scholar Rolf Pendall's study, "Local Land-Use Regulation and the Chain of Exclusion." This study examined the 25 largest metropolitan regions in the United States to assess how various land-use regulations affect people of color. In particular, I reference the "Black Index" that Pendall created to measure how various land-use controls impact black communities. With Pendall's black index, "0" indicates that the local black population is disproportionately less than the metropolitan black population (i.e. more exclusive). On the opposite end of the index, "1" indicates that the local black population is proportionately equal to the metropolitan black population. For example, if Seattle's population is 8 percent black and a specific neighborhood within Seattle is also 8 percent black, then that neighborhood would have a black index equal to 1. Figure 18 is a simplified representation of this index.



Figure 18. Pendall's Black Index

81 Pendall, "Land-Use Regulation and Exclusion."



Figure 19. Racial Change and Land Controls



Figure 20. Large Lot Zoning and the Black Index

Pendall's study found that large lot zoning decreased the number of black residents by .8 percent from 1980-1990; permit caps decreased black residents by .1 percent; permit moratoria decreased black residents by 1.1 percent; adequate public facility ordinances decreased black residents by .4 percent; and urban growth boundaries decreased black residents by .4 percent (see Figure 19).<sup>82</sup>

### Large-Lot Zoning

Municipalities can limit the density of their communities through large-lot zoning, also called minimum acre lot zoning or low-density-only zoning. This practice began in earnest in the 1970s and stipulates that each residential unit must sit on a minimum acreage of land.

Large-lot zoning is an exclusionary zoning technique that prevents low-income households from living in certain areas.<sup>83</sup> Pendall's study used empirical data from the 1980s to back up this claim. His study found that communities with large-lot zoning became more exclusive in three major ways: they grew more slowly, they shifted further from multifamily to single-family units and they shifted further away from rental units.<sup>84</sup> As Figure 20 shows, large-lot zoning decreased the black index by 25 points on the 1-100 scale, indicating a shift towards exclusivity.

Approximately 84 percent of jurisdictions impose minimum lot size requirements of some kind. Nationwide, the minimum average lot size is 0.4 acres but in 22 percent of these jurisdictions, the zoning code forbids housing units on lots smaller than one acre.<sup>85</sup> Most jurisdictions that practice large-lot zoning have residents with relatively high incomes and high home ownership rates.

Large-lot zoning is somewhat of a regional phenomenon. Metropolitan areas in the northeastern and Midwestern parts of the United States often use large-lot zoning to control growth. Unfortunately, few of these municipalities adopt affordable housing programs to mitigate the price effects of their land-use regulations.<sup>86</sup> Anti-density zoning like large-lot zoning exacerbates the racial and economic segregation of households. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Cleveland all employ large-lot zoning policies and also have some of the highest dissimilarity indices in the nation. Dissimilarity indices measure

82 Pendall, "Land-Use Regulation and Exclusion."

83 Green, Richard K. "Land Use Regulation and the Price of Housing in a Suburban Wisconsin County." *Journal of Housing Economics* 8, no. 2 (1999): 144-59.

84 Pendall, "Land-Use Regulation and Exclusion."

85 Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

86 Pendall, Rolf and Nelson, Dawkins, Knapp, "Connecting Smart Growth, Housing Affordability, and Racial Equity," in *The Geography of Opportunity, Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*.

the percentage of members of one racial group who would have to move in order for neighborhoods to be racially balanced.

One motivation for large-lot zoning is to keep taxes low. By limiting the number of residents, a municipality also limits the expenditures for schools, roads, parks and other public services. In this sense, large-lot zoning can also be considered “fiscal zoning,” which is defined as zoning for expensive housing and/or commercial property with low service demands to increase tax bases and keep costly social needs down.<sup>87</sup> Fiscal zoning, also known as “zoning for dollars,” is particularly effective at excluding affordable multifamily housing, and by extension, excluding low-income residents who are often people of color.<sup>88</sup> This means that areas that practice fiscal zoning are more likely to have segregated and predominantly white schools.

Given low-density zoning’s exclusionary impact on low-income communities and communities of color, it runs counter to the American Institute of Certified Planner’s Code of Ethics. Planners who adopt this Code of Ethics commit to not implement any policy that “opposes the needs of disadvantaged groups and persons.”<sup>89</sup> Given the exclusionary nature of large-lot zoning, some critics believe that the American Institute of Certified Planners should advocate against this form of low-density zoning.<sup>90</sup>

## Urban Growth Boundaries

Urban growth boundaries, also called urban limit lines or greenbelts, restrict the development footprint of a city. The goal of urban growth boundaries is to concentrate development within city limits in order to prevent suburban sprawl and protect natural areas. Cities like Seattle (WA), Portland (OR), Boulder (CO) and Virginia Beach (VA) have all implemented urban growth boundaries.

Considering urban growth boundaries constrict the amount of developable land, many economists have theorized that they would shrink housing supply and boost the cost of housing. However, Pendall’s study found that growth boundaries did not consistently reduce housing growth in the 1980s, nor did they have a consistent effect on housing unit types, tenure or affordability.<sup>91</sup>

\_\_\_\_\_ In Pendall’s study of 25 metropolitan areas, urban growth boundaries were shown to

87 Orfield, *Metropolitics*.

88 de Souza Briggs, “More Pluribus Less Unum?”

89 American Institute of Certified Planners. “AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct,”

90 Pendall, “Land-Use Regulation and Exclusion.”

91 Pendall, “Land-Use Regulation and Exclusion.”



Figure 21: Urban Growth Boundaries and the Black Index



Figure 22: Adequate Public Facility Ordinances and the Black Index

decrease the black index by 8 points, on a 0-100 scale (see Figure 21). However the changes were not deemed statistically significant. Hence, Pendall concluded that overall, urban growth boundaries have a limited effect on the housing factors that are generally more exclusive of people of color.

A recent study from 2000 also found no statistically significant association between Portland, Oregon’s urban growth boundary and housing prices.<sup>92</sup> One reason that Portland has been able to stave off particularly high levels of real estate cost increases is due to its efforts to increase density within the urban growth boundary. For example Portland’s “Metropolitan Housing Rule” requires half of potential dwellings to be multifamily units. This rule helps satisfy market demand and theoretically keeps prices lower, even if these mandated units are not all designated as “affordable.” As a recent economic study pointed out, “Land-use regulations [that control growth] tend to have less severe effects on affordability if they are adopted within a context that also accommodates higher density developments and places few explicit restrictions on the pace of growth.”<sup>93</sup> However, without density, urban growth boundaries can lead to slightly more racial segregation.

### Adequate Public Facility Ordinances

Adequate public facility ordinances stipulate that all new development must exist in areas with existing infrastructure (like sewers, roads and electricity). Adequate public facility ordinances are a common feature in “smart growth” communities that are working to concentrate growth in the existing development footprint.

Pendall’s study showed that adequate public facility ordinances encouraged a shift toward multifamily housing, although this association was slight and only marginally significant.<sup>94</sup> As Figure 22 shows, adequate public facility ordinances only decreased the black index by 4 points on a 0-100 scale from 1980-1990. Hence, it is difficult to concretely attribute exclusionary residential areas to the existence adequate public facility ordinances.

92 Phillips, Justin, Goodstein, Eban. “Growth Management and Housing Prices: The Case of Portland, Oregon.” *Contemporary Economic Policy* 18, no. 3 (2000).

93 Pendall, “Connecting Smart Growth.”

94 Pendall, “Land-Use Regulation and Exclusion.”

## Permit Caps and Moratoria

Jurisdictions can also control growth through permit caps and permit moratoria. Permit caps limit the number of building permits a jurisdiction allows annually, whereas permit moratoria are bans on all future developments.

Permit caps can have an exclusionary impact on low-income people. One reason for this is that they can indirectly encouraged builders to construct up-market housing because they are unable to build large volumes of units.<sup>95</sup> Petaluma, California, offers a good example of the impacts of permit caps. Petaluma is a national leader in capping residential building permits and has higher housing prices and produces fewer low- and moderate-income than two nearby jurisdictions without growth controls.<sup>96</sup> Pendall's study reinforces the findings from Petaluma. He demonstrated that permit caps decreased the black index by 25 points (on his 0-100 scale) and concluded that permit caps were directly related to excluding people of color (see Figure 23).

Long lasting permit moratoria can also have an exclusionary effect on the black community. Pendall's research found that permit moratoria decreased the black index by 13 points on the 0-100 scale (see Figure 24). He also found that permit moratoria reduced the 1990 share of affordable rental housing by 3.7 percent.<sup>97</sup>

Evidently, each type of land-use regulation has a different impact on the exclusion of black residents. Figure 25 on the next page depicts the "Chain of Exclusion" that traces how land-use regulations impact a jurisdiction's housing stock, its availability of rental units, the affordability of rental units and ultimately, the exclusion of people of color.

95 Pendall, "Connecting Smart Growth."

96 Schwartz, Seymour I, David E Hansen, and Richard Green. "The Effect of Growth Control on the Production of Moderate-Priced Housing." *Land Economics Land Economics* 60, no. 1 (1984): 110–14.

97 Pendall, "Land-Use Regulation and Exclusion."



Figure 23: Permit Caps and the Black Index



Figure 24: Permit Moratoria and the Black Index

Land use Regulation

Large Lot Zoning

Permit Moratoria

Permit caps

Urban growth Boundaries

Adequate Public Facility ordinances

Housing Stock

↓ Housing production

↓ single family houses

Rental Availability

↓ Percentage of rentals

Affordability

↓ Rental Affordability

No effects

Exclusion of people of color

Figure 25. Pendall's Chain of Exclusion

## Exclusionary Zoning and Education

Experimental work has demonstrated that exclusionary zoning policies are likely to exacerbate inequalities in educational attainment across income groups.<sup>98</sup> Empirical work has also shown that exclusionary zoning leads to a segregated education system. Large-lot zoning provides a good example of how a land-use regulation can impact education. Figure 26 illustrates how large lot zoning can ultimately lead to racially segregated schools and disparities in funding among predominantly black and predominantly white schools. These factors can result in an educational opportunity gap between low-income black students and affluent white students.

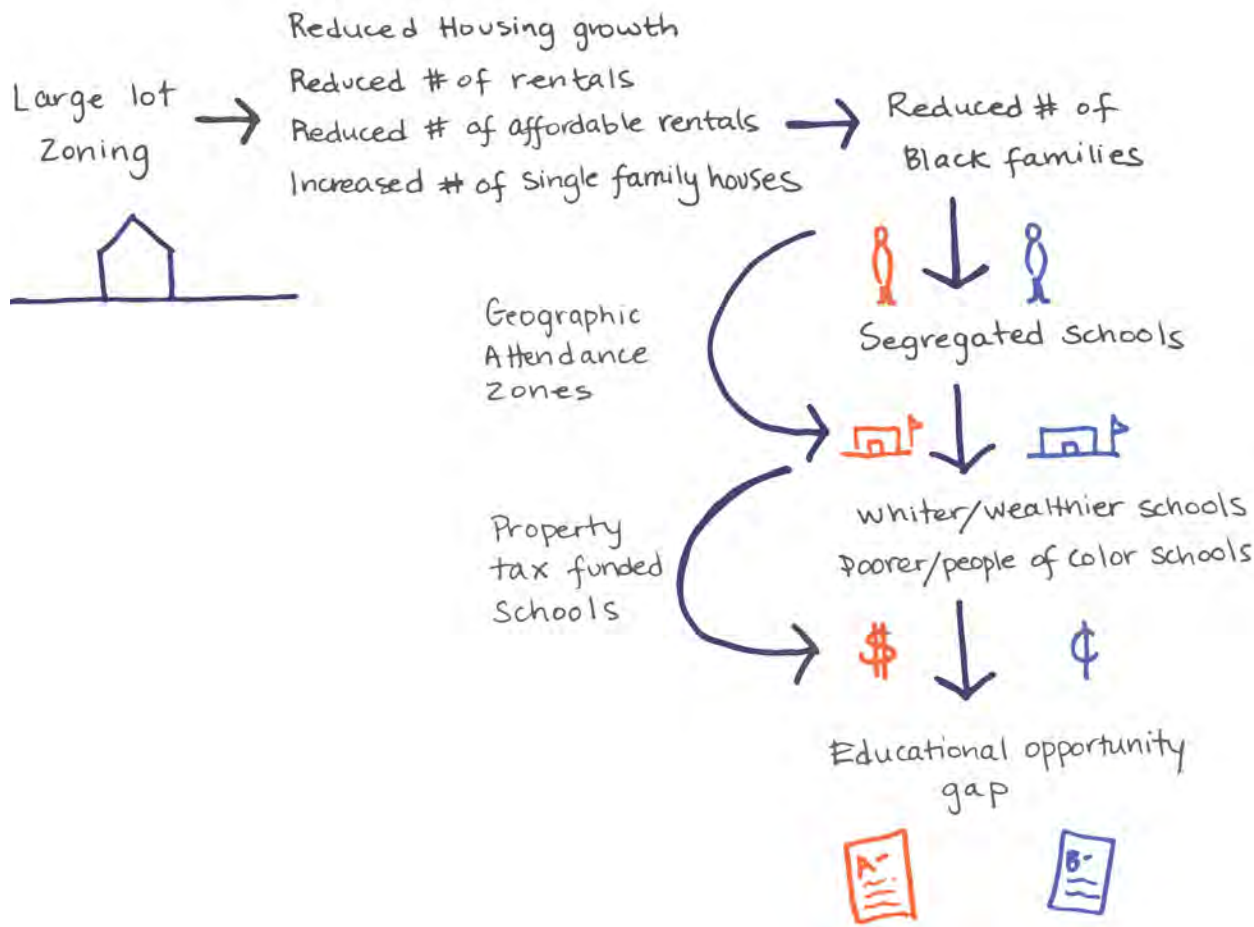
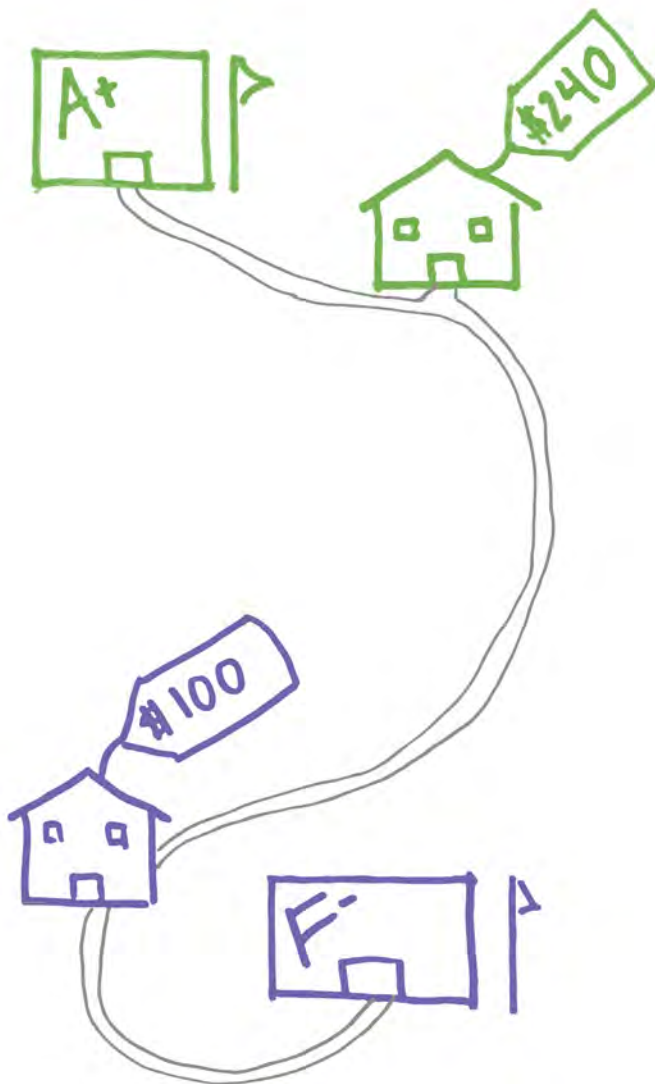


Figure 26. Large Lot Zoning's Impact on Educational Opportunity Gaps



**Figure 27. Housing Costs and Proximity to High Performing Schools**

In addition, studies have found that in many areas with restrictive zoning, it is prohibitively expensive to move from a neighborhood with a low-performing school to a neighborhood with a high performing school.<sup>99</sup> In fact, across 100 metropolitan areas, housing near the highest-scoring schools is 2.4 times as expensive as near the lowest-scoring schools (see Figure 27). On average, median home values in metropolitan areas are \$205,000 higher in neighborhoods near high-scoring schools.<sup>100</sup>

On the other hand, houses in jurisdictions with the least density restrictions are slightly cheaper than metropolitan averages. The schools in these jurisdictions have test scores that are similar to metropolitan averages and the shares of students that are low-income and black and Hispanic are similar to metropolitan averages.<sup>101</sup> These findings imply that the most inclusive neighborhoods (from a land-use regulation perspective) have affordable places to live, a proportionally diverse population and decent schools.

Since public schools receive funding from local real estate taxes, the more expensive housing in areas with exclusionary zoning translates into better financial resources for schools.<sup>102</sup> As environmental justice scholar Robert Bullard said: “Huge economic disparities exist between affluent suburban schools and their poor inner-city counterparts. These disparities are buttressed by the archaic school property tax financing method.”<sup>103</sup> Funding schools through real estate taxes creates a vicious cycle in which the areas with the most exclusionary zoning have the best funding for schools, driving a deeper wedge between poorer and wealthier students.

Given the relationship between housing costs, exclusive zoning and school performance, moving to areas with high-scoring schools is financially impossible for many poor families. Jurisdictions could address the highly unequal school system by modifying zoning laws to eliminate exclusionary zoning to increase opportunities for dense and multifamily housing. While modifying the zoning code will not change things overnight (especially not issues of racism, classism or housing discrimination), policy interventions are a place to start. Part IV explores some beneficial policy interventions in greater detail.

<sup>99</sup> The housing-cost gap is defined for a given metropolitan area as the average costs of living near schools in the top 20<sup>th</sup> percentile divided by the average costs of living near schools in the bottom 20<sup>th</sup> percentile on test scores. This ratio indicates the relative costs of moving from a neighborhood with a low-scoring school to a neighborhood with a high-scoring school. In Rothwell, *Housing Costs, Zoning, and Access to High Scoring Schools*.

<sup>100</sup> Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

<sup>101</sup> Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

<sup>102</sup> Hutch, “Smart Growth Tools for Revitalizing Environmentally Challenged Urban Communities,” in *Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity*, 2007.

<sup>103</sup> Bullard, “Smart Growth Meets Environmental Justice” in *Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity*, 2007.

## Chapter 5: Expulsive Regulations

In addition to exclusionary land-use regulations, municipalities can shape their racial landscape by enacting expulsive land-use regulations. In this chapter, I explore two types of expulsive regulations and explain how each type impacts residential and educational segregation. I also touch on how transportation policies can have an expulsive impact on low-income communities of color and their educational opportunities.

### Low Grade Expulsive Zoning

The first type of expulsive zoning is referred to as low-grade expulsive zoning and consists of land-use regulations that authorize noxious industrial or commercial uses near low-income communities of color. The second type of expulsive zoning is called high grade expulsive zoning and consists of government-initiated gentrification.<sup>104</sup> Figure 28 depicts the difference between these two forms of expulsive zoning.

In an unfortunate combination of expulsive and fiscal zoning, predominantly black areas are often over zoned as industrial in order to generate income from industrial development.<sup>105</sup> These communities often lack the political power or economic resources to block industrial (and potentially hazardous) intrusions.<sup>106</sup> In response to the persistent and harmful use of expulsive zoning, the environmental justice movement formed in the 1980s. This movement has fought against the intentional placement of hazardous sites, landfills, incinerators, and polluting industries in communities consisting of people of color and the working poor.<sup>107</sup>

While expulsive zoning occurs throughout the nation in varying degrees, a few cases stand out. For instance, the state of North Carolina chose a predominantly poor and black community in Warren County to place a toxic waste landfill.<sup>108</sup> This incidence led to the landmark report, *Toxic Waste in the United States*, which found that a community's racial composition was the most significant factor in explaining the existence of hazardous waste treatment, storage and disposal facilities.<sup>109</sup> Another example of environmental injustice



Figure 28. High Grade Versus Low Grade Expulsive Zoning

104 Dubin, "Junkyards to Gentrification."

105 Dubin, "Junkyards to Gentrification."

106 Rabin, "Expulsive Zoning."

107 Bullard, Robert D, and Paul, Saha, Robin, Wright, Beverly Mohai. "'Toxic Wastes and Race' at Twenty: Why Race Still Matters after All of These Years. ('Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States' Report)." *Environmental Law* 38, no. 2 (2008).

108 Justice and Witness Ministries. *Almost Everything You Need to Know About Environmental Justice*, n.d. [http://www.ucc.org/justice/advocacy\\_resources/pdfs/environmental-justice/almost-everything-you-need-to-know-about-environmental-justice-english-version.pdf](http://www.ucc.org/justice/advocacy_resources/pdfs/environmental-justice/almost-everything-you-need-to-know-about-environmental-justice-english-version.pdf).

109 United Church of Christ, and Commission for Racial Justice. *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Report on the Racial and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites*. New York, N.Y.: Public Data Access : Inquiries to the

and expulsive zoning exists in Louisiana’s “Cancer Alley” – the chemical manufacturing corridor between Baton Rouge and New Orleans. The residents in Cancer Alley are primarily black and have paid a heavy health toll by living close to these manufacturing sites.<sup>110</sup> A final example includes a Latino community living along the New River in California. This community has experienced significant health problems from nearby factories that dump their waste in the river.<sup>111</sup>

In some cases, zoning codes have included expulsive provisions. For example, when New York City overhauled its zoning code in 1961, it rezoned many neighborhoods as manufacturing zones if the neighborhood seemed blighted, or had experienced “white flight, high rates of vacancy, abandonment, tax delinquency, and subsequent influx of minority residents.”<sup>112</sup> In effect, residential areas where poor people and people of color lived were zoned as manufacturing districts with the (conscious or unconscious) intent that these areas would be eliminated and replaced with more profitable industrial parks.

### High Grade Expulsive Zoning

In addition to low grade expulsive zoning, municipalities can also remove low-income communities of color through high grade expulsive zoning, which involves decisions by local governments to spur gentrification to replace existing low-income communities with more affluent communities.<sup>113</sup>

Two court cases in the 1980s exhibited the impact of high grade expulsive zoning. In *16<sup>th</sup> Census Tract Crisis Committee v. City of Alexandria* (1986), black residents filed a complaint with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) arguing that the city’s designation of their neighborhood as a historic district would eventually displace them through gentrification.<sup>114</sup> The Department of Housing and Urban Development’s Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity found that designating a historic district in a low-income black community would indeed initiate gentrification and displacement, thereby violating the Equal Protection Clause of the US Constitution.<sup>115</sup> However after unsuccessfully fighting the City Council for several months, HUD dropped its efforts to get relief for the

Commission, 1987.

110 Bullard, “Toxic Wastes and Race.”

111 Bullard, “Toxic Wastes and Race.”

112 Maantay, J. A. (2000). Industrial zoning changes and environmental justice in New York City: An historical, geographical, and cultural analysis. Doctoral dissertation. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University.

113 Dubin, “Junkyards to Gentrification.”

114 City of Alexandria, (2012) “Parker Gray Board of Architectural Review Ad Hoc Design Guidelines Work Group Recommendations, <http://alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/planning/info/Design%20Guidelines%20Amendment%20Report.pdf>

115 Alexandria, “Parker Gray.”

black residents. The city of Alexandria moved forward with the creation of a historic district in the black neighborhood of Parker-Gray.

In *Houston v. City of Cocoa*, a low-income black community challenged zoning changes that would have eliminated the city's only black residential neighborhood near downtown and replaced it with businesses and high-income housing.<sup>116</sup> The district court found that the city was indeed promulgating racially discriminatory zoning, which violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. One plaintiff said: "It is with peaceful but powerful hearts that we move into this next phase to preserve our Black heritage land in the City of Cocoa. Our request to the city has been clear and consistent: Improve, not remove; rebuild, not destroy."

The cases of expulsive zoning in Alexandria and Houston are just two examples of how local governments can displace or put at risk communities of color. Both low and high-grade expulsive zoning can interfere with providing high quality education to low-income black students. This next section describes the connections between expulsive zoning and education in greater detail.

### Expulsive Land-Use Regulations and Education

When municipalities decide to locate toxic or hazardous facilities in poor communities of color (low grade expulsive zoning), it has a direct effect on schools. Some researchers have demonstrated a clear correlation between a school's racial and income composition and its proximity to hazardous sites (including Superfund sites and sites listed in the government's Toxic Release Inventory).<sup>117</sup>

Environmental hazards and risks can have detrimental health impacts that harm children's wellbeing and ability to learn. For example, children who play outdoor team sports in high-ozone communities have been found to have a higher incidence of newly diagnosed asthma.<sup>118</sup> Also, chronic exposure to neurotoxins at school could have health impacts over the course of one's lifetime.<sup>119</sup> Poor health is an important component of out-of-school conditions that play into the educational opportunity gap.

Just as a polluted environment can negatively impact a child's education, vibrant

116 Houston v. City of Cocoa (89-082-Civ-Orl-19, 1989).

117 Sampson, Natalie. "Environmental Justice at School: Understanding Research, Policy, and Practice to Improve Our Children's Health." *Journal of School Health* 82, no. 5 (May 2012): 246-52. doi:10.1111/j.1746-1561.2012.00694.x.

118 McConnell, Rob, Berhane, Kiros, Gilliland, Frank, London, Stephanie J, Islam, Talat, Gauderman, W James, Avol, Edward, Margolis, Helene G, Peters, John M. "Asthma in Exercising Children Exposed to Ozone: A Cohort Study." *LANCET The Lancet* 359, no. 9304 (2002): 386-91.

119 Sampson, "Environmental Justice at School."

"It is with peaceful but powerful hearts that we... preserve our heritage land in the City of Cocoa. Our request to the city has been clear & consistent: Improve, not remove; rebuild, not destroy."  
- plaintiff, Houston versus city of cocoa

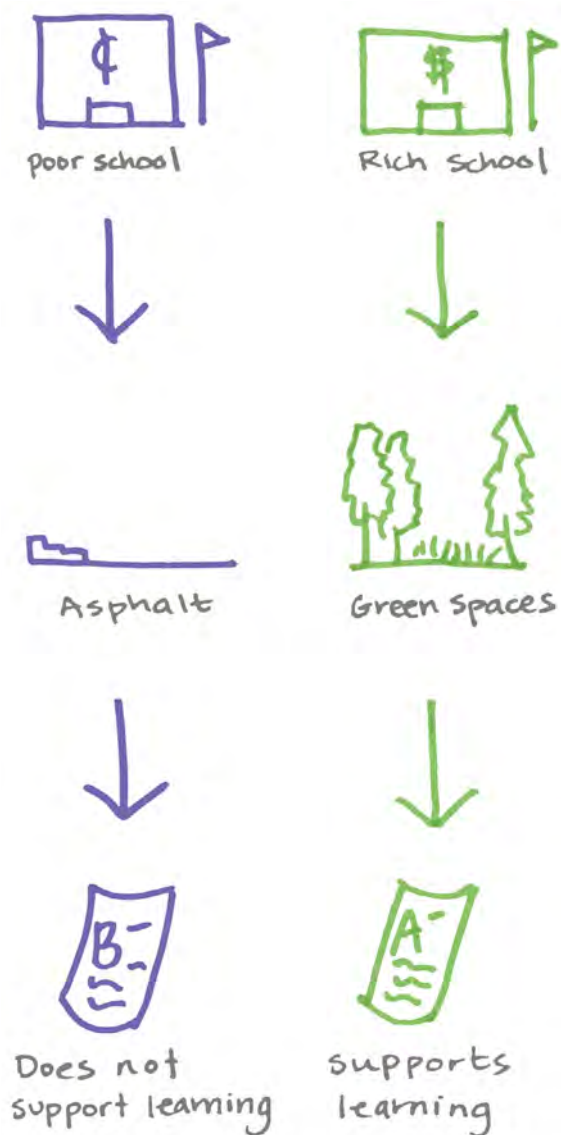


Figure 29. Green Spaces and Educational Gaps

green spaces can positively benefit a student’s educational experience and abilities. For example, studies have found that children with ADHD who play regularly in green play settings have milder symptoms than children who play in built outdoor and indoor settings. This is true for all income groups and for both boys and girls.<sup>120</sup> A recent study also demonstrated that walking in nature or viewing pictures of nature can improve directed-attention abilities.<sup>121</sup>

Another study investigated 101 public high schools in Michigan to examine how nearby nature affected student academic achievement and behavior.<sup>122</sup> The analysis revealed a consistent and positive relationship between nature exposure and student performance. Specifically, classrooms and cafeterias with views of trees and shrubs were positively associated with standardized test scores, graduation rates, percentages of students planning to attend a four-year college, and fewer occurrences of criminal behavior. This study also found that large expanses of landscape lacking natural features were negatively related to these same test scores and college plans.

The relationship between green spaces and education has implications for racial and socio-economic equity (see Figure 29). Many low-income communities of color are located near industrial areas – far from the green spaces that can improve educational performance. In fact, many studies have shown that the ratio of parks in racially diverse areas is much lower than that of predominantly white communities.<sup>123</sup>

Many urban planners have the misconception that only landscape architects are responsible for green infrastructure projects. However, urban planners can use land-use regulations and zoning to create parks, community gardens, accessible waterfronts and urban forests. In Seattle for example, the Department of Planning and Development instituted the “Seattle Green Factor” that requires commercial and residential projects to achieve a minimum score through selecting from a menu of green features such as trees, green roofs, green walls, water features, etc.<sup>124</sup> With an eye towards social equity, urban planners can site these types of green amenities in low-income areas to ensure that all students can reap the benefits of interacting with nature.

120 Faber Taylor, Andrea, Kuo, Frances E. (Ming). “Could Exposure to Everyday Green Spaces Help Treat ADHD? Evidence from Children’s Play Settings.” *APHW Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being* 3, no. 3 (2011): 281–303.

121 Berman MG, Jonides J, Kaplan S. “The Cognitive Benefits of Interacting with Nature.” *Psychological Science* 19, no. 12 (2008): 1207–12.

122 Matsuoka, Rodney H. “Student Performance and High School Landscapes: Examining the Links.” *Landscape and Urban Planning* 97, no. 4 (2010): 273–82.

123 Faustinos, Belinda. “Race & Ethnicity: Future of Parks & Conservation.” Denver University, 2012. <http://www.law.du.edu/documents/rmlui/conference/powerpoints/2014/FaustinosBRace-and-Equity-in-Urban-Nature.pdf>.

124 “Seattle Green Factor,” Seattle Department of Planning and Development. Accessed May 20, 2014. <http://www.seattle.gov/dpd/cityplanning/completeprojectslist/greenfactor/whatwhy/>

## Expulsive Transportation Policies

Transportation decisions can have dramatic and expulsive effects on marginalized communities. In particular, the creation of the federal interstate highway system was notorious for tearing apart black communities. Beginning in 1956 with the passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act, highways were deliberately routed through black neighborhoods. For example, Interstate-94 plowed through the Rondo neighborhood in St. Paul, Interstate 95 destroyed Overtown in Miami and I-90 devastated the black community in the Central District of Seattle. It is well documented that transportation officials took advantage of the relatively little political power of black communities to build highly polluting freeways.<sup>125</sup>

To protest the destruction of black neighborhoods, an anti-highway movement grew in the 1960s. From New York to San Francisco, black and poor communities tried to push back against the bulldozer, wrecking ball and concrete truck. Capturing the sentiment of the movement, civil rights activist Sammie Abbott coined the slogan “No White Men’s Roads Through Black Men’s Homes” (see Figure 30). In a few cases, activists were able to push back against “highway men” and successfully “stopped the road.”<sup>126</sup>



Figure 30 Protest Sign

## Expulsive Transportation Policies and Education

Expulsive transportation policies in the United States can harm the educational experiences of poor students and students of color. The Colman School in Seattle, Washington offers a good example of how the siting of transportation projects can negatively impact education for black students.

The Colman School was built in 1909 in the Central District. At this time, the Central District was primarily a Jewish neighborhood with some Japanese and European Americans as well.<sup>127</sup> After World War II, the demographics of the Central District began to change (see Figure 31). In the 1940s, the Jewish population started moving to other neighborhoods. At this time, the Central District became home to most of Seattle’s growing black population because of housing discrimination and restrictive covenants in other parts of the city.<sup>128</sup>

After World War II, the Colman School stood as a symbol of the black community for several reasons. It was the first elementary school in Seattle that accepted black students, it hired many black teachers and in the 1960s the Seattle Urban League designated it as one of

### Seattle’s Central District

	Black	White/Other
1930	5%	95%
1960	54%	46%
2010	22%	78%

Figure 31 Black Residents in Seattle’s Central District

125 Mohl, Raymond A. “Stop the Road: Freeway Revolts in American Cities.” *Journal of Urban History* 30, no. 5 (2004): 674–706.

126 Mohl, “Stop the Road.”

127 Morrill, Richard. “The Seattle Central District (Cd) Over Eighty Years.” *Geographical Review* 103, no. 3 (July 1, 2013): 315–35. doi:10.1111/j.1931-0846.2013.00001.x.

128 Morrill, “The Seattle Central District.”



Figure 32. Interstate 90 in Seattle's Central District

seven central area schools with a large percentage of black students.<sup>129</sup> But the construction of Interstate 90 forced the demise of this institution.

In the early 1970s, the City of Seattle, King County, the Washington Department of Transportation, the Federal Highway Administration and Governor of Washington initiated a process of locating the final segment of Interstate 90. A heated debate ensued given the social justice implications of siting I-90 through the Central District. At one City Council meeting in 1970, Kathy Howlett, a Black Panther Party member said: "The only people being served by this freeway in the long run are the people in power. The people affected by the freeway have not been asked about it, the people in the black community have not been consulted."<sup>130</sup>

After years of planning and negotiation, the authorities finalized I-90's location and alignment in 1977 (see Figure 32). Many of the meetings concerning I-90 were held in the affluent and mostly white community of Mercer Island, rather than in the predominantly black communities of the Central District or Mount Baker.<sup>131</sup> This raises questions about the inclusivity of the planning process.

Construction of I-90 began in the late 1970s and the Colman School was forced to shutter its doors in 1985 as the student population plummeted due to housing that was demolished to make room for the freeway. That year, four black activists broke into the school and demanded that the school be converted into a black history museum. They remained there for 8 years – the longest act of civil disobedience in US history.<sup>132</sup> In 2008, the former Colman School opened as the Northwest African American History Museum with an affordable housing development on the top floors. While the museum is certainly an asset in Seattle, it is hard to replace or quantify the loss of a school that served the black community for years.

To put this single example in the context of this thesis, it is fair to say that the siting of I-90 through the Central District was a form of expulsive planning that disrupted the education of black students in the neighborhood. This type of disruption feeds into the educational opportunity gap that disadvantages so many of the nation's poor and black students.

129 "November 24, 1985: The Colman School Occupation." *Radical Seattle Remembers*. Accessed May 8, 2014. <http://radsearem.wordpress.com/tag/colman-school/>.

130 "Seattle Voices: Interstate 90 Public Hearing." *Seattle Municipal Archives, Office of City Clerk*. Accessed May 8, 2014. <http://www.seattle.gov/cityarchives/Exhibits/voices/i90.htm>.

131 "Seattle Voices."

132 Broom, Jack. "School Is Transformed into Museum, Housing." *Seattle Times*. January 11, 2008. [http://seattletimes.com/html/local-news/2004119384\\_village11m.html](http://seattletimes.com/html/local-news/2004119384_village11m.html).

## Reflections on Education and Residential Segregation

Why has school segregation persisted for decades after *Brown v. Board of Education*? As I have explained, a major reason is that neighborhoods in the United States are still very segregated by race and class. It is important to remember that residential segregation has largely emerged through deliberate policies and programs. Discriminatory housing policies, exclusionary zoning and expulsive land-use regulations have all resulted in places and schools that are divided by race and economic class (see Figure 33).

Undoubtedly, undoing residential segregation in the service of educational equity is a difficult challenge. However, urban planners can implement inclusive regulatory tools to chip away at residential segregation. Part IV describes some ways that urban planners can address educational opportunity gaps through zoning and housing policies.

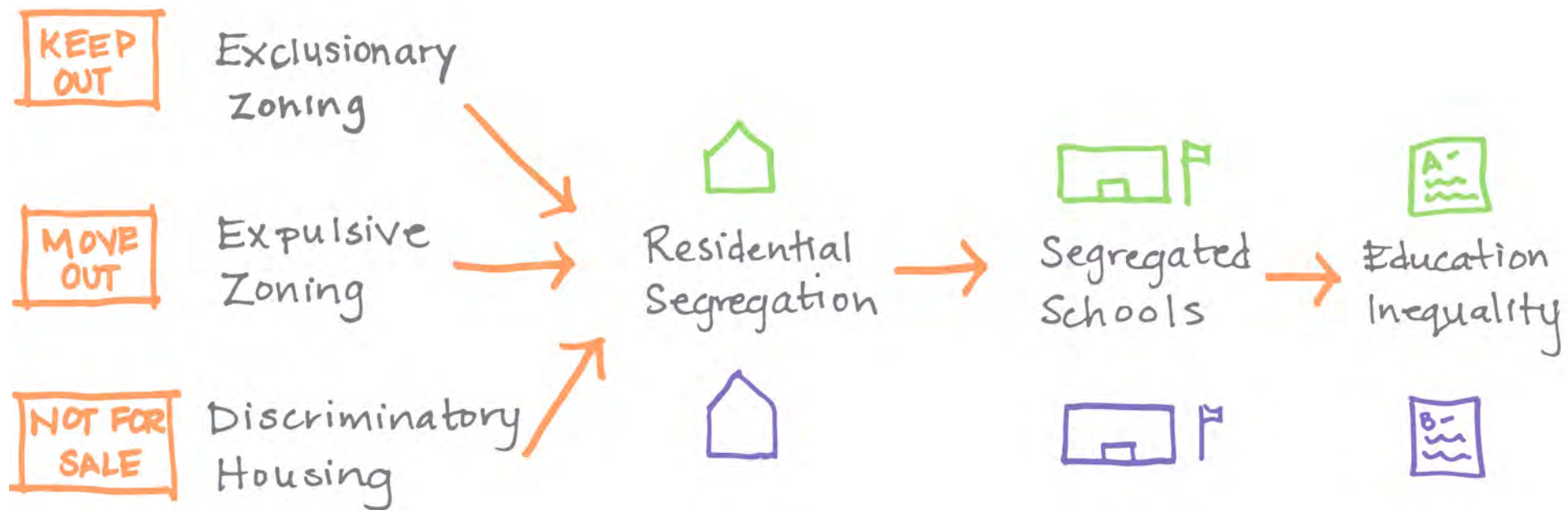


Figure 33. Challenges Summary

## Part IV: Opportunities

As I have shown, residential and school segregation exist largely due to exclusionary and expulsive land-use policies. The legal underpinnings of segregation actually provide a tremendous opportunity for urban planners because just as planners in the past have deliberately chosen discriminatory policies, planners today can actively choose inclusionary policies. What does this mean in practice? Planners can remove exclusionary and expulsive regulations from zoning codes and they can implement various land-use regulations to promote mixed-income and mixed-race communities.

Part IV covers inclusive zoning techniques and affordable housing policies. It describes how inclusionary and incentive zoning can open doors for low-income people of color in affluent high-performing school districts. It also touches upon how other zoning regulations, such as allowing accessory dwelling units, can promote affordable options. Lastly, it explores how affordable housing programs can encourage equitable education.

It is important to acknowledge that there are two distinct approaches to creating mixed-income and mixed-race communities. The first way occurs when higher-income (and usually white) residents move into lower-income neighborhoods (see Figure 34). This way is generally viewed as part of gentrification and often leads to the displacement of many existing low-income residents (who are often people of color).

The other way of creating diverse communities is to enable low-income people of color to move into higher-income neighborhoods that are predominantly white (see Figure 35). However, this rarely occurs due to restrictive and exclusionary land-use regulations. The remainder of Part IV is devoted to unpacking and exploring ways that urban planners can use the tools available to them to promote the second method of creating mixed income communities: by lifting the barriers to living in high performing and affluent school districts.

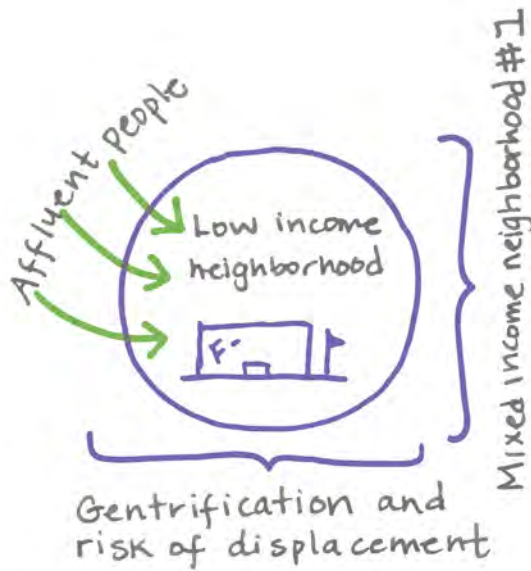


Figure 34. Mixed Income Communities Through the Influx of Affluent People



Figure 35. Mixed Income Communities through the Influx of Low-Income People

## Chapter 6: Inclusive Zoning

As argued thus far in this thesis, in order to create public schools that are racially and economically integrated as well as environmentally safe, urban planners need to eliminate exclusionary and expulsive land-use policies. But which land-use regulations (i.e. zoning) can create educational opportunities for low-income people and people of color? In this chapter I offer inclusionary zoning and incentive zoning as two efforts that strive to set aside a portion of new development for affordable housing. I close this chapter by building the case for coordination between urban planning departments and school districts and will provide some examples to illustrate how this is possible.

### Inclusionary Zoning

Inclusionary zoning is a way of increasing the supply of affordable housing in a city, region or state. Inclusionary zoning is implemented in California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Colorado; and in cities like Santa Fe (NM), Burlington (VT) and the DC Metropolitan Area. More than 100 jurisdictions employ inclusionary zoning in California, resulting in over 34,000 units of additional affordable housing.<sup>133</sup>

Inclusionary zoning requires developers to set aside a percentage of housing units in new residential developments for low- and moderate-income households (“set aside rates”). In return, developers receive non-monetary compensation. A common form of compensation is a density bonus, which allow developers to build beyond the zoned height limit in exchange for including more units of affordable housing. Other inclusionary zoning incentives include tax breaks, relaxed parking requirements, unit size reductions, design flexibility, fee waivers or reductions, fee deferrals and fast-tracked permitting.

In many places with inclusionary zoning, developers can meet allotted set aside rates for affordable housing without actually building affordable units on site. For example, developers can meet inclusionary zoning requirements by dedicating off-site units as permanently affordable, dedicating vacant land for affordable unit development or making cash contributions to an affordable housing fund (see Figure 36).

While off-site options could increase the overall stock of affordable housing, they could have unintended consequences. For example, off-site affordable housing agreements could locate new units of affordable housing in low-income neighborhoods with second-rate schools. Hence, off-site affordable housing agreements could perpetuate residential segregation.

### Inclusionary Zoning

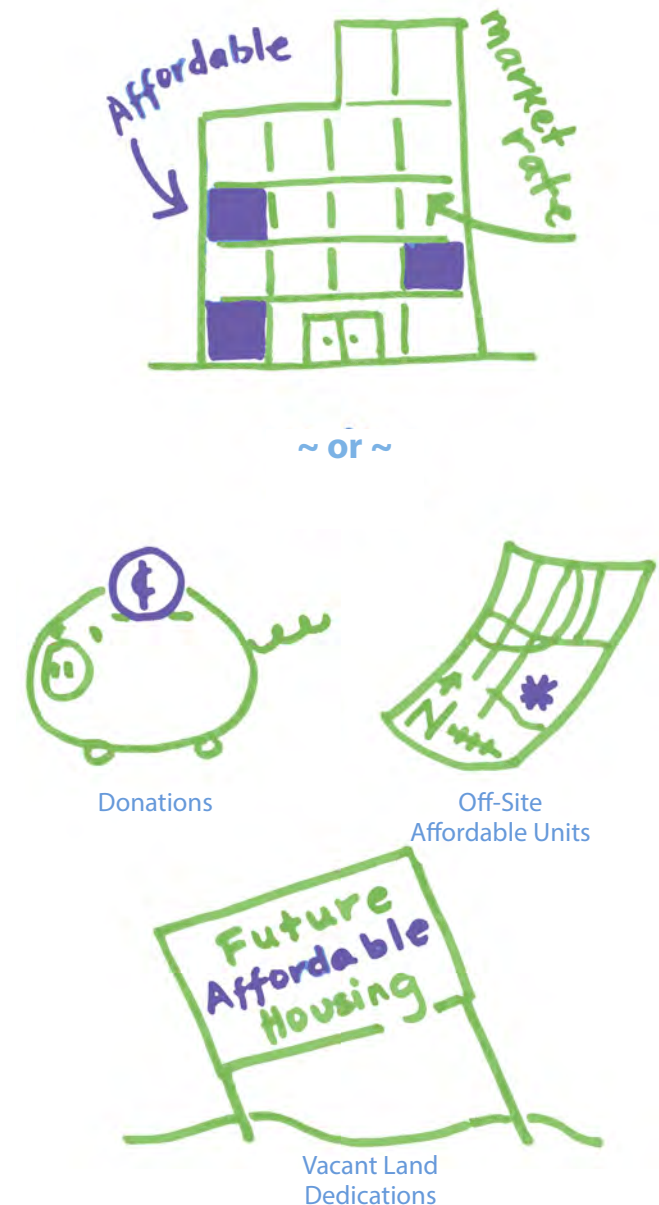


Figure 36. Inclusionary Zoning

133 California Coalition for Rural Housing, and Non-Profit Housing Association of Northern California. *Inclusionary Zoning in California: 30 Years of Innovation*, 2003. <http://calruralhousing.org/drupal/sites/default/files/Inclusionary30Years.pdf>.

Inclusionary zoning can also include Transfer of Development Rights programs that allow developers to transfer (i.e. sell) development rights from lower-density buildings to higher-density buildings. Proceeds from the sale of development rights can fund affordable housing. In Seattle, for example, developers and the sellers of development rights can negotiate sales directly. Or the City of Seattle can purchase the Transfer of Development Rights and hold on to them in a “Transfer of Development Rights Bank” for later resale.<sup>134</sup>

Integrating affordable housing in high-performing school districts can have educational benefits. For example, Montgomery County, Maryland has one of the most renowned inclusionary zoning policies. Passed in 1974, Montgomery County’s inclusionary zoning program requires 12.5-15 percent of new housing developments of 35 or more units to be affordable for households in the lowest one-third of the county’s income bracket.<sup>135</sup>

Montgomery County’s inclusionary zoning effort has had direct effects on public education since it has located public housing projects in wealthier school districts. A recent study showed that children from public housing developments in Montgomery County who attended more affluent schools began to catch up to their wealthier classmates over the course of their elementary school education. By the end of elementary school, poorer students had cut their initial achievement gap in half.<sup>136</sup> Students living in public housing who attended schools where no more than 20 percent of students qualified for a free or reduced price meal had the highest achievement rates. But as school poverty levels rose, the academic benefits decreased among children who lived in public housing.

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134 “Transferable Development Rights,” *City of Seattle*. Accessed October 4, 2013. <http://www.seattle.gov/housing/incentives/TDRbonus.htm>.

135 PolicyLink. “Inclusionary Zoning Newsletter.” PolicyLink. Accessed December 15, 2014. [http://www.policylink.org/site/c.lkIX-LbMNJrE/b.8019887/k.92/Inclusionary\\_Zoning/apps/nl/newsletter2.asp](http://www.policylink.org/site/c.lkIX-LbMNJrE/b.8019887/k.92/Inclusionary_Zoning/apps/nl/newsletter2.asp).

136 Schwartz, *Housing Policy is School Policy*.

## Incentive Zoning

Incentive zoning is similar to inclusionary zoning, except that it is usually voluntary. With incentive zoning programs, developers are encouraged to provide affordable units in exchange for profitable land-use and zoning variances and other regulatory “carrots.” While voluntary programs are more popular with developers, they produce far fewer affordable units.<sup>137</sup>

California provides a good example of how incentive zoning is relatively ineffectual. Only six jurisdictions in California have voluntary incentive zoning programs and they have produced little affordable housing.<sup>138</sup> Two cities, Los Alamitos and Long Beach, “blame the voluntary nature of their programs for stagnant production of affordable housing despite a market rate boom.” Morgan Hill was the one jurisdiction with a voluntary program that actually produced 300 units of affordable housing over the course of 26 years. However, Morgan Hill’s program was functionally mandatory because it used a stringent growth management policy to make it difficult for developers to obtain building permits without including affordable housing. Evidently, incentive zoning, by itself, is not an effective means of encouraging economically and racially diverse neighborhoods that create integrated and successful schools.

At the time of this writing, no available studies had been published that investigated the relationship between incentive zoning and educational achievement. However, given the inability of incentive zoning to generate significant amounts of affordable housing in exclusive neighborhoods with good schools, it is likely that incentive zoning is not a good mechanism for opening educational doors for poor students and students of color. As such, if jurisdictions want to integrate schools through land-use policies, inclusionary zoning is a better option than incentive zoning.

While inclusionary zoning includes a suite of options that promote affordability, urban planners also have other methods of creating affordable and integrated school districts. For instance, urban planners can expand the array of housing types in an area, thereby increasing the range of affordability. One way to do this is by encouraging accessory dwelling units. These units, sometimes called “mother-in-law” units, “granny flats” or “backyard cottages,” are small dwellings located on a parcel of a single-family house (see Figure 37).

Unfortunately, many jurisdictions outlaw these structures in an effort to minimize density and rental units. But there are places that are bucking national trends and are

137 PolicyLink, “Inclusionary Zoning.”

138 *Inclusionary Housing in California: 30 Years of Innovation*. California Coalition for Rural Housing, Non-profit Housing Association of Northern California, n.d. <http://calruralhousing.org/drupal/sites/default/files/Inclusionary30Years.pdf>.



Figure 37. Accessory Dwelling Unit

actually encouraging accessory dwelling units to increase affordability. For example, in Santa Cruz (CA), the Department of Planning and Community Development published a book of designs for accessory dwelling units to demonstrate how they could increase density and affordability without sacrificing aesthetics.<sup>139</sup> Moreover, the city of Santa Cruz works with a local credit union to offer mortgages for accessory dwelling unit mortgages at 4.5 percent.<sup>140</sup>

The land-use tools described above are a necessary but not sufficient component of fostering educational equity. To ensure that land-use decisions increase academic opportunity, urban planning departments and school districts must work together. In this next section, I provide some concrete examples of successful collaboration.

### Coordinated School District-Urban Planning Efforts

Coordinating urban planning and education policies is a crucial component of creating equitable, healthy and truly sustainable communities. As discussed above, planning significantly influences the affordability of neighborhoods, and hence the demographic composition of schools. In addition, planning influences school siting decisions and thus students' potential exposure to traffic, sidewalks, hazardous facilities, psychological stressors, or other features of the built environment.<sup>141</sup>

Yet all too often, urban planning departments and school districts work in silos, unaware of what the other is doing. Part of the problem is administrative: urban planning occurs within city agencies, whereas school planning occurs within school districts. The result of this divide is a number of missed opportunities that have important implications for the educational and social wellbeing of communities.<sup>142</sup> The other part of the problem is the lack of awareness of how deeply urban planning decisions affect educational outcomes, and vice-versa.

Some US cities and counties have overcome administrative and awareness gaps between municipalities and school districts. For example, in Hillsborough County, Florida, the county and the school board have maintained an interlocal agreement to share information since 1997. In King County, Washington the School Siting Taskforce brought together 30 officials from school districts, city planning agencies, public health departments and the county's planning office to create key recommendations for school siting in King

139 "City of Santa Cruz : Accessory Dwelling Unit Development Program." *City of Santa Cruz*. Accessed May 7, 2014. <http://www.cityofsantacruz.com/index.aspx?page=1150>.

140 Bernstein, Fred. "In Santa Cruz, Affordable Housing Without Sprawl." *The New York Times*, February 6, 2005, sec. Real Estate. <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/06/realestate/06nati.html?pagewanted=1&r=0&adxnlnx=1398834418-2EBgq8CeNmflcRpQFNMaQ>.

141 Sampson, "Environmental Justice at School."

142 Miles, Adelaja, Wyckoff, "Conclusion" in *School Siting and Healthy Communities*.

"A separate housing system that prevents low-income families from accessing good schools is also inherently unequal."

- Shaun Donovan  
Secretary of the Dept of  
Housing + Urban Development

County.<sup>143</sup> And in California, the Center for Cities and Schools (based out of University of California-Berkeley) has pioneered creative ways of integrating urban policy and public education. For instance, its PLUS Leadership Initiative is a multi-year program that prepares civic, educational and community leaders to pursue “win-win” strategies for cities and schools.<sup>144</sup>

Successful collaboration requires initiative, interest and trust between agencies, but also the alignment of schedules and deadlines. Leaders in city-school collaboration have said that it is necessary to have a firm grasp of when the other agency does its budgeting, generates reports and launches campaigns.<sup>145</sup> Coordinating these details may seem irrelevant, but paying attention to specific details helps to streamline government processes.

In addition to planning departments working with school districts, planning departments can also work with housing authorities to shape equitable educational opportunities for all students. This next chapter delves deeper into how housing authorities and their policies have shaped education. It explores how the major types of subsidized housing programs have impacted educational opportunities and outcomes.

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143 “School Siting Task Force.” *King County*. Accessed May 7, 2014. <http://www.kingcounty.gov/elected/executive/constantine/initiatives/school-siting-task-force.aspx>.

144 “Cultivating Leadership.” *Center for Cities and Schools*. Accessed May 7, 2014. <http://citiesandschools.berkeley.edu/leadership.html>.

145 Panel discussion, H+T+E Symposium, 2/12/14, Denver CO.

"One of the most important education reforms may be housing policy reform."  
- Jean Anyon  
Education Scholar

## Chapter 7: Fair and Affordable Housing Policy

Housing policy is school policy for several important reasons.<sup>146</sup> Firstly, housing policy determines the racial, ethnic and socio-economic composition of local schools.<sup>147</sup> Secondly, school resources are tied to housing policy because real estate taxes fund local schools.<sup>148</sup> Thirdly, unaffordable housing forces families to move more often, which severely disrupts students' academic experience and achievement.<sup>149</sup> Fourthly, dilapidated housing can expose children to cumulative environmental risks, affecting their health, welfare, safety and performance in school.<sup>150</sup>

A recent report from the Chicago Area Fair Housing Alliance summarizes this connection by stating, "Segregation in education and housing cannot be viewed in isolation; the two are inextricably linked, as segregation in one reciprocally impacts the other, resulting in unconscionable inequities for school-aged children."<sup>151</sup>

Housing policy is related to land-use regulations, but affordable housing often operates in its own arena, which is why this chapter is entirely devoted to explaining how affordable housing policies can be used to close educational gaps. I begin by providing some basic information on affordable housing and then discuss how three major types of affordable housing (hard unit public housing, residential mobility programs, and mixed income housing) have shaped educational experiences for the nation's poor and black youth.

### Overview of Housing Policy

Local housing authorities are responsible for carrying out affordable housing policies that trickle down from higher levels of government. The federal government has experimented with various forms of assisted housing over the past century. The original form of assisted housing was public housing. The federal government constructed thousands of public housing units after World War II, but given mixed results, bad press

146 Schwartz, *Housing Policy Is School Policy*.

147 Carter, *Closing the Opportunity Gap*.

148 Comrie, "Hope VI and Public Schools."

149 *Opportunity-Rich Schools and Sustainable Communities: Seven Steps to Align High-Quality Education With Innovations in City and Metropolitan Planning and Development*, 2011. [http://www.issuelab.org/resource/opportunity\\_rich\\_schools\\_and\\_sustainable\\_communities\\_seven\\_steps\\_to\\_align\\_high\\_quality\\_education\\_with\\_innovations\\_in\\_city\\_and\\_metropolitan\\_planning\\_and\\_development](http://www.issuelab.org/resource/opportunity_rich_schools_and_sustainable_communities_seven_steps_to_align_high_quality_education_with_innovations_in_city_and_metropolitan_planning_and_development).

150 Evans, Gary W. "The Environment of Childhood Poverty." *American Psychologist* 59, no. 2 (2004): 77–92.

151 Chicago Area Fair Housing Alliance. *Chicago from Home to School: Why Segregation Persists and Current Reforms May Only Make Things Worse*. Chicago, Ill.: Chicago Area Fair Housing Alliance, October 2013. <http://cafha.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Housing-Education-link-CAFHA-subcommittee-FINAL.pdf>

in the media, and opposition from the housing industry, the federal government shifted to voucher programs in the 1970s. Voucher programs give rent subsidies to individuals to shop for housing in the private market. However, there still is a demand for “fixed” and “permanent” affordable housing.

Since WWII, the federal government has been shrinking the resources it devotes to subsidized housing.<sup>152</sup> In fact, many claim that public housing has been under assault since its initiation in 1937.<sup>153</sup> The decline in federal funding has meant that state and local authorities have shouldered the burden to find resources to maintain and construct affordable units in their communities.

## Hard Unit Public Housing

Hard unit housing, also called “public housing,” refers to project-based housing developments that are supported by the federal government. By and large, no new public housing has been built in the past twenty years with federal project-based subsidies.<sup>154</sup> However, millions of Americans still live in the 1.2 million units of hard unit public housing that exist today.<sup>155</sup>

Over the years, Congress has amended housing legislation to give priority to very low-income families over middle-income or working-class families. In 2009, the average household income for public housing residents averaged \$13,234 – well below the federal poverty line.<sup>156</sup> Since middle-income earners have been excluded from public housing, many public housing developments are the seats of racially segregated concentrated poverty. In fact, nearly one third of all public housing units are located in census tracts with poverty rates of 40 percent or higher and more than 40 percent are in tracts where people of color constitute 80 percent or more of the population.<sup>157</sup>

Figure 38 on the next page shows the percentage of housing types in two neighborhoods. In poor neighborhoods (defined as census tracts with over 30 percent of the population living in poverty), 13 percent of housing units are in the private real estate market, 17 percent are voucher units, and 50 percent are hard unit public housing units.<sup>158</sup>

152 Schwartz, Alex F. *Housing Policy in the United States*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

153 Sharon Sutton, “Struggling for the Right to Housing: A Critical Analysis of the Evolution of West Seattle’s High Point,” in the *Paradox of Urban Space*.

154 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

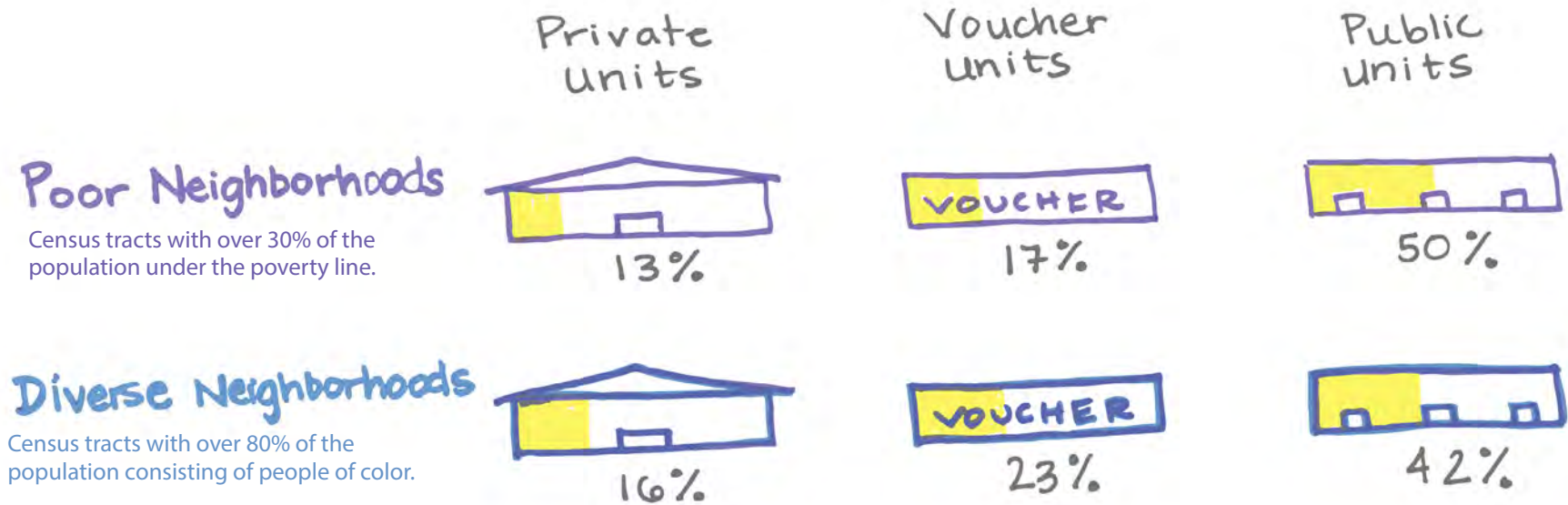
155 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

156 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

157 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

158 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

In racially diverse neighborhoods (defined as census tracts with over 80 percent of the population consisting of people of color), 16 percent of all units are in the private real estate market, 23 percent are voucher units, and 42 percent are hard unit public housing units.<sup>159</sup> These statistics indicate that poor and diverse neighborhoods have a disproportionate share of government subsidized housing.



**Figure 38. Housing Types in Poor and Diverse Neighborhoods**

### Public Housing and Education

Forty-one percent of all households living in public housing have children under the age of 18 years. What types of schools do these children attend? Since many public housing projects are located in low-income and racially segregated areas, neighborhood public schools in these areas also tend to be poor and racially segregated. Many studies have demonstrated that racial segregation, parents' educational background, and at-home resources significantly impact student achievement.<sup>160</sup> As such, neighborhood schools serving poor and predominantly minority public housing developments can be at a disadvantage. In fact, a study showed that public housing tenants in New York City have access to the lowest quality schools among assisted households (public housing, Low Income Housing Tax Credit Projects, voucher holders, Section 8 developments).<sup>161</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

<sup>160</sup> Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*.

<sup>161</sup> Tegeler, Philip, ed. *Finding Common Ground: Coordinating Housing and Education Policy to Promote Integration*. Poverty & Race Research Action Council and the National Coalition on School Diversity, 2011. <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/HousingEducationReport-Octo->

However, public housing does not necessarily trap children in under-achieving schools. In Atlanta and Miami, for example, many hard-unit public housing projects are located in middle-income suburban areas and provide access to quality schools.<sup>162</sup>

## Housing Vouchers

Another form of government-subsidized housing is the Section 8 voucher program. The voucher program was created in 1974 and today it is the largest subsidy program for low-income Americans.<sup>163</sup> Vouchers allow low-income households to live in private rental units by having the federal government cover the difference between what the household can afford to pay and the area's "Fair Market Rent." Approximately 69 percent of voucher holders successfully use their vouchers, but the remaining 31 percent fail to find housing in the private market for a variety of reasons.<sup>164</sup>

Since vouchers allow families more freedom to shop for housing in the private market, do they allow families to access higher performing schools? The answer is somewhat murky. On the one hand, many people view vouchers as a way of breaking apart racially isolated concentrations of poverty because voucher recipients tend to live in communities that more closely resemble typical rental markets than public housing developments.<sup>165</sup> On the other hand, critics attest that voucher subsidies are not generous enough to allow families to move to expensive areas with high performing schools.<sup>166</sup> Another criticism of housing vouchers is that it is difficult to find rental housing for larger families. In fact, more than 60 percent of all voucher holders reside in homes with only two or fewer bedrooms.<sup>167</sup>

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ber2011.pdf.

162 Deng, Lan. "Comparing the Effects of Housing Vouchers and Low-Income Housing Tax Credits on Neighborhood Integration and School Quality." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 27, no. 1 (September 1, 2007): 20–35. doi:10.1177/0739456X07301467.

163 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

164 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

165 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

166 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

167 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

## Housing Vouchers and Education

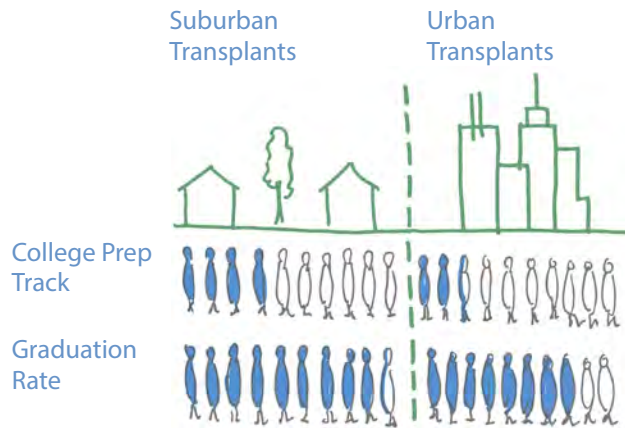


Figure 39: Educational Impacts of Gautreaux

Two housing programs – Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity - highlight the mixed impact of Section 8 housing vouchers on education. In 1976, the US Supreme Court case *Hills v. Gautreaux* ruled that the Chicago Housing Authority and the Department of Housing and Urban Development were guilty of discriminatory practices in the siting of public housing.<sup>168</sup> To remedy the problem of housing discrimination, the Illinois Housing Development Authority launched the Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program in 1976.

This program allowed low-income black public housing residents in Chicago to receive Section 8 housing vouchers to move to private-sector apartments either in the city or in the mostly-white suburbs.<sup>169</sup> From 1976-1998, over 25,000 individuals moved to more than 100 communities throughout the Chicago metropolitan area. At least 75 percent of the participating families had to relocate to the Chicago suburbs, and no more than 25 percent of the families could move to neighborhoods that were over 30 percent African-American.<sup>170</sup>

As a result of this program, many black students from Chicago’s inner city moved to suburban areas and attended mostly white and affluent suburban schools. A study found that young adults who moved to the suburbs as part of the Gautreaux Program were more likely than city movers to graduate from high school, attend college, attend a four-year instead of a two-year college, and (if they were not in college), to be employed with a better pay and with benefits.<sup>171</sup> As Figure 39 shows, 40 percent of students whose families had moved to the suburbs were in college preparatory tracks, as opposed to 24 percent of comparable students who stayed in the city.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, 95 percent of suburban student transplants graduated, compared to 80 percent of their city counterparts (see Figure 39 as well).<sup>173</sup>

However, there were more disappointing results when the federal government tried replicating Gautreaux’s success with the Moving to Opportunity Program in 1991. This program operated in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York City and used income rather than race to determine participants and placement neighborhoods. Studies found that four to seven years after relocating to lower poverty neighborhoods as part of

168 “The Gautreaux Legacy,” Stanford University, [http://www.stanford.edu/~mrosenfe/urb\\_std\\_Gautreaux.htm](http://www.stanford.edu/~mrosenfe/urb_std_Gautreaux.htm)

169 Rosenbaum, James E., and Stephanie DeLuca. “What Kinds of Neighborhoods Change Lives - The Chicago Gautreaux Housing Program and Recent Mobility Programs.” *Indiana Law Review* 41 (2008): 653.

170 Rubinowitz, Leonard S., and James E Rosenbaum. *Crossing the Class and Color Lines: From Public Housing to White Suburbia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

171 DeLuca, S., and J. E Rosenbaum. “If Low-Income Blacks Are Given a Chance to Live in White Neighborhoods, Will They Stay? Examining Mobility Patterns in a Quasi-Experimental Program with Administrative Data.” *Housing Policy Debate*. 14 (2003): 305–346.

172 Baum, “Smart Growth and School Reform.”

173 Baum, “Smart Growth and School Reform.”

Moving to Opportunity, children were doing no better academically than their counterparts who remained in public housing.<sup>174</sup> Most voucher holders were only able to move from very poor to moderately poor areas and studies show that academic growth only occurs when poor children enter mixed-income or affluent schools.<sup>175</sup>

What lessons can be gleaned from Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity? Gautreaux's lesson is that providing low-income students and students of color with high quality and wealthier schools can be an important component of narrowing the educational opportunity gap. However, Moving to Opportunity's lesson is that relocating poor families and families of color to better off and whiter areas is not a panacea for educational inequality. The mixed messages from these programs show that there is not a one-size fits all policy solution to educational inequity.

When comparing Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity, the scholars Xavier de Souza Briggs and Margery Austin Turner encourage critics to think beyond the simplicity of "success" versus "failure".<sup>176</sup> Instead, they argue that there are lessons from both programs. Specifically they discuss how it is important to target people who generally do not take advantage of social programs. They suggest that relocation neighborhoods should be chosen based on concrete opportunities (safety, education, access to jobs, etc.) and not proxies for success (racial composition, poverty rate, etc.). According to de Souza Briggs and Turner's research, future programs should access the untapped potential of middle and upper class areas for assisted housing programs. Lastly, Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity teaches that it is important to support families after they relocate, since moving is just the first of many obstacles to overcome.

## Hope VI

The housing program known as HOPE VI (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) began in 1992 as an alternative to the high-density and high-poverty public housing that came before it. In its place, HOPE VI aimed to create "New Urbanist" communities that were characterized by lower-density townhouses, street grids and sidewalks.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) awarded 230 HOPE VI grants

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174 Sanbonmatsu, Lisa, Kling, Jeffrey R, Greg J Duncan, and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn. "Neighborhoods and Academic Achievement: Results from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment." *The Journal of Human Resources* 41, no. 4 (2006): 649–691.

175 Smrekar, Claire. "Public Housing Reform and Neighborhood Schools: How Local Contexts 'Must' Matter." *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* 108, no. 1 (2009): 41–62.

176 de Souza Briggs, Xavier, and Margery Turner. *Assisted Housing Mobility and the Success of Low-Income Minority Families: Lessons for Policy, Practice, and Future Research*, 2008. <http://www.issuelab.org/permalink/resource/6963>.

"If you want to change a neighborhood, you must reform neighborhood schools."  
- Senator Mikulski, creator of Hope VI legislation

to more than 150 cities at a cost of over \$6 billion.<sup>177 178</sup> According to federal legislation, Hope VI's major goals included:<sup>179</sup> (1) Ending concentration of the poor in distressed neighborhoods; (2) Creating mixed-income communities; (3) Developing communities through public-private partnerships; (4) Providing adequate supportive resources to help residents achieve self-sufficiency; and (5) Creating healthy, sustainable communities with an emphasis on high-performing schools.

The fifth goal, which includes supporting high performing schools, sets Hope VI apart from previous housing efforts that made no mention of education. Senator Barbara Mikulski from Maryland, one of the main sponsors of HOPE VI legislation, said, "If you want to change a neighborhood, you must change neighborhood schools." HOPE VI's proponents believed that by breaking apart islands of poverty, HOPE VI could foster economic and racial diversity in school districts and broaden the economic base of taxpayers that supports local schools.

HOPE VI resulted in a substantial improvement in housing quality, better site management (as evidenced by well-maintained common areas and substantially lower vacancy and turnover rates) and a reduction in crime. In addition, it increased the availability of supportive services and community facilities including childcare, Boys and Girls Club programs, medical clinics, and office space for case managers and supportive services providers.<sup>180</sup>

Despite some of HOPE VI's strengths, critics attested that this program had significant limitations. Figure 40 on the next page illustrates some of HOPE VI's main advantages and disadvantages. One major criticism was that HOPE VI represented the federal government's largest single cutback in subsidized housing in US history.<sup>181</sup> This cutback existed in the form of mixed-income communities where "severely distressed" low-income communities once stood. Critics pointed out that since HOPE VI lacked a federal mandate to replace all the low-income units that were supplanted by market-rate units, the program displaced many low-income people. Some cities voluntarily adopted a one-to-one replacement policy for all destroyed low-income units. However, the replacements often consisted of vouchers instead of actual housing units. This meant that displaced voucher-holders frequently landed in places as poor and segregated as the severely distressed places they had to vacate.<sup>182</sup>

177 Smrekar, "Public Housing and Neighborhood Schools."

178 Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Public and Indian Housing Choice Neighborhoods: 2014 Summary Statements and Initiative, (2014) <http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/documents/huddoc?id=CHOICENEIGHBORHOODS.pdf>

179 Schwartz, *Housing Policy*.

180 Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Choice Neighborhoods."

181 Sutton, "Struggling for Housing."

182 Jason Hackworth, "Destroyed by Hope: Public Housing, Neoliberalism and Progressing Housing Activism in the US," in *Where the Other Half Lives*.

Other critics attested that HOPE VI reinforced middle-class values and had a bias against the poor.<sup>183</sup> For example, the design of HOPE VI housing attempted to disguise multifamily units as single-family housing - the icon of the middle class.<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, critics claimed that HOPE VI's emphasis on deconcentrating poverty was based on the notion that poor people – not the institutions that create poverty – are the problem.<sup>185</sup>

Finally, HOPE VI was critiqued for having a shallow public participation process, despite its strong rhetoric of the importance of participation. The Department of Housing and Urban Development required that all HOPE VI projects include a public participation process, but these processes rarely ever empowered community members to actually inform or challenge the plans.<sup>186</sup> A Cambodian refugee who was involved in a HOPE VI planning process summed up his experience by saying: "We can't order them [government planners]. It's up to them. Because we are average people, in whatever condition they allow us to live is up to them. It's up to the people at the top."<sup>187</sup>

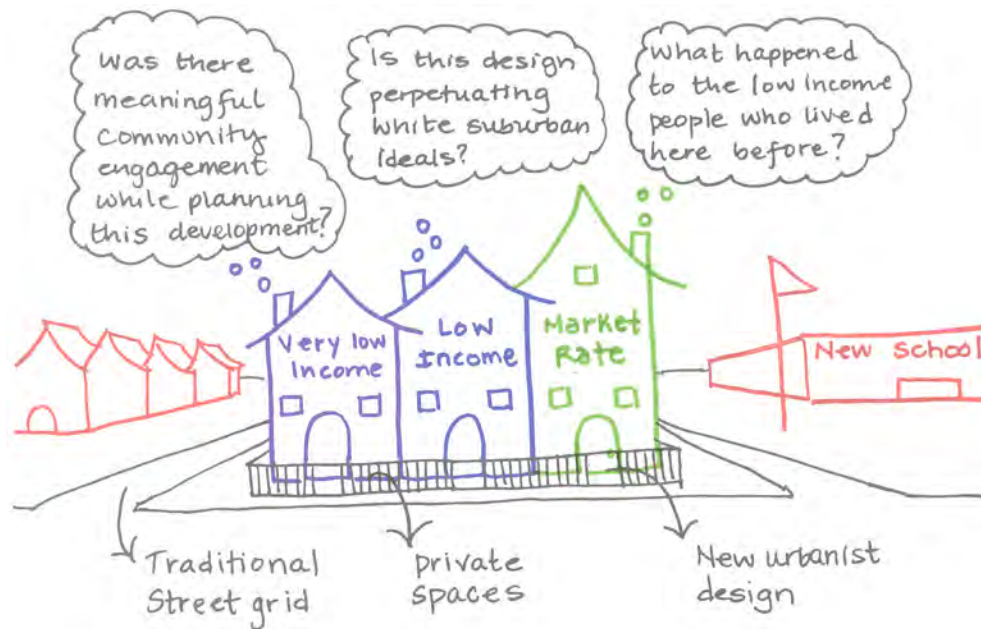


Figure 40. Hope VI

183 Marilyn M Thomas-Houston and Mark Schuller, "Introduction: NO Place Like Home, NO Time Like the Present," In *Homing Devices: The Poor as Targets of Public Housing Policy and Practice*, ed. Marilyn M. Thomas-Houston and Mark Schuller (New York: Lexington Books, 2006), 14.

184 Sutton, "Struggling for Housing."

185 Manzo, Lynn. "Recognizing the Lived Experience of Place: Challenges to Genuine Participation in Redeveloping Public Housing Communities" in *The Paradox of Urban Space*.

186 Manzo, "Recognizing Place."

187 Manzo, "Recognizing Place."

## HOPE VI and Education

Recipients of HOPE VI funding were required to establish a comprehensive education reform and achievement strategy in tandem with local school districts and superintendents. For example, in San Francisco, a HOPE VI community partnered with the San Francisco Unified School District to support mixed-income communities that had access to nearby high quality housing and schools.<sup>188</sup> In Atlanta, the Centennial Place HOPE VI community included the construction of the \$13 million Centennial Place Elementary School, which has successfully met many of its educational goals.<sup>189</sup>

One study showed that HOPE VI led to an increase in reading and math proficiency for 5th graders.<sup>190</sup> One explanation for the improved academic performance lies in the “ecology of schooling” framework that recognizes the interdependence of school, family and community.<sup>191</sup> It is possible that improved living environments could be related to improved academic performance.

The broader picture of HOPE VI’s academic impact might not be as rosy as these few case examples. A study of 165 Hope VI communities found no statistically significant change in the socio-economic status of neighborhood public schools as a result of Hope VI projects.<sup>192</sup> Even though HOPE VI was intended to create mixed-income communities, many of the middle- and upper-income people who rent or buy market-rate units in HOPE VI developments are single or childless couples who are not necessarily invested in local schools.<sup>193</sup>

Only a handful of studies have investigated the linkages between HOPE VI and academic performance. Further research is required to get a clearer picture of how HOPE VI’s mixed income communities, New Urbanist designs and social service programs have affected local student achievement in schools.

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188 McKoy, Vincent, “Framing the Connections: Integrating housing, transportation and education in city and regional planning,” in *Finding Common Ground: Coordinating Housing and Education Policy to Promote Integration*.

189 *Developing Choice Neighborhoods: An Early Look at Implementation in Five Sites*. Washington D.C.: The Urban Institute, September 2013. [http://www.huduser.org/portal/Publications/pdf/choice\\_neighborhoods\\_interim\\_rpt.pdf](http://www.huduser.org/portal/Publications/pdf/choice_neighborhoods_interim_rpt.pdf).

190 Comrie, “Hope VI and Public Schools.”

191 Bronfenbrenner, Urie. *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

192 Comrie, “Hope VI and Public Schools.”

193 Jeffrey A Raffel, Latina R. Denson. “Linking Housing and Public Schools in the HOPE VI Public Housing Revitalization Program: A Case Study Analysis of Four Developments in Four Cities,” 2003.

## Choice Neighborhoods

In 2010, the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative replaced HOPE VI. Choice Neighborhoods is similar to HOPE VI but places a greater emphasis on community services, like schools. Choice Neighborhoods has three main goals related to housing, people and neighborhoods: It aims to create mixed-income housing, improve educational outcomes with social services, and invest in neighborhoods to provide a safe and vibrant place to live.<sup>194</sup>

From 2010-12, Choice Neighborhoods awarded 9 implementation grants and 47 planning grants, totaling \$243 million dollars.<sup>195</sup> Choice Neighborhoods requested \$400 million for 2014. Choice Neighborhoods has been subject to much of the same criticisms as HOPE VI. But in many ways this program is too new to really assess its long-term impacts – either positive or negative.

## Choice Neighborhoods and Education

To satisfy the second goal of “improving educational outcomes,” the Department of Housing and Urban Development works closely with the Department of Education’s Promise Neighborhoods program, which began in 2010. Promise Neighborhoods’ mission is to improve educational outcomes for students in distressed urban and rural neighborhoods. As Figure 41 shows, Choice Neighborhoods and Promise Neighborhoods have similar strategies and objectives and in some cases even provide funding to the same communities.<sup>196</sup> However, some critics say this partnership has no teeth or mandates.<sup>197</sup> For example, school districts are not required to consult housing authorities while siting new schools.

Choice Neighborhoods’ policy rhetoric is certainly optimistic about the way this program can improve educational outcomes. Yet, critics have expressed concerns about ways mixed-income housing programs impact local schools. Some argue that closing schools in low-income communities and opening new schools in mixed-income HOPE VI or Choice Neighborhood communities is part of “rebranding” these communities for middle- and upper-middle-class home-buyers.<sup>198</sup> In many cases, displaced children from low-income families never even have the opportunity to attend these new schools in mixed-income



Figure 41: Choice and Promise Neighborhoods

194 “Choice Neighborhoods - HUD.” Accessed March 15, 2014. [http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program\\_offices/public\\_indian\\_housing/programs/ph/cn](http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/cn).

195 Department of Housing and Urban Development, “Choice Neighborhoods.”

196 *Developing Choice Neighborhoods*.

197 Eaton, Susan and Phillip Tegeler, “School Diversity and Public Housing Redevelopment” in *Finding Common Ground: Coordinating Housing and Education Policy to Promote Integration*. Poverty & Race Research Action Council and the National Coalition on School Diversity, 2011. <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/HousingEducationReport-October2011.pdf>.

198 Lipman, “Cultural Politics.”

communities and some families end up in worse housing.

Furthermore, frequent moves and school changes as a result of displacement can be traumatizing for many students. For example, students displaced by school closings as part of mixed-income projects in Chicago have been transferred to other low-income schools out of their neighborhoods, some multiple times. As one critic pointed out: “The meaning of community and the traumatic experiences of displacement are not to be found in planners’ seemingly benevolent designs to eliminate low-income communities of color and their schools to pave the way for mixed-income development.”<sup>199</sup>

As public and affordable housing policies continue to evolve, it is important to recognize all the ways housing decisions are de facto education decisions. Each major affordable housing initiative – hard unit public housing, Section 8, HOPE VI and Choice Neighborhoods - has had an intentional or inadvertent impact on education. Given the vital linkages between housing and education, housing advocates and school leaders should work more closely together. Deep partnerships based on trust are necessary to overcome the profound challenges of undoing segregation.

This next section discusses some more possibilities and opportunities with housing programs. In particular, it addresses the importance of collaboration and spotlights projects that have been successful due to deliberate coordination between housing authorities and school districts.

### **Coordinated School District-Housing Authority Efforts**

Housing authorities and school districts have made some important steps forward in forging alliances. For instance, in Washington State, the Tacoma Housing Authority offers an impressive example of a local education initiative funded by regional rather than federal partners (see Figure 42 on the next page). The first goal of the Tacoma Housing Authority’s “Education Project” is to help the children it houses succeed in school. This is important because it houses nearly one out of every seven Tacoma public school students and about one out of every five low-income students.

Its second objective is to promote the success of the schools serving its assisted communities. With this second objective, the Tacoma Housing Authority is motivated by goodwill, but also recognizes that as a landlord, the financial and social success of its developments requires successful neighborhood schools.<sup>200</sup> As Michael Mirra, the Executive

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199 Comrie, “Hope VI and Public Schools.”

200 Power, Michael. “THA’s Education Project.” *Tacoma Housing Authority*. Accessed May 8, 2014. <http://www.tacomahousing.net/content/thas-education-project>.

Director of the Tacoma Housing Authority, said: "If this project is effective, its strategies will be instructive for thousands of public housing authorities and school districts and their community partners."<sup>201</sup>

An essential component of Tacoma's Education Project is the McCarver Elementary School Special Housing Program. McCarver Elementary School was suffering from major student turnover rates as a result of extreme poverty and homelessness. To help stabilize the school, the Tacoma Housing Authority has provided rental assistance and individualized case management to homeless families with children enrolled in kindergarten, first or second grade at McCarver Elementary. Caseworkers from the Tacoma Housing Authority assist parents with committing to their children's education. To streamline this process, the Tacoma Public School District has welcomed the Housing Authority's caseworkers into its schools.<sup>202</sup>

In addition to school districts and housing authorities collaborating on programs, these agencies can work together on capital projects to physically improve schools. In St. Louis, Missouri, the Murphy Park Development showcases ways of leveraging housing investments to support schools. Murphy Park is a 413-unit mixed-income housing development that includes subsidized units and its centerpiece is a renovated elementary school, Jefferson Elementary. Richard Baron, Murphy Park's visionary developer, engineered a complete overhaul of Jefferson Elementary. He raised \$5 million from corporate and philanthropic partners to modernize the school, making it one of the most technologically advanced educational facilities in the region. The development still primarily serves low-income residents - 31 percent of residents have an annual household income of less than \$10,000. However, Baron cites the renovated school as one of the main attractors of middle-income families to the mixed-income development. In fact, 10 percent of residents make more than \$50,000 annually.

As I have explained thus far in Part IV, urban planners can use various regulatory and policy tools to create more racially integrated and mixed income neighborhoods and by extension, more equitable public schools. Figure 43 on page 57 shows the opportunities available to urban planners. They can retroactively remove exclusionary and expulsive regulations from zoning codes and they can proactively promote inclusionary zoning. They can also work in the affordable housing realm to ensure that federal subsidized housing programs deliver on their educational promises. Integrating local housing and educational agendas is another important step in narrowing the educational opportunity gap that keeps

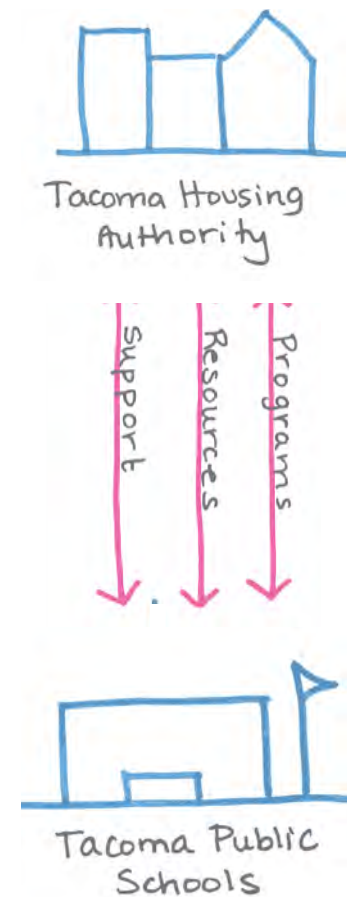


Figure 42. Collaboration in Tacoma, Washington

201 "Tacoma Housing Authority's Education Project Receives Grant to Help Children Succeed in School." *Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation*. Accessed May 8, 2014. <http://www.gatesfoundation.org/Media-Center/Press-Releases/2011/04/Tacoma-Housing-Authority-Education-Project-Receives-Grant-to-Help-Children-Succeed-in-School>.

202 "McCarver Elementary School Housing Program." *Tacoma Housing Authority*. Accessed May 8, 2014. <http://www.tacomahousing.net/content/mccarver-elementary-school-housing-program>.

so many of the nation's poor students and students of color at a lifelong disadvantage.<sup>203</sup>

Despite these widely available methods of increasing affordable options in high performing and affluent school districts, many jurisdictions are unwilling to implement them. Why is this? One explanation is that privileged communities are reluctant to share their power or resources with underprivileged communities. Another explanation is that fiscal zoning (as described in Chapter 4) legitimizes the exclusion of low-income people on the basis of keeping tax rates low and tax revenue up. For urban planners interested in educational equity, their challenge is to figure out how get more communities to adopt inclusive zoning and affordable housing. In Part V, I will describe some of the incentives to encourage jurisdictions to adopt such policies.

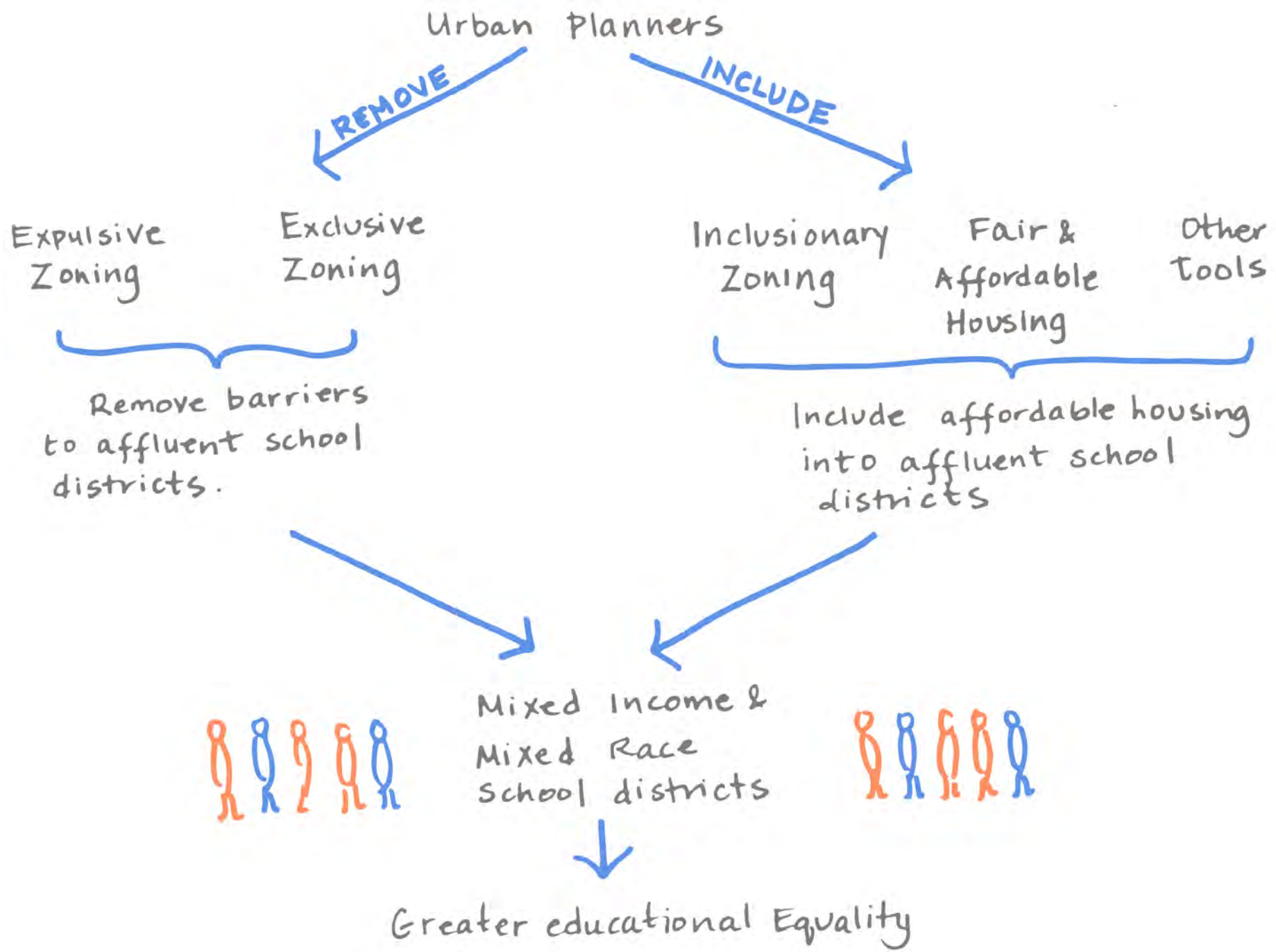


Figure 43. Opportunities Summary

"Education then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men, the balance wheel of social machinery."  
- Horace Mann  
Education Advocate  
1848

## Part V: Conclusions

This thesis set out to answer the question: "What land-use tools and housing policies can urban planners use to undo residential segregation to help create equal educational opportunities?" I used primary sources (conferences) and secondary sources (a comprehensive literature review) to find answers to this question. This investigation resulted in identifying tools for integrating housing for low-income students and students of color into middle- and upper-income neighborhoods so that they can access the superior schools in these areas.

Part V summarizes my main arguments and offers recommendations and suggestions for future research. I conclude this thesis by discussing an alternative planning approach that can support educational opportunities for poor students and students of color.

### Summary

The first public school system entered the American stage in the early 1800s. Horace Mann, one of the original proponents of public education, declared, "Education then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men, the balance-wheel of the social machinery."<sup>204</sup>

Despite the rhetoric of equality and democracy, the public school system in the United States today is vastly unequal and inequitable. As I have explained, one reason that this occurs is that even 60 years after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the nation's public education system is still deeply divided along race and class lines. These racial and economic class divisions often mirror divisions in academic success, referred to as the academic achievement gap.

School segregation and the achievement gap are closely tied to residential patterns of segregation (a component of the educational opportunity gap). As such, it is nearly impossible to close the achievement gap without undoing residential segregation. This is why it is imperative that urban planners recognize that their decisions concerning land-use regulations and housing policies directly impact public education by dictating *who* gets to attend *which* neighborhood schools.

To remedy the problem of segregated schools and unequal educational opportunities, urban planners can remove barriers to the exclusive neighborhoods that often have high performing schools. They can also integrate affordable housing options into these affluent neighborhoods with inclusionary zoning or subsidized housing.

204 Mann, Horrace. "12th Annual Report to the Massachusetts State Board of Education" (1848).

All this is easier said than done. In tense political environments with limited resources, how can urban planners make the case for inclusive and affordable communities? This is the topic of the next section.

## Recommendations

Racism and classism are still influential forces in US society. As such, urban planners might encounter obstacles while advocating for integrated neighborhoods and equal educational opportunities. One strategy that urban planners can use is making economic arguments in favor of land-use regulations that create affordable places to live in high-performing school districts. Economic arguments could resonate with policy-makers and residents who may not have a racial and socioeconomic justice agenda.

For example, urban planners could explain that affordable housing increases spending and employment in surrounding economies by giving individuals more disposable income to spend on consumer goods and services, rather than on rent and mortgage payments.<sup>205</sup> Affordable housing – whether through subsidized housing developments or inclusionary zoning – can also reduce the likelihood of foreclosure and its associated costs.<sup>206</sup> In addition, without an adequate supply of affordable housing, employers can be at a competitive disadvantage because of their difficulty attracting and retaining workers.<sup>207</sup>

Urban planners can use similar economic arguments to advocate for the benefits of educational equality across race and economic class. For example, education is increasingly recognized as a key contributor to regional and national prosperity. Research has found that human capital (measured by education) is one of the main causes of historic economic development, higher living standards and vibrant civil societies.<sup>208</sup> By depriving many low-income students of color with top quality education, countless regions are missing opportunities for economic growth and innovation.

Specifically looking at the achievement gap, an extensive study found that if the wedge between black and Latino student performance and white student performance had been closed in 2008, the Gross Domestic Product would have been between \$310 billion and \$525 billion higher, or 2 to 4 percent of Gross Domestic Product (See Figure 4`4).<sup>209</sup>

<sup>205</sup> Brunick, Nicholas. *The Impact of Inclusionary Zoning on Development*. Business and Professional People for the Public Interest, n.d. [http://www.bpichicago.org/documents/impact\\_iz\\_development.pdf](http://www.bpichicago.org/documents/impact_iz_development.pdf).

<sup>206</sup> Wardrip, Keith, Laura Williams, and Suzanne Hague. *The Role of Affordable Housing in Creating Jobs and Stimulating Local Economic Development: A Review of the Literature*. Center for Housing Policy, MacArthur Foundation, January 2011.

<sup>207</sup> Wardrip, *Affordable Housing, Jobs and Economic Development*.

<sup>208</sup> Rothwell, *Housing Costs*.

<sup>209</sup> McKinsey and Company. *Detailed Findings on the Economic Impact of the Achievement Gap in America's Schools*. [New York, N.Y.]:

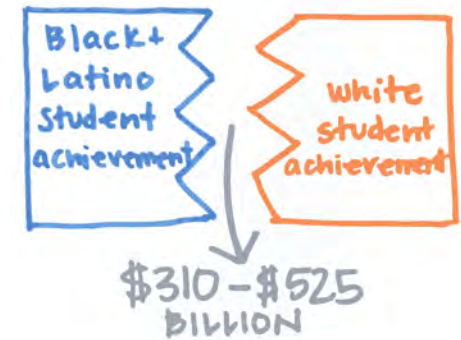


Figure 44. Cost of Achievement Gap Between Students of Different Races and Ethnicities



Figure 45. Cost of Achievement Gap Between Students of Different Economic Classes

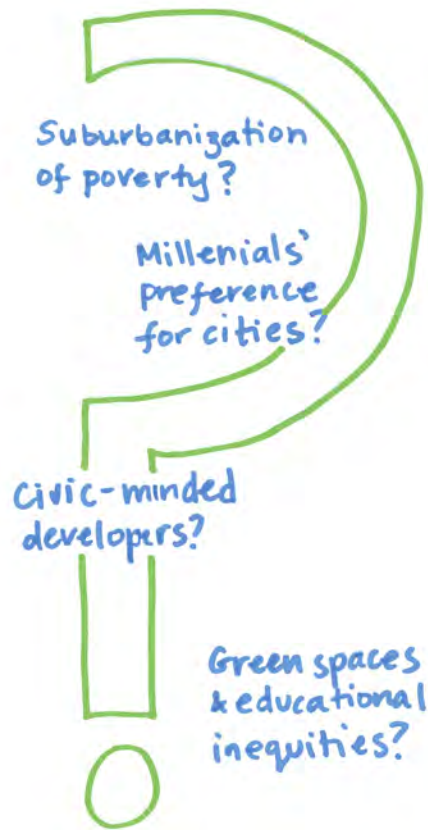


Figure 46. Research Questions

Similarly, if the gap between low-income students and their more affluent classmates had been similarly narrowed, the Gross Domestic Product in 2008 would have been \$400 billion to \$670 billion higher, or 3 to 5 percent of the nation's Gross Domestic Product (See Figure 45 on the previous page).<sup>210</sup>

By enumerating the economic benefits of affordable housing and integrated schools, urban planners can start to build broad political support for undoing the legacies of segregated neighborhoods and unequal educational opportunities.

### Future Research

While I hope that this thesis contributed to the conversation on city-school planning, a number of areas require further research (see Figure 46). In particular, planners, educators, scholars and activists need to understand how the suburbanization of poverty will change the educational opportunity gap. In 2008 the suburbs were home to the largest and fastest-growing poor population in the country,<sup>211</sup> even though many of these suburban jurisdictions have low-density zoning that is typically thought to be more exclusive. What tools and policies can planners implement in poor suburban areas in order to improve educational equity?

The flip side of the suburbanization of poverty is the rise of urbanization among millennials and empty-nesters. Throughout the country, many white and middle to upper-class people are choosing to live in dense cities in areas previously occupied by poor residents and residents of color. How will the gentrification and displacement that is taking place in cities affect education for low-income and black students?

Another research topic that emerges out of this thesis is exploring the role of civic-minded private developers in educator-planner partnerships. For example, the private developer in the Murphy Park Development in St. Louis was instrumental in aligning the interests of urban planning and educators. What are ways to foster beneficial educator-planner-developer relationships?

And lastly, it is important to understand the relationship between green spaces and educational inequality. Researchers should conduct studies to examine the ways green infrastructure can impact the educational gap between low-income black students and more affluent white students. This type of study could help urban planners create greener

McKinsey & Company, Special Sector Office, 2009. <http://bibpurl.oclc.org/web/40820> [http://www.mckinsey.com/App\\_Media/Images/Page\\_Images/Offices/SocialSector/PDF/detailed\\_achievement\\_gap\\_findings.pdf](http://www.mckinsey.com/App_Media/Images/Page_Images/Offices/SocialSector/PDF/detailed_achievement_gap_findings.pdf).

<sup>210</sup> McKinsey. *Economic Impact of the Achievement Gap*.

<sup>211</sup> Garr, Emily, and Elizabeth Kneebone. "The Suburbanization of Poverty." *The Brookings Institution*. Accessed May 8, 2014. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2010/01/20-poverty-kneebone>.

places in order to intentionally close educational achievement and opportunity gaps.

These, and other questions, can only be answered if a robust dialogue ensues about how land-use regulations, housing policies and education are all intertwined. In the coming years, it would behoove planners and educators to work more closely in academic, professional and grassroots settings to understand each other's needs and strategies. With dialogue, focus, and collaboration, planners and educators can realize the goal of closing the educational opportunity gap and giving all of the nation's students a fair chance to succeed.

### An Alternative Approach

In closing, I propose regional planning as an alternative to conventional planning approaches. Working and strategizing on a regional scale is more complex and comprehensive than simply introducing a new land-use tool or housing policy. As such, it can help close the educational achievement gap between low-income black students and affluent white students. Regionalism is not a coherent school of thought, but rather a wider development and governance agenda that meets regional needs. This agenda often includes fair housing, property tax-base sharing, reinvestment in existing land and infrastructure, growth management, welfare reform, as well as public works and transportation reforms (see Figure 47).<sup>212</sup>

Regionalism first appeared in the 1920s and was popularized by the Regional Planning Association of America, which had a short-lived existence prior to the Great Depression. Regionalism reappeared in the 1960s and 1970s in a slightly different form and is experiencing a comeback in the twenty-first century.

Regional planning often has a strong focus on social equity and attests that central cities and declining suburbs can only confront the problems of racialized concentrated poverty with a regional approach (see Figure 48 on the next page).<sup>213</sup> Proponents of regionalism attest that too often, local governmental control over zoning, planning, public services and public education have perpetuated the gulf between disadvantaged communities and privileged ones.<sup>214</sup> As this thesis has explained, leaving important land-use decisions to local governments can be exclusionary and expulsive, and can undermine civil rights and educational fairness.

Regional planning can also play an important role in remedying the educational opportunity gap. A racially just regionalism will look hard at the links between educational



Figure 47. Regionalism Word Cloud

212 Myron Orfield, *Metropolitics*.

213 Bullard, "Introduction" in *Growing Smarter: Achieving Livable Communities, Environmental Justice, and Regional Equity*, 2007.

214 Geisler, "Land and Poverty in the US,"

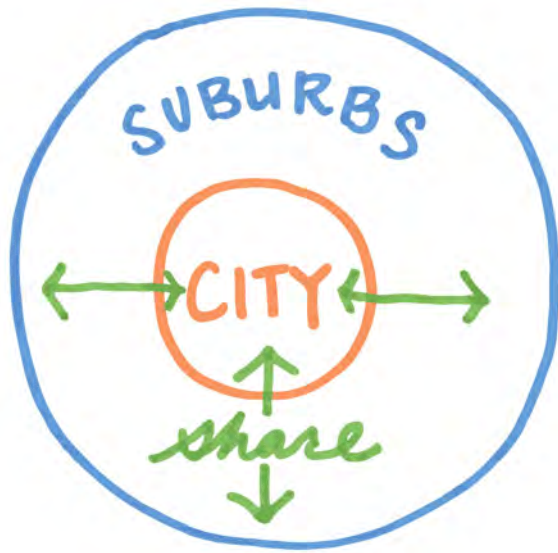


Figure 48. City-Suburban Sharing

segregation and housing segregation and seek true social equity.<sup>215</sup> Unfortunately *Milliken v. Bradley* eliminated the possibility of requiring desegregation across school district lines. However, the districts that have voluntarily enacted city-suburban desegregation have had very encouraging results. In fact, the highest exposure of blacks to whites—both in 1988 and 2000—are in school districts with city-suburban plans. Black students in these districts attend schools that are at least one-quarter white (and over 40 percent white in two of the districts).<sup>216</sup>

A regional approach can be explicitly incorporated into educational policy. For example, in Chattanooga, Tennessee, local communities, developers, and city planners are building two new schools downtown that will educate nearby residents who are predominantly low-income and students of color. The schools will set aside seats for the children of downtown employees, who are mostly middle-income and white. This plan takes advantage of regional employment trends to promote educational integration.<sup>217</sup>

In order for regional strategies to be successful, residents and policy-makers need to adopt a collectivist attitude. In other words, communities need to believe that they have a duty to help their less fortunate members. However, the United States has a strong legacy of individualism that hinders the regional agenda. In particular, many people in the United States often interpret segregated areas as the products of individual choice, rather than exclusionary and discriminatory policies.<sup>218</sup> As such, those who believe that individuals are responsible for their own failings and successes could thwart regional strategies to equalize educational opportunities.

Until now, closing educational gaps has generally been under the purview of educational experts and advocates. However, as long as wealthier and white students continue to attend high performing suburban schools and poorer and black students attend low performing urban schools, it will be very difficult to create a level playing field for all students. Given the deep connections between education and place, it is clear that the academic gaps between children of different races and classes should be a top priority for urban planners.

215 powell, "Structural Racism."

216 Erica Frankenberg, *Race in Public Schools*.

217 powell, "Structural Racism."

218 Orfield, "Housing Segregation."



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# Zoned for Success

*Zoned for Success* explores how urban planners can remediate residential segregation to create more integrated schools and a more equitable education system. This thesis identifies the challenges and opportunities related to overcoming residential and school segregation.

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