

Finding Common Ground:

COORDINATING HOUSING AND EDUCATION POLICY TO PROMOTE INTEGRATION



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Cover photo: Interdistrict magnet school adjacent to public housing, Hartford, CT (photo by Stacey Rowe)

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Philip Tegeler, Editor

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Acknowledgements

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In the six months since the roundtable concluded, HUD and USDOE have made some progress in linking school and housing integration policy (see the last chapter, below), but much more needs to be done, and it is our hope that this report will continue this important dialogue.

A version of this report was also presented this past spring as part of a webinar for the Neighborhood Funders Group.

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Introduction

PHILIP TEGELER

The powerful, reciprocal connection between school and housing segregation has long been recognized. The housing-school link was a key element in both the 1968 Kerner Commission Report¹ and in the legislative history of the Fair Housing Act.² The relation of school and housing segregation was also explored in a series of school desegregation cases beginning in the 1970s.³ Yet in spite of HUD's duty to "affirmatively further fair housing,"⁴ and the parallel "compelling government interest" in the reduction of school segregation,⁵ there have been few examples of effective coordination between housing and school policy in the intervening years.

Instead, for most of the past 40 years, efforts to promote housing and school integration have proceeded along separate tracks. In the education sphere, we've seen the mandatory student assignment plans of the desegregation era gradually replaced by less direct approaches to achieve integration, including redistricting, controlled choice plans, creative school siting and boundary drawing, socioeconomic assignment plans, interdistrict transfer programs from city to suburb, and both intra- and inter-district magnet schools.

In the housing field, we have seen similar approaches: "site and neighborhood standards" guiding location of new low income housing development, inclusionary zoning and housing programs to encourage or require affordable housing within market rate housing developments, tenant selection guidelines to prohibit discriminatory admissions practices, affirmative marketing to attract a diverse applicant pool, and housing mobility programs for Section 8 voucher holders.

We are hopeful that the "silos" between education and housing policy are starting to break down, at least at the federal level. For example, last year, the Department of Education and HUD began to collaborate on a

"Neighborhood Revitalization Working Group," focused on linking HUD's new "Choice Neighborhoods" initiative and the "Promise Neighborhoods" program, modeled on the Harlem Children's Zone education program. And one of HUD's signature new initiatives, the Sustainable Communities Initiative, is coordinating regional housing and transportation planning for the first time since the early 1970s.

In thinking about these issues, it is especially important to keep in mind the range of metropolitan community contexts that we are dealing with – as framed by the National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity in their 2008 Final Report:

[I]nclusive and diverse communities can be formed in different ways. They may include predominantly White suburban towns that are becoming more economically and racially diverse; or integrated older inner-ring suburbs facing high rates of foreclosure, which may need infrastructure and marketing support to maintain a stable, diverse population over time; or lower income urban neighborhoods experiencing gentrification and the accompanying influx of new money and community services that brings both benefits and threats to existing residents. Each of these community contexts demands different types of support in order to maintain a stable, inclusive, diverse character.⁶

Each of these community contexts requires a different set of responses in both school and housing policy, but no community can afford to pursue these policies separately if our goal is to achieve inclusive, sustainable communities.

Philip Tegeler is the Executive Director of the Poverty & Race Research Action Council.

ENDNOTES

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- 6 THE FUTURE OF FAIR HOUSING: FINAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FAIR HOUSING AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY (Leadership Conference on Civil Rights et al., 2008), at pp. 1-2 (www.prrac.org/projects/fair_housing_commission/The_Future_of_Fair_Housing.pdf).

1. THE “RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP” BETWEEN INTEGRATED HOUSING AND EDUCATION

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Exploring the School-Housing Nexus: A Synthesis of Social Science Evidence

BY ROSLYN ARLIN MICKELSON

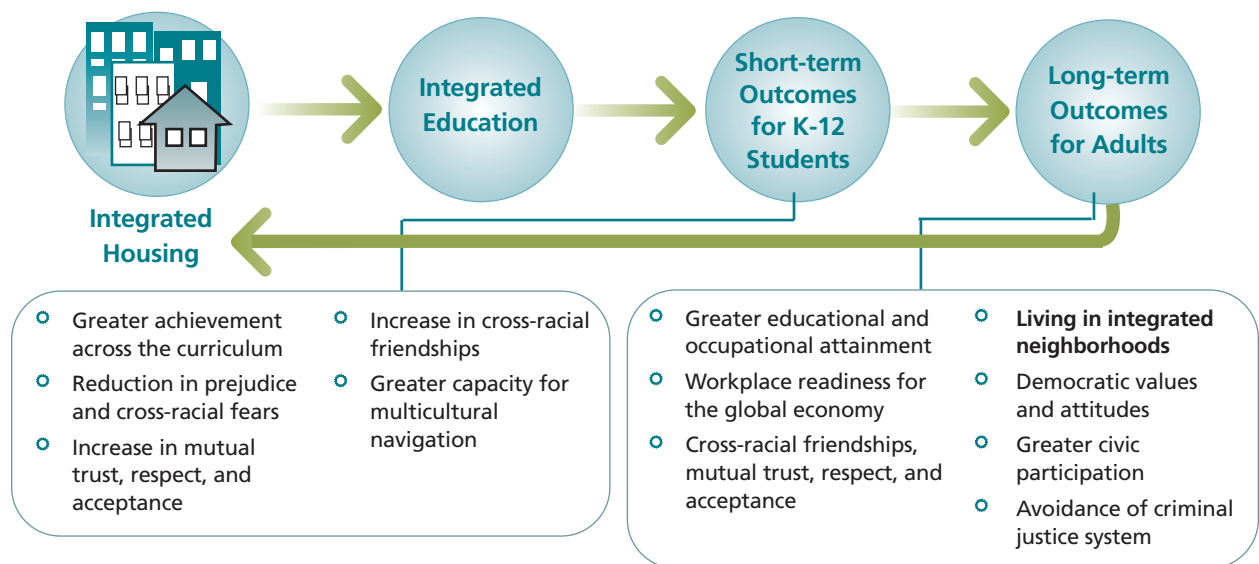
Given the common practice of assigning students to neighborhood schools, any serious hope of integrating America's public education system requires us to consider not only educational policies and practices, but also the demography of neighborhoods and the housing policies that contribute to residential integration or segregation. Most American students live in communities that are dominated by families from one race and socioeconomic status. Public schools typically reflect their neighborhood demographics because most students are assigned to schools based on their residence.¹ These straightforward dynamics underlie the relationship between the integration or segregation of schools and their feeder neighborhoods.

The links between integration or segregation of schools and neighborhoods are also reciprocal. This essay summarizes the social science evidence on the reciprocal

relationship between integrated schooling and integrated housing. The synergistic nature of this relationship unfolds across the life course. The model in Figure 1 illustrates the connections between housing and school integration and the intergenerational and reciprocal nature of their relationship.

Segregated schools are highly effective delivery systems for unequal educational opportunities.² Conversely, a substantial body of high quality social science research indicates integrated education has a positive role in a number of desirable short- and long- term school outcomes. Racially and socioeconomically diverse schools make a significant difference for K-12 achievement across the curriculum: Students from all racial and ethnic backgrounds who attend diverse schools are more likely to have higher test scores and better grades compared to those who attend schools with high concentra-

Model of Dynamics of Integrated Housing, Integrated Education, and Short- and Long-term Outcomes in Multiethnic Democratic Societies



tions of low-income and disadvantaged minority youth. They also are more likely to graduate from high school, to attend integrated colleges,³ and to graduate from college.⁴

Diverse schools also promote other positive outcomes that are integral components of the adult life-course trajectory. Interracial contact fosters reductions in prejudice and fear while it increases the likelihood of cross-racial friendships initially among students and later among adults.⁵ Together these short-and long-term educational outcomes facilitate racial diversity across other institutional contexts, including the workplace, throughout the life-course.⁶ The social science research on this relationship indicates that those who lived in integrated neighborhoods and attended diverse schools as children are more likely to choose to live in integrated neighborhoods as adults, where they then send their own children to integrated schools. This cycle interrupts the intergenerational perpetuation of racial fears and prejudice that racial segregation reinforces.⁷

DIRECT LINKS

There are several direct connections between diverse schooling and integrated housing. Let's begin with the obvious: if students are assigned to schools based on their residence, which increasingly is the norm, the demographic composition of neighborhoods will largely shape the racial and socioeconomic composition of the schools. While there is not a one-to-one relationship between the two because of private school enrollments and other factors, at any given point in time, integrated neighborhoods are more likely to produce diverse schools than segregated residential communities.

There is another direct connection between diverse schooling and integrated housing. Perceived "school quality" influences housing choices. School demographic composition serves as signal of "school quality" to many homebuyers of all races and SES backgrounds. Research indicates that prior experiences with integrated schooling shapes adult housing preferences for diverse neighborhoods that will likely have integrated schools. Just as integrated neighborhoods are socially constructed as good places to live compared to racially isolated high poverty areas, racially isolated schools are widely considered as undesirable by families that have options.⁸

INDIRECT LINKS

There are a number of indirect connections between integrated schools and diverse neighborhoods. The crux of these connections is the significantly superior opportunities to learn that integrated schools offer compared to racially isolated, high poverty schools. Armed with strong educational credentials and intercultural navigation skills, graduates of integrated schools are better candidates for jobs in the increasingly diverse and globalizing labor market than their counterparts who attend segregated schools.

Diverse Coworkers

The reciprocal and intergenerational nature of the links between housing and school integration has been well documented by researchers. Adults who attend integrated K-12 schools are more likely to have higher academic achievement and attainment, to attend and graduate from an integrated college, and to work in a diverse setting. They will exhibit greater workforce readiness for occupations that require interacting with customers and coworkers from all racial background, and functioning in an increasingly global economy. Adults who attended diverse secondary schools are more likely to prefer working in diverse settings as adults,⁹ although this relationship appears stronger among Blacks than Whites.¹⁰ They are less likely to be involved with the criminal justice system and there is some evidence that they will earn more income than those who attend segregated schools. Adults who attended diverse schools are more likely to have cross-racial friendships and exhibit mutual trust, respect, and acceptance of those who are racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically different from themselves.¹¹

Diverse Neighbors

Childhood experiences with integrated neighborhoods and diverse schools increase the likelihood of adults choosing to live in an integrated neighborhood as an adult.¹² The experience of attending segregated schools has intergenerational consequences for adults' choices of same or different race neighbors. Students who attended more racially isolated elementary, middle, and high schools are more likely as adults to prefer same race neighbors compared to adults who have attended integrated schools. This connection holds even though

neighborhood racial isolation during childhood remains strongly associated with young adults' preferences for same race neighbors. Racial isolation in schools plays a more significant role in diminishing social cohesion among young adults from all racial and ethnic groups. These findings support a key tenet of perpetuation theory, which suggests that school segregation leads to segregation across the life-course and across institutional contexts.¹³

The Reciprocal Nature of School and Housing Integration Across the Generations

In a nutshell, the preponderance of social science indicates that integrated schools foster better academic outcomes for all students. Students with better K-12 academic outcomes are more likely to have higher educational and occupational attainment, greater income, and greater opportunities to choose good neighborhoods in which to live and raise their families. They are more likely to choose to live in an integrated neighborhood, in part, because their interracial contact experiences in integrated K-12 schools and colleges broke the intergenerational transmission of racial prejudice and fear. People who develop multicultural navigation skills in integrated schools are more likely to purchase homes or rent apartments in diverse neighborhoods where their own children will enroll in an integrated school. For them, racially and socioeconomically diverse schools signal that the schools most likely are good ones. In these ways, integrated schools and neighborhoods are likely to foster a mutually reinforcing intergenerational cycle across the life-course that advances social cohesion in a multiethnic democratic society and promotes racial equality.

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

The residential basis of most pupil assignment plans means that housing policies have become de facto education policies. Thus, there are enduring public consequences of private housing choices for the racial, ethnic,

and SES composition of K-12 schools. The reciprocal nature of the housing/education linkage is clear: the quality of local schools is one of the key features by which buyers make decisions about housing purchases. Racially integrated, low poverty schools are signals to prospective homebuyers and renters that the local schools are desirable for their children.

Given that the short- and long-term outcomes of integrated education are critical for advancing social

cohesion in multiethnic democratic societies, it is becoming increasingly important to develop policies that build upon the reciprocal relationship between integrated education and integrated housing. Doing so is especially important because of federal and state courts' retrenchment with respect to court ordered desegregation, the reluctance of policy makers' at all governmental levels to voluntarily design integrated pupil assignment plans, and the growing racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity of the K-12 student populations.

Coordinating federal, state, and local housing and education policies will foster greater residential and educational diversity and assist in breaking the intergenerational transmission of racial and socioeconomic disadvantages that segregated schools and segregated housing both reflect and perpetuate.

Research and experience demonstrate the benefits of integrated education and the harms of racially isolated, concentrated poverty schools. Attempting to create education policy for integrated schools without developing housing policies for integrated neighborhoods is akin to cleaning the air on one side of a screen door.¹⁴

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- 6 Prudence Carter, *KEEPIN' IT REAL: SCHOOL SUCCESS BEYOND BLACK AND WHITE* (2005); Jomills Henry Braddock III & Amaryllis Del Carmen Gonzales, *Social Isolation and Social Cohesion: The Effects of K-12 Neighborhood and School Segregation on Intergroup Orientations*, 12(6) *TCHRS C. REC.* 1631 (2010); Michal Kurlaender & John Yun, *Fifty Years After Brown: New Evidence of the Impact of School Racial Composition on Student Outcomes*, 6(1) *INT'L J. EDUC. RES. POL'Y & PRAC.* 51 (2005); Michal Kurlaender & John Yun, *Is Diversity a Compelling Educational Interest? Evidence from Louisville*, in *DIVERSITY CHALLENGED: EVIDENCE ON THE IMPACT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION* 111 (Gary Orfield ed., 2001); Michal Kurlaender & John Yun, *Measuring School Racial Composition and Student Outcomes in a Multiracial Society*, 113 *AM. J. EDUC.* 213 (2007); Jordan Rickles et al., *Social Integration and Residential Segregation in California: Challenges for Racial Equality*, in *UCACCORD Public Policy Series (PB-002-0504, June 2004)*; Elizabeth Stearns, *Long-Term Correlates of High School Racial Composition: Perpetuation Theory Reexamined*, 112(6) *TCHRS. C. REC.* 1654 (2010).
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Do households with housing assistance have access to high quality public schools? Evidence from New York City

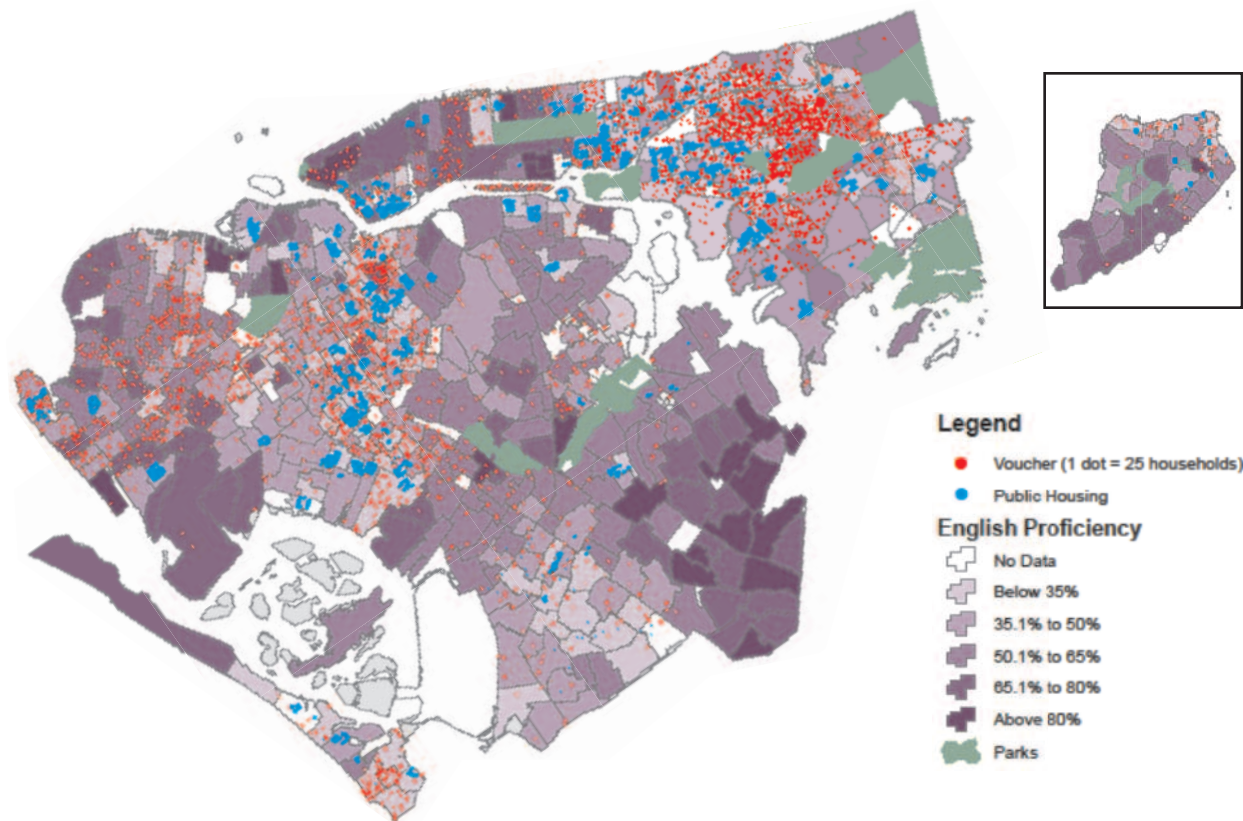
By INGRID GOULD ELLEN AND KEREN MERTENS HORN

In its recent strategic plan, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) listed “using housing as a platform to deliver a wide variety of services and improve the quality of life of its residents” as one of its five key goals. One subgoal focused specifically on increasing access to high-quality public schools for children living in HUD-assisted housing. Through a case study of assisted households in New York City, we test how HUD could track progress in meeting this goal.

EVALUATING SCHOOL “QUALITY”

Experts in the field of education continue to debate the best way to evaluate the performance of public schools. Ideally, we would like to evaluate how schools shape students’ future employment outcomes, their earnings potential, or maybe even their future happiness or life satisfaction. It is extremely rare, however, to have access to such long-term measures; moreover, it is not practical to wait ten years to learn how a school is performing.

English Proficiency and HUD Assisted Households, New York City Elementary School Attendance Zones



For the most part, researchers and policymakers have instead evaluated schools based on test scores, as these scores are easy to measure and give real-time feedback. Researchers justify this choice by citing evidence that test scores are predictive of longer term outcomes.¹ We therefore rely on school level proficiency rates in Math and English Language Arts (ELA) as our measure of school quality.

LINKING ASSISTED HOUSEHOLDS TO SCHOOLS

To the extent that researchers track access to schools, they typically focus on the quality of schools within a household's school district, as district boundaries are available nationally.² However, school districts are composed of heterogeneous schools, and therefore the average quality of schools within a district is not likely to capture the quality of the school a given student attends. We rely instead on school attendance zone boundaries for New York City to link each HUD-assisted household to its neighborhood school. We choose to focus our analysis on elementary schools, as the location of one's home typically determines access to an elementary school but does not as clearly restrict the choices of middle and high schools.³

Additionally, we link households to nearby charter and magnet schools,⁴ as these schools also shape the educational opportunities available for assisted households.

A METRIC OF SCHOOL QUALITY

To create a metric of school quality, we calculate a ratio that compares the quality of schools for which assisted households are zoned to the average quality of schools available to all households in New York City. A ratio above 1 would mean that assisted households are able to attend higher quality schools than the average household in NYC. A ratio below 1 would indicate that assisted households have access to lower quality schools than the average NYC household. We also estimate two additional ratios: first, we compare the quality of the school for which the average assisted household is zoned to the quality of the school for which the average renter household is zoned; second we compare the schools available

to assisted households to those available to other households with similar incomes. This last comparison is a much lower bar for a policy goal, but these are likely the schools that children in assisted households would attend absent the housing subsidy. To construct our comparison groups we rely on data from the five-year American Community Survey (ACS) estimates at the block-group level.⁵

SUBSIDIZED HOUSING IN NEW YORK CITY

We focus our analysis on the three largest HUD programs as well as the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program. Of the approximately 340,000 HUD-assisted households in New York City, half are public housing residents. In addition, 34 percent are voucher holders and a smaller share live in project-based Section 8 developments (16%).⁶

Using data from HUD's Picture of Subsidized Households, we can see that voucher holders and tenants in project-based Section 8 developments have lower incomes on average than the other two groups, the 60th percentile of income among voucher households and tenants in project-based section 8 developments is \$13,000. Among public housing tenants, the 60th percentile of income is \$18,000. Currently, HUD does not collect data on tenants of LIHTC developments, so we know much less about the incomes of these assisted households. We do know that subsidized LIHTC units must rent to households earning below 60 percent of Area Median Income (AMI), which is currently approximately \$45,000.

RESULTS

1. Overall School Quality

Table 1 summarizes our analysis. We find that public housing tenants have access to the lowest quality schools among assisted households. The schools for which public housing tenants are zoned have an average proficiency rate of 44.6 percent in math and 33.5 percent in ELA.⁷ The tenants in other place-based housing have access to somewhat stronger schools. LIHTC tenants are zoned for schools with average proficiency rates of 48.5 percent in math and 37.9 percent in ELA, while Project

Table 1: School quality of zoned elementary schools for assisted households

	Mean Proficiency in Math	Mean Proficiency in ELA
Subsidized Households		
Public housing	44.6%	33.5%
LIHTC	48.5%	37.9%
Project Section 8	48.9%	37.7%
Vouchers	50.1%	39.3%
Comparison Groups		
All households	61.6%	50.1%
Renter households	59.0%	47.6%
Households earning under \$45,000	57.8%	45.9%
Households earning under \$20,000	56.1%	44.3%
Households earning under \$15,000	55.6%	43.8%
Ratios		
Comparison to All households		
Public housing/All households	0.72	0.67
LIHTC/All households	0.79	0.76
Project Section 8/All households	0.79	0.75
Vouchers/All households	0.81	0.78
Comparison to Renter households		
Public housing/Renter households	0.76	0.70
LIHTC/Renter households	0.82	0.80
Project Section 8/Renter households	0.83	0.79
Vouchers/Renter households	0.85	0.83
Comparison to Households With Similar Incomes		
Public housing/under \$20,000	0.80	0.76
LIHTC/under \$45,000	0.84	0.83
Project Section 8/under \$15,000	0.88	0.86
Vouchers/under \$15,000	0.90	0.90

based Section 8 households are zoned for schools with proficiency rates of 48.9 percent in math and 37.7 percent in ELA. Housing choice voucher holders have access to slightly stronger schools, with proficiency rates of 50.1 percent in math and 39.3 percent in ELA.⁸

Significantly, the table also shows that assisted households are zoned for considerably lower performing

schools than the average household in NYC. The ratios in the table show that proficiency rates for schools available to assisted households are about 20% to 30% lower than the average school citywide. When making the comparison to only renter households, the ratios are closer to one but only slightly. When using an even more restrictive comparison group (only households with similar incomes), the ratios are higher, but again

Table 2: Charter/Magnet School Options for Assisted Households

	Number of Charter/Magnets within 1 Mile	Mean Proficiency of Charters within 2 miles in Math	Mean Proficiency of Charters within 2 miles in Math
Subsidized Households			
Public housing	3.0	65.8%	50.2%
LIHTC	3.8	48.0%	37.6%
Project Section 8	3.3	66.4%	49.6%
Vouchers	2.6	67.1%	50.3%
Comparison Groups			
All households	2.1	70.3%	55.0%
Renter households	2.2	70.1%	54.8%
Households earning under \$45,000	2.3	68.7%	52.5%
Households earning under \$20,000	2.5	68.3%	52.1%
Households earning under \$15,000	2.5	68.2%	52.0%
Ratios			
Comparison to All households			
Public housing/All households	1.42	0.94	0.91
LIHTC/All households	1.80	0.68	0.68
Project Section 8/All households	1.57	0.94	0.90
Vouchers/All households	1.23	0.95	0.91
Comparison to Renter households			
Public housing/Renter households	1.34	0.94	0.92
LIHTC/Renter households	1.70	0.68	0.69
Project Section 8/Renter households	1.48	0.95	0.91
Vouchers/Renter households	1.16	0.96	0.92
Comparison to Households With Similar Incomes			
Public housing/under \$20,000	1.22	0.96	0.96
LIHTC/under \$45,000	1.62	0.70	0.72
Project Section 8/under \$15,000	1.32	0.97	0.95
Vouchers/under \$15,000	1.04	0.98	0.97

still below one, and indeed below 0.9. Put simply, children living in assisted households in New York City are zoned for considerably lower quality schools than their peers, even those in households with similar incomes who do not receive subsidies.

2. Measure of School Choice

As shown in Table 2, assisted households do tend to live close to a higher-than-average number of charter and magnet schools and thus may have other school options. We see that the average public housing resident has 3.0 charter/magnets within one mile, the average LIHTC

resident has 3.8 charter/magnets in this range, the average voucher holder has 2.6 and the average project based Section 8 household has 3.3 charter or magnet schools in this range. By contrast, the average household in New York City has just 2.1 charter or magnet schools within a one-mile radius.

As for the quality of these schools, we examine the proficiency rate in math and English Language Arts in 2009, of the three closest alternative schools (limited to schools within two miles of residents). As shown, the average charter/magnet school near public housing residents has a proficiency rate of 65.8 percent in math and 50.2 percent in ELA. For voucher holders, these proficiency rates are 67.1 percent for math and 50.2 percent for ELA. The proficiency rates are similar for households living in project based Section 8 as well, with an average proficiency of 66.4 percent in math and 49.6 percent in ELA. For LI-HTC, the average charter/magnet school within 2 miles is somewhat lower performing, with proficiency rates of 48.0 percent in math and 37.6 percent in ELA. When comparing the quality of charter/magnet options near assisted households to those near other households we see that overall the quality of charter/ magnets is lower for assisted households than for other households in the city. So while assisted households have access to a greater number of charter and magnet schools on average, these alternative schools are of lower quality than those available to other households.

Put simply, children living in assisted households in New York City are zoned for considerably lower quality schools than their peers, even those in households with similar incomes who do not receive subsidies.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Surely, these simple outcomes can be strengthened and improved. But even this simple analysis highlights that in New York City households with housing assistance do not appear to have the same educational opportuni-

ties as other households, even when comparing them to households with similar income levels. At least in New York City, our subsidized housing programs are not increasing access to high quality schools for low income households. We encourage HUD to work with DOE to monitor and track the quality of the schools that assisted households can access in different areas. We also encourage HUD to ask local housing agencies to provide infor-

mation about local school quality to voucher holders and ensure that landlords accept voucher holders in districts and zones with high performing schools.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 For example, Neal and Johnson (1996) rely on the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) to examine the relationship between scores on a test administered when youth are between 14 and 21 and future wages. They find that when controlling for age, race, and ethnicity, test scores are highly significant predictors of wages at ages 26 to 29. Currie and Thomas (2001) use data from the British National Child Development Survey (NCDS) and find that test scores at age 16 are important determinants of wages and employment at age 33 for all individuals, including individuals of lower socioeconomic status.
- 2 For example, Hayes and Taylor and Dills use school district boundaries. See Kathy J. Hayes & Lori L. Taylor, Neighborhood School Characteristics: What Signals Quality to Homebuyers?, 1996 FED. RES. BANK DALLAS ECON. AND FIN. POL'Y REV. 2-9; Angela Dills, Do Parents Value Changes in Test Scores? High Stakes Testing in Texas, 3 CONTRIBUTIONS TO ECON. ANALYSIS AND POL'Y (2004), available at <http://www.bepress.com/bejeap/contributions/vol3/iss1/art10>. For additional studies that rely on school district boundaries, see Stephen Machin & Sandra E. Black, *Housing Valuations of School Performance*, Eric Hanusheck and Finis Welch, eds., HANDBOOK OF THE ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION (2010).
- 3 There is a large literature that has explored how much families are willing to pay for schools, and for the most part these studies highlight the strong connection between where a child lives and the elementary school they are able to attend. See Stephen Machin & Sandra E. Black, *Housing Valuations of School Performance*, Eric Hanusheck and Finis Welch, eds., HANDBOOK OF THE ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION (2010).
- 4 We use the number of charter/magnet schools within one to two miles of an assisted household as well as the average fourth grade test scores of the three closest charter/magnet schools.
- 5 We link each block group to the attendance zone in which its centroid is located.
- 6 There are a few smaller programs reported in the HUD dataset which we did not include in the case study as they comprise a very small share of assisted households.
- 7 We restrict our analysis to non-elderly public housing units. The non-restricted results are quite similar, with differences in proficiency rates of about 1 percent.
- 8 HUD could also consider focusing entirely on units with two or more bedrooms as these are where households with children will most likely live. Also, HUD could focus only on housing choice voucher holders with children.

Integrating Schools Is a Matter of Housing Policy

BY HEATHER SCHWARTZ

The suburbs still lead cities in population growth, but in the latest sign of ongoing racial and economic diversification of suburbs, whites now make up only a fifth of that growth. According to a recent *New York Times* report, the shift in jobs to suburban centers has influenced a shift in immigrants' moves from urban to suburban centers.

Maryland's Montgomery County in suburban Washington, D.C., was among the first to experience these trends. Forty years ago, it was one of the earliest suburbs in the United States to host more jobs than residences. Today about one-third of Montgomery County residents are foreign-born, which is more than double the national rate. Yet the county remains one of the top ten wealthiest counties in the country (according to median household income), a position it has enjoyed since the suburb's founding in the 1950s.

Montgomery County is exceptional in a number of respects, but its circumstances 40 years ago forecast the economic conditions a growing number of high-cost, high-tech suburbs have come to experience. Inclusionary housing has helped it navigate these changes without creating pockets of high poverty and low educational achievement, an accomplishment of which other rapidly changing suburbs might want to take note.

Montgomery County's school district, which is the 12th largest in the United States, is now minority white (37 percent of students) and has a national reputation for excellence. About 90 percent of its pupils graduate from high school, two-thirds of its high school students take at least one Advanced Placement course, and the average

SAT score in the district greatly exceeds the national average.

In 1974, Montgomery County adopted an inclusionary zoning policy that has had the effect of integrating very low-income households into low-poverty neighborhoods.

Although the county's inclusionary zoning policy occurs outside the school walls, it has had a powerful educational impact, even as measured by the most demanding, but perhaps most meaningful test: highly disadvantaged children with access to the district's lowest-poverty neighborhoods and schools begin to catch up to their non-poor, high-performing peers

throughout elementary school, while similarly disadvantaged children without such access do not.

Montgomery County's experience with economically integrative housing should speak to the concerns of at least four audiences: high-cost suburbs that need to attract lower-income workers into their jurisdiction, localities with low but increasing rates of poverty, housing mobility counselors for tenant-based assistance programs, and school districts seeking to mitigate school segregation.

WELCOMING AFFORDABLE HOUSING

For more than three decades, Montgomery County has voluntarily maintained housing policies that have not only increased the supply of its affordable housing stock, but have allowed the county to do so in a manner that would prevent the concentration of poverty. In 1974, facing both a shortage of workers available to fill its lowest-paid jobs and a heated housing market that

Although the county's inclusionary zoning policy occurs outside the school walls, it has had a powerful educational impact....

priced out even middle-class families, the county adopted an inclusionary zoning (IZ) policy that required all developers of market-rate residential developments of 20 units or more to set aside 12.5 to 15 percent of the units to be rented or sold at below-market prices. These units were called moderately priced dwelling units (MPDUs).

The MPDU program is by the far the largest IZ program in the nation, and it has been responsible for the production of more than 13,000 MPDUs in the county since 1976. Similar policies that operate on a much smaller scale have since spread to many other high-cost housing markets in the United States. IZ experts Nico Calavita and Alan Mallach estimate in their book *Inclusionary Housing in International Perspective: Affordable Housing, Social Inclusion, and Land Value Recapture* that more than 500 localities operate some kind of inclusionary housing policy within the United States.¹

Much less well-known is Montgomery County's IZ program's singular feature that allows not only moderate-income but also very low-income households to live in affluent neighborhoods throughout the county. It does this by allowing the county's public housing authority

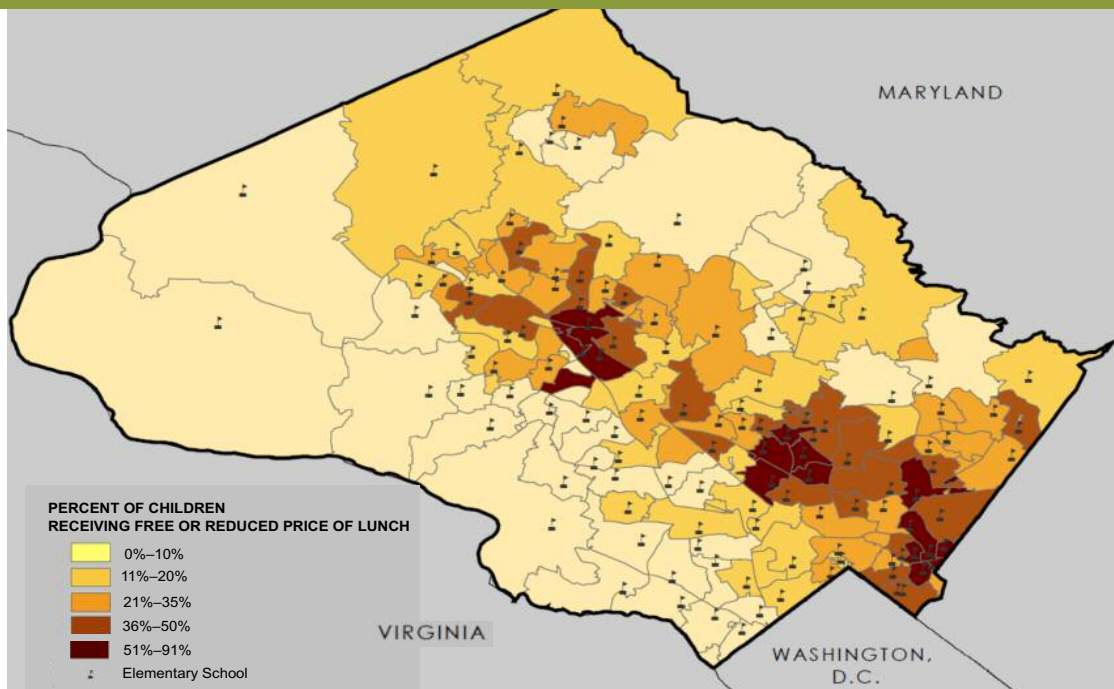
the right of first refusal to purchase up to one-third of IZ units produced in a given development. The county's public housing authority, the Housing Opportunities Commission (HOC), has, to date, purchased approximately 1,500 units. Of these, about 700 are scattered-site public housing rental homes, 250 were sold to homeowners, and the remaining units are rentals subsidized by a combination of federal, state, or local funds.

THE SCHOOLING EFFECTS

Substantial benefits accrue to children of low-income families in MPDUs. The primary intent of the MPDU program has been and still is to allow low- or moderate-income households to live near where they work. But the HOC's participation in the county's IZ policy has also had the effect of allowing even households who earn incomes below the poverty line to send their children to schools where the vast majority of students come from families that do not live in poverty.

This is significant, since the vast majority of schools in the United States with high concentrations of students from low-income families perform less well than schools

Although Affluent, Montgomery County has Low- and Moderate-Poverty Elementary Schools



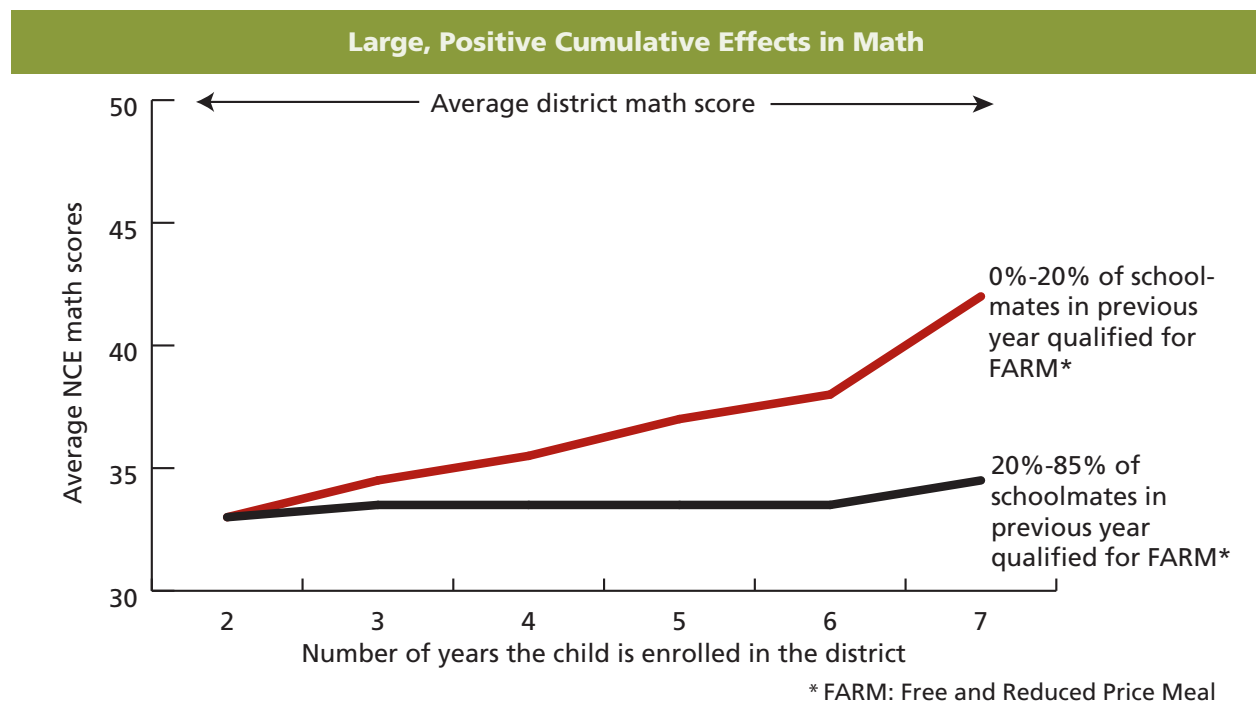
with low concentrations of poverty. In 2009, more than one-half of fourth and eighth graders who attended high-poverty schools failed the national reading test, compared to fewer than one-fifth of students from the same grade levels who attended low-poverty schools. The prevailing theories about the advantages of low-poverty schools are that they not only benefit from having more material resources, but also reap the stability-conferring benefits from having greater parental stewardship and attract and retain a better-prepared corps of teachers, administrators, and students.

To date, the Montgomery County housing authority has purchased about 700 MPDU homes that are located in market-rate apartment complexes that it operates as public housing. All told, it operates 992 public housing family apartments (some clustered in small public housing developments) that are located in hundreds of neighborhoods throughout the county and are zoned into almost all of the school district's 131 elementary schools. Families who occupy the public housing apartments in Montgomery County have an average income of \$22,460 as of 2007, making them among the poorest households in the county. The apartments are leased at a fraction of the normal market rates: whereas the average monthly rent for a two-bedroom apartment in Montgomery County in 2006 was \$1,267, public housing tenants' average rent contribution was \$371 (equal

to one-third of their income, per federal regulation) in the same year.

The Housing Opportunities Commission randomly assigns applicants to the public housing apartments.² Since almost all of the county's elementary schools have neighborhood-based attendance zones, children in public housing thus are assigned randomly to their elementary schools via the public housing placement process. This feature prevents families' self-selection into neighborhoods and elementary schools of their choice, which in turn allows for a fair comparison of children in public housing in low-poverty settings to other children in public housing in higher-poverty settings within the county.

Building on the strength of the random assignment of children to schools, I examined the longitudinal school performance from 2001 to 2007 of approximately 850 students in public housing who attended elementary schools and lived in neighborhoods that fell along a spectrum of very low-poverty to moderate-poverty rates. After five to seven years, students in public housing who were randomly assigned to low-poverty elementary schools significantly outperformed their peers in public housing who attended moderate-poverty schools in both math and reading. Further, by the end of elementary school, the initial, large achievement gap between



children in public housing who attended the district's most advantaged schools and the non-poor students in the entire district was cut by half for math and one-third for reading.

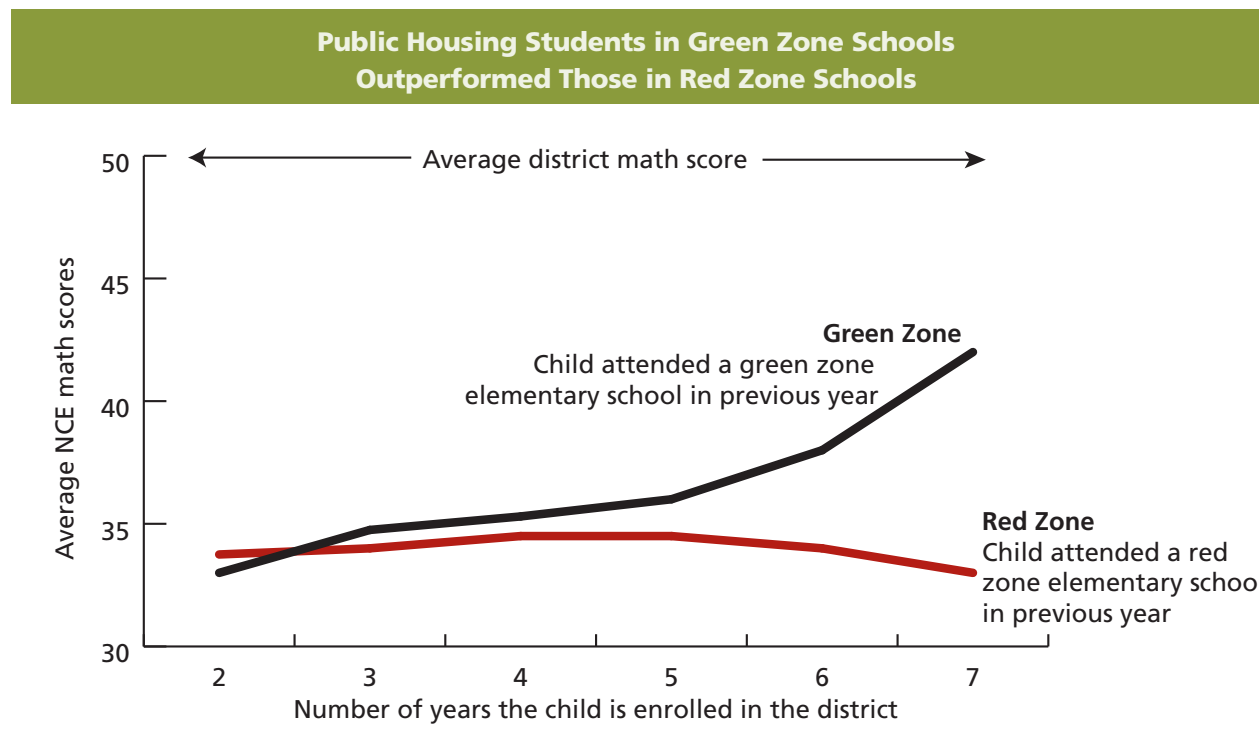
As anticipated, the academic returns from economic integration diminished as school poverty levels rose. Children who lived in public housing and attended schools where no more than 20 percent of students qualified for a free or reduced meal did best, whereas those children in public housing who attended schools where 20 to 35 percent of students qualified for a free or reduced price meal performed no better academically over time than public housing children who attended schools where 35 to 85 percent of students qualified for a free or reduced price meal. (Note that fewer than 5 percent of schools had more than 60 percent of students from low-income families, and none had more than 85 percent in any year, making it impossible to compare the effects of low-poverty schools with truly high-poverty schools, where 75 percent to 100 percent of the families are low-income.)

Housing and education traditionally have been considered the primary instruments of social mobility in the United States.

Children in public housing benefitted academically from merely living in low-poverty neighborhoods, but that effect was much smaller than the effect of attending low-poverty schools. There is suggestive evidence that, above and beyond which schools they attended, low-income children who lived in very low-poverty neighborhoods (where 0 percent to 5 percent of families live in poverty) experienced modest academic benefits as compared to those children in public housing who lived in low-poverty neighborhoods (where 5 percent to 10 percent live in poverty).

School-based economic integration, however, had about twice as large an effect as neighborhood-based economic integration on low-income children's academic performance. However, the prevailing low poverty rates within Montgomery County only allowed for a limited test of neighborhood poverty effects.

Furthermore, the county adopted in 2000 a policy to direct extra resources to its 60 neediest elementary schools, to introduce full-day kindergarten, reduce class sizes, devote greater time to literacy and math, and provide extra professional development to



Montgomery County's Economically Integrative Housing Approach

- **Oldest, largest inclusionary zoning program in U.S.**
- **Housing authority has right to purchase 1/3 of inclusionary zoning units**
- **Approximately 700 public housing homes scattered, and approximately 300 located in 5 public housing developments**



teachers. These 60 schools are termed “red zone” schools, and the remaining 131 elementary schools are “green zone” schools. Despite these extra resources, by the end of elementary school public housing children who attended green zone elementary schools still substantially outperformed their red zone public housing peers.

OUTSIDE MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Housing and education traditionally have been considered the primary instruments of social mobility in the United States. Since education is an investment with both individual and societal benefits, improving low-income students’ school achievement using integrative housing can not only reduce the income achievement gap but also help stem future poverty. Furthermore, the experience of Montgomery County shows that it can be in the self-interest of both localities and low-income families to create economically integrated neighborhoods and schools.

With a need for an economically heterogeneous population, Montgomery County sought since the 1970s to direct and spatially spread the growth of its lower-income households throughout its jurisdiction. Hundreds of other high-cost jurisdictions have also sought to increase and spread their supply of affordable housing, albeit in small numbers, via inclusionary housing policies. As the Montgomery County example attests, doing so requires at least modest local resources to adopt and enforce the IZ policy as well as political will to weather dissension around the policy.

With a need for an economically heterogeneous population, Montgomery County sought since the 1970s to direct and spatially spread the growth of its lower-income households throughout its jurisdiction.

Although most education research attempts to quantify the effects of various promising school-based reforms for low-income children, many of which Montgomery County has embraced—for example, full-day kindergarten, smaller class sizes in early grades, a balanced literacy curriculum, increased professional development—the results from this study suggest that efforts to enroll low-income children

in low-poverty schools are even more powerful.

Heather Schwartz is a researcher at RAND, based in New Orleans. This chapter is adapted from Heather Schwartz, Integrating Schools Is a Matter of Housing Policy, Shelterforce Magazine (March 29, 2011), <http://www.shelterforce.org/article/print/2176/>

ENDNOTES

- 1 INCLUSIONARY HOUSING IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE: AFFORDABLE HOUSING, SOCIAL INCLUSION, AND LAND VALUE RECAPTURE (Nico Calavita & Alan Malach eds., 2010).
- 2 See Heather Schwartz, *Housing Policy Is School Policy*, THE CENTURY FOUNDATION (June 6, 2010, 1:55 PM), <http://tcf.org/publications/pdfs/housing-policy-is-school-policy-pdf/Schwartz.pdf> (provides details on random assignment and low attrition rates).

“Housing Policy is School Policy”: a commentary

BY DAVID RUSK

“Housing policy is school policy.” That’s not just a catchy slogan or the provocative title of the previous chapter by Heather Schwartz. It is the bedrock reality underlying America’s failure to provide an adequate education to most poor African American and Latino students. In our racially stratified metro areas, predominantly Black and Latino neighborhoods are often high poverty neighborhoods. High poverty neighborhoods produce high poverty schools. In high poverty schools most children will fail *no matter how many extra resources are poured into their schools or how much “accountability” is required of their teachers.*

(many educators and most politicians) are afraid to challenge the racial and economic segregation underlying American neighborhoods and neighborhood schools.

We’ve really known this ever since famed sociologist James Coleman published his massive study of a million American school children 45 years ago.¹ The Coleman Report concluded that the socioeconomic characteristics of a child and of the child’s classmates (both measured principally by family income and parental education) were the overwhelming factors that accounted for academic success or failure.

“The educational resources provided by a child’s fellow students,” Coleman summarized, “are more important for his achievement than are the resources provided by the school board. . . . The social composition of the student body is more highly related to achievement, independent of the student’s own social background, than is any school factor.”

For over four decades, educational researchers, including Coleman, have revisited, refined, and debated Coleman’s original findings.² There have been no more consistent findings of educational research (including in twenty of my own studies) than the paramount impor-

tance of a school’s socioeconomic makeup on academic achievement and that low-income children learn best when surrounded by middle-class classmates. Indeed,

Dr. Schwartz’s doctoral dissertation for Columbia University is the definitive research re-confirming Coleman’s findings.

There also have been no findings of educational research more consistently – I would say even deliberately – ignored by many educators and most politicians. Quite simply, they are afraid to challenge the racial and economic segregation underlying American neighborhoods and neighborhood schools.

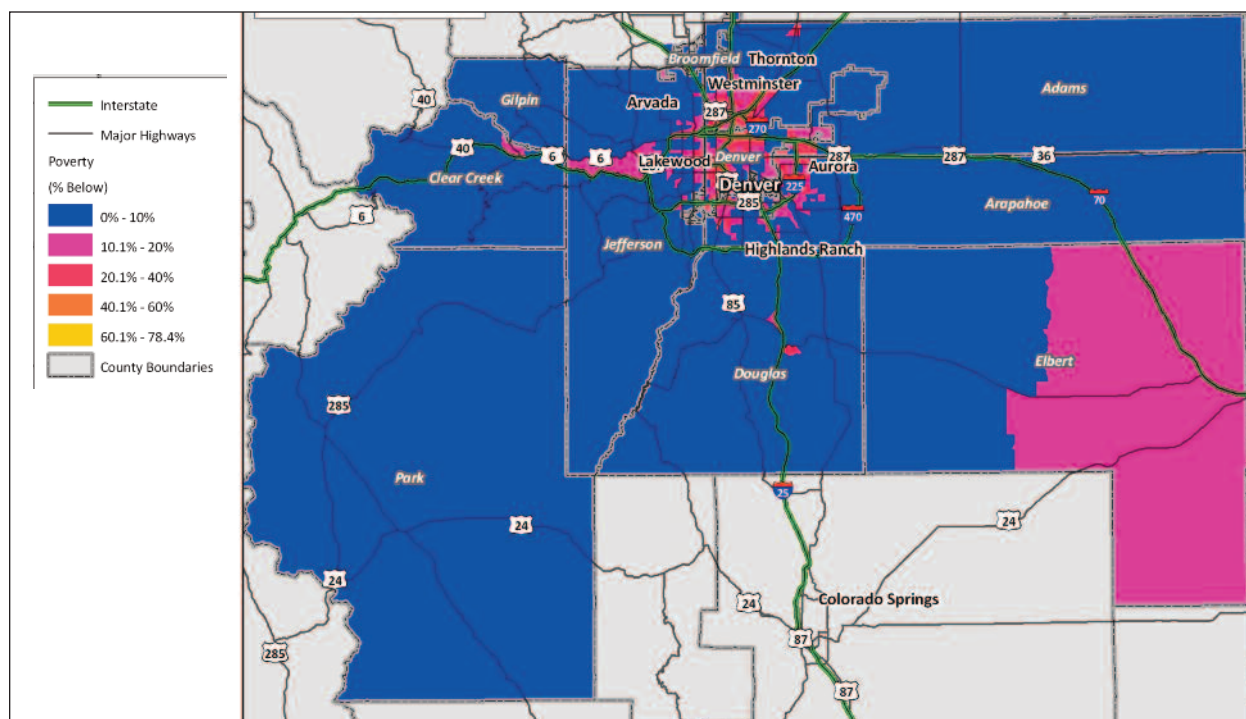
RED ZONE SCHOOLS VS. GREEN ZONE SCHOOLS

Dr. Schwartz’s chapter concludes that

“Although most educational research attempts to quantify the effects of various promising school-based reforms for low-income children, many of which Montgomery County has embraced [i.e. in its “Red Zone” schools] – for example, full-day kindergarten, smaller class sizes in early grades, a balanced literacy curriculum, increased professional development – the results from this study suggest that efforts to enroll low-income children in low-poverty schools are even more powerful.

Dr. Schwartz is perhaps too understated in her analysis. Examine graphs 1 and 2 in the previous chapter. Look carefully at the trajectory of the performance of low-income children in higher-poverty Red Zone schools with all their “compensatory” resources. After modest initial

Denver MSA: Poverty Rates by Census Tract



improvements up to about fifth grade, low-income pupils in Red Zone schools fall further and further behind average district-wide performance levels in math and reading. In fact, after seven years in higher poverty Red Zone schools, they are even further behind than when they began.

Probably their losing ground does not reflect any lesser ability of their fifth and sixth grade teachers or less “teacher accountability” that is so in vogue these days; growing failure reflects the approach of puberty – an age when students are much more influenced by the attitudes, mores, and aspirations (or lack of them) of their similarly low-income classmates.

By comparison, again look at the trajectory of the performance of low-income children in low-poverty Green Zone schools without any “compensatory” resources. By fifth, sixth, and seventh grades, surrounded by classmates with much higher income, highly educated parents, the low-income kids’ performance levels are soaring, steadily closing in on district-wide averages.

There is nothing really new about Race to the Top. It is yet another effort to make “separate but equal” schools work.

In short, in Dr. Schwartz’s findings, the Green Zone strategy – economic integration – isn’t just “even more powerful” than the Red Zone school approach – compensatory resources. *The Red Zone strategy is failing despite the fact that the Montgomery County Public Schools are implementing most of the reforms championed by the current US Department of Education’s much praised \$4.35 billion Race to the Top program.*

In fact, I predict that four or five years from now, when independent evaluations of Race to the Top are being released, for low-income students the arc of achievement in the winning states’ high poverty schools will match that of the Red Zone schools in Montgomery County.

There is nothing really new about Race to the Top. It is yet another effort to make “separate but equal” schools work. Of course, if separate but equal is the only option, we need to spend as much money as we can to support schools for low income children of color. But these same children will do much better – and even thrive – if we

spend our money more wisely, on quality, integrated education.

DO AS WE SAY, NOT AS WE DO

U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan knows better. President Barack Obama knows better. Or they certainly should if they examined their own personal histories. Their parents (or, in the president's case, grandparents) certainly knew better. From their home in the Hyde Park neighborhood of Chicago, Arne Duncan's parents did not send him to the nearest public high school – Hyde Park Academy High School (currently 70% low-income) or Kenwood Academy High School (currently 75% low-income); instead, they sent him to the private University of Chicago Laboratory Schools (current annual high school tuition: \$24,670; percentage of low-income students is unreported though need-based financial aid is offered).

And young Barack Obama's grandparents didn't enroll him in Honolulu's Kaimuki High (currently 50% low-income) or Anuenae School (currently 55% low-income) or Farrington High (currently 58% low-income). They sent him to the private Punahou School, for 170 years the educational refuge for Hawaii's elite families (current annual tuition: \$17,800; percentage of low-income students is unreported but 11% receive "need-based financial aid"). In fact, grandparents Stanley and Madelyn Dunham moved into an apartment right across the street from the Punahou School campus to facilitate young Barack's attendance.

As President and First Lady, unlike Jimmy and Roslyn Carter,³ Michelle and Barack Obama do not send daughters Sasha and Malia to the nearest public school, Francis-Stevens Education Campus (65% low-income) but to the Sidwell Friends School (annual tuition: \$31,960 to \$32,960; percentage of low-income students is unreported, but 23% receive financial aid averaging two-thirds of tuition). (Sidwell Friends, by the way, was the same choice Bill and Hillary Clinton made for Chelsea.)

And Arne Duncan's official bio statement reports that his two young children "attend a public elementary school in Arlington, Virginia." At the risk of intruding on family privacy, I'll bet that the Duncans send Claire and Ryan not to walking distance-nearby Francis Scott Key Elementary School (0.3 miles; 35% low-income; 87% and 88% pass rates on Virginia's Standards of Learning reading and math tests) but drive them to Arlington Science Focus Elementary, a magnet school located 1.2 miles away (24% low-income but 97% and 98% pass rate in reading and math, respectively – not surprisingly high given the more selective enrollment of a magnet school despite its 24% low-income students).

I make these observations not to be critical of the actions of the Obamas and Duncans as parents. I believe that every parent has the right to make the very best choices for their children's education that they can. Sending their children to lower poverty schools (private or public) is a rational and responsible parental decision.

President Obama and Secretary Duncan embrace educational policies for other people's children that will eventually fail while not championing vigorous federal policies to advance economically integrated classrooms.

What I am critical of is that President Obama and Secretary Duncan embrace educational policies for other people's children that will eventually fail while not championing vigorous federal policies to advance economically integrated classrooms.

For example, suppose in its application for Race to the Top funds, a state – New Jersey, let's say – had proposed that "we are going to take every action to create racially and economically inclusive communities that, in turn, will support racially and economically inclusive schools. To fully implement the Mt. Laurel doctrine, we will use federal Race to the Top funds to acquire housing units in high opportunity communities with high performance schools and establish regional housing mobility programs to help low-income families with school age children move from low opportunity communities to high opportunity communities – places in which many of their parents are often already working (commuting at substantial cost in money and time). Our standard would be "Anybody good enough to work here is good enough to live here – and their children are good enough to be going to our local schools."

How would such a Race to the Top application have been graded? Zero. In its guidelines, the US Department of Education made no provision whatsoever for strategies to diminish racial and economic segregation – yet that is the central issue confronting American education.⁴

“But,” many people object, “a housing-based strategy takes so long! We have to educate the children where they are now.”

True. And, as parents, we want every superintendent, every principal, and every teacher to believe that every child can be successfully educated regardless of family or community circumstances. We should expect nothing less than maximum effort from them as professional educators.

But as citizens and political leaders we must stop hiding behind such a belief, shirking our responsibility to change an America that, if the most diverse, is also the most racially and economically segregated society in the developed world.

So what could be achieved through an approach to educational reform centered on “housing policy is school policy?”

I have simulated how implementing regional inclusionary housing policies over a 15- or 20-year period would impact school enrollment patterns in the Baltimore, Denver, and South Jersey areas. That’s about the same length of time that I have been advocating that “housing policy *is* school policy” in those same communities (with modest successes to date).

First, we’ll examine what school boards can achieve by adopting pupil assignment policies within each school district that would seek to equalize each school’s proportion of low-income (i.e. FARM)⁵ students around the district-wide average (plus/minus 15%). According to Rick Kahlenberg, The Century Foundation’s senior education fellow, about 80 school districts in the USA currently implement policies to achieve more economically balanced schools.

[A]s citizens and political leaders we must stop hiding behind such a belief, shirking our responsibility to change an America that, if the most diverse, is also the most racially and economically segregated society in the developed world.

However, racial and economic disparities are typically greater among various school districts than within each district. This is particularly true in a “little boxes” region like South Jersey (with 101 municipal governments and 92 elementary school districts) than in a “Big Box” region like Baltimore (where county government is the basic local government and there are only seven county-wide school districts). Such disparities are based on local housing patterns. Therefore, we’ll also examine the contribution a regional inclusionary housing policy could make to creating more economically integrated schools.

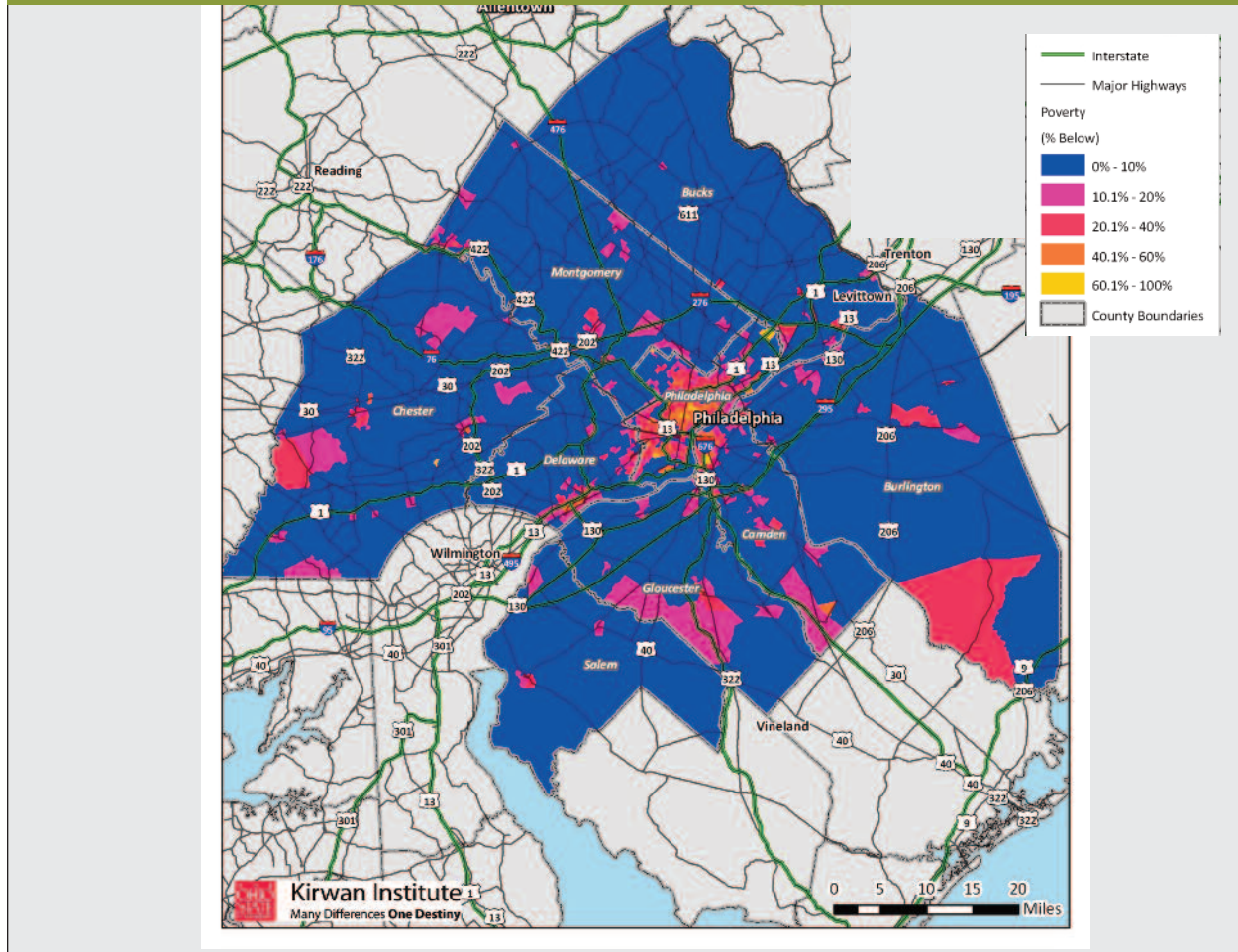
SOCIOECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE BALTIMORE REGION

The Baltimore region has fewer school districts (seven) than any comparably sized, multi-county region in the country. In 2002 (the year for which I did the simulation), the economic segregation index for metro Baltimore’s elementary schools, I have calculated, was 61.7.⁶ What would the result be if each school board adopted a common policy to achieve maximum economic integration within each of the seven districts? The goal would be to have FARM enrollment in every school equal to their district-wide average (plus or minus 15 percentage points).

I have simulated the effects of such a policy for the Baltimore metro area. For all schools I maintained their 2002 enrollment levels. However, within each district, I replaced FARM pupils with non-FARM pupils in high-poverty schools until I had brought each school to within 15 percentage points of the district-wide FARM percentage. Then I shifted enough FARM pupils into low-poverty schools until all transfers within the district balanced out.

The net effect of having school boards maximize socioeconomic integration within each district in this way would be to lower the economic school segregation index from 61.7 to 53.5 – about a 13 percent improvement. I have then simulated what might have been the results of adopting Montgomery County’s type of inclusionary

Philadelphia MSA: Poverty Rates by Census Tract



zoning laws (as described in the previous chapter) by all local governments in metro Baltimore (primarily, the seven county governments) for the last twenty years. Some 316,000 new housing units were built from 1980 to 2000 (about 30 percent of the total housing stock). A region-wide MPDU policy would have produced 15,800 units of workforce housing for modest income workers (young teachers, police recruits, sales clerks, etc.) and another 7,900 units of “welfare-to-workforce housing” (for very low-income households). Less than 10 percent of the MPDUs (1,650 units) would have been located in Baltimore City. Most MPDUs would have been integrated into new, middle class subdivisions and new, market rate apartment complexes in newly developing communities. Setting the MPDU eligibility ceiling at 65 percent of median household income approximates the ceiling for FARM eligibility. In other words, all 23,700 MPDU units built during our 20-year period would have come into play.

The effect of a more economically integrated housing market on school enrollments would be dramatic. Progressive enrollment policies, if adopted by area school boards, would hypothetically reduce economic school segregation by 15 percent from 61.7 to 53.5; *adding a region-wide MPDU policy like the one in Montgomery County for 20 years would further reduce economic school segregation to 25.8 – a 60 percent reduction!*

The consequences for Baltimore City would be impressive. From a system with 84 percent FARM pupils, the district average would be reduced to 54 percent. Meanwhile, no suburban district would exceed the regional FARM average (36 percent). No suburban elementary schools would have majority FARM enrollment (as 41 suburban schools had in 2002). While the schools attended by the children of the professional classes would no longer be the former preserves of

near-exclusive privilege, they would typically have about 25 percent FARM pupils – many of them the children of the public employees, retail and service workers whom the professional class sees and relies upon within their communities every day.

SOCIOECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE DENVER REGION

While the seven-county Baltimore region is the epitome of a “Big Box” with its seven, county-wide school districts, the five-county Denver region might be termed a “modified Big Box” region with 17 school districts. The economic segregation index for the region’s 391 elementary schools for 2001-02 was a high 58.9.

Implementing a policy of SES balance as outlined for the Baltimore region within the Denver region’s 17 school districts would lower the economic school segregation rate from 58.9 to 48.4 – about a 20 percent improvement.

Let us apply the same methodology and assumptions used above to the Denver regional housing market. A total of 320,296 units were built during the twenty-year period (over one-third of all of the Denver area’s housing stock). Assuming that half of the housing built were individual “spec” homes or in small developments, an MPDU policy like that in Montgomery county would result in 16,015 “workforce” MPDUs and 8,007 “welfare-to-workforce” MPDUs, or 24,022 MPDUs altogether. Some 7,738 would be created in higher than average FARM school districts (e.g. Denver Public Schools) that would serve to promote more economic balance within those districts. But another 16,284 MPDUs would be built primarily in newer, low-poverty subdivisions in the Cherry Creek, Jefferson, and Douglas school districts. Under a region-wide eligibility list these MPDUs would be available for low- and very-low-income families who would choose to move into them. These families would otherwise be limited to seeking older, low-cost housing in high poverty neighborhoods, thus sending their children to poverty-impacted neighborhood schools in primarily the Denver and Adams-Arapahoe districts.

Reinforcing what school boards have the authority to do (instituting SES-balancing pupil assignment policies) with an MPDU policy that city and county governments have the authority to do would reduce the school economic segregation index to 13.9 – a three-quarters reduction in economic school segregation!⁷

By our assumptions, the families of more than 12,000 FARM pupils would move into MPDUs in the Northglenn-Thornton, Cherry Creek, Littleton, Douglas County, and Jefferson County school districts. This would reduce substantially the high concentration of FARM pupils in sending districts, particularly in Adams County 14 (74% to 44%), Denver Public Schools (68% to 44%), and Adams-Arapahoe (40% to 31%).⁸

All this could flow from a change in public zoning policies whose net effect would require just 2.5 percent of all new housing built to be acquired by a regional public housing authority for very low-income families and just 5.0 percent of all new housing to be affordable to persons in what used to be described as the “working class.” Indeed, this analysis illustrates not just the hypothetical effect of inclusionary zoning but how relentlessly and thoroughly local governments in Douglas County (as the most extreme example) have actually practiced exclusionary zoning

SOCIOECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE CAMDEN REGION

While the Baltimore area is a “Big Box” region and the Denver region is a ‘modified Big Box’ region, let’s turn to the “little boxes” Camden area. Its 101 municipalities contain 92 independent school districts. Its three-county economic school segregation index was 49.3 in 2005. While that is substantially better than the Baltimore region’s 61.7 index or the Denver region’s 58.9, it reflects the fact that the three-county area is really a suburb of Philadelphia, whose tremendous concentration of poor children is not counted in my calculation as is Baltimore City’s or Denver’s.⁹ However, the disparities in the socioeconomic profiles among its 92 school districts are tremendous.

What would the result be if each of the 92 school boards adopted a common policy to achieve maximum economic integration within their 92 districts? Within each district, I replaced FARM pupils with non-FARM pupils, or vice versa, until I had brought each school to the exact district-wide FARM percentage. *The result was only a negligible improvement in the region-wide economic school segregation index—from 49.3 to 48.0.* In other words, in this “little boxes” region, economic segregation is much greater among school districts than within school districts.

Turning to housing reforms, for the Camden area, I was able to use a forward looking methodology. In 1975, the New Jersey Supreme Court issued its epochal *Mt. Laurel* decision; the court declared that each of the state’s 566 municipalities has a constitutional responsibility to provide for its “fair share” of low-income housing based not just on needs of low-income residents within each town’s boundaries but based on the regional need.

Unfortunately, the court’s courageous doctrine lacked any significant political support. After ten years of inaction, the state legislature substantially watered down *Mt. Laurel*’s potential impact through the cynically-titled Fair Housing Act of 1985. One of the most outrageous loop-holes the legislature created was Regional Contribution Agreements (RCAs) by which wealthy suburbs could sell up to half their designated fair share of low-income housing to poor cities.

Nevertheless, at the time that I did my simulation (2005), the state Council on Affordable Housing (COAH) had promulgated a “growth share” formula by which ten percent of all new housing built in every town must be affordable to low-income households. In addition, the growth share formula provided that an additional affordable unit must be built for every 25 new jobs created.

Using a data-based Municipal Opportunity Index, I divided the Camden area’s 101 municipalities in six

categories: 8 maximum opportunity towns, 28 high opportunity towns, 22 medium opportunity towns, 20 low opportunity towns, 22 minimum opportunity towns, and Camden, the central city.

COAH projected that over a ten-year period (2005-15) some 3,600 affordable housing units must be built in the maximum-, high-, and medium-opportunity towns in compliance with its growth share formula. I simulated that one-quarter of those housing units would be occupied by low-income families relocating from Camden and another quarter would be occupied by other low-income families moving out of

another 22 poverty-impacted school districts in older, inner suburbs of Camden. (In Camden’s case, I assumed that pupils leaving were not replaced; in the case of the low- and minimum-opportunity communities, I assumed that non-FARM families did indeed move in.)

The result of this simulation is that, *combined with each school district’s policy of equalizing the socioeconomic profiles of all its schools at the district-wide average, the regional economic school segregation index would drop from 48.0 to 37.6.*

In short, in the “little boxes” Camden region, implementing a mixed income housing strategy would have ten times the impact of achieving greater economic integration within the public schools than would just district-wide socioeconomic balancing policies.

SUMMING UP

Table 1 summarizes the results of the three simulations. School boards in the “Big Box” Baltimore or “modified Big Box” Denver regions could improve socioeconomic integration within their districts by balancing pupil enrollments by income by 15 percent and 20 percent, respectively; the improvement with the “little boxes” Camden region would be less than three percent.

However, factoring in the impact of region-wide inclusionary zoning policies (IZ) like Montgomery County,

{R}region-wide inclusionary zoning policies ... would produce major change – a 58 percent, 76 percent, and 24 percent reduction in economic school segregation in the Baltimore, Denver, and Camden regions, respectively.

Table 1

Summarizing simulated economic integration of FARM pupils in three regions of SES and IZ reforms

metropolitan area	actual segregation index	by school board action (SES)	by SES & IZ policy
Baltimore	61.7	53.5	25.8
Denver	58.9	48.4	13.9
Camden	49.3	48.0	37.6

MD's or, in the South Jersey example, a more limited, state-ordered policy produces major change – a 58 percent, 76 percent, and 24 percent reduction in economic school segregation in the Baltimore, Denver, and Camden regions, respectively.

Is this just an exercise in fantasy math? In one sense, yes. Even if school boards and local governing bodies enacted the policies recommended, they would never be implemented with the mathematical precision my simulations project (though Montgomery County's implementation of its MPDU policy over its 37-year history has come close to its targets).

But is it just a policy wonk's fantasy? An academic reviewer of an earlier version of this chapter states that

“Rusk makes a convincing case for the value of socioeconomic integration in schools Rusk asserts that ‘policy makers have it within their power to address the interrelationship of housing and education,’ which is true but highly unlikely to lead to the massive social actions that will be needed. In the case of school segregation, the bio-ecological model [which the reviewer strongly supports] produces a clear explanatory edifice for the problem but leads to few actionable solutions [emphasis added].”

No one has to alert me to just how difficult these issues are. I have probably been as deeply involved in multiple campaigns for inclusionary zoning laws as anyone in the country.

But, just in the few years since I did my simulations: in Maryland:

- responding to local campaigns the City of Annapolis in Anne Arundel County, and Baltimore City have enacted mandatory inclusionary zoning laws;
- the Baltimore Regional Housing Campaign had a near-miss when the Anne Arundel County Council deadlocked 3-3 over its ordinance;
- Frederick County enacted Montgomery County's MPDU law;
- within Montgomery County itself, the Cities of Rockville and Gaithersburg have enacted their own MPDU laws, completing county-wide coverage;
- and implementation of the remedies in *Thompson v. HUD*, in which the federal courts have found HUD guilty of supporting a racially discriminatory public housing system will have major impact on regional housing patterns.

in New Jersey:

- the Fair Share Housing Center continues to win key court battles in its now-40 year campaign to win and enforce the Mt. Laurel doctrine;
- a five-year campaign led by the New Jersey Regional Coalition succeeded in getting the state legislature to enact the Housing Reform Act of 2008, including banning Regional Contribution Agreements (RCAs) and requiring 20 percent affordable housing in any state-assisted housing developments; and
- the New Jersey Regional Coalition, Fair Share Housing Center, and allies blocked the effort of a new conservative Republican governor to reinstitute RCAs and otherwise severely water down the requirements of the Housing Reform Act of 2008.

in Colorado (including some events that pre-date my analysis):

ten cities, towns and counties have enacted mandatory inclusionary zoning laws, covering almost 20 percent of the state's population, including

- The City and County of Denver (610,345 residents);

- The cities of Boulder (100,160) and Longmont (88,425) in adjacent Boulder County; and
- World famous ski resort communities (Telluride/San Miguel County, Aspen/Pitkin County) and lesser known Rocky Mountain communities (Basalt/Eagle County and Glenwood Springs and Carbondale in Garfield County).

In fact, nationwide some 500 cities, towns, and counties have enacted (or been ordered to enact) mandatory inclusionary zoning laws, covering 39 million people – about one-eighth of the USA’s population and one-quarter of its population in higher-cost housing markets.

The most notable new additions are the 119 towns and villages in Nassau and Suffolk County NY that have been ordered by the New York state legislature in the Long Island Workforce Housing Act of 2008 to enact mandatory inclusionary zoning laws (despite New York’s constitutional provisions sanctifying “home rule”).

But to return to the worst case example of my analysis as a prototype, how would Douglas County, Colorado be brought to enact inclusionary zoning?

It will certainly not occur by preaching social justice to the county commission and three town councils. However, engaging their self-interest around economic development issues might work. Highly exclusionary places zone out the very workers that their up-scale residents depend on for their community to function. Super-exclusive Aspen and Telluride came to recognize this and enacted their inclusionary zoning laws as a consequence.

Douglas County and its towns of Parker, Lone Tree and Castle Rock might already be providing for their own teachers, police officers, and firefighters (it’s questionable, given median home value of \$339,800 and median gross rent of \$1,142 per month). But what about 911

dispatchers and paramedics, garbage collectors, dental assistants, pharmacy techs, hairstylists, bank tellers, pre-school teachers, nursing home attendants, receptionists, restaurant cooks, supermarket checkers, dry cleaning workers, etc.? “Anyone good enough to work here is good enough to live here” has been a powerful rallying cry for inclusionary zoning policies.

Ultimately, progress in Douglas County may have to come as it did to Long Island, NY – those higher up the ladder of constitutional authority (the state legislature or a state court) may have to order it to enact inclusionary zoning.

Regarding land use planning and zoning, the federal government does not occupy the top-most rung of that ladder of constitutional authority – nor any rung at all on this issue. But through the strings that it can attach to the hundreds of billions of dollars federal agencies make in grants-in-aid annually to state and local governments for highways, housing, water and sewer systems, and, yes, schools, the federal government can exert enormous leverage for progressive policies.

A starting point would be for our national leaders to begin preaching publicly a little of what they personally practice privately.

A former mayor of Albuquerque and New Mexico legislator, David Rusk is president of the Metropolitan Area Research Corporation, a national strategic partner of the Building One America movement, and a founding board member of the Innovative Housing Institute. He is author of Baltimore Unbound, Inside Game/Outside Game, and Cities without Suburbs (the fourth edition of which, updated to 2010, will be published by the Woodrow Wilson Center/Johns Hopkins University Press in early 2012). He also was an early advisor for Heather Schwartz’s research.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 James Coleman, EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY (DEP'T. ED., 1966).
- 2 See generally, the "Research Briefs" collected at www.school-diversity.org.
- 3 Nine-year old Amy Carter did attend Stevens Elementary School, located about eight blocks from the White House, before it was merged with Francis Middle School about 1.8 miles away in gentrified Foggy Bottom.
- 4 The Department ignored the advice of school integration advocates in their Race to the Top funding invitations – in spite of the fact that school diversity is technically included as a funding priority in discretionary programs. See http://prrac.org/pdf/Race_to_the_top8-24-09.pdf.
- 5 "FARM" refers to the federal Free And Reduced-price Meals program. For the 2010-11 school year the eligibility standard is that a child from a family with an income up to 130% of the federal poverty level (or \$29,055 for a four-person family) is eligible for fully subsidized meals and with an income up to 185% of the federal poverty level (or \$41,347) is eligible for partially subsidized meals.
- 6 On a scale of 100, 100 would mean total segregation; all FARM students (and only FARM students) would attend certain schools, and all non-FARM students would attend all other schools. An index of 0 would mean that all schools would have the same percentage of FARM pupils (i.e. the district-wide percentage).
- 7 That would make metro Denver's schools the third most economically integrated in the nation. (Flagstaff, AZ [8.5] and Eau Claire, WI [10.6] ranked first and second in 1999-2000.) By achieving just half that level (27.8), which is readily within the range of realistic implementation, greater Denver would have the second most economically integrated schools of any major metropolitan area.
- 8 There would, of course, be an increase in FARM pupils in the receiving districts, e.g., in the case of Douglas County, a more than six-fold increase (2.5% to 17%). By our assumptions, many of those new pupils would be eligible for fully subsidized meals. That is, their family incomes would have been less than \$29,055 (for a family of four in 2011). Undoubtedly, some would be from very poor families receiving public assistance, but most would have parents who work full-time in low-paying jobs. Many other new pupils whose parents earn up to \$41,347 (for a family of four) would be eligible for only partially subsidized meals. Their parents would be working in jobs paying up to \$18.80 an hour – a wide range of jobs in the retail trades, service industries, and local government.
- 9 While Camden is still recognized by the US Census Bureau as a "principal city," it is less than seven percent of its three-county area's population.
- 10 Whereas the formula applied to the Baltimore and Denver regions projected a 15 percent set-aside for inclusionary housing over a 20-year period, the Camden area formula projected a 10 percent set-aside (plus a modest boost from job creation) over a 10-year period.
- 11 Edward Zigler and Sally J. Styfco, *Epilogue*, in Norman F. Watt et al., eds. THE CRISIS IN YOUTH MENTAL HEALTH: CRITICAL ISSUES AND EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS: VOL. 4: EARLY INTERVENTION PROGRAMS AND POLICIES. Praeger (2006), commenting on my chapter *Housing Policy Is School Policy* (pp. 53-80).

“Housing Policy is School Policy”: a modest proposal?

BY ROBERT C. EMBRY JR.

One of the most important recent pieces of education research was released last year - and promptly ignored. The Century Foundation's report "Housing Policy is School Policy" confirms the 1966 finding of Johns Hopkins University sociologist James Coleman: The school-based variable that most profoundly affects student performance is the socioeconomic composition of the school. In short, poor children do better if they attend schools with affluent children.

The "new" news in the report? It highlights the critical out-of-school influence of where the low-income children reside. Poor children attending an affluent school do even better, it turns out, if they also live in an affluent neighborhood. In this study, researcher Heather Schwartz examines the impact of Montgomery County's economically integrated housing policies on the academic success of low-income families who live in federally subsidized public housing scattered throughout the county. Families were randomly assigned by the county's public housing authority to both affluent and relatively non-affluent neighborhoods.

The findings: Children who lived in neighborhoods where less than 20 percent of the elementary school population was poor significantly outperformed similar low-income children from neighborhoods with public schools that had more than 35 percent of students in poverty. In fact, poor children in the low-poverty schools were able to close the achievement gap with their wealthier suburban peers by 50 percent in math and one-third in reading. This was true even though the group of poorer schools received additional funding to implement the more traditional remedial programs to address the academic challenges of low-income students.

A wide body of research during the past three decades has documented the educational benefits of moving from high-poverty to low-poverty neighborhoods. Research on the remedy in the landmark 1976 Supreme Court housing decision in *Hills v. Gautreaux* demonstrated that children whose families moved from public housing and other inner-city Chicago neighborhoods to racially and economically integrated suburbs were far more likely to succeed in school and go on to college or full-time employment than children whose families stayed in Chicago.

The key finding of this cumulative research is that the combination of living in a low-poverty area and attending a low-poverty school impacts educational performance of poor children more than traditional reforms and increased funding.

If the socioeconomic composition of the neighborhood and the school are so critical to the educational success of poor children, why have these factors been neglected in the U.S. Department of Education's reform agenda? Why is this remedy generally ignored in lawsuits attempting to obtain an adequate education for poor children? Why can one look in vain at state and local school board meetings to find any mention of the subject?

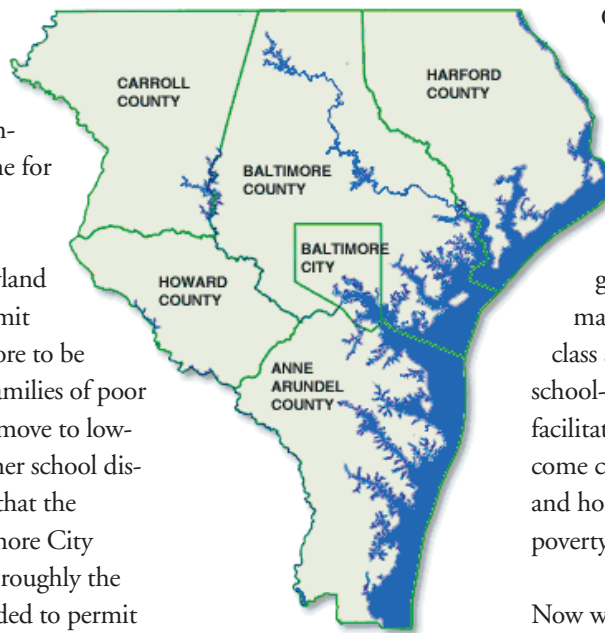
One reason is that, to date, there has been no legal compulsion to do so. A second reason is the long-standing hostility of suburban jurisdictions that routinely oppose any efforts to economically integrate their low-poverty schools, even in small increments. Finally, there is a shortage of affordable housing units in the affluent neighborhoods that would yield the biggest educational difference.

The school-based variable that most profoundly affects student performance is the socioeconomic composition of the school. In short, poor children do better if they attend schools with affluent children.

Given all that, if one agrees with the research on the positive impact of neighborhood and school economic integration, what might be done for Baltimore's poorest families?

One potential scenario: Maryland could enact legislation to permit state education aid to Baltimore to be used as a rent certificate for families of poor children in failing schools to move to low-poverty neighborhoods in other school districts. It is of interest to note that the Maryland's state aid to Baltimore City schools is \$12,191 per pupil, roughly the net cost of a rent subsidy needed to permit an urban family living in concentrated poverty to move to a low-poverty, suburban neighborhood.

Such a shift would give low-income children access to low-poverty schools on a voluntary basis, with the added benefits of living in the same community as their more affluent classmates. The good news is that there are at least 88 public schools in the counties surrounding Baltimore City that would qualify as potential sites, with less than 20 percent of children in poverty.



Baltimore area school districts

Clearly, there are many obstacles to accessing the opportunities posed by integrative housing and schools for our poorest families. Yet the research is persuasive: The answer to how to close the achievement gap between poor and rich kids may not be in the debates about class size, math curricula and other school-based reforms but in the state's facilitating the enrollment of low-income children in low-poverty schools and housing their families in low-poverty neighborhoods.

Now we must decide whether we continue to ignore the implications of this evidence or choose to find solutions that facilitate greater socioeconomic integration of low-income children.

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2. THE HOUSING VOUCHER PROGRAM AS A BRIDGE TO BETTER SCHOOLS

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ELIZABETH DEBRAY AND ERICA FRANKENBERG

Increasing Access to High Performing Schools in an Assisted Housing Voucher Program

BY STEFANIE DELUCA AND PETER ROSENBLATT

In America, housing choice is school choice. Where a family lives determines the quality of their children's education. This connection has profound consequences for social inequality.¹ For middle class families, housing and school choice is a calculated process, infused with high quality information, financial advantage, and resource rich ties.² For poor and minority families, where their children attend school is a direct function of constrained housing opportunities, and often related to housing discrimination, access to public transportation or where parents can find low wage work.³ As a result, over 70% of minority children attend high poverty and mostly segregated schools and their test scores lag precipitously behind their white counterparts.⁴

In recent decades, housing mobility programs have been implemented as a way to combat the spatial disadvantages that black families face because of residential segregation. Programs that provide vouchers for families to move to more affluent, non-segregated neighborhoods can also allow them to access quality schools, safe neighborhoods, and job opportunities that are often divided along racial lines in American metropolitan areas. In this paper, we use data from one such assisted mobility program, where poor families (former and current public housing residents, or those on the waiting list for housing assistance) receive subsidies and counseling to relocate to more opportunity rich communities. We focus on the changes in educational opportunity that low-income families can enjoy as a function of moving to better performing school districts. We find that moving with the Baltimore Housing Mobility program provides families with access to schools that have more than twice as many qualified teachers, poverty rates that are 50%

lower than their original neighborhood schools, and significantly better academic performance than the schools that they attended before the program.

BACKGROUND

It has long been noted that schooling opportunities for disadvantaged children are limited by the racial segregation and concentrated poverty found in many American cities.⁵ Because most children attend zoned neighborhood schools, disadvantaged minority families generally do not have a choice to send their children to more integrated or higher quality schools. Despite demographic changes that have increased Hispanic and Asian populations dramatically over the past fifty years, minority students remain isolated from white peers, and almost forty percent of black and Latino students attend schools that are less than ten percent white.⁶

Most of this white-minority school segregation is between-districts—whites continue to live in separate, often suburban school districts, while minorities often attend city schools.⁷ This finding underscores the links between school and residential segregation; Massey and Denton (1993) point out that the organization of public schools around geographic catchment areas reinforces the concentration of poverty and race. Rivkin (1994) and Orfield and Luce (2010) emphasize that residential segregation has severely limited school desegregation efforts and conclude that students need to be able to move across district boundaries to reduce racial isolation. The segregation of urban school systems rests on a foundation of segregated housing; as a result, school desegregation plans from *Brown v. Board of Education*

over 70% of minority children attend high poverty and mostly segregated schools and their test scores lag precipitously behind their white counterparts.

onward have been ill-equipped to solve the problem of racial isolation in public schools.⁸

In contrast to school desegregation plans like bussing, or school choice vouchers and other school-based options, housing choice vouchers (formerly called Section-8) have the potential to help families change their neighborhoods as well as their schools. As an alternative to regular Section-8 vouchers, a number of housing interventions have provided low income African-American families, often residents of public housing, with housing vouchers that allow them to move to higher opportunity neighborhoods with significantly higher performing schools. These interventions are often the result of fair housing lawsuits, and unlike traditional “hard unit” public housing (where families are assigned to a development that is often in a high poverty or racially segregated area) or the Section 8 program (through which families tend to lease-up in units that are in somewhat lower poverty but still often in segregated neighborhoods), families that participate in mobility programs are either assigned to units in more advantaged areas or they are counseled and helped to overcome barriers to leasing in census tracts that fall under a certain race or poverty threshold. These special voucher programs can provide a unique window on how low-income families engage new opportunities, especially when it comes to changing school districts.

special voucher programs can provide a unique window on how low-income families engage new opportunities, especially when it comes to changing school districts.

The first such housing voucher program came as a result of a court ordered remedy to a housing desegregation lawsuit.⁹ Low income black families who were currently or previously in Chicago’s public housing projects were eligible to receive housing vouchers that had to be used in neighborhoods that were 30% African American or less. Between 1976 and 1990, over 7000 families moved in the Chicago metro area; about half moved to mostly white suburbs and half moved to non-public housing city neighborhoods. The families were assigned to many different neighborhoods, allowing comparisons of outcomes for those who moved to mostly white suburbs with those who moved to other primarily minority city neighborhoods. Once families survived the initial disruption of moving, many developed ties to their middle

class neighbors and realized new prospects for employment and education, partly through neighbors’ assistance.¹⁰ Recent research has shown that families tended to stay in more racially integrated neighborhoods over time¹¹ and that household heads placed in mostly white neighborhoods had lower welfare receipt and higher employment rates than those that moved to more segregated neighborhoods.¹² However, previous research on Gautreaux has not systematically identified direct links between the housing opportunity provided by the program and access to higher quality school districts.

As a result of the *Gautreaux* program, which is generally seen as “quasi-experimental,”¹³ the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) implemented a more comprehensive demonstration study of the effects of offering families housing vouchers to live in more advantaged areas by executing a program with an experimental design in five cities. Between 1994 and 1998, the resulting Moving to

Opportunity program (MTO) assigned families at random to one of three groups: control group families (who received no subsidy), a Section 8 group (who received Housing Choice Vouchers with no geographic restrictions), and an experimental group (who received a voucher valid only in a low-poverty neighborhood, as well as assistance from housing counselors). Unfortunately, the interim impacts evaluation study (conducted four to seven years after families first moved) found no gains in academic performance for children.¹⁴ However, most of the MTO moves were to other segregated neighborhoods and most children either did not switch school districts at all or went to schools similar to the ones they attended at the start of the study.¹⁵ Therefore, the MTO program does not provide a way to test whether large increases in neighborhood quality translate into large gains in school quality.

Our analysis of the Baltimore Mobility Program builds on this previous work by examining how moves to high opportunity neighborhoods improve access to high quality school environments. The Baltimore Mobility Program stems from a class action lawsuit filed by residents of Baltimore’s public housing projects, who

claimed that local and federal housing authorities had failed to dismantle the city’s racially segregated public housing system. In 1996, a partial consent decree was issued, as the first part of a larger anticipated remedy. As a result of this decree, 2000 special housing vouchers were ordered to be given to plaintiff class members (former or current public housing families and families on the waiting list for public housing or voucher assistance), to create housing opportunity in middle class, mostly white areas of Baltimore city and the adjacent counties.

Families were assisted in moving to census tracts that were less than 30% African American, less than 10% poor and where fewer than 5% of the housing units were public housing or project-based assisted units. In addition, the vouchers are regionally administered, so that families do not have to go through time-consuming portability procedures in order to use them in a different county. As of 2010, over 1800 families have moved with these assisted vouchers. These families and their mobility patterns are the basis for the data we use in this report.

Families who have moved with the Baltimore Mobility Program have experienced more dramatic changes in their neighborhood environment than MTO families. This move allows families to potentially overcome the constraints that keep African-American children in low performing, poor, and segregated schools. Beyond the provision of a housing subsidy to be used in resource rich communities, the Baltimore program helps low income minority families circumvent some of the structural barriers to housing and school access in a number

of other profound ways. Participating families are given extensive counseling and search assistance to find apartments in more affluent, mostly white communities. Counselors work with families to explain the benefits of moves to these new neighborhoods, teach them how to negotiate with landlords in the private rental market, and assist them with security deposits and information about resources in their new communities.

FINDINGS

Neighborhood Changes

Our analyses focus on data from 1,830 families who successfully relocated with the Baltimore program between 2002 and 2010. Almost all of the families were African-American and female-headed, and on average had two children. Table 1 shows that when they signed up for the program, these families were living in neighborhoods where almost one third of the population was below poverty, and the median household income was less than half that of the average neighborhood in Central Maryland. These neighborhoods were racially segregated, with unemployment rates of 16%, twice as high as the average for Central Maryland.

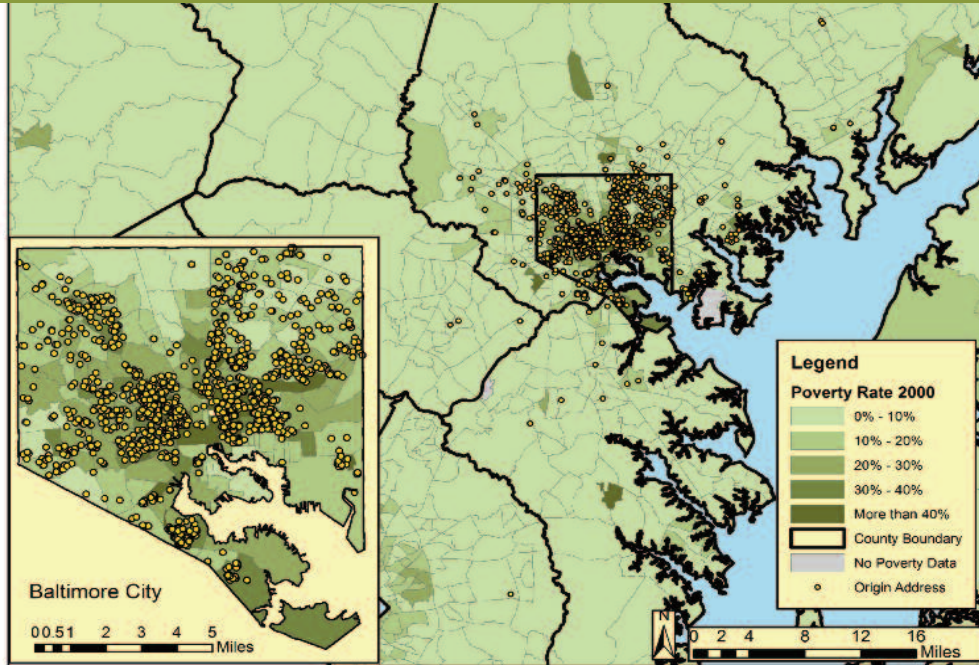
After they moved, Baltimore families were in much lower poverty neighborhoods, where their neighbors were more likely to have a bachelor’s degree and be employed. These neighborhoods were also mixed race, with median household incomes that were more than twice as high as those in their original neighborhoods. Another

Table 1

Neighborhood Characteristics (2005-09)	Baseline Neighborhood	First Move Neighborhood	Central MD Average (2005-09)
Percent White	17.14%	66.9%	62.2%
Percent Black	80.2%	25.0%	33.2%
Percent Below Poverty	30.2%	12.3%	12.1%
Percent with BA	13.3%	37.9%	31.1%
Median Household Income (2009)	\$30,676 (2009)	\$65,584	\$65,005
Unemployment Rate	16.0%	6.2%	7.5%

NOTE: Neighborhood data comes from the 2005-2009 American Community Survey. The program’s poverty threshold for the First Move Neighborhood was originally calculated using the 2000 Census, which helps explain why the average poverty level presented here (12.3%) is higher than the program’s threshold of 10%.

Map 1: Origin Address for all Movers



to appreciate the change that families experienced as a result of the program is to see the geographic patterns of their moves. Maps 1 and 2 show where families moved in the metropolitan area.

School Opportunity Changes

These moves out of segregated and poor neighborhoods have brought dramatic changes in the types of school environments children can access. Table 2 compares the local elementary schools children attended before moving and the characteristics of their local zone schools after moving. We can see that the move brought dramatic changes in average academic performance at the local

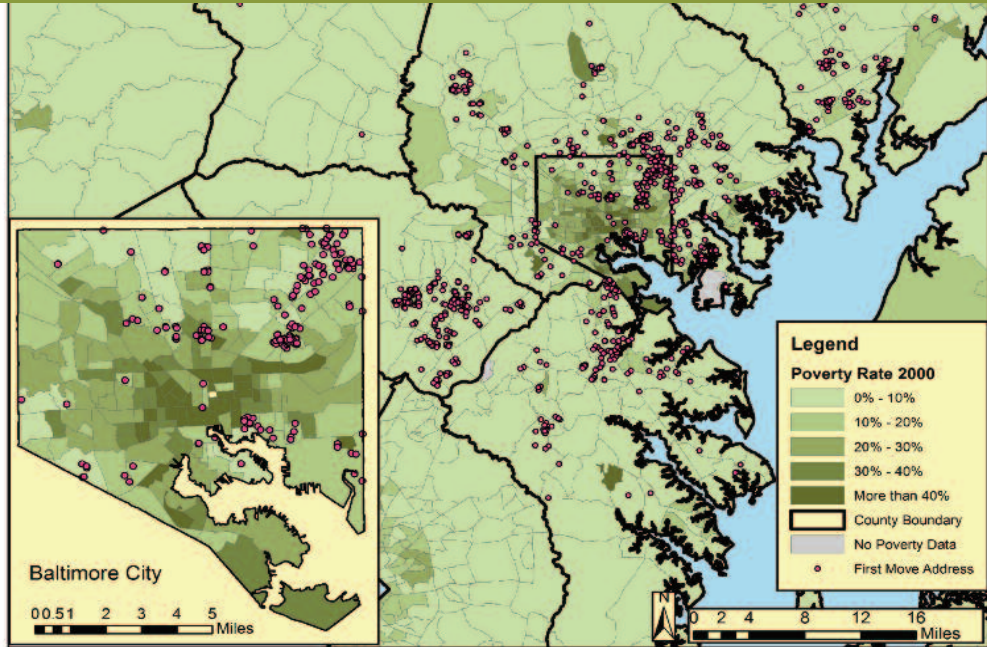
school—the percentage of students performing at levels considered proficient or higher on statewide tests increased by over 20% in reading and by almost 25% in math. The zone schools in the new neighborhoods also contain a higher percentage of classes taught by qualified teachers (defined as those with a degree or certificate in the subject that they are teaching). Whereas only 36.4% of classes are taught by qualified teachers in the average pre-move zone school, after the move almost three quarters of the classes in local schools are taught by qualified teachers. The final row of the table shows that the poverty rate of the local school children can now attend post-move (measured by the number of students eligible for free or reduced price lunch) is 50% lower

Table 2

Elementary School Characteristics	Baseline Neighborhood Zone School	Post Move Neighborhood Zone School
Students Proficient or Better in Math	44.8%	68.9%
Students Proficient or Better in Reading	54.2%	76.0%
Classes taught by Qualified Teachers	36.4%	74.8%
Free and Reduced Price Eligible Students	82.7%	32.5%

NOTE: All School Data are from 2004. Math and reading scores are based on student performance on the 3rd and 5th grade Maryland school assessments. Source: Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity.

Map 2: First Move Address for all Movers



than the poverty rate in their original neighborhood schools.

Another way to examine these changes is to look at the distributions of school characteristics. Figures 1-3 show that some of the changes in schooling opportunity brought about by moves with the Baltimore program were even more dramatic than the averages in Table 2

Figure 1: Percent Proficient or Higher in Reading at Local Elementary School

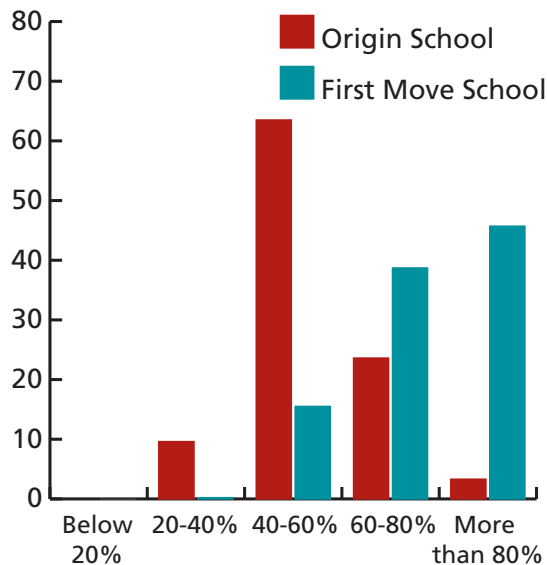
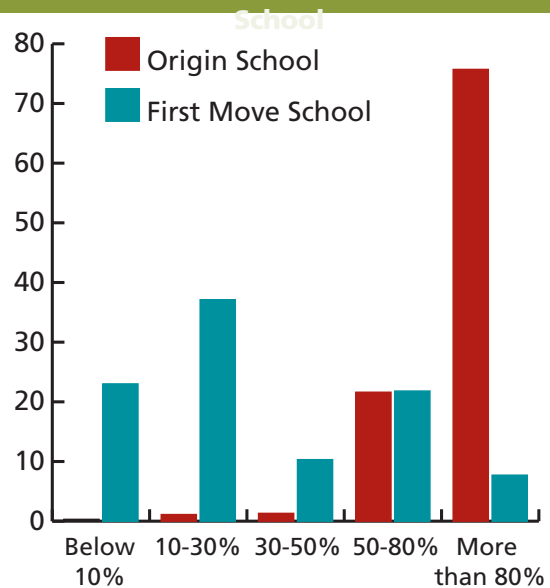
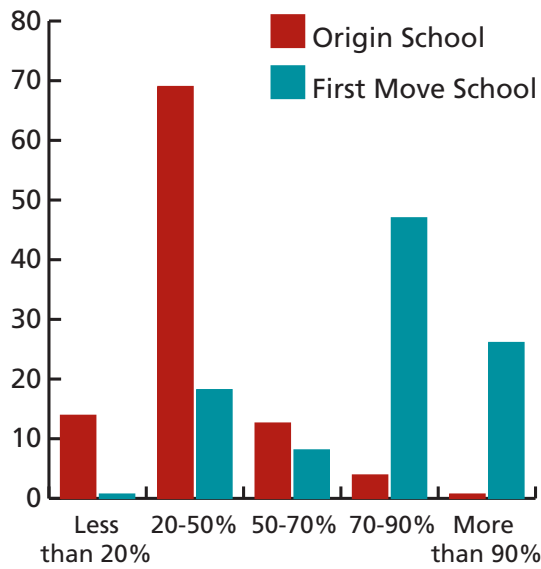


Figure 2: Percent Free or Reduced Price Lunch Eligible in Local Elementary School



suggest. For example, Figure 1 shows that the percentage of families living in areas where the local schools were high performing (over 80% of students proficient in reading), increased from only 3.3% before the move to more than 45% after the move. The darker bars in Figure 2 show that over three quarters of families were in school zones that were more than 80% poor before

Figure 3: Percent of Classes Taught by Qualified Teachers



the move, whereas after the move, the lighter bars show that nearly a quarter (23%) moved to zone schools that were less than 10% poor. Comparing the dark and light bars in Figure 3 shows that prior to the move, most families would have sent their children to zone schools where the majority of teachers were not qualified; after the move, the majority of families were in school zones where at least 70% of the classes were taught by qualified teachers, and more than a quarter of the families moved to school zones where 90% or more of the classes were taught by qualified teachers.

CONCLUSION

Families who participated in the Baltimore Mobility Program experienced radical changes in their local

neighborhood contexts, moving from poor and segregated areas to mixed race, low poverty communities. In this paper, we look at the changes in educational opportunity that accompanied these moves. Given the demonstrated link between residential segregation and school quality, we would expect that giving families the opportunity to move to non-segregated, low poverty neighborhoods would increase access to higher quality school environments. As we show, this is exactly what has happened—the moves that families made with the program greatly increased the quality of the schools their children can attend, as measured by increases in the academic performance of the student body and teacher qualifications, as well as large decreases the poverty rate of the schools. These findings are significant for potential long-term outcomes from the program, as research suggests that middle class schools can positively influence student achievement.¹⁶ For example, Schwartz’s recent findings that children from low-income families in Montgomery County, Maryland benefit from attending low-poverty schools might be

especially relevant to the Baltimore Mobility Program.¹⁷ Children in the Baltimore Program have the opportunity to experience even more dramatic changes in school poverty level as a result of the program, which allows them to move from some of the poorest schools in the state to ones that are similar to those Schwartz found to be beneficial for increasing achievement.

...research suggests that middle class schools can positively influence student achievement.

similar to those Schwartz found to be beneficial for increasing achievement.

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Federal Legislation to Promote Metropolitan Approaches to Educational and Housing Opportunity

BY ELIZABETH DEBRAY AND ERICA FRANKENBERG

Housing and educational opportunities are inextricably intertwined. As the suburbs have drawn tax revenue and political clout away from inner city cores, urban students' access to higher-performing schools has become further limited.¹ Yet, federal courts continue to retreat from recognizing an enforceable link between school and residential segregation.² We outline a proposal for new federal legislation to create a pilot grant program in selected southern metropolitan areas designed to promote voluntary approaches to expanding access to integrated educational and housing opportunity. We argue that there is an enforceable link between school and residential segregation, and that it is a vital public policy issue—perhaps even more vital after the *Parents Involved* decision—and that it is time for federal legislation to use new policy tools to address the link. We present a rationale for why metropolitan-wide solutions are critical in helping to ameliorate school segregation, and propose a regional combination of housing subsidies and inter-district school transfers. Drawing on the findings from two housing relocation programs, the Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program (court-ordered program referred to as Gautreaux hereafter) and Moving to Opportunity program (authorized by federal legislation), as well as the experiences of existing school transfer programs, we describe the duration, scope, and cost of this proposed program, explain how the housing subsidies and school transfers would work in concert with each other to promote opportunity, and provide suggestions for program design, incentives, administration, and evaluation.³

Social science research on neighborhood effects supports the benefits of low-poverty relative to high-poverty

neighborhoods on various dimensions of children's and adolescents' well-being.⁴ In 2008, the National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity recommended regional coordination to develop plans and measurable goals for fair housing, including Section 8 and public housing. Further, in addition to coordinating housing and educational desegregation initiatives, the strong contribution of between-district segregation

to overall segregation at the metropolitan level suggests that it is important that any such initiative seek to extend beyond school district boundary lines. Even though there are many governmental services administered on a regional basis, the number of cross-district programs that aim to desegregate across fragmented metropolitan areas are a mere handful.

There is past and relevant precedent for federal legislation to help communities alleviate school segregation. The

Emergency School Aid Act of 1972 is the main example of a targeted federal program that had the goal of fostering school integration across metropolitan areas. While this proposed program would be implemented in a very different sociopolitical context, we believe that the need for congressional attention is as pressing and relevant as it was then.

Housing: The Advantages of Building on Gautreaux's Record

The Moving to Opportunity Program and the Gautreaux program in Chicago are the two major federal programs from which lessons may be drawn about housing relocation and poverty deconcentration. MTO, which was enacted during the Clinton administration as

...there is an enforceable link between school and residential segregation, and that it is a vital public policy issue—perhaps even more vital after the Parents Involved decision—and that it is time for federal legislation to use new policy tools to address the link.

an economic desegregation initiative, was scaled back from a two-year effort to a one-year demonstration program and served 1,425 families across 5 cities.⁵ The Gautreaux program, which resulted from a 1976 U.S. Supreme Court decision, allowed public housing residents to receive Section 8 housing certificates and move to privately owned apartments in the suburbs.⁶ Families were counseled to move to low-poverty, low-minority suburban areas. Approximately 7,100 families participated in Gautreaux between 1976 and 1998.

We advocate for a Gautreaux-style design to this pilot program for several reasons:

1. The social and educational outcomes for families' suburban relocation are strongest, and especially for children;
2. Gautreaux was relatively modest in scope, serving a maximum of several hundred families a year in one metropolitan area, making it more acceptable to suburban officials; and
3. The program was explicitly designed to support racial desegregation of housing.

Interdistrict Schooling Program

While there are a number of options that provide for interdistrict transfers, including open enrollment and NCLB, we argue that these options are a less effective means of increasing metropolitan integration than programs with the explicit aim of integration across boundary lines, extensive outreach and free transportation to enable all families to access these schools.

Another premise in calling for a renewed federal role in promoting inter-district school transfers is that the public school choice provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act have proven too weak an intervention to affect opportunity. One of the reasons is that while the federal Education Department has adopted language encouraging school districts to form inter-district transfer agreements, there are no financial or legal incentives to do so. In most districts, better-performing schools do not have

the capacity to accept transfers, and often the schools offered for receipt of transfers are demographically similar to those attending the school from which students seek to transfer.⁷ There is ample evidence of a strong inverse correlation between the poverty level of students' neighborhoods and the performance of their schools.

Another premise in calling for a renewed federal role in promoting inter-district school transfers is that the public school choice provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act have proven too weak an intervention to affect opportunity.

We advocate for a program modeled after the interdistrict desegregation programs because of the findings about the outcomes for participating students. Research on these programs describes four categories of findings demonstrating the success of the programs: racial attitudes of city and suburban students; academic achievement and exposure to an enriched, high quality curriculum for urban students; improved long-term outcomes such as graduation, college matriculation and job attainment; and the popularity of the interdistrict programs.⁸

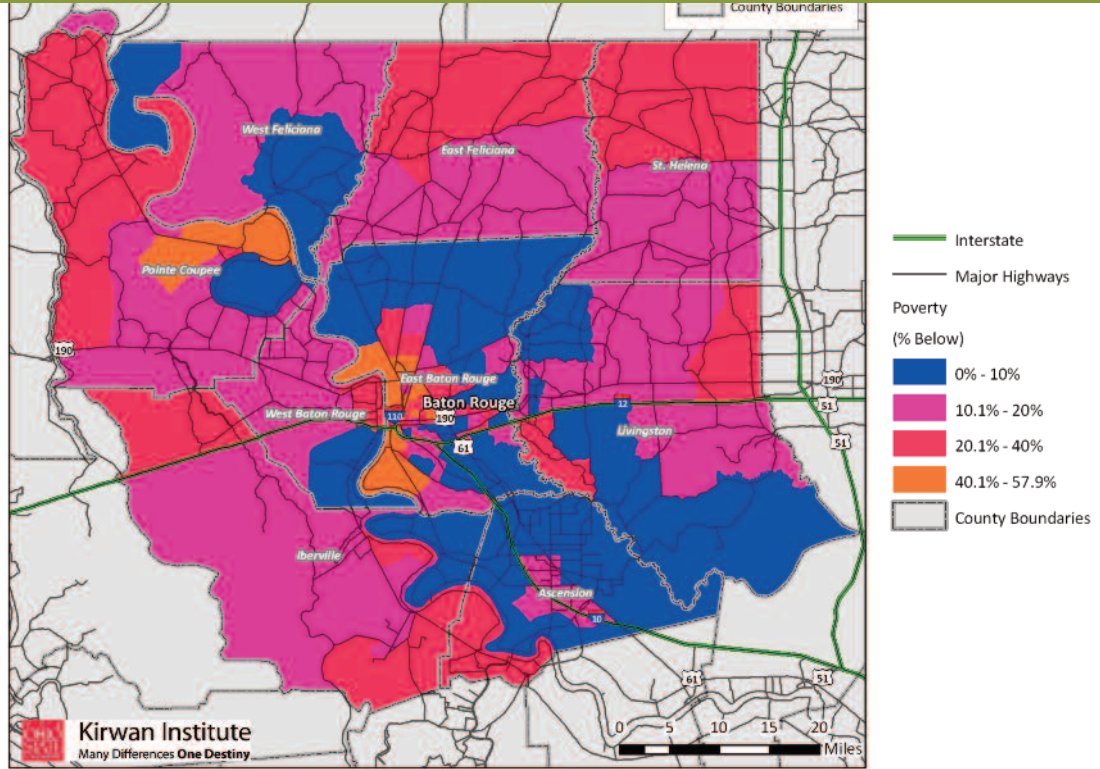
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION CONSIDERATIONS

Our considerations about the implementation of housing policy are drawn from the Gautreaux program and our considerations about schools are drawn from the experiences of eight currently operating interdistrict transfer programs designed to integrate students. The interdistrict programs differ in origins, length of program, and implementation details.

Joint Housing & Education Considerations

Family eligibility and outreach: In metropolitan areas where there is a court order governing either housing or educational racial desegregation, race-based designations of students' and families' eligibility would be both legal and desirable. In those participating metropolitan areas where there is no such court order to support a race-based classification, then priority should be given to those families living in neighborhoods with a high concentration of poverty, high levels of residential racial segregation, and low levels of educational attainment.⁹ Participating metros will also need to ensure that where there is more demand than supply of suburban housing

Baton Rouge MSA: Poverty Rates by Census Tract



or school slots, the programs are utilized by all groups at an approximate rate of their racial representation in the city (or school system) as a whole.

Strong regional coalition/administering agency:

Because one of the major goals of the pilot is to ensure strong regional collaboration beyond the borders of individual townships and school districts, administrative authority should be given to such regional alliances or coalitions that have the political capacity to work with both city and suburban governments. These alliances should have the capacity to provide extensive, metro-area wide education to prospective recipients about the purpose, operation of, and eligibility for, these voluntary programs; as well as intensive counseling to participants.

Need for suburban buy-in: A vital criterion for approving regional planning commissions in the pilot program should be a requirement that they examine issues of racial transition and stability. It is particularly important

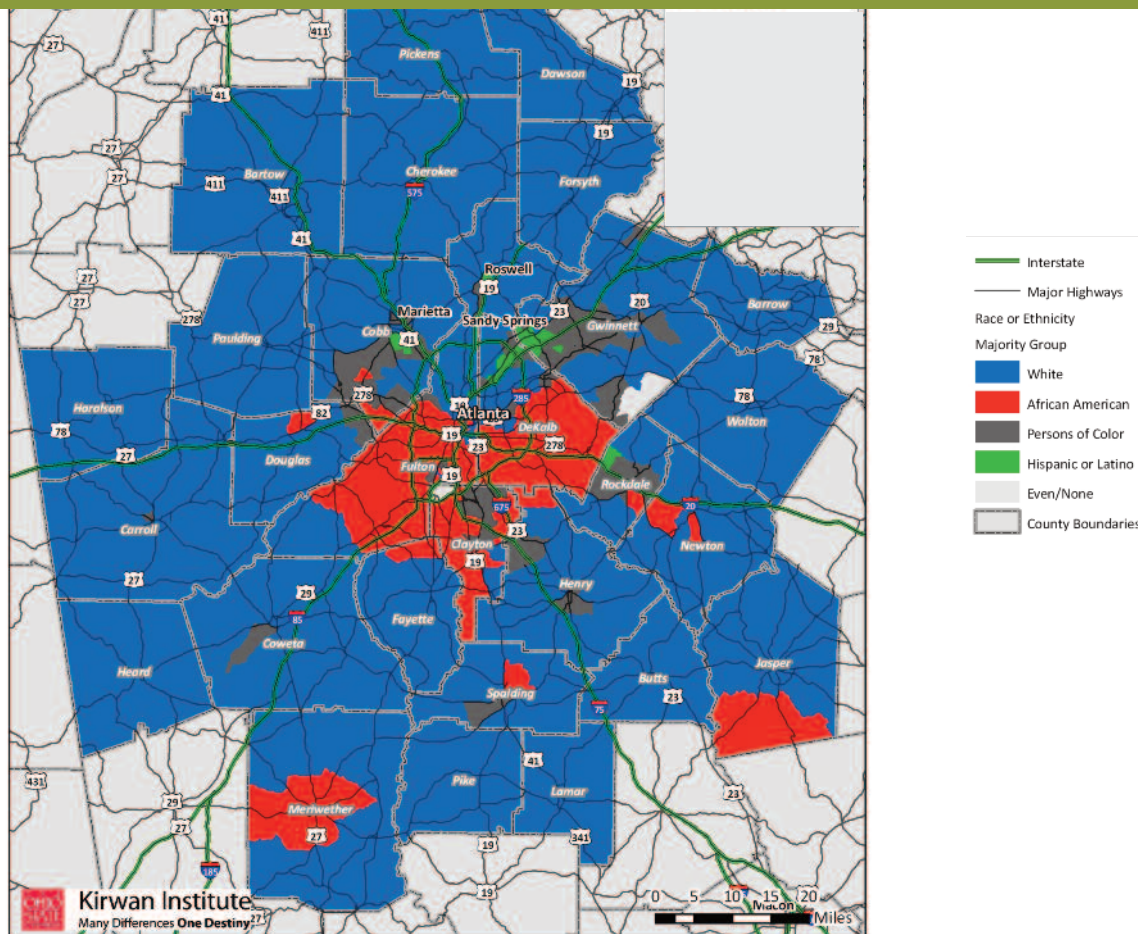
It is particularly important for planners of a housing relocation program not to view the suburbs as a monolithic entity, but to consider that some suburbs are more ready than others to accept families relocating from inner cities.

for planners of a housing relocation program not to view the suburbs as a monolithic entity, but to consider that some suburbs are more ready than others to accept families relocating from inner cities.

Effective, intensive housing and schooling counseling: The housing relocation program should have incentives for landlords to participate willingly because the Gautreaux experience demonstrated that it was difficult to get landlords in white, middle-class neighborhoods to otherwise accept urban transfers. Incentives might include

targeting middle class communities where the demand for rental units is not too tight; and local councils' efforts to reduce landlords' costs and risks, such as screening tenants' credit.¹⁰ Section 8 subsidies can provide landlords stable revenue; in the case of Gautreaux, this was a major incentive for landlords who did participate, as that revenue stream was guaranteed for five years, and with the likelihood of two additional five-year extensions.¹¹

Atlanta MSA: Race by Census Tract



Counseling students and families who participate in city-suburban transfer programs is similarly an important aspect of their adjustment.¹² School districts receiving city students must agree to participate in teacher training focused on issues of diversity and commit to trying to expand the number of teachers of color. As a result of both the school and housing desegregation components of this pilot program—as well as already existent suburban demographic change—there will be an influx of diverse students into what might be largely homogenous schools.

Considerations specific to Housing

Portability/Regional Administration of Programs:

Assuming the pilot program is authorized to work in tandem with Section 8, there are decisions to be made about the regional administration of the program. While families currently have the right to move to any community where an agency administers a voucher pro-

gram, in the past, “the administrative geography of the [Section 8] voucher program—its balkanized operation in most metropolitan areas—[has] create[d] substantial barriers to families moving from poorer and more racially concentrated areas to areas with greater opportunities.”¹³ However, the version of SEVRA that was awaiting passage in 2010 allows for greater regional mobility, and HUD is also working on other proposals to promote the metropolitan administration of housing, such as the Sustainable Communities and Choice Neighborhoods initiatives.¹⁴

Definitions of low-poverty or low-minority areas to which families would be required to relocate: The program should follow newly revised HUD rules, called SEMAP, to avoid poverty concentration in the use of Section 8 vouchers.¹⁵ The Gautreaux program’s goal of having dispersal across metropolitan areas is optimal; our recommendation is that families be prohibited from moving to neighborhoods with greater than 10% pover-

ty. In order to minimize the chances for racial resegregation in suburban relocations, we propose that participating families move into Census block groups of no greater than 30% African-American and/or Hispanic residents.

Considerations specific to schools

Transportation: All existing interdistrict desegregation programs provide free transportation for participating students, which we consider an essential part of our proposal. To minimize transportation costs, participating suburban districts should take a minimum number of students, and administering agencies could link certain areas of the city with neighboring suburban districts to make travel more efficient.

“Safe Haven” provisions: The school transfer program would be designed to correct for many of the ineffective design features of the No Child Left Behind Act, which provides no meaningful incentives for cross-district transfer agreements. Sub-group accountability sanctions that ordinarily apply under NCLB (such as for corrective action, or requiring parental choice) will be waived for suburban schools accepting students from central cities for a three-year “safe haven” period.

SUMMING UP THE COST OF THE PROPOSED PILOT¹⁶

Duration and scope

We recommend an initial authorized funding period of five consecutive years. In the program’s first three years, the housing relocation voucher component should be funded to serve up to 800 new families a year across four metropolitan areas per year (or approximately 200 new families per metro area per year); and up to 1,200 new families (300 new per metro area) in years four and five, for a total of 4,800 families in five years.

The voluntary school transfer program should serve approximately 6,000 eligible students total per year by Year 5 (or approximately 1,500 students per metro area). Using the Minneapolis city-suburban desegregation program as a model, we envision the program be-

ginning with 500 students per MSA in Year 1, with an additional 250 students per year. Each student would be guaranteed space in the program until graduation. In addition to adding 250 students per year, the program would also need to replace students who leave the program via graduation or attrition. Space should be made available for students at all grade levels, although it is likely that there will be more interest among earlier grades. Assuming an average of two school-aged children per family relocating to the suburbs, by the end of the pilot program, each MSA will have 3,900 students who moved from urban to suburban schools through the housing and educational components.

funding for urban districts... is important to mitigate the financial impact of students leaving the urban districts.

Cost: Housing Program

The total costs of housing vouchers will depend on several factors, including regional differences in cost of living, supply of housing stock, and the extent to which turnover in Section 8 might offset new vouchers. The main consideration is that turnover in Section 8 is extremely low – participants keep the vouchers for around three years on average; turnover in most MSA’s is between 1 and 2% of all vouchers each year.¹⁷

To demonstrate how costs differ among MSAs, we calculated an average cost per year for four different-sized southern MSA’s based on U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) data from 2007, estimating the annual cost for serving 1,200 families over five years for each MSA, as well as the extent to which a 2% turnover in Section 8 vouchers for 2007 would have offset the cost of the pilot.¹⁸ Assuming counseling costs of \$3,000 per new family voucher per year, we estimated total counseling costs across all MSAs at \$6,000,000.¹⁹ We further calculated administrative costs of \$800 per new family voucher per year, or a total cost of \$1.6 million for all MSAs. Thus, the total cost of running the program in these 4 MSAs is estimated at \$31,960,000; however, much of these costs could be offset by Section 8.

Cost: School Transfer Program

We make several assumptions in estimating the cost of the school transfer program. First, we presume that the

state's per pupil funding allocation for each urban student (including any compensatory spending that urban students may get) will follow the student to the suburban district. Thus, the additional costs for the program are compensation for the sending urban district and for transportation. Not all existing programs include funding for urban districts, but we believe this is important to mitigate the financial impact of students leaving the urban districts. We assume a per-pupil expenditure (PPE) of \$9,666 in a state, and thus allocate half of the PPE to the urban district or \$4,833 per participating student. We also budget \$2,000 per student for transportation costs, although this can vary in efficiency and cost based on the proximity and density of participating suburban districts and the number of students per receiving school, among other factors. It is possible that some of the transportation costs would be offset by existing busing of students within urban districts' boundaries.

Assuming full capacity as gradually scaled up to 1,500 students by Year 5, the program would cost \$27.5 million per MSA for five years in student costs. Based on other interdistrict programs, we estimate that it would cost an additional \$1 million per MSA per year to administer the program, provide counseling for families, and to provide training and/or other educational resources for participating suburban districts. Thus, the complete cost for the program is \$34,165,000 per MSA or \$136.66 million total for all four identified MSAs for five years.

FEDERAL PROGRAM AUTHORIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND EVALUATION

We believe that there are at least two different alternatives for such a program to be enacted. The simplest is likely for the pilot program to be inserted in both HUD and Education appropriations bills, and then to be administered jointly by the Departments of Education and HUD. A model for this kind of joint administration

would be the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994, which was overseen by officials in the Labor and Education departments.

The less desirable alternative is for the city-suburban school transfer demonstration to become part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act reauthorization while the suburban housing relocation program could be created as part of the Housing and Community Development Act (or as a subpart of SEVRA), as was the case with Moving to Opportunity. We described above the disadvantages policy-wise of tying school transfers solely to NCLB because of its current accountability model for identifying schools for public school transfers and its lack of incentives for inter-district transfers. A better alternative for metropolitan school desegregation would be the inclusion of targeted funds for inter-district magnets within the Magnet Schools Assistance Program (MSAP).

A sound evaluation would include an independent evaluation and a Baseline Participant Survey, which would include factors such as why families chose to participate, their expectations about either housing or school moves, and views of their living conditions, as well as demographic information about income, race, background, neighborhood characteristics and experiences pre-move. The evaluation of the different sites for both housing and education components would need to allow for a period of "exposure" of family members to the new environment, and should allow for measurement of locational effects in years one through five.

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3. SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES:
COORDINATING SCHOOLS, HOUSING AND
TRANSPORTATION PLANNING IN SUPPORT OF
RACIAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

**Framing the Connections: Integrating housing, transportation
and education in city and regional planning53**

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Framing the Connections: Integrating housing, transportation and education in city and regional planning

BY DEBORAH MCKOY AND JEFFREY M VINCENT

For the past eight years, UC Berkeley's Center for Cities & Schools (CC&S) has engaged in action-oriented research focused on the challenges and promise of integrated and inclusive planning practices and policies. The Center has learned by doing that overcoming a century of siloed institutional practices is no small task. However, the benefits of bringing together city and regional planning agencies, on the one hand, and school districts/local educational agencies (LEAs), on the other, far outweigh the costs of maintaining the status quo.

In any given case the challenges are multiple: high concentrations of poverty and racial segregation in schools as well as neighborhoods; a growing achievement gap as reflected in test scores and high school graduation rates between more affluent, mostly white and Asian students and African American and Latino students; years or even generations of systemic neglect in infrastructure investments in school facilities and neighborhoods; and well-intended educational and planning policies that in many cases did more harm than good.

For CC&S and its allies, "integration" is both a means and an end: integrated and inclusive planning practices and policies are the means to truly sustainable communities; communities that are racially and economically integrated are more likely to survive and thrive. What is perhaps unique about the Center's work is that it grows out of an understanding that the educational environment has enormous yet often unrecognized consequences on a community's capacity to overcome the

sorts of challenges listed above. CC&S was in fact founded on the belief that coordinating planning and education policy and practice is a critical and too often overlooked means of creating communities that are equitable, healthy and truly sustainable.

Neighborhoods, cities and entire regions can structure inequality long before students and teachers even arrive at school. Planning represents a unique opportunity to drill down to these root causes of unequal and segregated schools: on the one hand, by repeatedly drawing attention to problematic housing and transportation policies that can structure inequality through land use plans and zoning policies that lead to fragmentation and urban sprawl;¹ and, on the other, by supporting efforts for planners and educators to work together to create "win-win" situations. This approach has meant

framing the profound connections between housing, transportation and education in ways that do justice to the complexity of the situation while keeping in mind that policy-makers, planners and educators need very practical ideas and tools that they can use to make a difference today.

The aim of this chapter is, first, to frame some of those connections with reference to the Center's work and the work of others in the areas of housing, transportation and collaborative city-school-region initiatives; and, second, to explain how the lessons learned from this work is starting to inform regional, state and federal policy.

... "integration" is both a means and an end: integrated and inclusive planning practices and policies are the means to truly sustainable communities; communities that are racially and economically integrated are more likely to survive and thrive.

HOUSING, TRANSPORTATION, AND CITY-SCHOOL-REGION INITIATIVES

In this section, we offer a snapshot of the challenges and the promise of integrated and inclusive planning and policy making in the areas of housing, transportation and city-school-regional initiatives by describing some of our work with municipalities and school districts in the San Francisco Bay Area as well as a number of promising practices from around the nation identified in a recent survey and CC&S report.²

Housing: from Affordability to High Quality Homes and Schools.

CC&S has worked with some of the largest housing authorities in the Bay Area region and around the nation. Whether in San Francisco or the East Bay, this work often comes down to providing families and their children with choices that support integrated and diverse neighborhoods and schools. Over the past several years, for example, the Center has been involved with HOPE SF, an effort led by the San Francisco Mayor's office and San Francisco Housing Authority to create mixed income developments modeled on the federal HOPE VI housing program. Our 2009 study entitled *Creating*

Pathways of Educational and Neighborhood Success lays out how the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD) can work with HOPE SF to align planning and education policies and practices. After decades of a court ordered desegregation policy that had largely decoupled residence from school attendance, SFUSD school assignment policies now have a closer relationship between where families live and the schools they are assigned to by creating "zones". The District, however, has maintained a priority for students in areas of concentrated poverty and low performing schools to choose a higher performing school anywhere in the city. To increase low income students' choices further, HOPE SF is now coordinating and aligning its efforts with SFUSD to support mixed-income communities that have access to nearby high quality housing and schools. The goal over time is that revitalized neighborhoods will not only retain but attract new residents whose children are given greater access to good schools that are racially and economically integrated.³

In the East Bay, Oakland Unified School District (OUSD) and the Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) also have joined forces by finding new ways to include housing within educational policies, development, and decision-making. In the past, the district would rely largely on test scores as a measure of academic achieve-

"Yes but how do we get school folk to the planning table"

3 key points to finding the "win-win":

1. **Housing:** Regional and local planning offer important data/insight regarding population shifts and ability to strategically align housing and school planning development/siting
2. **Transportation:** New transportation plans/strategies (e.g., TOD) can include educational opportunities across "0-16" continuum – residential/workforce childcare centers – magnet schools - ...
3. **Collaborative Projects:** Start small, build relationships, create systems change



Promising Practices



Local: Different strategies aligned goals

- **HOPE SF and SFUSD** – Redevelopment and Selected School Choice Options
- **Oakland Unified/OHA** - Full Service School and Public Housing Aligned

Regional:

- **Rochester’s Regional Transit Service** partners with LEAs – business subsidies, coordinated transfers,

- **ABAG – Sustainable Communities Strategies** integrates education data and planning

State:

- **CDE partnering with Governor’s Strategic Growth Council (SGC)**

ment. Today, however, OUSD's research department is also responsible for gathering data on students whose families have Section 8 vouchers (federally funded rental housing assistance for low-income households) and other forms of assisted housing. As a result, the district is able to better understand how it is supporting students based on where students are living. This understanding in turn informs OUSD's efforts to work with OHA. Here, as in San Francisco, local educational agencies are not only coordinating efforts with housing authorities. They are using every means available to understand the complexity of the local situation knowing that there is no one right way to achieve the goal of providing high quality educational opportunities for all. For example, in 2010 OUSD declared a district wide “full-service school” strategy that brings greatly needed social services and health care to support what superintendent Tony Smith calls “the whole child”.⁴

Similar efforts to connect housing and education can be found in many communities around the country. While the federal housing policy HOPE VI was a success in many respects, it also proved the point that it is (at best) shortsighted to try and develop mixed-income housing without addressing the issue of access to quality schools

in a comprehensive way.⁵ Today, federal programs such as HUD's Choice Neighborhoods and the Education Department's Promise Neighborhoods recognize that education and cross-sector policy making must play a greater role in mixed-income housing strategies, locally and regionally. Housing policies ranging from the revitalization of HOPE VI neighborhoods to inclusionary zoning policies (like those used in Montgomery County, Maryland since 1974) now address the issue of schools and integrated schooling in particular, recognizing that without structures and incentives for all families to access high quality schools, reversing patterns of concentrated poverty, fragmentation and urban sprawl is not likely.

Other promising developments in the field of coordinated housing and education planning include Washington,

D.C., where a city-wide analysis shed new light on the complex relationship between residential and enrollment patterns. In 2007, the Washington D.C. Office of the State Superintendent commissioned a study to understand the causes and implications of rapidly declining school enrollment and how to retain and attract families. The 21st Century School Fund, the Brookings Institution, and the Urban Institute collaborated on the research, bringing together diverse expertise on educa-

...“integration” is both a means and an end: integrated and inclusive planning practices and policies are the means to truly sustainable communities; communities that are racially and economically integrated are more likely to survive and thrive.

tion, housing, and neighborhood change. The partners developed a sophisticated framework utilizing student, school, and neighborhood level quantitative data; focus groups with parents and high school dropouts; and meetings with city, education and housing officials in order to better understand the complex and dramatic changes occurring in the city. The 2010 report *Quality Schools, Healthy Neighborhoods and the Future of DC* now supports a more informed dialogue on enrollment retention and attraction strategies, school closure options, and school assignment policy changes. Moreover, the process and findings of the report shed new light on the oft-overlooked relationship between residential patterns and school assignment, effectively building bridges between city, neighborhood, and educational stakeholders' interests.⁶

In Baltimore, housing vouchers are being used to increase access for very low income families to quality suburban schools. The Baltimore Housing Mobility Program (BHMP) provides families from high-poverty, disadvantaged urban communities with a new home and school in a lower poverty neighborhood. As a regional voucher program, BHMP significantly expands housing choices for low-income families. BHMP has overcome some of the biggest obstacles to using housing vouchers in neighborhoods with high-quality schools by increasing voucher rents and providing full-service housing mobility counseling to families (including information on educational choices). Previously, voucher holders in the federal Housing Choice Voucher Program (otherwise known as Section 8) were typically limited to living in "voucher submarkets" where racial and economic segregation is high and educational opportunities are limited. However, since 2004 more than 1,500 families from Baltimore have re-located to lower-poverty, more racially diverse suburban and city neighborhoods. To date, 88 percent of these families have chosen suburban counties. As a result, more than 1,200 low-income children are now attending high performing, mixed-income suburban schools. On average, only 33 percent of the students in these schools are eligible for free and reduced lunch compared with 83 percent in the original schools. Academically, from 69 to 76 percent of students scored proficient or higher on state math and reading tests after taking advantage of the voucher program compared with 44 to 54 percent in the original schools.⁷

Families, Schools, and Transit-Oriented Development: Ten Core Connections

1. *School quality plays a major role in families' housing choices.*
2. *A wide housing unit mix is needed to attract families.*
3. *Housing unit mix, school enrollment, and school funding are intricately related.*
4. *Children often use transit to get to and from school and afterschool activities.*
5. *Multi-modal transit alternatives support access to the increasing landscape of school options.*
6. *Mixed-income TOD provides opportunities for educational workforce housing.*
7. *TOD design principles support walkability and safety for children and families.*
8. *TOD brings amenities and services that can serve families closer to residential areas.*
9. *When schools are integrated with TOD planning, opportunities emerge for the shared use of public space.*
10. *TOD offers opportunities for renovating and building new schools in developments, which draws families.*

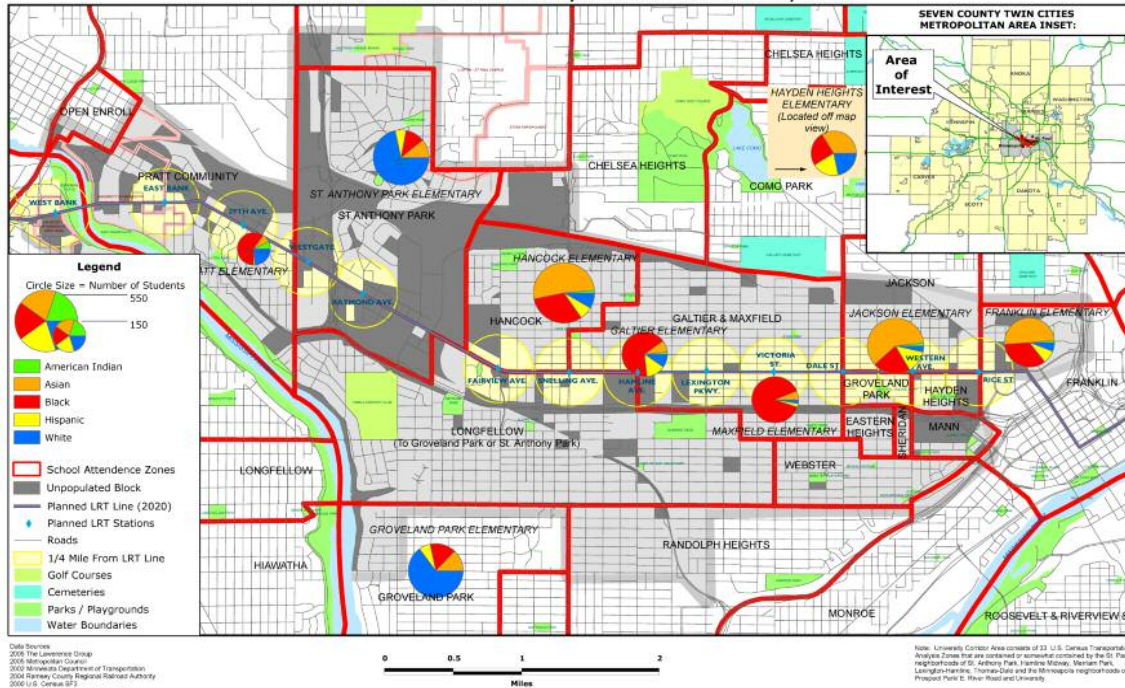
Source: CC&S *Putting Schools on the Map*, p.3

Transportation: Trends like Transit-Oriented Development and Smart Growth Can Be a Boon for Schools and Families with Children

Like recent developments in housing, transportation planning is also beginning to pursue strategies to reverse decades of urban sprawl that resulted in greater racial and economic segregation. Like many other promising practices around the country, the Center's work in the Bay Area and other parts of California has focused on transit-oriented development (TOD)⁸. Agencies such as the California Transportation Department define TOD as development that results in mixed land uses, higher than usual densities, and pedestrian friendly designs without being anti-automobile.

The rise of transit-oriented development largely has been driven by environmental and economic concerns. However, when it comes to the role that transportation plays in building family friendly communities with high quality schools, issues of social equity and integration invariably arise. Our focus has been on the connections between this important trend and a community's ability

**UNIVERSITY CORRIDOR AREA
Planned LRT Line and Station Areas,
Size and Distribution of Elementary Students by Race for Schools
with Attendance Areas within 1/4 mile of LRT Stations, 2009**



An example of a combined transportation, housing, and schools analysis from Minneapolis/St. Paul (by the MN Institute on Race & Poverty)

to support the whole child or what we now understand as "the whole life of learners."⁹ In 2010, the Center produced an exploratory study entitled *Putting Schools on the Map: Linking Transit-Oriented Development, Families, and Schools in the San Francisco Bay Area*.¹⁰ The study offers a rationale for linking TOD and public education; identifies important connections between families, schools and transportation (see excerpt at right); describes case studies from around the Bay Area; and makes practical recommendations for building on what works.

Another recent study by the Center entitled *Linking Transit-Oriented Development, Families, and Schools* sets out from the observation that more often than not TOD projects target empty nesters or young professionals and offer few options for families and their children. As such, the study describes how and why families choose where to live and how that relates to their perception of access to high quality schools. TOD has nothing to lose and every-

...the California Transportation Department define(s) transit-oriented development (TOD) as development that results in mixed land uses, higher than usual densities, and pedestrian friendly designs without being anti-automobile.

thing to gain by recognizing the connections between transportation, schools and families' efforts to make good decisions on behalf of their children. The fact is many low-income and African American and Latino families are leaving the very areas that are now being targeted for TOD. The Center makes the case that inclusive planning – with cities, schools and regional agencies collaborating together while inviting students, parents and other residents to participate in the planning process – can reverse this trend and prevent planners and policy-makers from repeating mistakes made in the past.

The Center's latest report, for the What Works Collaborative, found a range of innovative practices that are showing how the transit and educational needs and goals of communities are being brought together thereby paving the way for integrated communities and schools. In Rochester, New York, for example, a regional transit provider has partnered with the local school district in

an effort to increase student ridership and expand transit services. Rochester's Regional Transit Service (RTS) receives subsidies from local businesses and schools allowing it to maintain service while facing systemic funding reductions from the state. Today, 95 percent of students who use public transportation to get to and from school take advantage of the RTS Express Transfer Service, allowing students to travel directly from their school to their neighborhoods by bypassing downtown transfers. As a result, students and their families have come to see RTS as a more affordable and reliable option for getting to school as well as getting to work. Moreover, the school district is saving money as a result of the transit service: "Public transportation is also 30-40 percent less expensive for us than yellow school bus service. Those are dollars we can redirect to our schools and classrooms, where they can have the biggest impact on student achievement."¹¹

In Baltimore, Maryland, the school district and transit provider partnered to provide free bus service to students. Baltimore City Public Schools (BCPS) has a long-established contractual agreement with the Maryland Transit Administration (MTA) to provide no-cost bus service to eligible middle and high school students. BCPS pays MTA for the service, which costs far less than what it would spend operating and maintaining its own school buses. Between 25,000 and 28,000 students use the program.

Addressing the needs of our youngest students and residents, several diverse, multiagency partnerships have formed to support families by creating childcare centers in transit-oriented developments. In San Jose, California, the Tamien Child Care Center opened at the Tamien CalTrain and light rail stations in 1995. The center enrolls nearly 150 children from 6 weeks to 12 years old. Incentives for families to use the childcare and transit include rail and bus discounts, priority enrollment, and tuition discounts for children of transit users. The collaboration was San Jose's first working relationship between childcare and transit. Similarly, in Columbus, Ohio, the South Linden Transit Center opened in 1999 and includes a bus depot, daycare center, children's health clinic, bank, and medical office. The 24-hour facility is

designed to assist parents who work nontraditional hours and encourage their use of transit on their daily commute. The co-location of childcare with transit encourages parents to use transit by making drop-off to childcare easy and safe.

CONCLUSION: RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

We conclude this short report by offering the reader our latest thinking on integrating housing, transportation and education by drawing on our new report entitled

Opportunity-Rich Schools and Sustainable Communities: Seven Steps to Aligning High Quality Education with Innovations in City and Metropolitan Planning and Development (prepared for the What Works Collaborative).

This report offers the following recommended steps to coordinate school, housing and transportation planning more effectively at local and regional levels:

TOD has nothing to lose and everything to gain by recognizing the connections between transportation, schools and families' efforts to make good decisions on behalf of their children.

1. **Just as Families Make Housing Choices Based on Perceptions of School Quality and Long Term Educational Opportunities for their Children, Planners and Policy Makers Need to Know the Educational Landscape Before They Can Effectively Support the Future of Neighborhoods, Cities and Entire Regions**

Families with school-aged children seek out communities that offer quality schools and access to high-quality educational opportunities. As a result, housing unit mix, school enrollment, and school funding are intricately related. In California, as elsewhere in the United States, schools are funded based on enrollment, so changes to nearby housing can positively or negatively impact the amount of money school districts receive. As such, planners and policy makers must understand local educational policies and demographics, account for the region's inventory of educational and workforce assets, and thoroughly assess physical school infrastructure.

2. Planners and Policy-makers Have Everything to Gain and Nothing to Lose by Fully Engaging School Leaders, Families and Young People in Planning and Redevelopment Projects

Identify multiple avenues for school district (“Local Education Agency (LEA)”) personnel to engage in the planning process – and planners to engage in school planning and policy making. Opportunities for students and parents to similarly engage in local planning process are also important and can be especially powerful when connecting young people’s participation to classroom learning.

3. The Planning and Development Process Must Establish a Shared Vision and Metrics Linking High Quality Education to Economic Prosperity at Both the Community and Regional Levels

Cultivate leadership and champions, adopt the vision statement formally across institutions, develop common indicators to measure change, foster shared accountability, and increase the effective use of scarce resources. When schools are integrated into complete communities, opportunities emerge for shared use of public space. Community use of public school buildings and outdoor space (often called “joint use”) is an attractive amenity to families and residents with and without children. Partnering with school districts can leverage additional capital resources to improve existing school buildings and/or to create small, charter, magnet, or other specially focused schools.

4. Support the Whole Life of Learners and their Families through Design Principles that Promote Healthy and Safe Life Styles as well as Access to Services and Amenities

Provide comprehensive social services aligned to educational needs and opportunities, provide quality amenities to attract families and enrich students’ lives, and harness public and private funding to align program operations for efficiency. Complete communities support walkability and safety for children and families. Complete communities’

good design principles inherently address concerns of distances between home and school, traffic, and “stranger danger,” which may help increase walking and/or bicycling. Complete communities provide services and amenities that attract and support children and families, such as childcare centers, preschools, and parks located in walking distance to work, home, or transit.

5. Align Bricks and Mortar Investments to Support Mixed-Income Communities and Regional Prosperity

Establish schools as centers of opportunity-rich communities, ensure family-oriented, mixed-income housing, and pursue joint development. A wide housing unit mix is needed to attract families. Unit mixes that include 3- and 4-bedrooms, apartments, and townhomes offer family-friendly options. Mixed income communities provide opportunities for educational workforce housing. The combination of modest teacher salaries and high housing costs form a constant challenge for many in the Bay Area. Complete communities could be an attraction for area public school teachers and their families.

6. Design Schools, Neighborhoods and Transportation Systems to Maximize Access to Opportunity and Promote Healthy Life Styles

Align transit options to support school choice and extracurricular opportunities, create incentives for multi-modal transportation choices by students and families, and site schools to maximize multi-modal transportation access. Multi-modal transit alternatives in complete communities support families’ access to the increasing landscape of school options. Children do not always attend their closest neighborhood school; access to these educational options hinges on access to safe, reliable, and affordable transportation. Children often use transit to get to and from school and afterschool activities. Access to safe, reliable, and affordable transit facilitates students’ on-time and consistent arrival at school (reducing problems of truancy and tardiness) and to afterschool activities that enhance their educational experience.

7. Institutionalize What Works to Secure Gains and Ongoing Innovation

Support formal communications and streamlined collaborative decision-making, measure change, assess impact, and leverage diverse resources to support families and create sustainable communities while balancing “what works” with “what could be”.

Deborah McKoy is the Executive Director of the University of California, Berkeley's Center for Cities & Schools. Jeffrey M Vincent is the Deputy Director of the Center for Cities and Schools

ENDNOTES

- 1 Compare, for example, the connection that John Powell makes between urban sprawl and the civil rights movement: "Despite [a] growing body of work, few have made the connection between these negative consequences and the severe limitations that sprawl and fragmentation have placed on the civil rights movement." *Achieving Racial Justice: What's Sprawl Got to Do with It?*, POVERTY & RACE (Poverty & Race Research Action Council, Washington, D.C.), Sept./Oct. 1999.
- 2 DEBORAH L. MCKOY ET AL., WHAT WORKS COLLABORATIVE, OPPORTUNITY-RICH SCHOOLS AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES: SEVEN STEPS TO ALIGN HIGH-QUALITY EDUCATION WITH INNOVATIONS IN CITY AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT (2011), available at <http://www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/412348-opportunity-rich-schools-sustainable-communities.pdf>.
- 3 See also Creating Pathways of Educational and Neighborhood Success, Ctr. for Cities & Sch., Univ. of Cal., Berkeley (June 4, 2009), http://hope-sf.org/PDFs/CCS_Hunters_View_Report.pdf.
- 4 Creating a Full-Service Community School District, Coal. for Cmty. Sch. (Oct. 2010), <http://www.communityschools.org/assets/1/AssetManager/Tony%20Smith%20Interview%20Template.pdf>.
- 5 For more information on changes to HOPE VI that recognize the need to address schools and other social factors, see Shaun Donovan, Sec'y, U.S. Dep't of Hous. & Urban Dev., Remarks at the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program's Discussion: From Despair to Hope: Two HUD Secretaries on Urban Revitalization and Opportunity (July 14, 2009), available at <http://www.hud.gov/news/speeches/2009-07-14.cfm>.
- 6 Quality Schools, Healthy Neighborhoods, and the Future of D.C.: Policy Report, D.C. Office of the State Superintendent of Educ. (Sept. 2008), <http://www.21csf.org/csf-home/publications/QualitySchoolsResearchReport/QualitySchoolsPolicyReport9-18-08.pdf>.
- 7 LAURA ENGDahl, BALT. REG'L HOUS. CAMPAIGN & POVERTY & RACE RESEARCH ACTION COUNCIL, NEW HOMES. NEW NEIGHBORHOODS, NEW SCHOOLS: A PROGRESS REPORT ON THE BALTIMORE HOUSING MOBILITY PROGRAM (2009), available at <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/BaltimoreMobilityReport.pdf>.
- 8 ARIEL H. BIERBAUM ET AL., CTR. FOR CITIES & SCH., UNIV. OF CAL., BERKELEY, PUTTING SCHOOLS ON THE MAP: LINKING TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT, FAMILIES, AND SCHOOLS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA (2010), available at http://citiesandschools.berkeley.edu/reports/Putting%20Schools%20on%20the%20Map_Final_Jul10_noappendices.pdf.
- 9 See, for example, our use of this term in DEBORAH L. MCKOY ET AL., *supra* note 2.
- 10 ARIEL H. BIERBAUM ET AL., *supra* note 8.
- 11 2010-2011 Comprehensive Plan, Rochester Genesee Reg'l Transp. Auth. (2010), http://www.rgrta.com/pdf/33207_RGRTA.pdf.

School Diversity and Public Housing Redevelopment

PHILIP TEGELER AND SUSAN EATON

In a recent speech praising the collaboration between HUD and the Department of Education on two new place-based programs (USDOE’s “Promise Neighborhoods” initiative and HUD’s “Choice Neighborhoods” initiative), HUD Secretary Shaun Donovan made the following provocative comments:

Many of you may already be familiar with the Department of Education’s Promise Neighborhoods initiative, which like the Harlem Children’s Zone works to ensure there are good schools and quality learning opportunities at the center of poor neighborhoods.

HUD’s Choice Neighborhoods initiative focuses on transforming the federally subsidized housing in those neighborhoods – while also improving access to public transportation and job centers and attracting the retail businesses that communities need to thrive and create jobs. . . .

For me, partnerships like these aren’t just about revitalizing neighborhoods. They’re about ending intergenerational poverty. They’re about civil rights.

Over half a century ago, in 1954, the Warren Court’s unanimous decision in Brown vs. Board of Education stated that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”

Well, a separate housing system that prevents low-income families from accessing good schools is also inherently unequal.

With this partnership, we take one more step to completing this unfinished business of the Civil Rights movement – and ensuring that all our families can live in sustainable, vibrant communities of opportunity and choice.¹

What did the Secretary mean by these comments? Was he really suggesting that a traditional separate-but-equal neighborhood reinvestment strategy would satisfy the goals of *Brown*? Or did his comments indicate a serious commitment to racial and economic school and neighborhood diversity as one of the goals of the “Neighborhood Revitalization Working Group” that the two agencies have assembled to coordinate reinvestment policy?

Even without an integration mandate, it is significant that HUD and USDOE are working together at all. In this country, as Deborah McKoy has pointed out, there has been long been a “structural disconnect” between the education and housing sectors, with school boards acting autonomously from other municipal authorities, and separate, unconnected state education and housing agencies. There exist few, if any, governmental structures that might align housing and planning with school matters. There is a general “lack of understanding across disciplines” and “different administrative practices, development regulations and operational timelines. Education is predominantly a public resource; whereas housing development occurs primarily in the private sector, driven by market forces.”²

As we will see below, the federal HOPE VI and Choice Neighborhoods programs have been working to break down some of these planning barriers on the local level, and there even hints that HUD truly intends to ultimately create integrated schools through its new place-based collaboration with USDOE – though we believe that more explicit action is needed on the part of both agencies to make this happen.



Regional magnet school in public housing redevelopment neighborhood. Photo: Stacey Rowe

COMBINING PUBLIC HOUSING REDEVELOPMENT AND SCHOOL REFORM EFFORTS IN HOPE VI AND CHOICE NEIGHBORHOODS

The federal HOPE VI program, and its successor, the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative, are the largest funding mechanisms for public housing redevelopment.

Under the HOPE VI program (which continues to be authorized through 2011), developers typically work with Public Housing Agencies (PHAs) to demolish and rebuild low-income developments that have been identified as physically and socially distressed, and replace them with a new mixed-income development. Meanwhile, low-income “replacement units” are built both on and off the original site – in the past, usually not in sufficient number to accommodate all the families who have been relocated.³

Although HOPE VI has not had a specific education component, several HOPE VI developers have targeted local schools for reform (and rebuilding) as part of a larger neighborhood redevelopment effort to benefit the residents of the redesigned development.⁴ Generally, however, government officials and developers have not made efforts to ameliorate the racial isolation and concentrated poverty experienced by children in the local schools. However, existing efforts to improve local

schools as part of the housing redevelopment process point the way to future collaborations in support of housing and school integration. Several recent studies have described successful efforts to tie school improvement strategies to neighborhood and public housing revitalization.⁵ These collaborative efforts in the HOPE VI program have not sought to alter the underlying demographics of the school, except to the extent that the housing revitalization plan might attract a more economically mixed group of residents. However, they offer an important first step for future housing-school collaborations that more deliberately take racial and economic diversity into account.

The “Choice Neighborhoods Initiative” was designed by the Obama Administration to become the next generation of HOPE VI, with a mandate to engage in comprehensive community development that includes, but is not limited to, public housing redevelopment.⁶ From the beginning, Choice Neighborhoods envisioned an engagement with school improvement.⁷ More recently, the collaborative spirit has increased, with a “Neighborhood Revitalization Working Group” bringing together HUD and Department of Education staff to link CNI with the “Promise Neighborhoods.”⁸

Unfortunately, the latest Choice Neighborhoods funding announcement fails to include any incentives for PHAs to promote racially and economically integrated school options for residents of the revitalized Choice

Neighborhoods development and neighborhood. For example, HUD and the Department of Education could easily mandate, under their existing authority, that when a local school is being rebuilt or reconstituted, the PHA should work with the local school authority on issues of school siting and attendance boundaries, to assess whether there is any alternative to recreating a high poverty, racially segregated school on the site.⁹ Housing and school authorities should also be encouraged to consider whether public housing residents in the new development should be given the option to voluntarily send their children to a high quality school in another neighborhood or community. These provisions would not only serve to promote HUD's fair housing obligations, but would also promote the Department of Education's goal of supporting racially and economically diverse schools.

MAKING HOUSING AND SCHOOL INTEGRATION MORE EXPLICIT IN THE HOPE VI AND CHOICE NEIGHBORHOODS STATUTES

The Choice Neighborhoods program has been funded, but not explicitly authorized, for the past three years. Similarly, the federal HOPE VI program has outlived its original authorizing legislation and is overdue for reauthorization. This presents an opportunity too include explicit school integration language in these public

housing redevelopment statutes, consistent with the Supreme Court's recognition in *Parents Involved* that school diversity and reduction of racial isolation are "compelling government interests."

The Senate HOPE VI bill introduced in 2008, S. 829, had a strong focus on education, defining the goals of public housing reinvestment to include "excellent outcomes for families, especially children, *with an emphasis on excellent high-performing neighborhood schools and academic achievement*," and to "sustainable connections between the revitalization of public housing communities and local schools and institutions of higher learning, as a means of supporting educational achievement by children and adults as part of a comprehensive self-sufficiency strategy." The operative educational requirement of the Senate bill stated:

each HOPE VI grant recipient shall establish, in partnership with the local schools and school superintendent, a comprehensive educational reform and achievement strategy, including objective standards and measures for performance, for transforming the neighborhood schools that serve the revitalized HOPE VI sites into high performing schools.

While the focus of the bill is on "neighborhood" schools and it did not mention racial or economic integration of schools, the language of the bill does not preclude such approaches. Another section of the bill noted the possibility of using "other local public schools, charter



Regional magnet school adjacent to public housing neighborhood. Photo: Stacey Rowe

schools or other accredited schools, that serve the revitalized HOPE VI sites” to develop an educational strategy for children in the development.¹⁰ Likewise, the comments of Senator Mikulski and other sponsors of the Senate bill are encouraging – Senator Schumer, for example, describes the education provisions of the bill “the kind of holistic approach that may be able to transform lives and futures, not just physical surroundings.”

If a new HOPE VI bill – or authorizing legislation for Choice Neighborhoods – is raised again, advocates should stress the importance of avoiding poverty concentration in the local schools adjoining the public housing redevelopment site – and the operative language of the bill should be opened to regional education strategies. Instead of focusing primarily on “neighborhood” schools, the bill should specifically encourage magnet schools and similar program to break down racial and economic isolation. Such language might include:

each grant recipient shall establish, in partnership with the state department of education and local school superintendent, a comprehensive educational reform and achievement strategy, including objective standards and measures for performance, for transforming the schools that serve the revitalized housing sites into high performing schools, and encouraging where feasible the development of regional magnet school or inter-district transfer opportunities to break down concentrated poverty and racial isolation in the schools serving the children in the neighborhood and the housing development.

ADAPTING THE MAGNET SCHOOL ASSISTANCE ACT TO SUPPORT PUBLIC HOUSING REDEVELOPMENT

Magnet schools are designed with specialized learning environments or other enhancements to attract a racially and economically diverse student body from inside and outside the neighborhood. Magnet schools provide one of the few voluntary incentives for racial and economic school diversity in our increasingly segregated metropolitan areas. A successful magnet-based school system has

the potential to resist the kind of economic and racial separation that appears inevitable in districts and regions where school attendance is dictated by geographic location alone. Robust, long-standing research on the academic benefits of lower school poverty concentrations and the developmental and social benefits of decreased school racial isolation underscore the importance of this work. The recent Supreme Court decision in *Parents Involved v. Seattle School District* will make the development of magnet schools more urgent, because traditional methods of racially assigning students to avoid segregation may now raise constitutional concerns. The voluntary integration approach offered by regional magnet schools can achieve economic and racial diversity without assigning students by race.

The most important funding support for magnet schools comes through the U.S. Department of Education. The Magnet Schools Assistance Program (MSAP) is a competitive, discretionary federal grants program [most recently] authorized under the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 and administered by the US Department of Education. The program was conceived with the express purpose of aiding in both voluntary and court-ordered desegregation through the creation and operation of magnet schools.¹² Among its specific goals, MSAP seeks to ensure “the elimination, reduction, or prevention of minority group isolation in elementary schools and secondary schools with substantial proportions of minority students” as well as to support “the development and design of innovative educational methods and practices that promote diversity and increase choices in public elementary schools and public secondary schools and public educational programs.”¹²

Some state departments of education are also making funds available for magnet schools. In Connecticut, for example, the state is involved in the funding of over forty magnet schools to promote racial and economic diversity in the most segregated urban districts.¹⁴

A Fair Housing Mandate for the Department of Education?

The federal Department of Education has an obligation to consider the impact of its programs on housing segregation and to take steps to promote fair housing, through Executive Order 12892 (“Leadership and



Regional technical high school. Photo: Stacey Rowe

Coordination of Fair Housing in Federal Programs: Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing”). This 1994 Executive Order created a “President’s Fair Housing Council” to encourage support of fair housing across multiple agencies (like the Department of Education) that have an impact on fair housing.¹⁵ The Council and its member agencies are directed to:

“review the design and delivery of Federal programs and activities to ensure that they support a coordinated strategy to affirmatively further fair housing. The Council shall propose revisions to existing programs or activities, develop pilot programs and activities, and propose new programs and activities to achieve its goals.”

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development is directed to provide technical assistance to the Council and to assist agencies “in the formulation of policies and procedures to implement this order.”¹⁶

Encouraging magnet schools near public housing redevelopment sites

The federal magnet schools program presents an excellent opportunity for DOE to participate proactively in the efforts of the President’s Fair Housing Council. The current regulations governing the selection of grantees focus on the “effectiveness of [a local educational agency’s] plan to recruit students from different social, economic, ethnic, and racial backgrounds into the magnet schools” but do not consider how the schools’ sites

and the geography of the communities in which schools are located may contribute to this.¹⁷

Annual notices published in the *Federal Register* provide another opportunity to encourage coordination of Choice Neighborhoods, HOPE VI, and magnet school funding. In 2007, the last year of appropriations funding specified by statute, the Department of Education released a Notice Inviting Applications for New Awards which granted extra priority to applicants in four areas (entitled “Need for assistance,” “New/ revised magnet programs,” “Selection of students,” and “Expanding capacity to provide choice”), and gave additional priority for magnet projects which help parents “maximize[e] the opportunity for students in low-performing schools to attend higher-performing magnet schools...and... reduce minority group isolation,”¹⁸

Given the MSAP’s emphasis on reducing racial isolation, it would be consistent to further prioritize magnet school development for children in the most racially and economically isolated communities – in or near distressed public housing. Both the DOE regulations and annual funding notices for the Magnet Schools Assistance Program provide an efficient vehicle to prioritize funding for such schools. Language in future NOFAs should favor magnet school projects that “reduce racial and economic isolation for children living in a public housing development slated for major redevelopment through HOPE VI or the federal Choice Neighborhoods Initiative.”

CONCLUSION

Research and on the ground experience in our urban areas demonstrates that it is time to more deliberately link school and housing policy in efforts to reduce concentrated poverty, promote school diversity and revitalize communities that have historically been disenfranchised. The history of housing discrimination, and of increasing poverty and segregation in our public schools today, makes this all the more urgent. One sensible route toward such collaboration is combining magnet school efforts and public housing redevelopment programs to deconcentrate poverty in neighborhoods *and* schools.

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Photo: Stacey Rowe

ENDNOTES

- 1 Excerpt from Prepared Remarks of Secretary Shaun Donovan at a Harlem Children's Zone Press Conference, St. Nicholas Houses, Harlem, Wednesday, April 6, 2011.
- 2 Deborah McKoy and Jeffrey M. Vincent, *Housing and Education: The Inextricable Link*, in SEGREGATION: THE RISING COSTS FOR AMERICA. (James H. Carr & Nandinee K. Kutty, eds.) Routledge. 2008. *See also*, DEBORAH L. MCKOY ET AL., WHAT WORKS COLLABORATIVE, OPPORTUNITY-RICH SCHOOLS AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITITES: SEVEN STEPS TO ALIGH HIGH-QUALITY EDUCATION WITH INNOVATIONS IN CITY AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT (2011), available at <http://www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/412348-opportunity-rich-schools-sustainable-communities.pdf>.
- 3 In the past, the program has been criticized by many tenant advocates (including PRRAC) for its failure to replace all the public housing units that were demolished – and its failure to adequately relocate families either back on site or in less segregated areas throughout the city and region. Both of these deficiencies are likely to be addressed in the proposed HOPE VI reauthorization bill that is pending in Congress.
- 4 *See, e.g.*, JILL KHADDURI ET AL, RECONNECTING SCHOOLS AND NEIGHBORHOODS (Abt Associates, 2007).
- 5 Examples of successful collaborations include the Lister Elementary School, Tacoma, WA - profiled in MARTIN D. ABRAVENEL, ET. AL., LINKING PUBLIC HOUSING REVITALIZATION TO NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2006); the Jefferson Elementary School, St. Louis, MO - profiled in SANDRA M. MOORE AND SUSAN K. GLASSMAN, THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND ITS SCHOOL IN COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION: TOOLS FOR DEVELOPERS OF MIXED-INCOME HOUSING COMMUNITIES (Urban Strategies); John A. Johnson Achievement Plus Elementary, St. Paul, MN – profiled in Jill Khadduri, *supra* note 4, and the “HOPE SF” initiative in San Francisco – described in DEBORAH MCKOY, ARIEL BIERBAUM, AND JEFFREY VINCENT, THE MECHANICS OF CITY-SCHOOL INITIATIVES (Center for Cities and Schools, November 2009).
- 6 U.S. DEPT OF HOUS. & URBAN DEV., BUDGET: ROAD MAP FOR TRANSFORMATION, (2010) available at <http://www.hud.gov/budgetsummary2010/fy10budget.pdf>.
- 7 U.S. DEP'T OF HOUS. & URBAN DEV., HUD'S FISCAL YEAR (FY) 2010 NOTICE OF FUNDING AVAILABILITY FOR THE CHOICE NEIGHBORHOODS INITIATIVE—ROUND 1 NOFA, 75 FR 53324 (August 30, 2010).
- 8 Thomas Abt, Larkin Tackett, Luke Tate, *Urban Update: Neighborhood Revitalization*, WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF URBAN AFFAIRS BLOG, August 3, 2010, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2010/08/03/urban-update-neighborhood-revitalization>.
- 9 *See Parents Involved in Community Schools*, 551 U.S. 701, 789 (2007) (Kennedy, concurring). *See also* Philip Tegeler et. al., BRINGING CHILDREN TOGETHER: MAGNET SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC HOUSING REDEVELOPMENT (published by PRRAC and the Charles Hamilton Houston Institute, January 2009).
- 10 If a public housing agency certifies to the Secretary, with supporting documentation reasonably satisfactory to the Secretary, that the neighborhood schools that serve the revitalized HOPE VI sites are high-performing schools, or that there are schools other than neighborhood schools, such as other local public schools, charter schools or other accredited schools, that serve the revitalized HOPE VI sites, then the public housing agency, in lieu of the [above] requirements... shall establish a comprehensive educational achievement strategy, including objective standards and measures for performance, for students residing at the revitalized HOPE VI sites that involves a level of effort commensurate with the comprehensive educational reform and achievement strategy required.... Section 2(d)(3)(C).
- 11 *See* US Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, <http://banking.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?Fuseaction=Hearings.Detail&HearingID=6e2ef23a-296f-42a3-b06f-9202dedffcd6>.
- 12 *See* Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 20 U.S.C.A §§ 7231(a)-(b).
- 13 §§ 7231(b)(1), (b)(3).
- 14 *See*, www.sheffmovement.org.
- 15 Exec. Order No. 12,892, 59 Fed. Reg. 2939 (Jan. 20, 1994).
- 16 *See generally*, THE FUTURE OF FAIR HOUSING: FINAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FAIR HOUSING AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY (*Leadership Conference on Civil Rights et al., 2008*) (www.prrac.org/projects/fair_housing_commission/The_Future_of_Fair_Housing.pdf).
- 17 34 C.F.R. § 280.31(a) (2)(v) (2007). Similarly, the regulations require that projects be assessed for the quality of program design, including whether the magnet school will “foster interaction among students of different social, economic, ethnic, and racial backgrounds in classroom activities, extracurricular activities, or other activities,” 34 C.F.R. § 280.31(c)(2)(i) (2007).
- 18 Notice Inviting Applications for New Awards in Magnet Schools Assistance Program for Fiscal Year 2007, 72 Fed. Reg. 10,723 (Mar. 9, 2007).

4. CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

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Recommendations: collaborating across agencies to enhance housing and school integration

The primary lesson of this report is the importance of moving beyond agency “silos” to think collaboratively about the impact of housing policy on education, and vice versa. In her chapter on sustainable communities planning, Deborah McKoy provides a daunting list of the reasons housing and school planners rarely collaborate, or even speak the same language. But this collaboration is essential to the future of our metropolitan regions – and is the basis for many of the technical policy recommendations that follow.

At the federal level, HUD and Department of Education need to augment their innovative place-based “Neighborhood Revitalization Working Group” with a “Metropolitan Opportunity Working Group” which has as its mission the achievement of the two agencies’ desegregation mandates (see chapter 3).

At the state level, housing and education departments need to begin working together to consider how their investments can be better targeted.¹ The same kind of consultation and collaboration should be occurring across state legislative committees on housing and education.

At the regional level, Metropolitan Planning Organizations (MPOs) should be encouraged to do combined housing, transportation, and education planning – particular in regard to the location of new and expanded school construction. One effective mechanism for achieving this goal (as suggested by Deborah McKoy in chapter 3) is an expansion of the mandate of the federal Sustainable Communities Initiative to include education planning. Another approach is an express state law mandate for joint regional planning, as adopted in Minnesota.²

At the local level, decisions about locations of new or expanded schools should be coordinated with enrollment projections on race, ethnicity, and poverty status of children, to avoid the creation or perpetuation of high poverty, racially concentrated schools. Administration of local voucher programs and afford-

able housing siting should also take into account school demographics and quality. Such local collaboration can be incentivized or required either through state law mandates or through HUD’s anticipated “Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing” rule, which will clarify the obligations of HUD grantees to promote residential integration and access to opportunity.

Promoting school integration in the Section 8 voucher program

As Stefanie DeLuca’s chapter demonstrates, a housing mobility program that expressly targets low poverty, predominantly white communities can connect low income Black and Latino children with dramatically higher performing schools. There are a number of variations on this approach, which can be incorporated into Section 8 voucher administration at the federal, state or local level:

Housing mobility counseling that focuses on school quality: Our recent report on the Baltimore housing mobility program revealed that many families are not focused on school quality as an important factor in their initial moves.³ Based on this insight, the Baltimore Regional Housing Campaign supported a pilot program bringing in education consultants to train housing mobility staff and incorporate school considerations into both the initial counseling process and post-move counseling (working to ensure, for example, that children are taking advantage of extra-curricular and sports opportunities, etc). A similar focus on education is found in the Dallas housing mobility program.⁴

Sharing school performance data with families: HUD is currently developing a system to share data on elementary school demographics and performance with Section 8 voucher administrators in local public housing agencies (PHAs). Even in PHAs with no mobility counseling capacity, HUD should require all PHAs to share this data with families at the initial Section 8 briefing, during their initial housing search, and at the annual recertification interview.

Incorporate school data into the SEMAP system:

The Section 8 Management Assessment Program (SEMAP) measures PHA performance using multiple factors. Placement of families with children in low poverty and high performing schools should be added as a factor in the SEMAP scoring grid, which would create a strong incentive for PHAs to assist families in making moves to high quality schools.

Families following interdistrict school transfers: In regions with voluntary interdistrict school integration programs, low income families with children placed in suburban districts should have some priority to move to an apartment in their children’s school district, either through affirmative marketing of local affordable units, or through a priority in federal or state housing voucher programs.⁵

Public housing redevelopment

Under existing legislative authority, the U.S. Department of Education can prioritize funding of regional magnet schools that support public housing redevelopment. Language in future NOFAs for the Magnet Schools Assistance Act should favor magnet school projects that “reduce racial and economic isolation for children living in a public housing development slated for major redevelopment through the federal HOPE VI program or similar program.”⁶

HUD’s Choice Neighborhoods Initiative⁷ deserves credit for its efforts to link school and housing planning. But it need not limit its ambitions to improving a nearby high poverty, segregated schools. Future requirements in the Choice Neighborhoods NOFA can also create incentives for PHAs to promote racially and economically integrated school options for residents of the revitalized Choice Neighborhoods development. For example, if a local

school is being rebuilt or reconstituted, the PHA should be encouraged to work with the local school authority on issues of school siting and attendance boundaries, to assess whether there is any alternative to recreating a segregated school on the site. Housing and school authorities should also consider whether public housing residents in the new development should be given the option to voluntarily send their children to a high quality school in another neighborhood or community. Similarly, targeted school counseling can be done at the initial relocation phase of the public housing redevelopment. These provisions would not only serve to promote HUD’s fair housing obligations, but would also promote the Department of Education’s goal of supporting racially and economically diverse schools.

Testing for school-based steering and other fair housing strategies

The National Fair Housing Alliance broke important new ground in testing school-based real estate steering on Long Island and Westchester County in 2005-06. In her presentation at our February HUD roundtable, NFHA Vice President Lisa Rice described how real estate agents presented starkly different characterizations of school quality to different homeseekers, based on their race and ethnicity. In the administration of its Fair Housing Initiatives Program, HUD should encourage local fair housing groups to replicate this type of testing – and HUD should also consider incorporating school based steering into its next national Housing Discrimination Study.

More globally, HUD-funded private fair housing groups should be encouraged to focus more intentionally on the relation of housing segregation to school segregation – not just in their testing programs, but also in engagement with state and local policy implementation.⁸

ENDNOTES

1 The McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act, 42 U.S.C. § 11301 et seq, provides one example of this kind of collaboration, with its requirement that states develop a plan for education of homeless children.
 2 Minn. Stat. § 124D.892 subd. 1c. requires the Department of Education “to periodically consult with the Metropolitan Council to coordinate metropolitan school desegregation/integration efforts with the housing, social, economic, and infrastructure needs of the metropolitan area.”
 3 PRRAC AND THE BALTIMORE REGIONAL HOUSING CAMPAIGN, NEW HOMES, NEW NEIGHBORHOODS, NEW SCHOOLS: A PROGRESS REPORT ON THE BALTIMORE HOUSING MOBILITY PROGRAM (2009).
 4 PRRAC, CONNECTING FAMILIES TO OPPORTUNITY: A

RESOURCE GUIDE FOR HOUSING CHOICE VOUCHER PROGRAM ADMINISTRATORS (JULY 2009).
 5 A version of this proposal was proposed twice in the Connecticut legislature, to enhance an existing voluntary school integration transfer program. CT Substitute House Bill No. 5795 (1991); CT Substitute Bill No. 107 (1994)
 6 See PHILIP TEGELER ET. AL., BRINGING CHILDREN TOGETHER: MAGNET SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC HOUSING REDEVELOPMENT (PRRAC and the Charles Hamilton Houston Institute, January 2009).
 7 See 75 Fed. Reg. 58422 (September 24, 2010).
 8 The Minneapolis-based Housing Preservation Project developed such an integrated approach in its recent proposal for a housing-education “Dream Fund.”

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