

I. The Remedy Should Connect Subsidized Housing Residents to Communities of Opportunity

An effective remedy must connect subsidized housing recipients to areas of opportunity in the Baltimore region. A race-conscious, voluntary remedy that combines vouchers with housing production and other supply-side strategies, and is targeted to integrated communities of opportunity, provides the best mechanism for doing so.

The foundation for this opportunity-based housing model is addressed in Section IA, immediately below. It is based on decades of empirical evidence demonstrating the link between racial segregation and access to opportunity, and has informed a number of housing initiatives throughout the country. In Section IB, of this report, I apply the opportunity-based approach to Baltimore, identifying high and low opportunity areas in the Baltimore region. Not surprisingly, my analysis reveals that African Americans are segregated from high-opportunity communities and that subsidized housing is clustered in segregated low-opportunity areas. The opportunity framework used in this analysis should inform where units are placed and be used to evaluate how the remedial process is progressing. The opportunity maps discussed in this section provide a framework for guiding subsidized housing policy to remedy the segregation facing African American subsidized housing recipients. The high opportunity areas identified in this analysis are locations for further investigation for targeting subsidized housing opportunities. Low opportunity areas should not be designated for remedial housing opportunities. In Section IC, I identify some key lessons learned from other voucher and mobility programs that should inform this remedy.

Opportunity Based Housing

Whites and people of color have different levels of access to opportunity, and housing segregation is a central cause of this disparity. Ideally, the remedy imposed in this matter should deliberately connect affordable or assisted housing to regional opportunities, such as high performing schools, meaningful employment, viable transportation, quality childcare, responsive health care, and other institutions that facilitate civic and political activity.¹ I refer to such an approach as “opportunity-based housing.”

The central premise of opportunity-based housing, borne out of experience, is that residents of a metropolitan area are situated within an interconnected web of opportunities that shape their quality of life.² The location of housing is a powerful impediment to or asset for accessing these opportunities and as such housing policies should be oriented towards providing this access wherever it may exist. While policy discussions often focus on the dichotomy of city and suburb, opportunity is dynamic, as evidenced by the existence of declining inner ring suburbs and redeveloping inner city neighborhoods in many regions today.

The Opportunity Based Housing Model in Practice

Variants of the opportunity based housing model can be seen in a number of areas, including fair share and workforce housing strategies. Both models seek to open the region’s

¹ john a. powell, Opportunity-Based Housing, 12-WTR J. AFFORDABLE HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEV. L. 188.

² john a. powell, Opportunity-Based Housing, 12-WTR J. AFFORDABLE HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEV. L. 188.

housing markets to address the exclusionary impact of land use policies.³ Both aim to connect housing to economic opportunities, implicitly in the case of fair share housing programs such as *Mount Laurel*, and explicitly in the case of work force housing initiatives which seek to create housing opportunities close to regional employment opportunities and affordable at the wages that such opportunities pay.⁴ Due to the “win-win” nature of work force housing initiatives (for both housing advocates and employers), work force housing programs are growing across the nation.⁵

The opportunity-based housing framework has been most explicitly accepted in the Chicago region. The region’s largest fair housing organization, the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities (which was charged with administering the Gautreaux program) has embraced the opportunity-based housing framework. As stated by the organization in its 2005 report *The Segregation of Opportunities: The Structure of Advantage and Disadvantage in the Chicago Region*, “The Council has focused its energies on institutional, structural change and recognized housing, where one lives, as a crucial point of access to other economic and life opportunities.” The organization has conducted two opportunity mapping exercises in the region to assess if African Americans are separated from opportunity and to frame advocacy efforts to reduce regulatory barriers that bar access to opportunity for African Americans.⁶

Chicago Metropolis 2020 is another regional organization that has embraced the opportunity-based housing framework. The organization was created by business interests but also includes labor, civic, religious and governmental organizations. Metropolis 2020 seeks to guide regional development policy to promote a socially, environmentally and economically healthier region. The organization has embraced the opportunity based housing framework for future growth of the region. As discussed in the *Metropolitan Housing Index: Housing as Opportunity*, a study analyzing what housing policy reform would improve the region’s economy:

The decision to focus the Index on housing is significant in two respects. First, it underscores our belief that housing is far more than a place to live. A home is also a gateway to opportunity - the most important connection to jobs, schools, transit and community. If we are to provide access to economic opportunity for more Chicago area families, then we must provide a broader range of housing choices throughout the region. Second, the Metropolis Index reinforces our belief that housing, like so many other issues, must be tackled regionally. It is an economic imperative: Workers must have housing choice reasonably close to job centers if our economy is to remain robust.⁷

³ Edward Goetz, *Fair Share or Status Quo? The Twin Cities Livable Communities Act*, 20 JOURNAL OF PLANNING EDUCATION AND RESEARCH 39 (2000).

⁴ Roland Anglin, *Searching for Justice: Court-Inspired Housing Policy as a Mechanism for Social and Economic Mobility*, 29 URB. AFF. Q. 432-53 (1994).

⁵ Tim Sullivan, *Putting the Force in Workforce Housing*, 70 PLANNING MAGAZINE 26 (2004).

⁶ COMMUNITIES OF OPPORTUNITY (2003) and SEGREGATION VS. OPPORTUNITY (2005). The Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities: Chicago, IL.

⁷ Chicago Metropolis 2020. METROPOLITAN HOUSING INDEX: HOUSING AS OPPORTUNITY (2004) Introduction available on-line at: http://www.chicagometropolis2020.org/10_20.htm

Metropolis 2020 has moved forward on housing initiatives connecting affordable housing to economic opportunities. The organization also developed a corporate pledge that commits employers to considering public transit access and availability of affordable housing when making expansion of investment decisions. More than 100 business leaders in the Chicago region have signed this pledge.⁸

Principles of opportunity-based housing can also be seen in the framework some states are using for assessing Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) applications. Established in 1987, the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program is the largest single source of publicly subsidized affordable housing construction today. The LIHTC program accounts for over \$5 billion in federal subsidies annually and the program produced over 800,000 subsidized units in the 1990's (in contrast, HUD's affordable housing production was less than 50,000 units during this time).⁹ The Internal Revenue Service administers LIHTC, but individual states have significant flexibility in setting evaluation criteria for the projects. Traditionally, LIHTC has concentrated units in distressed segregated neighborhoods (most notably in the Northeast and Midwest). Increasingly, however, states are revising their project siting criteria to focus on building in areas of opportunity. LIHTC provides a good example of how affordable housing production can be tied to opportunity. Traditionally, LIHTC evaluation criteria primarily targeted distressed neighborhoods (or Qualified Census Tracts) for investment, but research indicates that preferences for higher poverty neighborhoods declined in state qualified allocation plans in the 1990's.¹⁰ States are now more likely to mandate that the only distressed neighborhoods eligible for credits are those with active revitalization plans and some states have begun to orient LIHTC neighborhood preferences more to economic opportunity.¹¹ Also, many states integrate other opportunity structures into their site selection evaluation, such as proximity to childcare, access to public transit, and access to nearby services, such as grocery stores and medical facilities.¹²

Several states add incentive scoring "points" in the competitive scoring criteria for Low-income Housing Tax Credit developments in areas of income diversity, population growth or job

⁸ Chicago Metropolis 2020. THE METROPOLITAN PRINCIPLES CORPORATE PLEDGE FAQ. Available on-line at: http://www.chicagometropolis2020.org/10_20faq.htm

⁹ Lance Freeman, SITING AFFORDABLE HOUSING: LOCATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TRENDS OF LOW INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1990'S. Brookings Institute (2004). Available on-line at: http://www.brookings.edu/urban/publications/20040405_Freeman.htm; See also Myron Orfield, Exec. Dir., Institute of Race and Poverty, RACIAL INTEGRATION AND COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION: APPLYING THE FAIR HOUSING ACT TO THE LOW INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT; Draft Working Paper provided by author.

¹⁰ Jeremy Gustafasen & J. Christopher Walker, ANALYSIS OF STATE QUALIFIED ALLOCATION PLANS FOR THE LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT PROGRAM (2002). Prepared for HUD by the Urban Institute Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Center. Available on-line at: http://www.huduser.org/publications/hsgfin/analysis_of_sqa_plans.html

¹¹ For an example of a LIHTC program requiring revitalization plans in qualified census tracts please review North Carolina's QAP guidelines at: <http://www.nchfa.com/Rental/RD2005qap.aspx>

¹² Research by Lance Freeman indicates that LIHTC production is still primarily in racially concentrated areas, the program is locating projects in less segregated and lower poverty neighborhoods than other traditional site based subsidized housing programs. See Lance Freeman, SITING AFFORDABLE HOUSING: LOCATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TRENDS OF LOW INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1990'S. Brookings Institute (2004). Available on-line at: http://www.brookings.edu/urban/publications/20040405_Freeman.htm

opportunities.¹³ Wisconsin recently modified its scoring criteria to prioritize zip codes with recent job growth for LIHTC investment.¹⁴ LIHTC developers seeking to build affordable housing in these areas are given 5 bonus points when applications for tax credits are reviewed. Minnesota utilizes indices of population growth and job growth to prioritize LIHTC projects.¹⁵ Illinois designed “live near work” criteria (granting 5 bonus points to applicants) to promote LIHTC development in suburban areas with job growth and labor shortages.¹⁶ Although 5 bonus points is not a large component of the total scoring criteria for LIHTC projects, the additional point margin can be critically important due to the high degree of competition between developers for tax credits awards. While these initiatives by individual state are admirable, HUD could and should use its leadership role to have the IRS require all states, including Maryland, to follow suite or at least provide strong incentives for the states to do so.

Elements of the opportunity-based housing concept can also be seen in recently proposed legislation reauthorizing HOPE VI. While it remains to be seen whether the proposed legislation would actually provide access to opportunity, it explicitly acknowledges that housing location is critical “to support excellent outcomes for families; especially children, with emphasis on excellent, high performing neighborhood schools and excellent quality of life amenities, such as first class retail space and green space.”¹⁷ In the proposed reauthorization, HOPE VI project evaluation would consider the quality of nearby educational opportunities and continue to focus on siting developments in lower poverty neighborhoods.

A. Foundation of the Communities of Opportunity Approach

Beyond the various policies and programs discussed above, the opportunity-based housing model I recommend is based on an extensive body of research identifying the harms of segregation and impact of neighborhood conditions on family well being. Neighborhood conditions have a critical impact on quality of life and access to opportunity. Racial segregation results in segregation from opportunity for African Americans and this isolation inflicts significant harm on African Americans (particularly those in subsidized housing). Mobility programs for subsidized housing recipients prove that accessing higher opportunity communities improves family social, economic and educational well being. Experiences from previous mobility programs also illustrate that the programs must provide support services and counseling for recipients, be fully integrated into regional opportunities, be race-conscious and recognize the constraints of the regional housing market.

¹³ The State of Minnesota grants bonus LIHTC points for projects built in the top ten and top twenty (job and population growth) counties in the State, for more information visit:

<http://www.mhfa.state.mn.us/multifamily/HTC2005forms.htm>. California grants bonus points for projects in locations with inclusionary housing policies in high income and high job growth areas through its “balanced communities” guidelines. For more information visit: <http://www.treasurer.ca.gov/ctcac/programreg/20050608.pdf>

¹⁴ Source: Low Income Housing Qualified Allocation Plan for the State of Wisconsin. Available on-line at: http://www.wheda.com/TCA_Appendices/Appdx_T_05.pdf

¹⁵ Tax Credit Allocations: States Reflect in '01, Mull QAP Changes for Next Year, Vol. AFFORDABLE HOUSING FINANCE (September 2001.) Available on-line at:

<http://www.housingfinance.com/ahf/articles/2001/01SeptQAPchanges/index.html>

¹⁶ 2005 Qualified Allocation Plan for the Low-income Housing Tax Credit. Illinois Housing Development Authority. “Live near Work” QAP information available on-line: <http://www.ihda.org/ViewPage.aspx?PageID=93>

¹⁷ Draft reauthorization bill for the Hope 6 program. Prepared by Senator Barbara Mikulski of Maryland. Introduced on July 27, 2005. For more information visit: <http://mikulski.senate.gov/record.cfm?id=241669>. For a summary of the reauthorization bill visit: <http://www.clpha.org/page.cfm?pageID=729>

The Interrelationship of Racial Segregation and Opportunity Segregation

The segregation of African Americans results in their isolation from opportunity and clustering of subsidized housing contributes to this isolation. African Americans are primarily segregated into low-opportunity communities, with limited job access, neighborhood instability and poor schools. This opportunity segregation (and the harms associated with it) are present in the Baltimore region and are reinforced by the region's clustering of subsidized housing opportunities.

African Americans remain the most racially segregated population in the nation (in reference to Whites). Despite very modest improvements in recent decades, racial residential segregation remains severe in most metropolitan regions in the United States. Nationally, the average metropolitan region has a dissimilarity index score for African Americans and Whites of .65 in 2000. This means that 65% of the metropolitan African American population would have to relocate in order for them to become fully integrated in our metropolitan regions.¹⁸

In most metropolitan regions today, few truly integrated communities can be found.¹⁹ In regions with larger African American populations, segregation is even more extreme.²⁰ Residential segregation (as measured by the dissimilarity index) declined by more than 12 points between 1980 and 2000 in regions that were less than 5% African American, but this decline was only 6 points in regions that were more than 20% African American.²¹

In Baltimore, levels of segregation have decreased slightly over recent decades but the region is still highly segregated. These trends are seen in the dissimilarity index and other segregation indices (including the isolation index, delta index, and absolute centralization index).²² African Americans primarily live in the City of Baltimore and the western suburbs of Baltimore County (**See Map 1**). Generally, dissimilarity index scores greater than 0.6 indicate a very high degree of residential segregation. Various analyses of Baltimore indicate dissimilarity index levels greater than 0.71 for the City of Baltimore and greater than 0.67 for the metropolitan area.²³ Other segregation indices also show high levels of residential segregation for the Baltimore region. Analysis by the U.S. Census Bureau using five different measures of

¹⁸ E. Glaeser, & J. Vigdor, RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE 2000 CENSUS (2001). The Brookings Institution Survey Series. The Brookings Institute, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy. Available on-line at: <http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/es/urban/census/glaeser.pdf>

¹⁹ Sheryll Cashin, THE FAILURES OF INTEGRATION (2004).

²⁰ Sheryll Cashin, THE FAILURES OF INTEGRATION (2004).

²¹ John Logan, ETHNIC DIVERSITY GROWS: NEIGHBORHOOD INTEGRATION LAGS BEHIND (2001). Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Analysis. on-line at: <http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/report.html>

²² J. Iceland, D. Weinberg, & E. Steinmetz, RACIAL AND ETHNIC SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES: 1980-2000 (2002). U.S. Census Bureau. Available on-line at: http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/resseseg/pdf/paa_paper.pdf

²³ ETHNIC DIVERSITY GROWS: NEIGHBORHOOD INTEGRATION LAGS BEHIND (2001), Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Analysis <http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/report.html>. See also, Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, AMERICAN APARTHEID: SEGREGATION AND THE MAKING OF THE UNDERCLASS (1993) at 20 ("A simple rule of thumb in interpreting these indices is that values under 30 are low, those between 30 and 60 are moderate, and anything above 60 is high."); Edward L. Glaeser and Jacob L. Vigdor, RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE 2000 CENSUS: PROMISING NEWS (April 2001) <http://www.brookings.org/dybdocroot/es/urban/census/glaeserexsum.htm> at 3 ("Generally, dissimilarity measures above 0.6 are thought to represent hypersegregation.").

segregation finds the Baltimore region to be the 14th most segregated large metropolitan area in the nation as of the 2000 Census.²⁴

The segregation of African Americans in metropolitan areas is not just segregation from Whites, but also segregation from opportunities critical to quality of life, stability and social advancement. Bruce Katz and Margery Turner synthesized the impact of this opportunity segregation in the 2003 Brookings Institute research brief *Rethinking Affordable Housing Strategies: An Action Agenda for Local and Regional Leaders*:

Residential segregation denies families of color full and free choice about where to live, while often denying minority neighborhoods the services and resources they need to thrive and grow. As a consequence, minorities' access to quality schools, jobs, and economic opportunity is limited. The most extreme consequences of residential segregation are found in the central cities' large urban areas. Because communities of color experience higher poverty rates than whites, the concentration of minorities in inner city neighborhoods also concentrates poverty and compounds its social costs. As jobs, wealth and economic opportunities have migrated to the suburbs, poor minority communities in the central city have become increasingly isolated and cut off from access to the mainstream of our society and economy. Thus, housing segregation helps sustain economic inequality and contributes to the persistence of urban poverty.²⁵

Residential location plays a determinative role in life outcomes and social, physical and mental health.²⁶ As stated in the findings report of the Congressional bi-partisan Millennial Housing Commission:

Neighborhood quality plays an important role in positive outcomes for families. Stable housing in an unstable neighborhood does not necessarily allow for positive employment and child education outcomes.²⁷

African Americans continue to be concentrated in opportunity-poor inner city neighborhoods. Racial segregation in America results in segregation from opportunities such as employment, high quality education and safe, stable healthy neighborhoods. In the Baltimore region, persistent residential segregation, opportunity segregation, and the concentration of assisted housing in opportunity poor communities is evident. Research suggests that this correlation is apparent to many Whites and that they use the presence or absence of people of color as a proxy for the neighborhood and educational quality of a specific community.²⁸

Economic Opportunity

Segregation affects the employment opportunities of low-income communities of color by

²⁴ J. Iceland, D. Weinberg, & E. Steinmetz, RACIAL AND ETHNIC SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES: 1980-2000 (2002). U.S. Census Bureau. Available on-line at:

http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/resseg/pdf/paa_paper.pdf

²⁵ Bruce Katz and Margery Austin Turner. RETHINKING AFFORDABLE HOUSING STRATEGIES: AN ACTION AGENDA FOR LOCAL AND REGIONAL LEADERS (2003). Research Brief, The Brookings Institution. Available on-line at: <http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/es/urban/knight/actionbrief.pdf>. Page 7.

²⁶ The Millennial Housing Commission was a bi-partisan federal commission assessing national housing policy and needs. The commission released their final report in 2002. (Hereinafter MEETING OUR NATION'S HOUSING CHALLENGES). Available on-line at: <http://www.mhc.gov/MHCReport.pdf>

²⁷ Millennial Housing Commission. MEETING OUR NATION'S HOUSING CHALLENGES (2002). Page 11.

²⁸ Please see race-conscious discussion in Section II.

impeding their educational growth and by physically isolating them from job opportunities.²⁹ As white middle-class populations have moved outward to the fringes of metropolitan areas, businesses and jobs have followed. Policies that restrict the residential choices of public housing residents create a “spatial mismatch” between job opportunities and low-income families that need them.³⁰ Moreover, gains achieved during the 1990’s in closing the gap between African Americans and jobs were generated by increasing the residential mobility of Blacks rather than redistributing employment opportunities.³¹ Jobs that remain in central business districts and are geographically accessible from racially and economically segregated neighborhoods are disproportionately unattainable because of a skills mismatch between job seekers and job requirements.³² Inner cities residents also have more difficulty getting vital information about job openings and support during the application process because of their isolation.³³

Research by the Brookings Institute in 2005 indicates that the “spatial mismatch” phenomenon persists. Analysis of metropolitan residential patterns and employment in 2000 for the U.S. reveals that 54% of the metropolitan African American population would need to relocate in order to eradicate the mismatch between housing and jobs for African American households. In comparison only 34% of Whites were segregated from employment.³⁴

Current transportation policies exacerbate the effects of this spatial mismatch. The lack of viable transit options in most metropolitan areas limits options for those without cars and it prevents central city residents from accessing jobs located in the suburbs.³⁵ Nationally, people of color tend to rely on public transportation far more than whites, and the distances they must travel to new jobs in regions experiencing spatial mismatch can hurt their employment prospects.³⁶ In urban areas, African Americans and Latinos together comprise 54 percent of public transportation users (62% of bus riders, 35% of subway riders, and 29% of commuter rail riders.) Twenty-eight percent of public transportation users have incomes of \$15,000 or less, and 55

²⁹ See, e.g., Richard Price and Edwin S. Mills, Race and Residence in Earnings Determination, 17 J. URB. ECON. 1-18 (1985); Mark Alan Hughes, Misspeak Truth to Power: A Geographical Perspective on the ‘Underclass’ Fallacy, 65 ECON. GEOGRAPHY 187 (1989); Harry J. Holtzer, The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: What has the Evidence Shown? 28 URB. STUDIES 105 (1991); and J.F. Kain, The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: Three Decades Later, 3 (2) HOUSING POL’Y DEB. 371 (1992).

³⁰ A 1999 study showed that predominantly white suburbs in the United States contain 69.4% of the low skill jobs, while the central city typically holds 10.2 % of these jobs. Similarly, a recent study found that “metro areas with higher levels of black-white residential segregation exhibit a higher degree of spatial mismatch between blacks and jobs” and that the same applied to other communities of color. See Michael Stoll, Harry Holtzer, and Keith Ihlanfeldt, WITHIN CITIES AND SUBURBS: RACIAL RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION AND THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ACROSS SUBMETROPOLITAN AREAS (1999), available on-line at: <http://ideas.repec.org/PaperSeries.html>.

³¹ *Id.*

³² These jobs require college degrees more than in any other sub-metropolitan area. *Id.*

³³ See Cong. Office Of Tech. Assessment, THE TECHNOLOGICAL RESHAPING OF METROPOLITAN AMERICA 222 (1995). (Hereinafter TECHNOLOGICAL RESHAPING). Available on-line at: <http://www.smartgrowth.org/pdf/TTROMA.pdf>

³⁴ M. Stoll., JOB SPRAWL AND THE SPATIAL MISMATCH BETWEEN BLACKS AND JOBS (2005). The Brookings Institute. Available on-line at: http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/metro/pubs/20050214_jobsprawl.pdf

³⁵ Robert D. Bullard, Addressing Urban Transportation Equity in the United States, 31 FORDHAM URBAN LAW JOURNAL 1183 (October 2004).

³⁶ Robert D. Bullard, Addressing Urban Transportation Equity in the United States, 31 FORDHAM URBAN LAW JOURNAL (October 2004).

percent have incomes between \$15,000 and \$50,000. Only 17 percent have incomes above \$50,000. Just 7 percent of white households do not own a car, compared with 24% of African-American households, 17 percent of Latino households, and 13 percent of Asian-American households.³⁷ In addition to the barrier of distance, the employment prospects of transit riders are also diminished by longer commute times relative to car owners and infrequency of service.³⁸ Spatial isolation contributes to the employment gap between African Americans and Whites, as indicated by a recent survey of spatial mismatch research:

Our review of recent SMH (spatial mismatch hypothesis) studies clearly suggests that the lack of geographical access to employment is an important factor in explaining labor market outcomes...³⁹

Racial segregation is also heavily correlated with concentrated poverty; concentrated poverty is defined as a neighborhood where more than 40% of the population lives in poverty. African Americans and Latinos are the most likely to be segregated into concentrated poverty neighborhoods and 70% of the 7 million people living in concentrated poverty neighborhoods were African American or Latino in 2000.⁴⁰ Paul Jargowsky described the detrimental effect of living in concentrated poverty neighborhoods in his 2002 study of concentrated poverty.

The concentration of poor families and children in high-poverty ghettos, barrios, and slums magnifies the problems faced by the poor. Concentrations of poor people lead to a concentration of the social ills that cause or are caused by poverty. Poor children in these neighborhoods not only lack basic necessities in their own homes, but also they must contend with a hostile environment that holds many temptations and few positive role models. Equally important, school districts and attendance zones are generally organized geographically, so that the residential concentration of the poor frequently results in low-performing schools. The concentration of poverty in central cities also may exacerbate the flight of middle-income and higher-income families to the suburbs, driving a wedge between social needs and the fiscal base required to address them.⁴¹

³⁷ Thomas W. Sanchez et. al., MOVING TO EQUITY: ADDRESSING INEQUITABLE EFFECTS OF TRANSPORTATION POLICIES ON MINORITIES, The Civil Rights Project and Center for Community Change, Harvard University (June 2003). Accessed July 11, 2005 from http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/transportation/trans_paper03.php#fullreport.

³⁸ “[T]he time spent traveling per mile for black central city residents is twice that of suburban whites, partly because more whites use their own car to get to work than do blacks (69 percent for whites versus 43 percent for blacks) who are more dependent on public transportation.” See Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, TECHNOLOGICAL RESHAPING 221-22 (1995) (citing Harry Holzer, Keith Ihlanfeldt, and David Sjoquist, Work, Search, and Travel among White and Black Youth, 35 JOURNAL OF URBAN ECONOMICS 320-345 (1994).

³⁹ K. Ihlanfeldt, K. & D. Sjoquist, The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: A Review of Recent Studies and Their Implications for Welfare Reform. 9 HOUSING POLICY DEBATE 881 (1998). See also H.J. Holzer, The spatial mismatch hypothesis: what has the evidence shown? 28 URBAN STUDIES 118 (1991). Page 118 (“The preponderance of evidence from data of the last decade shows that spatial mismatch has a significant effect on black employment”).

⁴⁰ Paul Jargowsky, STUNNING PROGRESS, HIDDEN PROBLEMS: THE DRAMATIC DECLINE OF CONCENTRATED POVERTY IN THE 1990s (May 2003). The Brookings Institute. Available on-line at: <http://www.brookings.edu/es/urban/publications/jargowskypoverty.htm>

⁴¹ Paul Jargowsky, STUNNING PROGRESS, HIDDEN PROBLEMS: THE DRAMATIC DECLINE OF CONCENTRATED POVERTY IN THE 1990s (May 2003). The Brookings Institute. Available on-line at: <http://www.brookings.edu/es/urban/publications/jargowskypoverty.htm>. See Page 2.

On average, African Americans in the Baltimore region live in neighborhoods with higher poverty, higher unemployment and higher vacancy rates than other residents (See **Table 1**). The average African American neighborhood in the Baltimore region has a poverty rate that is nearly three times the poverty rate of the average White neighborhood. The vacancy rate in the average African American neighborhood is nearly double the rate for the average White neighborhood. The average African American neighborhood unemployment rate is more than double the rate found in the average White neighborhood.⁴²

African Americans are also more likely to be isolated from employment opportunities in the Baltimore region than other residents. Research by the Brookings Institute in 2005 found that nearly 53% of African Americans in the Baltimore region would need to relocate to overcome the mismatch between employment centers and African Americans.⁴³ This spatial disparity is greatest between African Americans and entry level, low skill employment opportunities and this is particularly problematic for public housing residents who tend to need such jobs. As seen in **Map 2**, the largest clusters of estimated entry level and low skill employment opportunities are found in the suburbs surrounding the City of Baltimore, while African American neighborhoods are found primarily in the central city. Most of the region's recent job growth is oriented toward the suburban fringe of the region, and not well connected to the public transportation network indicating that this mismatch is worsening (See **Map 3**). Spatial analysis of projected job growth in the Baltimore region suggests that these trends will worsen in the future. As seen in **Map 4**, the projected fastest growing areas for job growth in the region are primarily outside of both the City of Baltimore and Baltimore County.

Educational Opportunity

While the African American labor force is isolated from economic opportunities, African American children remain concentrated in the poorest performing and most economically segregated school districts in the nation. Educational opportunities for most African Americans are segregated by race and class. Almost half of African American students in the U.S. attend a central city school district, compared to 17% of White students.⁴⁴ Research measuring dissimilarity for metropolitan school districts in 2000 found that black/white dissimilarity in schools was .65, thus nearly 2 out of 3 children would need to transfer to integrate the nation's metropolitan school districts. While neighborhood segregation declined slightly during the 1990's, school segregation increased. Racial segregation is accompanied by economic segregation and African American children are much more likely to attend high poverty schools than their white counterparts. The average African American child attends a school with a 65% student poverty rate, compared to 30%

⁴² This data represents the characteristics found in typical neighborhood for the average African American and White resident of the Metropolitan Area. These figures were calculated by the Lewis Mumford Center and can be reviewed on-line at the "Measuring Neighborhood Inequality," from the "Separate and Unequal" databases on neighborhood characteristics by race. Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Analysis. <http://mumford1.dyndns.org/>

⁴³ M. Stoll, JOB SPRAWL AND THE SPATIAL MISMATCH BETWEEN BLACKS AND JOBS (2005). The Brookings Institute. Available on-line at: http://www.brookings.edu/metro/pubs/20050214_jobsprawl.htm

⁴⁴ Christopher Swanson, WHO GRADUATES? WHO DOESN'T? A STATISTICAL PORTRAIT OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION, CLASS OF 2001 (February 25, 2004). Education Policy Center, The Urban Institute. Available on-line at: http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/410934_WhoGraduates.pdf

for the average White student's school.⁴⁵ Segregated high poverty schools are also failing African American students. Three quarters of White students in ninth grade graduate on time while only half of African American students finish high school with a diploma in four years.⁴⁶ Researchers feel that this is creating an educational crisis for urban youth, as stated by Gary Orfield at the Harvard Civil Rights Project.

When an entire racial or ethnic group experiences consistently high dropout rates, these problems can deeply damage the community, its families, its social structure, and its institutions.⁴⁷

Racial and economic segregation harm the quality of education received by children for a number of reasons. Poverty creates numerous challenges for families and their children's learning processes that schools must address. In segregated areas, the scale of these challenges is much greater as the number of kids experiencing them is greater. As one study has found, "high poverty schools have to devote far more time and resources to family and health crises, security, children who come to school not speaking standard English, seriously disturbed children, children with no educational materials in their homes, and many children with very weak educational preparation."⁴⁸ Low-income students and students of color are also less likely to have qualified teachers, more likely to have teachers who completed an alternative certification program, and more likely to be taught by substitute teachers.⁴⁹

Because of these educational impediments, research has consistently found that both racial and economic segregation negatively affects students. For example, one study finds that there is a "consistent negative effect of high poverty concentrations in school on students' academic achievement."⁵⁰ Another study finds that the poverty of a school, far more than the poverty of an individual, determines educational outcomes, and that impoverished students do better if they live in middle-class neighborhoods and/or attend more affluent schools.⁵¹

⁴⁵ John Logan, CHOOSING SEGREGATION: RACIAL IMBALANCE IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1990-2000 (March 29, 2002). Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research. Available on-line at: <http://mumford.albany.edu/census/SchoolPop/SPReport/page1.html>

⁴⁶ G. Orfield, D. Losen, J. Wald, & C. Swanson. LOSING OUR FUTURE: HOW MINORITY YOUTH ARE BEING LEFT BEHIND BY THE GRADUATION RATE CRISIS (March 2004). A Joint Release By: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, The Urban Institute, Advocates for Children of New York and the Civil Society Institute. Available on-line at: <http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/dropouts/dropouts04.php>

⁴⁷ DROPOUTS IN AMERICA: CONFRONTING THE GRADUATION RATE CRISIS. 2004. Harvard Education Press. Cambridge, MA. Edited by Gary Orfield. (Page 2)

⁴⁸ See Gary Orfield and John T. Yun, DEEPENING SEGREGATION IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS (1997), Harvard Project on School Desegregation. Available on-line at http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/deseg/Resegregation_American_Schools99.pdf See also, WHAT MATTERS MOST: TEACHING FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE, A REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON TEACHING AMERICA'S FUTURE (Spring 1996): Summary Report. (Racially segregated schools more often rely upon transitory teachers, have curricula with greater emphasis on remedial courses, higher rates of tardiness and unexcused absence, and lower rates of extracurricular involvement).

⁴⁹ Linda Darling-Hammond, Recruiting Teachers for the 21st Century: The Foundation for Educational Equity, 68 JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION 254, 279 (2000).

⁵⁰ See William T. Trent, Outcomes of School Desegregation: Findings from Longitudinal Research, 66 J. NEGRO ED. 255 (1997).

⁵¹ Stephen J. Schellenberg, Concentration of Poverty and the Ongoing Need for Title I, in Gary Orfield & Elizabeth H. DeBray eds., HARD WORK FOR GOOD SCHOOLS: FACTS NOT FADS IN TITLE I REFORM, 130, 137 (1999).

Conversely, a wealth of research indicates that students who receive education in integrated environments fare better than their segregated peers. For example, a recent analysis of school desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky found that students of color who attend more integrated schools demonstrate increased academic achievement levels and higher test scores.⁵² Intergenerational gains also ensue when students of color attend desegregated schools. One study concludes “improving economic and educational opportunities for one generation of minority individuals raises the socioeconomic status of the next generation, so that those who follow are more apt to begin school at the same starting point as their non-minority classmates.”⁵³ Attending a desegregated school also translates into higher goals for future educational attainment and occupational choices⁵⁴ and improved social networks.⁵⁵

The benefits of an integrated education do not just accrue for students of color. Diverse educational settings contribute to all students’ ability to participate in a pluralistic society.⁵⁶ Blacks and Whites who attend desegregated schools are more likely to attend a desegregated college, live in a desegregated neighborhood, work in a desegregated environment, and possess high career aspirations.⁵⁷

Educational disparity has far reaching implications due to the fact that educational attainment is linked to many life indicators including health, income and employment. There is a strong positive relationship between the education level and health status of an individual; the lower the level of educational attainment the higher incidence of mortality rates and more common the prevalence of specific diseases such as cancer and heart disease.⁵⁸ This can be largely attributed to the relationship between educational attainment and earnings. In the United States, each successively higher education level is associated with higher earning power, and data over the last 25 years shows that this gap is only widening.⁵⁹ Furthermore, higher levels of educational attainment are associated with greater labor force participation rates and a lower

⁵¹ See MICHAEL Kurlaender & John T. Yun, IS DIVERSITY A COMPELLING EDUCATIONAL INTEREST? EVIDENCE FROM METROPOLITAN LOUISVILLE, Harvard Civil Rights Project (1999). Summary available on-line at <http://www.diversityweb.org/Digest/W01/louisville.html>

⁵² See MICHAEL KURLAENDER & JOHN T. YUN, IS DIVERSITY A COMPELLING EDUCATIONAL INTEREST? EVIDENCE FROM METROPOLITAN LOUISVILLE (Harvard Civil Rights Project) 1999. Summary available on-line at <http://www.diversityweb.org/Digest/W01/louisville.html>

⁵³ See William T. Trent, Outcomes of School Desegregation: Findings from Longitudinal Research, 66 J. NEGRO ED. 255 (1997).

⁵⁴ See MICHAEL KURLAENDER & JOHN T. YUN, IS DIVERSITY A COMPELLING EDUCATIONAL INTEREST? EVIDENCE FROM METROPOLITAN LOUISVILLE (Harvard Civil Rights Project) 1999. Summary available on-line at <http://www.diversityweb.org/Digest/W01/louisville.html>

⁵⁵ Amy Stuart Wells, The "Consequences" of School Desegregation: The Mismatch Between the Research and the Rationale, 28 HASTINGS CONST'L Q. 771, 773 (2001).

⁵⁶ See MICHAEL KURLAENDER & JOHN T. YUN, IS DIVERSITY A COMPELLING EDUCATIONAL INTEREST? EVIDENCE FROM METROPOLITAN LOUISVILLE (Harvard Civil Rights Project) 1999. Summary available on-line at <http://www.diversityweb.org/Digest/W01/louisville.html>

⁵⁷ Robert Crain and Amy Stuart Wells, Perpetuation Theory and the Long-Term Effects of Schools Desegregation, 531 REV. OF ED'L RESEARCH (Winter 1994); M. Dawkins and J.H. Braddock, The Continuing Significance of Desegregation: School Racial Composition and African American Inclusion in American Society, 53 J. NEGRO ED. 394 (1994).

⁵⁸ Center for the Advancement of Health. December 2002. LIFE LESSONS: STUDYING EDUCATION'S EFFECT ON HEALTH. Vol 7, No. 12. Available at: <http://www.cfah.org/facts-of-life/vol7no12.cfm>
Healthy People 2010. November 2000. A SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO HEALTH IMPROVEMENT. Available on-line at: http://www.healthypeople.gov/document/html/uih/uih_2.htm

⁵⁹ U.S. Census Bureau. Day, J. C. & Newburger, E.C. July 2002. The Big Payoff: Educational Attainment and Synthetic Estimates of Work-Life Earnings. Available at: <http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/p23-210.pdf>

probability of unemployment. The gap in employment rates between college and high school graduates has been widening steadily as well.⁶⁰

Educational opportunity is segregated by race and class in the Baltimore region. The dissimilarity index for African American and White students in the Baltimore region's schools was .73 in 2000 indicating that nearly 3 of 4 African American students in the region's public schools would need to change schools to desegregate the region's schools.⁶¹ The average African American student in the Baltimore region attends a school with a student poverty rate of 42%, while the average White student attends a school with a 19% student poverty rate.⁶²

The majority of African American children in the Baltimore region are concentrated in the Baltimore City school district, the poorest performing district in the region. In 2005, 51% of African American K-12 students in the region attended schools in the Baltimore City district, compared to 23% of the region's total student population.⁶³ For low-income African American children (those most likely to be living in subsidized housing) this concentration is more extreme. In 2000, 59% of African American children (all persons under 18 years of age) in the Baltimore region were found in the City of Baltimore, while 77% of the region's African American children in poverty (as defined by the Census Bureau in the 2000 Census) were found in the City of Baltimore.⁶⁴ Analysis of students who are eligible for free and reduced lunch supports this finding. In 2003, the percentage of economically disadvantaged students (the federal government's definition for free and reduced lunch children) in the Baltimore City School District was 73%, nearly three times the rate of the Baltimore County district (29%), and more than four times the rate of any other district in the region.⁶⁵ Test scores in the Baltimore City district are considerably lower than those of its regional counterparts. Only 37% of Baltimore City students who took proficiency exams passed the reading proficiency test and only 26% passed the math proficiency test in 2003. The pass rates for all other districts in the region were approximately double the rates of Baltimore City.⁶⁶ The Baltimore City District also contains the lowest percentage of classes taught by highly qualified teachers among all districts in the region. In 2004, almost two-thirds of classes taught in the Baltimore City schools were not taught by highly qualified teachers (65.7%).⁶⁷ In comparison, 37.0% of classes taught in the Baltimore County district were not taught by highly qualified teachers. For other districts in the region this figure was considerably lower: Anne Arundel County (17.8%), Carroll County (13.1%), Harford County (19.9%) and Howard County (18.3%).⁶⁸

60 Joint Economic Committee Study. January 2000. INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION: PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RETURNS. UNITED STATES CONGRESS. Available on-line at: <http://www.house.gov/jec/educ.htm>

61 School segregation database for Metropolitan Areas by the Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Analysis. <http://mumford1.dyndns.org/>

62 John. Logan. CHOOSING SEGREGATION: RACIAL IMBALANCE IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1990-2000 (2002). Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research.

63 Data from Maryland on-line database for school district indicators and demographics and www.mdreportcard.org

64 Data from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Decennial Census of Population and Housing. <http://www.census.org>

65 Source of data: No Child Left Behind School Partnership Database for Maryland School Districts at: <http://www.schoolresults.org>

66 Source of data: No Child Left Behind School Partnership Database for Maryland School Districts at: <http://www.schoolresults.org>

67 Source of data: 2004 Maryland Report Card. Maryland Department of Education at: <http://www.msp.msde.state.md.us>

68 Source of data: 2004 Maryland Report Card. Maryland Department of Education at: <http://www.msp.msde.state.md.us>

Maps 5 through 8 depict indicators of educational quality/opportunity in the region's elementary school catchment areas. Most of the elementary schools in the City of Baltimore perform poorly based on all indicators (with the notable exception of the northern central area within the City of Baltimore). As seen in **Map 5**, the highest concentration of schools with large numbers of students eligible for free and reduced lunch (students in poverty) is located in the City of Baltimore. Conversely, low poverty schools are primarily located in the region's suburban counties. Proficiency test scores show similar spatial disparities, with most of the City of Baltimore's elementary schools performing poorly and suburban elementary schools (primarily in Baltimore County and Howard County) performing better (**Maps 6 and 7**). Spatial patterns of teacher qualification also follow these trends; the largest number of schools with large proportions of classes are taught by non-highly qualified teachers located in the City of Baltimore (**Map 8**).

Health and Environment

Racial and economic segregation also have negative health consequences. A recent study concluded:

Racial residential segregation is the cornerstone on which black-white disparities in health status have been built in the U.S. Segregation is a fundamental cause of health differences between blacks and whites because it shapes socioeconomic conditions for blacks not only at the individual and household levels but also at the neighborhood and community levels.⁶⁹

Margery Austin Turner and Dolores Acevedo-Garcia, in a review of research on neighborhood effects on health, note that residents of poor, segregated neighborhoods experience poorer health outcomes because of increased exposure to the toxic substances that are disproportionately sited in their communities, and because of greater barriers to sustaining healthy behaviors such as limited access to adequate grocery stores.⁷⁰ Recent research in Maryland finds that Census tracts with higher African American populations and lower socioeconomic status are more likely to be high risk in respect to exposure to cancer causing air toxins.⁷¹

A *New York Times* article synthesized research on the negative health effects of living in a racially and economically segregated environment. Among other things, the article noted that research "has shown that people who live in disadvantaged neighborhoods are more likely to have heart attacks than people who live in middle-class neighborhoods, even taking income differences into account."⁷² The article also references recent findings from research on the Moving to Opportunity program: "HUD's most remarkable early findings had to do with health. In Boston, poor children who moved to low-poverty neighborhoods were less likely to experience severe asthma attacks. Adults in New York who moved were less likely to suffer

⁶⁹ David R. Williams and Chiquita Collins, Racial Residential Segregation: A Fundamental Cause of Racial Disparities in Health, 116 PUBLIC HEALTH REPORTS 404, 405 (Sept.-Oct. 2001). Specific health risks of segregated neighborhoods that the authors reference include: elevated risks of cause-specific and overall adult mortality, infant mortality and tuberculosis; elevated exposure to noxious pollutants and allergens; a lack of recreational facilities; higher cost, poorer quality groceries; and limited access to high quality medical care.

⁷⁰ Margery Austin Turner and Dolores Acevedo-Garcia, Why Housing Mobility? The Research Evidence Today, 14 POVERTY & RACE RESEARCH ACTION COUNCIL NEWSLETTER (January/February 2005).

⁷¹ Benjamin J. Apelberg, Timothy J. Buckley and Ronald H. White, Socioeconomic and Racial Disparities in Cancer Risk from Air Toxics in Maryland 113 ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH PERSPECTIVES (June 2005).

⁷² Helen Epstein, Enough To Make You Sick?, *The New York Times Magazine* (10/12/03).

from symptoms of depression and anxiety than those who stayed behind, and adults in Boston were more likely to report that they felt ‘calm and peaceful.’”⁷³

Crime and Safety

One of the primary motives for public housing residents’ participation in residential mobility programs is the desire to live in a safer neighborhood.⁷⁴ This is not surprising given the relationship between segregation, violence, and crime. A number of studies have linked segregation to an increased likelihood of perpetrating and being victimized by violence and crime.⁷⁵ The level of stress experienced in high-poverty, isolated neighborhoods contributes substantially to this risk. When parents face a high level of stress, child abuse and neglect, and family breakups are more likely.⁷⁶ Children exposed to violence can be more anxious and aggressive when they are in school, and may have trouble concentrating. These and other risk factors have a cumulative effect and this accumulation of risk contributes more significantly than any one factor to the likelihood that young people will be exposed to violence.⁷⁷

Population Stability and Opportunity

Over the last several decades, many American central cities, including Baltimore, have undergone significant population decline. These population losses have been greatest in cities and neighborhoods that are poor and are racially segregated.⁷⁸ This out-migration deepens the levels of racial and economic segregation in these neighborhoods, as those who are able to move are more likely to be affluent and white.

As one would expect, loss of population, particularly upper and middle class population, is accompanied by loss of tax base. This in turn leads to a decline in the quality of municipal services and in the availability of funding for education, resulting in increased tax rates for those who are least able to shoulder them. Also accompanying central city population declines are the out-migration of investment and employment opportunities discussed above.⁷⁹ Conversely, more

⁷³ Helen Epstein, *Enough To Make You Sick?*, *The New York Times Magazine* (10/12/03).

⁷⁴ The MOVING TO OPPORTUNITY INTERIM IMPACTS EVALUATION found that “perhaps most notable from the perspective of the families themselves is the fact that they were successful in achieving the goal that loomed largest in their motivation to move out of their old neighborhoods: improvements in safety.” Orr, Feins, Jacob, and Beecroft (Abt Associates Inc.) and Sanbonmatsu, Katz, Liebman and Kling (NBER), U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research, Executive Summary of MOVING TO OPPORTUNITY INTERIM IMPACTS EVALUATION (September 2003). Page ix. Available on-line at: <http://www.huduser.org/publications/fairhsg/mtoFinal.html>

⁷⁵ See, e.g., Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls, *Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multi-Level Study of Collective Efficacy*, 277 *SCIENCE* 918-24 (1997).

⁷⁶ YOUTH AND VIOLENCE: A REPORT OF THE SURGEON GENERAL (January 2001). Available on-line at <http://www.surgeongeneral.gov/library/youthviolence/youvioreport.htm>.

⁷⁷ YOUTH AND VIOLENCE: A REPORT OF THE SURGEON GENERAL (January 2001). Available on-line at <http://www.surgeongeneral.gov/library/youthviolence/youvioreport.htm>.

⁷⁸ G. Thomas Kingsley and Kathryn L.S. Pettit, *Population Growth and Decline in City Neighborhoods*, 1 *URBAN INSTITUTE: NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE IN URBAN AMERICA* (December 2002). Available on-line at: <http://www.uipress.org/Template.cfm?Section=Bookstore&Template=/Ecommerce/ProductDisplay.cfm&ProductID=4160>

⁷⁹ powell, j. *How Government Tax and Housing Policy Have Racially Segregated America* in Karen Brown & Mary Louise Fellows, eds., *TAXING AMERICA* (1997).

stable neighborhoods tend to have higher property values, higher quality public services, and higher household incomes.⁸⁰

As African Americans and Latinos increasingly move to the suburbs these patterns tend to follow them. They are more likely than whites to move to fiscally stressed suburbs with poor public services. Recent research has found that in major metropolitan areas nearly 80% of African Americans and Latinos who live in the suburbs live in “at-risk suburbs”.⁸¹

Research on Baltimore’s inner-ring suburbs, particularly those in Baltimore County and northern Anne Arundel County, illustrates trends similar to the national trends.⁸² Although Baltimore’s inner-ring suburbs are growing more racially diverse, they are growing more economically isolated and overall population growth has been stagnant. Between 1980 and 2000, Baltimore’s inner-ring suburbs experienced a 10% increase in the African American population, while the White population decreased by 15%. The inner-ring suburbs also have a diminishing share of the region’s employment, decreasing household income and increasing poverty rates.⁸³ The Baltimore County suburb of Lochearn illustrates this point; between 1980 and 2000 the African American population increased from 49% of the total population to 78%. During this same time period, its poverty rate nearly doubled while inflation adjusted income and home values declined. Similar trends were seen in other suburbs like Lansdowne and Woodlawn.⁸⁴

Subsidized Housing and Opportunity Segregation

The clustering of assisted housing reinforces racial and opportunity segregation. Although subsidized housing does not necessarily cause White flight (especially if sited in moderate numbers), the extreme clustering of units in inner city neighborhoods does contribute to racial segregation. As of 2000, three quarters of the nation’s traditional assisted housing units were located in central cities while only 37% of the nation’s metropolitan population lived in

⁸⁰ See e.g., Chengri Ding and Gerrit-Jan Knaap, Property Values in Inner-City Neighborhoods: The Effects of Homeownership, Housing Investment, and Economic Development, 13 (4) HOUSING POLICY DEBATE 701-727 (2003). It should be noted, however, that stability by itself may not be an unmitigated good. One recent study found that neighborhoods with residential stability and low affluence were associated with poor health outcomes.

Christopher R. Browning and Kathleen A. Cagney, Moving Beyond Poverty: Neighborhood Structure, Social Processes and Health, 44 JOURNAL OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR 552-571 (December 2003).

⁸¹ Myron Orfield and Thomas Luce, MINORITY SUBURBANIZATION AND RACIAL CHANGE: STABLE INTEGRATION, NEIGHBORHOOD TRANSITION, AND THE NEED FOR REGIONAL APPROACHES. Report of Institute on Race and Poverty (presentation at the “Race and Regionalism Conference in Minneapolis, MN May 6-7, 2005.) Available on-line at:

http://www.irpumn.org/website/projects/index.php?strWebAction=project_detail&intProjectID=15. “At Risk” suburbs are defined as fiscally stressed suburbs with below average public resources and above average public resource needs.

⁸² Bernadette Hanlon & Thomas Vicino, THE STATE OF THE INNER SUBURBS: AN EXAMINATION OF SUBURBAN BALTIMORE, 1980 TO 2000. Center for Urban Environmental Research and Education, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (2005). Available on-line at: www.umbc.edu/cuere

⁸³ Bernadette Hanlon & Thomas Vicino, THE STATE OF THE INNER SUBURBS: AN EXAMINATION OF SUBURBAN BALTIMORE, 1980 TO 2000. Center for Urban Environmental Research and Education, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (2005). Available on-line at: www.umbc.edu/cuere

⁸⁴ Bernadette Hanlon & Thomas Vicino, THE STATE OF THE INNER SUBURBS: AN EXAMINATION OF SUBURBAN BALTIMORE, 1980 TO 2000. Center for Urban Environmental Research and Education, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (2005). Available on-line at: www.umbc.edu/cuere

central cities. Low Income Housing Tax Credit projects are also clustered in central city locations: in 2000 58% of all LIHTC units were found in central city locations.⁸⁵

While the average metropolitan neighborhood had a 13% poverty rate in 2000, neighborhoods with traditional assisted housing⁸⁶ had a poverty rate of 29%. While only 4% of all metropolitan housing units were in concentrated poverty neighborhoods, more than 11% of assisted housing units were found in concentrated poverty neighborhoods. The average neighborhood with traditional assisted housing had household incomes that were more than 40% lower and home values that were more than 20% lower than the average metropolitan neighborhood.⁸⁷ Research in the 50 largest metropolitan regions (where the majority of African Americans live) has identified even greater concentration of assisted housing in high poverty (low-opportunity) areas. Almost 50% of public housing and 27% of project based section 8 housing is located in a concentrated poverty neighborhood in the 50 largest metropolitan regions.⁸⁸ It is my understanding the expert report of Dr. Gerald Webster will illustrate the concentration of subsidized housing in the Baltimore region in segregated lower opportunity communities.

⁸⁵ Lance Freeman, SITING AFFORDABLE HOUSING: LOCATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TRENDS OF LOW INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1990'S, Brookings Institute (2004). Available on-line at: http://www.brookings.edu/urban/publications/20040405_Freeman.htm

⁸⁶ Note: This figure does not include LIHTC Units. LIHTC units were on average found in neighborhoods with a 19% poverty rate in 2000. ⁸⁶ Lance Freeman, SITING AFFORDABLE HOUSING: LOCATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TRENDS OF LOW INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1990'S, Brookings Institute (2004). Available on-line at: http://www.brookings.edu/urban/publications/20040405_Freeman.htm

⁸⁷ Lance Freeman, SITING AFFORDABLE HOUSING: LOCATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TRENDS OF LOW INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1990'S, Brookings Institute (2004). Available on-line at: http://www.brookings.edu/urban/publications/20040405_Freeman.htm

⁸⁸ Deborah Devine et. al., HOUSING CHOICE VOUCHER LOCATION PATTERNS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PARTICIPANT AND NEIGHBORHOOD WELFARE, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research (2003). Available on-line at: http://www.huduser.org/publications/hsgfin/location_paper.html