

**Neighborhood Differences between Hartford and Windsor Locks and the
Impacts on Opportunity and Life Chances**

**Preliminary Report prepared for the Connecticut Fair Housing Center in
reference to**

Taika Bilbo, Jermaine Bilbo, Demechia Wilson, D.A. Wilson

v.

Clifton Hylton, Merline Hylton, Hylton Real Estate Management, Inc.

By

Lance Freeman, Ph.D.

May 11, 2012

1. INTRODUCTION

This report considers whether neighborhood conditions at 111 Montville Street, Hartford, Connecticut differ from 5 Townline Road, Windsor Locks, Connecticut, to such an extent as to materially affect the life chances of someone living at one of the addresses instead of the other. The report is organized as follows: In the following section, the theory that links neighborhood quality to life chances, also known as neighborhood effects, is described. This section also summarizes the empirical evidence that has tested the neighborhood effects thesis. The third section presents evidence on the manner in which the two aforementioned neighborhoods differ on key indicators. The report concludes by describing how the differences in neighborhood quality between residing at 111 Montville Street, Hartford, Connecticut and 5 Townline Road, Windsor Locks, Connecticut will lead to fewer opportunities and deleteriously affect life chances for someone living at the former.

My expertise to speak on matters of neighborhood quality and the impacts of that quality are based on my education, professional experience and scholarly research. I hold a Master's degree and Ph.D. in City and Regional Planning from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. My education in City and Regional Planning included a focus on planning for neighborhoods and gaining an understanding of how neighborhood environments affect people. In addition, Urban Sociology was one of my fields of concentration for my Ph.D. After obtaining my Master's degree I worked professionally as a City Planner for the New York City Housing Authority where I worked on plans for new developments. One of my responsibilities was to study neighborhood conditions around potential development sites and to assess these conditions along a number of quality of life indicators including poverty rates, racial segregation, and crime. The scholarship I have undertaken upon the completion of my Ph.D. has, among other things, focused on residential segregation, neighborhood change, and the relationships between neighborhood conditions and health and other socioeconomic outcomes. My curriculum vitae is attached.

I am being paid an hourly rate of \$200.00 per hour. I have served as an expert witness for the following cases in the past five years:

New York, NY: Fair Housing Justice Center v. Edgewater Park Owners cooperative (Disparate impact of recommendation requirements), 2011—Present.

New York, NY: Broadway Triangle Community Coalition v. Michael Bloomberg (Disparate impact of neighborhood preferences and proposed housing unit configuration), 2010—Present.

U.S. Department of Justice, Eastern District v. Town of Oyster Bay (Disparate impact of housing programs), 2010-Present.

New York, NY: MLB Associates Corp v. City of New York (impact of night clubs on surrounding property values), 2002 – Present.

New York, NY: Juana Sierra v. City of New York (impact of residence in a SRO on surrounding child development), 2008.

Cleveland, OH: 84 Video/Newsstand, Inc. V. Thomas Sartini. (impact of night clubs on surrounding property values), 2005 – Present.

2. THE NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS THESIS

In recent decades social scientists have studied extensively the notion that neighborhoods influence life chances. Social scientists have conceptualized a number of mechanisms through which neighborhoods affect life chances. Drawing on work by Jencks and Mayer (1990) and Ellen and Turner (1997), Freeman (Forthcoming, 2006) categorized these mechanisms under the rubrics social structure and institutional infrastructure.

Under the category of social structure come the myriad ways that neighbors influence one's behavior. The most common is the notion of peer effects. For example, in a neighborhood where many teens join gangs or drop out of high school a teenager residing in that neighborhood may feel pressured to engage in these activities. Likewise, in a neighborhood where virtually all teens attend college, an adolescent may feel peer pressure to pursue a college degree. Consequently, the greater the degree in which residents are engaged in activities leading to upward mobility, the greater the likelihood that peer effects will be positive. Alternatively, in a neighborhood where most residents are engaged in activities that inhibit upward mobility, peer influences will have deleterious consequences. Peer effects are especially powerful among adolescents (Ellen and Turner 1997).

In addition to the influences of peers, the wider community has a voice in shaping the behavior of residents through the processes of collective socialization and collective efficacy. Adults serve as role models, whose behavior, good or bad, sets norms for youngsters to follow. This neighborhood influence is part of the socialization process.

The setting of norms and the coming together to achieve collective ends is commonly referred to as collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997). The extent to which neighborhood residents can cohere to work collectively will have important implications for achieving ends that

require collective input. Neighborhood order and safety depends not only on the local police, but also on the willingness of neighborhood residents to intervene if they witness something amiss. Likewise, good schools require not only good teachers, but also parents who can both contribute resources and demand resources from the public authorities. In cohesive communities residents will feel more confident intervening if they witness a crime and their voices will be amplified if multiple voices speak together to achieve a desired end. Thus, safe streets and good schools are but two locally consumed items that often require the collective efforts of a community to achieve (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002). Exposure to crime, in particular has been linked to numerous adverse outcomes including physical and mental stress (Galster 2011).

Whereas notions of peer effects and collective socialization seem most pertinent to minors, social networks also have the potential to influence the life chances of adults. Neighborhood social networks are sources of social satisfaction providing love, friendship, and a sense of belonging. But these networks also play a role in leading to upward mobility by providing sources of information about jobs, accessing services and other important resources (Kleit 2001). Better off neighbors are an advantage in that they offer ties that are more “leverageable.” That is, ties that foster upward mobility or offer access to important social and economic resources. For example, employed neighbors are more likely to have information about employment than unemployed residents. Likewise, a neighbor with an important position in the local school system has the potential to assist in extracting the best education from the system. Poorer neighbors may provide important social ties, but they may be less likely to contain the type of resources that lead to upward mobility (Briggs 1998). In this way, social networks in poorer neighborhoods may be less advantageous than those found in more affluent neighborhoods (Galster and Killen 1995).

Poorer neighborhoods often have a more fragile social structure for several reasons. First, the poor often have more residential instability due to their more frequently being renters and a greater need to move for economic reasons (Kan 1999). This greater residential mobility among the poor makes it more difficult for them to establish strong social ties in any one place, hence undermining neighborhood cohesion. Second, Poor communities often lack the political power to keep destabilizing forces such as flophouses outside of their neighborhood (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002; Sampson 2012). Finally, poorer residents are often more time constrained and thus lack the time and financial resources to contribute to social organizations that are often requisite for a strong social structure (Galster and Killen 1995; Sampson 2012).

Aside from the social resources described above, institutional or public resources of the neighborhood can affect life chances and are likely to vary with the socioeconomic status of the neighborhood. These institutional resources include amenities like retail stores, public goods like schools and police protection, and also neighborhood organizations that act on behalf of residents (Temkin and Rohe 1998). Disadvantaged residents might lack the resources to support neighborhood organizations and the political power to demand satisfactory public services. In contrast, more affluent residents might have the social ties to make these organizations especially potent in looking out for the needs of the community. Moreover, institutional resources that are provided by the market such as grocery stores are often absent or in short supply in disadvantaged neighborhoods as these places are perceived as risky places to do business. Food deserts, or neighborhoods that present obstacles to accessing healthful food, have been found to be more prevalent in disadvantaged communities are another example of institutional resources lacking in these same communities (RUNDLE et al. 2009). For these reasons, we might expect the institutional infrastructure to be stronger in middle class neighborhoods and weaker in poor neighborhoods (Wilson 1987).

The lack of institutional and public resources has significant adverse consequences for life chances. For example, the lack of healthful food options has been linked to poor health outcomes (RUNDLE et al. 2008; Northridge and Freeman 2011; RUNDLE et al. 2009).

To the institutional and social structure rubrics coined by Freeman (Forthcoming), we can add the spatial environment (Galster 2011). The spatial environment refers to attributes of the physical and manmade environment that can affect life chances and opportunities. Although the physical environment may occur naturally, human institutions decide who resides in which parts of the physical environment. Typically, marginalized groups occupy the least desirable and often riskiest locations. Aspects of the manmade environment that can have particularly pernicious influences include pollutants and environmental toxins. Environmental toxins are often found in disadvantaged communities both because these toxins depress property values, making it relatively affordable to live near them and because disadvantaged communities often lack the political power to keep these unwanted uses out of their neighborhoods (Northridge and Freeman 2011). Residing in proximity to brownfields has been shown to lead to increased rates of cancer (Litt, Tran, and Burke 2009). Clearly, living in an environmentally hazardous neighborhood can adversely affect one's health and consequently the opportunity to prosper.

Thus, because amenities, environmental hazards, socioeconomic status and political power are not evenly distributed across space, the neighborhood one resides in can profoundly affect one's life chances. Living in a 'good' neighborhood typically means access to a variety of stores, safety from crime and good schools for one's children. As such, good neighborhoods shape and influence life chances in myriad ways. In a good neighborhood, residents will not have to live in fear of assault or the loss of property. The lack of crime facilitates the development of social ties. These ties allow neighbors to provide not only social support but possibly also connections to important resources like jobs or business opportunities. Neighbors will be able to come together and work collectively to achieve common ends like good schools. Good schools in turn provide superior education to children and increase their opportunities through adolescence and into adulthood (Galster and Killen 1995; Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002; Sampson 2012).

In contrast, disadvantaged neighborhoods present roadblocks to opportunity at nearly every turn. High rates of violent crime are endemic to many disadvantaged neighborhoods. Such crime poses not only the threat of bodily harm and loss of property, but other pernicious side effects as well. In high crime neighborhoods even law-abiding residents may be tainted with suspicion by police and outsiders and as a result be subjected to police harassment or find it difficult to find employment outside of their neighborhood. With criminals lurking in their midst there may be a tendency for residents to hunker down to avoid being victimized. Such hunkering down weakens social ties and makes it difficult for neighbors to come together to achieve collective ends like good schools. The lack of good schools in turn inhibits future opportunities for children and adolescents that grow up in this community. Without a solid education, career opportunities are necessarily stunted. Finally, many disadvantaged neighborhoods are within fiscally strapped municipalities, making it that much harder to raise the resources to provide high quality public goods and services like good schools or effective policing. This in a nutshell, is the theory of neighborhood effects that explains why living in a disadvantaged neighborhood can deprive individuals of the opportunity to maximize their full potential (Galster and Killen 1995; Briggs, Popkin, and Goering 2010).

Because the US is a socially stratified, market economy, with a strong tradition of home rule, disadvantaged neighborhoods are most commonly poor minority neighborhoods. In a market economy many goods and services, including housing, are allocated based on one's ability and willingness to pay. Better housing thus goes to more affluent persons. Moreover, because the value of housing depends in large part on the value of surrounding houses, homeowners have an interest in having neighbors who are at least as affluent as they are so that the surrounding housing will

likely be as valuable as theirs. This desire for affluent neighbors is compounded by the fact that most local goods and services are financed at the local level. This gives residents additional incentives to keep poorer residents out of their jurisdiction. Thus, it is the fact that housing's value is dependent in large part on the value of surrounding housing and the US system of financing local goods that most households will sort themselves by socioeconomic status and strive to keep those of lower status at a distance (Briggs, Popkin, and Goering 2010; Galster and Killen 1995).

Some sorting of housing occurs through the operation of the market, but many communities use land use regulations to prohibit the development of certain types of housing that might be affordable. For example, large lot zoning and the prohibition of multi-family housing both serve to inhibit the development of affordable housing. These types of exclusionary zoning render it impossible for housing affordable to those with limited means to be built and keep poor and minority families out of many neighborhoods (Briggs 2005; Pendall 2000).

In addition to economic stratification the US is also a socially stratified society, especially along the lines of race, and to a lesser extent ethnicity. Due to the legacy of slavery and the ideology that justified it, African Americans have been the most stigmatized group in America. Reflecting African Americans' extreme subaltern status, this group has been and continues to be the most residentially segregated group in America (Massey and Denton 1993; Frey 2012).

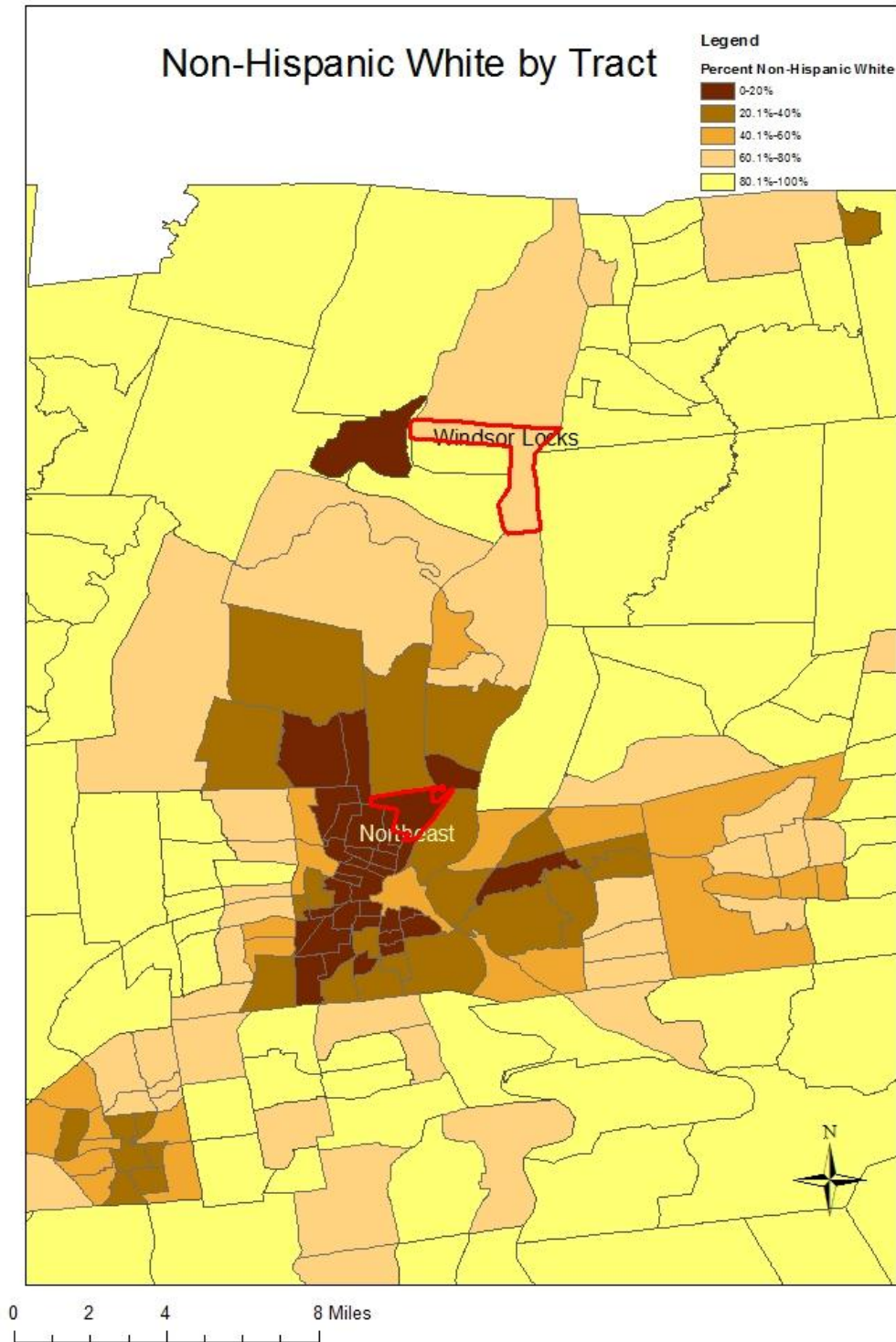
Through the first part of the 20th century racial zoning, mob violence against blacks who moved into white neighborhoods, restrictive covenants and simply refusing to rent or sell to blacks were tactics used to keep blacks out of many neighborhoods (Kusmer 1978; Osofsky 1971; Spear 1967; Sugrue 1996; Weaver 1948). Racial zoning was declared unconstitutional in 1917, restrictive covenants likewise in 1948, and housing discrimination was outlawed by the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Yet housing discrimination continues to be a pervasive problem. The most recent national housing discrimination study based on paired audits¹ found blacks to experience discrimination in 22% of all housing searches (Turner et al. 2002).

The pervasive housing discrimination faced by blacks contributes to blacks continuing to be the most highly segregated group in America. A number of studies conducted in the post-Civil Rights era have found the level of segregation on a metropolitan area to be linked to the amount of

¹ Paired audits send minority and white partners who present themselves to landlords and sales agents having similar demographic, economic and social profiles economic, similar income, assets, and debt levels. The auditors record their treatment to determine if the white auditors receive preferential treatment.

housing discrimination blacks confront in those same metropolitan areas (Galster 1987; Galster and Keeney 1988; Galster 1986). Moreover, studies that have controlled for other factors that contribute to segregation such as inter-racial differences in class or preferences for diverse neighborhoods have found that these factors cannot explain the high levels of segregation experienced by blacks (Freeman 2000; Massey and Denton 1993; Dawkins 2004). The Hartford metropolitan area continues to be a highly segregated one. The dissimilarity index, a measure of how evenly distributed two groups are, for black-white segregation was 62.3. This means 62.3% of the black population would have to move in order to achieve an even distribution of blacks and whites in the Hartford metropolitan area. Segregation indices above 60% are considered high (Kantrowitz 1973). Moreover, despite making up only 11% of the Hartford metropolitan area population blacks on average live in neighborhoods that are 35% black according to the isolation index another commonly used measure of segregation (Sciences 2012). Figure 1 illustrates the spatial pattern of segregation in the area encompassing the two neighborhoods that are the focus of this report.

Figure 1



2A. The Evidence on the Neighborhood Effects Thesis

Social scientists have compiled a large body of evidence testing the hypothesis that neighborhoods matter for life chances. Indeed, this literature is too voluminous to describe here. But several reviews of this literature all tell a similar story. Neighborhoods do matter. The most compelling evidence of the impacts of neighborhood on life chances comes from the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment. MTO was an experiment designed to test how neighborhoods affect life chances by randomly assigning public housing residents to an experimental group who received vouchers that could only be used in low poverty neighborhoods, and a control group who could move anywhere but in most instances moved to relatively poor segregated neighborhoods. Thus, the experimental group consisted of those residing in a low poverty neighborhood. The administering of the treatment of residing in a low poverty neighborhood in the MTO experiment, however, proved more challenging than the administering of a drug in a clinical trial, on which the MTO was modeled. For one, many of the experimental families stayed in low poverty neighborhoods for only a brief period of time before moving back to their old neighborhood or to other poor neighborhoods. Moreover, the experimental families moved to neighborhoods that were virtually indistinguishable from the control families' neighborhoods in terms of racial segregation. Second, many of the neighborhoods that the experimental families moved to were relatively poor and racially segregated and perhaps most importantly were becoming poorer and more minority over time. Finally, children in the experimental families often continued to attend their old schools, thus eliminating one of the crucial mechanisms through which neighborhoods affect life outcomes (Briggs et al. 2008).

Despite these shortcomings in the experiment, the MTO study still found that when compared to the control group adults had (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2011):

- a lower prevalence of extreme obesity
- a lower prevalence of diabetes
- fewer self-reported physical limitations
- lower levels of psychological distress
- lower prevalence of depression
- lower prevalence of anxiety

When compared to the control group adolescent girls had:

- a lower prevalence of any lifetime mood disorder
- fewer serious emotional or behavioral difficulties
- fewer panic attacks in the past year

- less psychological distress
- lower prevalence of oppositional defiant disorder in the past year

In addition to the evidence from MTO experiment is an overwhelming body of evidence compiled by social scientists on the importance of neighborhoods for life chances. In one of the first syntheses of the neighborhood effects literature Ellen and Turner (Ellen and Turner 1997) concluded the following; “studies provide evidence that neighborhood matters in the development of very young children p. 849”, and “most of the studies considering the effects of neighborhoods on adolescents have found evidence that neighborhood (p. 852) environment matters.”

A latter review concludes “... the evidence is solid on the ecological differentiation of American cities along socio-economic and racial lines, which in turn corresponds to the spatial differentiation of neighborhoods by multiple child, adolescent, and adult behaviors. These conditions are interrelated and appear to vary in systematic and theoretically meaningful ways with hypothesized social mechanisms such as informal social control, trust, institutional resources and routines, peer-group delinquency, and perceived disorder (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002, p. 473).” In layman’s terms, American neighborhoods cleave along class and race lines and it is the poorer minority neighborhoods that are associated with negative outcomes (i.e. lower informal social control, a lack of trust, fewer institutional resources, higher rates of peer-group delinquency, and higher levels of perceived disorder) as the neighborhood effects thesis would predict.

The conclusions of the most recent systematic review of the neighborhood effect literature that the author could find is worth quoting at length. Cited here are the conclusions for which Galster (2011) felt the evidence was definitive. Among the conclusions for which the Galster (2011) felt the evidence was definitive:

- “... high concentrations of poverty or socially disadvantaged households (which typically are heavily Hispanic- and especially black-occupied neighborhoods in the U.S. and immigrant-occupied neighborhoods in Western Europe) have been consistently empirically linked to weaker cohesion and structures of informal social controls in their neighborhoods. This situation produces, in turn, negative consequences like increased youth delinquency, criminality, and mental distress...p. 43.

- In the U.S. the presence of affluent neighbors appears to provide positive externalities to their less-well off neighbors, seemingly working social controls and collective socialization. p. 44
- Local environmental differences appear substantial and likely produce important differentials in mental and physical and mental health on both sides of the Atlantic. There are huge differences in exposure to violence across U.S. neighborhoods and this undoubtedly produces important and durable psychological consequences for children and adults that, in turn, likely have numerous but hard-to-quantify other effects. Exposure to environmental pollutants and (especially in the U.S.) to violence undoubtedly produces significant consequences for the health of children, youths and adults. P. 44
- Geographic disparities related to differential accessibility to work and quality public services ... likely play a non-trivial role in explaining labor force and educational outcomes (p. 45).
- Finally, there is probably a substantial, indirect effect on children and youth that transpires through the combined effects of the social-interactive, environmental, geographic, and institutional dimensions of the neighborhood context on their parents (p.45). “

The three reviews cited here, spanning over a decade, are all consistent in their general conclusions. Neighborhood disadvantage is associated with adverse life outcomes in a way that is indicative of a causal relationship. This means that opportunities for general life satisfaction and upward mobility will be significantly less in a disadvantaged neighborhood.

In addition to the voluminous literature on how neighborhoods affect life chances, there has also been substantial research on how one of the institutional resources linked to neighborhoods—local public schools—affect life chances. This research has been consistent in finding that the quality of school a student attends does matter, not only for current educational achievement but for later outcomes like graduation and earnings as an adult. For example, a study that made use of three longitudinal datasets that tracked students over time found that “...moving a student from a school and associated community at the 10th percentile of quality to one at the 90th percentile would increase the student’s predicted high school graduation probability by eight to ten percentage points. And moving a high school senior in 1972 from a school and community at the 10th percentile of the quality distribution to one at the 90th percentile would increase the probability of enrolling in

a four-year college by 19-23 percentage points..(Altonji and Mansfield 2011, p. 339).” Thus, the quality of the school that one attends matters for life chances.

Neighborhood disadvantage maps onto school disadvantage for several reasons. First, it is the norm for students to be assigned and attend schools based on their residence (Sohoni and Saporito 2009). Second, as noted previously the US is highly segregated by race and is becoming increasingly segregated by class meaning many students live in neighborhoods and attend schools that are socioeconomically homogenous (Reardon and Bischoff 2011; Reardon and Bischoff 2011; Jargowsky 1996). Third, for reasons suggested in the preceding section poorer and minority school districts typically have fewer resources, and having fewer resources has been linked to inferior educational outcomes (Unnever, Kerckhoff, and Robinson 2000). Finally, poorer and minority school districts find it relatively more difficult to recruit and retain better prepared teachers (Boyd et al. 2011). Better teachers is perhaps the single most important attribute of better schools as a number of studies have demonstrated the importance of teacher quality for educational achievement and subsequent outcomes (Goldhaber and Brewer 1997; Chetty, Friedman, and Rockoff 2011). Neighborhood disadvantage thus leads to educational disadvantage through two paths. As described in the preceding section living in a disadvantaged neighborhood can directly have deleterious consequences on childhood development. Second, as outlined in this paragraph, residing in a relatively disadvantaged neighborhood increases the probability of attending a lower quality school, hence compounding the negative impact of residing in such a neighborhood.

This brief review of the literature describes the mechanisms through which residing in a disadvantaged neighborhood can have deleterious consequences and summarizes the conclusions of recent reviews of the voluminous literature testing the neighborhood effects thesis. The weight of the accumulated evidence to date is strongly indicative of the notion that neighborhoods do matter and that residing and growing up in a disadvantaged neighborhood can have deleterious consequences for life chances.

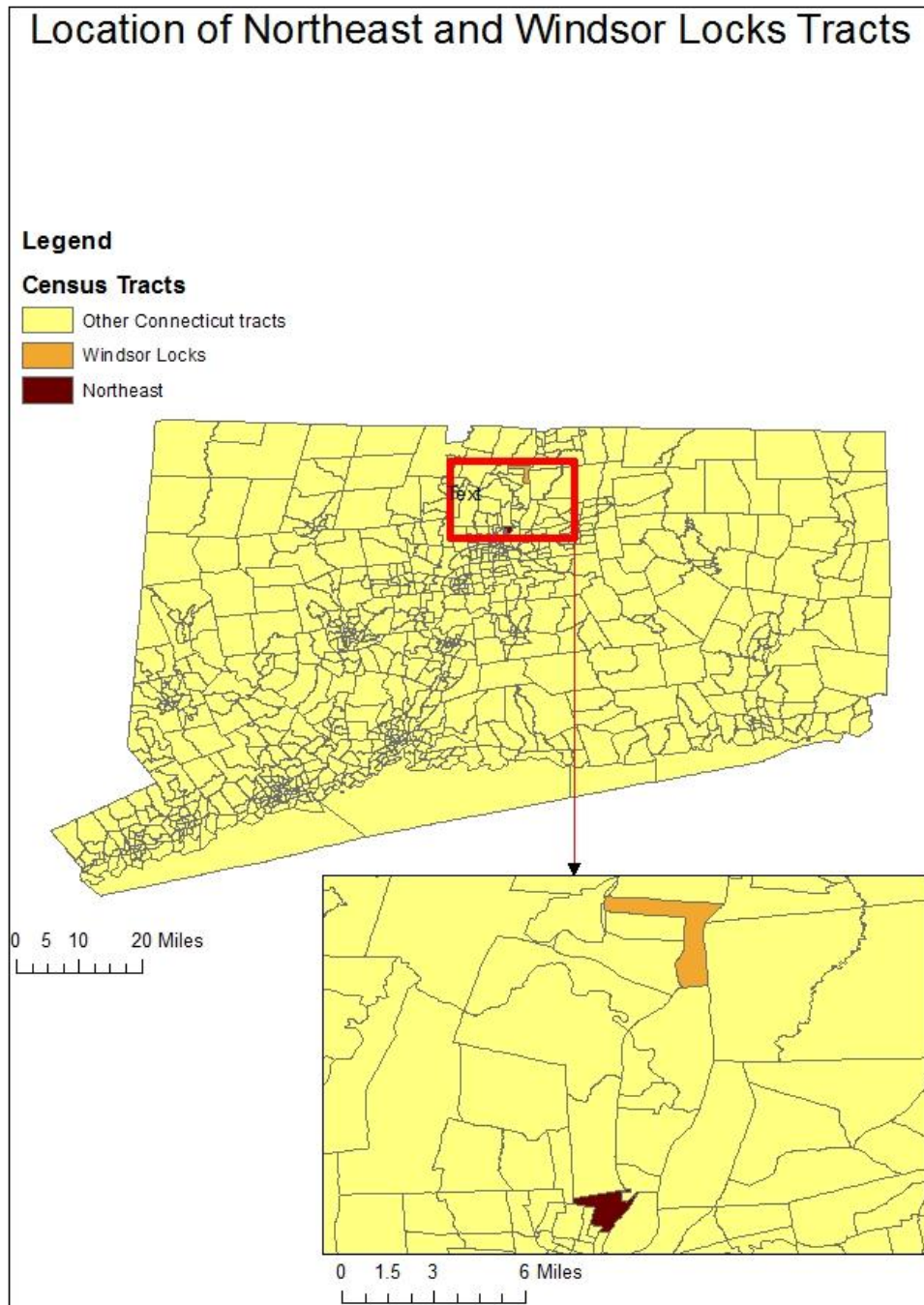
3. METHODOLOGY

The plaintiff currently resides at 111 Montville Street Hartford, Connecticut. This address is in the Northeast neighborhood of Hartford. The address the plaintiff attempted to move to is in Windsor Locks, a town almost due north of the Northeast neighborhood. To discern if the current neighborhood of the plaintiff is more disadvantaged and consequently provides less opportunity

than the neighborhood we compared several indicators of neighborhood conditions in the respective neighborhoods.

The neighborhoods in question were operationalized as census tracts. Census tracts are created by the U.S Census Bureau and are designed to be relatively homogenous areas that typically consist of 4,000 to 8,000 persons (Census 1993). For the purposes of the analyses in this report the Northeast neighborhood was defined as census tract 5244 in Hartford County, Connecticut. The comparison neighborhood in Windsor Locks was census tract 4761 in Hartford County, Connecticut. Figure 1 illustrates the location of the two study tracts.

Figure 1



The selection of indicators

The selection of indicators for the comparisons between the two neighborhoods was guided by prior research that has identified the most parsimonious set of census tract variables that adequately capture the concept of neighborhood disadvantage. Sampson and colleagues (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997) identified a neighborhood's poverty rate, proportion on public assistance, proportion of families female headed, unemployment rate, the proportion under age 18, and the proportion non-Hispanic black as the six census variables that capture neighborhood disadvantage. Accordingly, this report compares the Northeast neighborhood with the Windsor Locks neighborhood on these six variables. Two other census variables, the median household income and homeownership rate, were also included in the analysis because they have been shown to be important indicators of neighborhood affluence and advantage. For example, in a series of studies Brooks-Gunn and her colleagues found the presence of affluent neighbors to be a more important predictor of childhood development than the presence of poor neighbors (Brooksgunn et al. 1993; Klebanov, Brooksgunn, and Duncan 1994). Moreover the homeownership rate in a neighborhood is an important indicator of the neighborhood's socioeconomic status and stability. Because homeowners have an economic investment in their neighborhood and because they move less frequently than renters, homeowners tend to invest more resources in the upkeep of their neighborhood. Consequently, higher homeownership rates have been found to correlate with neighborhood stability and vitality (Rohe and Stewart 1996).

Data for the proportion non-Hispanic black, the proportion of families headed by a females and the proportion of the population under age 18 was obtained from the 2010 decennial census for census tracts. Data for the poverty rate, proportion on public assistance, the unemployment rate, median household income and the homeownership rate were obtained from the 2006-2010 American Community Survey (ACS) for census tracts. After 2000, the ACS supplanted the long form of the decennial census. The ACS collects data from a sample of approximately 3 million addresses every year. Because the ACS relies on a smaller sample than the long form of the decennial census data, however, multi-year samples are necessary to produce reliable estimates for small units of geography like tracts. Consequently, the ACS estimates can be conceived of as average values over the 2006-2010 period (Bureau 2009).

Because the ACS is based on samples, there may be sampling error associated with the various estimates of neighborhood socioeconomic status. To account for sampling error the various indicators are presented with their respective margins of error at the 90% level of confidence. The

margins of error were obtained from the published figures on the Census Bureau's American Factfinder website, except where noted otherwise (Bureau 2009). The margin of error tells us the probability that a certain estimate falls within a certain range. Thus, a 90% margin of error can be interpreted as meaning that there is a 90% probability that the true population parameter falls within this range. The 90% margin of error, also known as a confidence interval, is a conventional threshold used in the social sciences (Agresti and Finlay 1997). If the error bars in the following charts do not overlap, we can be confident at the 90% level of confidence that the two values differ.

In addition to the socioeconomic indicators described above this report also includes analyses of differences in crime rates and school performance between the Northeast neighborhood and the Windsor Locks neighborhood. For crime, the smallest area for which data is available is the Northeast neighborhood as defined by the City of Hartford. The smallest area for which data is available in the Windsor Locks neighborhood is the entire city of Windsor Locks. Crime rates for Windsor Locks were obtained from the FBI's Uniform Crime Rate reporting tool that can be found here <http://www.ucrdatatool.gov/>. To facilitate comparison, crime rates are expressed in offenses per 100,000 residents. Crime rates for the Northeast neighborhood were obtained from the Hartford Police Department. To translate the crime statistics provided by the Hartford Police department into rates per 100,000 persons, population figures for the Northeast neighborhood (based on City of Hartford boundary definitions) were obtained from the 2010 census. Overall crime rates for violent crimes and property crimes are presented and discussed in this section.

The last set of indicators of neighborhood opportunity considered in this report is for school performance. As described in section two, school quality has been shown to be an important predictor of educational success. We used standardized test scores in reading and math as measures of school quality. Standardized test scores are a commonly used metric of school quality and these same scores have been shown to successfully predict a number of outcomes including student performance in school (Jencks and Phillips 1998) and subsequent earnings as an adult (Chetty, Friedman, and Rockoff 2011). In addition to standardized test scores, also considered in this report are the percentage of children eligible for free and reduced lunch. This metric has been found to be a good proxy for the socioeconomic status of the student body and to be an accurate predictor of other important educational outcomes aside from standardized test scores including student absenteeism, student engagement in criminal activity, and student engagement in other risky behaviors (Aud et al. 2010; Lippman et al. 1996)

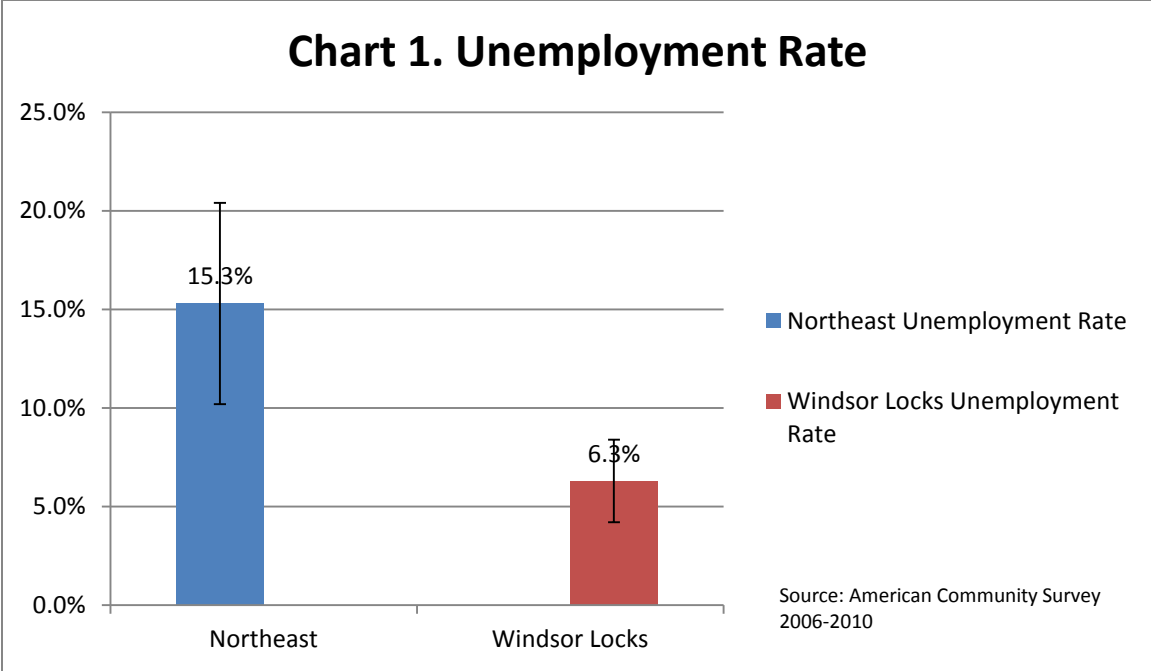
The assumption was made that a student living in Windsor Locks would attend the Windsor Locks Middle school and the Windsor Locks High School. As these are the only public middle and high schools in Windsor Locks, this seems a reasonable assumption. For middle school students residing in Northeast, we consider measures of school quality for all middle schools in the Hartford school district. Hartford students are assigned by lottery to middle school. It is therefore impossible to identify the specific school they would attend. For high school students residing in Northeast, we also consider measures of high school quality for the entire Hartford school district. Hartford students are also assigned by lottery to high school.

4. ANALYSIS OF NEIGHBORHOOD DATA

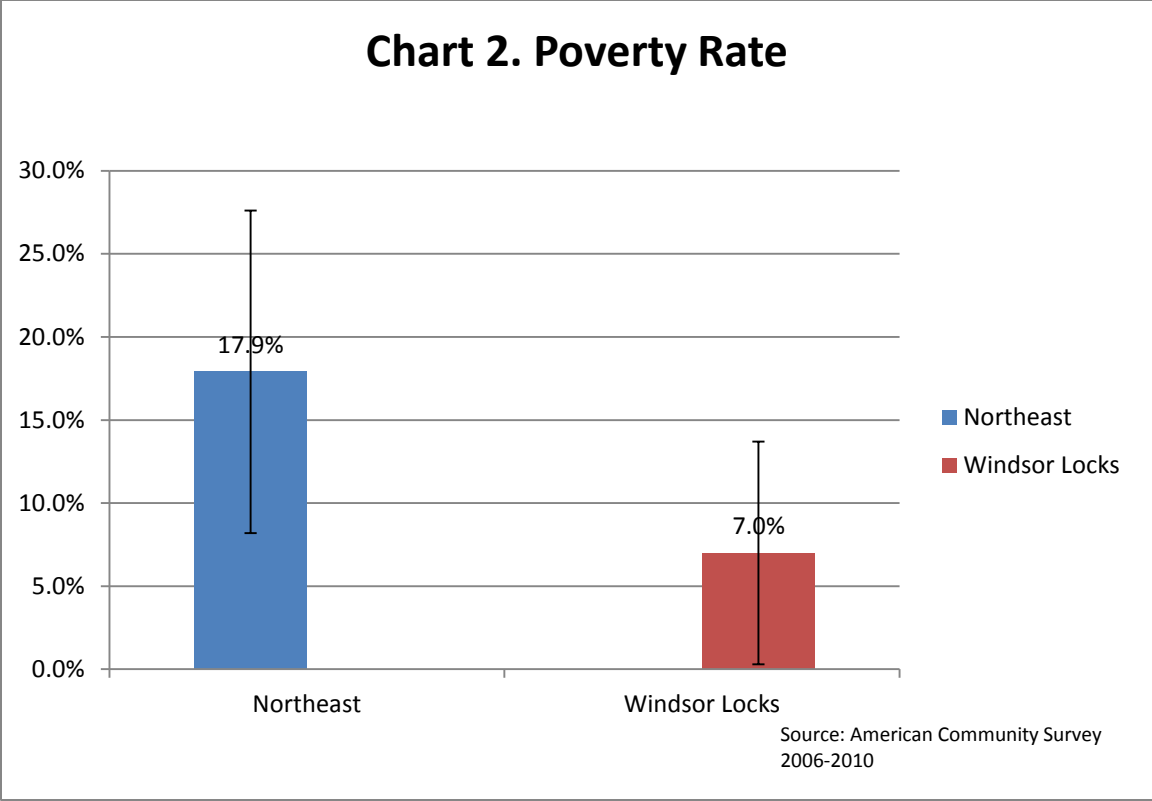
Measures of Disadvantage

This section describes the differences in disadvantage between the Northeast neighborhood and Windsor Locks. Following Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1997) we consider six indicators of disadvantage that have been linked to neighborhood distress including the unemployment rate, the poverty rate, and the proportion of households who received food stamps, the proportion of families headed by a female, and the proportion black.

The unemployment rate is the first socioeconomic indicator discussed. Chart one shows unemployment rates in tract 5244(Northeast) and tract 4761(Windsor Locks), respectively. The chart shows that tract 5244 had an unemployment rate more than twice that of tract 4761. Moreover, the error bars illustrate that the margins of error do not overlap, indicative of a statistically significant difference. It is also worth noting that the unemployment figure for tract 5244 is much higher than that reported for the nation as a whole even during the depths of the recent recession when the unemployment rate peaked at 10% in October 2009.

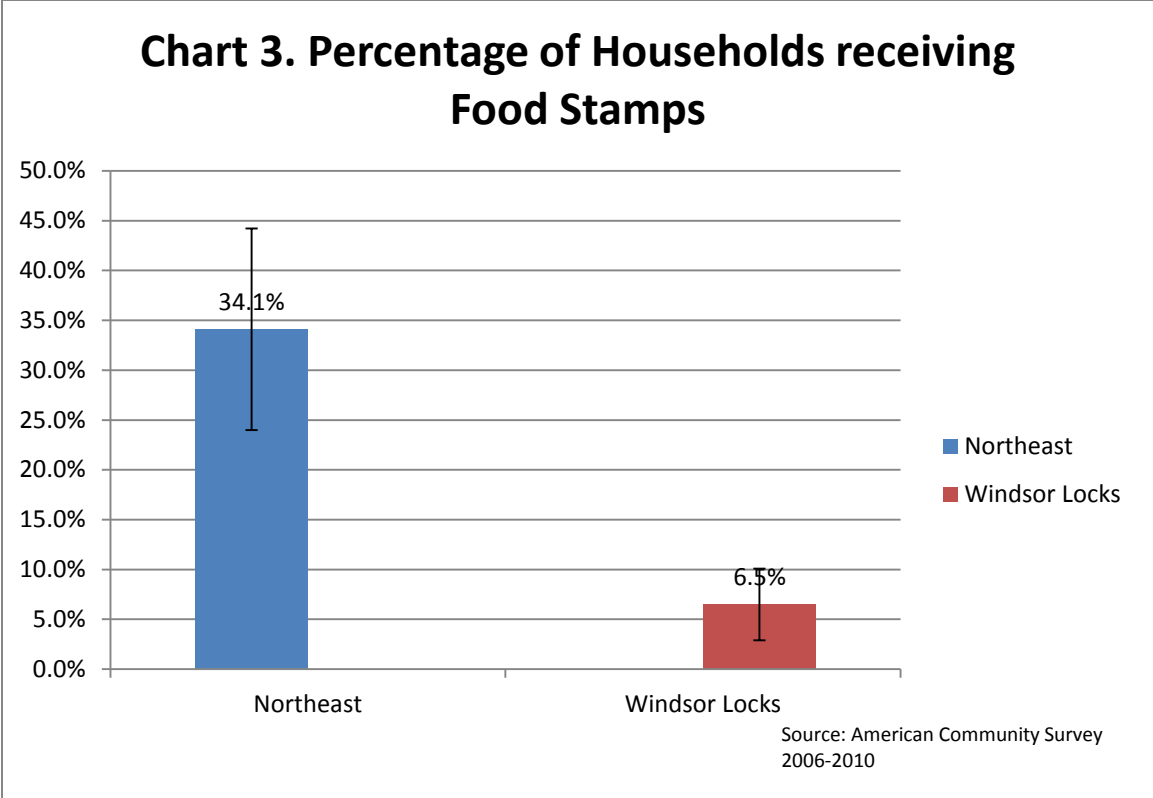


We next discuss the poverty rate, another measure of neighborhood distress. The poverty measure is an indicator of whether a household had adequate income to meet basic needs. Depicted in chart two are the respective poverty rates for census tracts 5244 (Northeast) and 4761 (Windsor Locks). The chart shows that tract 5244 is much poorer with a poverty rate more than twice that found in Windsor Locks. The error bars in chart two overlap, however, indicating that these apparent differences are not statistically significant. As noted previously, the relatively small size of the tract level ACS samples sometimes leads to imprecise estimates and statistically insignificant results.



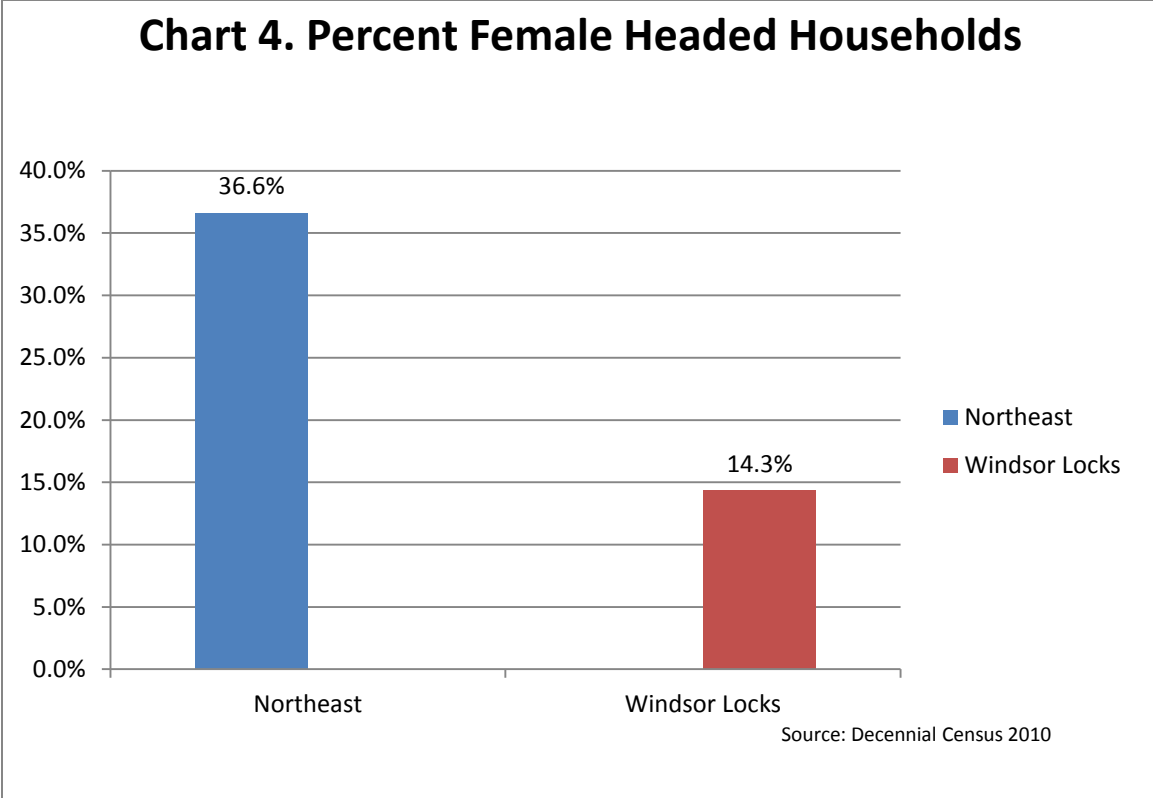
The third measure of disadvantage considered in this report are the percentage of households receiving food stamps in each of the respective neighborhoods. Eligibility to the food stamp program is based on the same federal poverty guidelines depicted in the chart two. But because eligibility for food stamps includes households earning up to 185% of this poverty line, it captures a broader segment of the population that may be experiencing economic distress.

Chart three illustrates rates of food stamp receipt in the Northeast neighborhood and Windsor Locks, respectively. According to chart three rates of food stamp receipt are at least five times higher in the Northeast neighborhood than Windsor Locks. This difference is statistically significant as shown by the non-overlapping error bars.

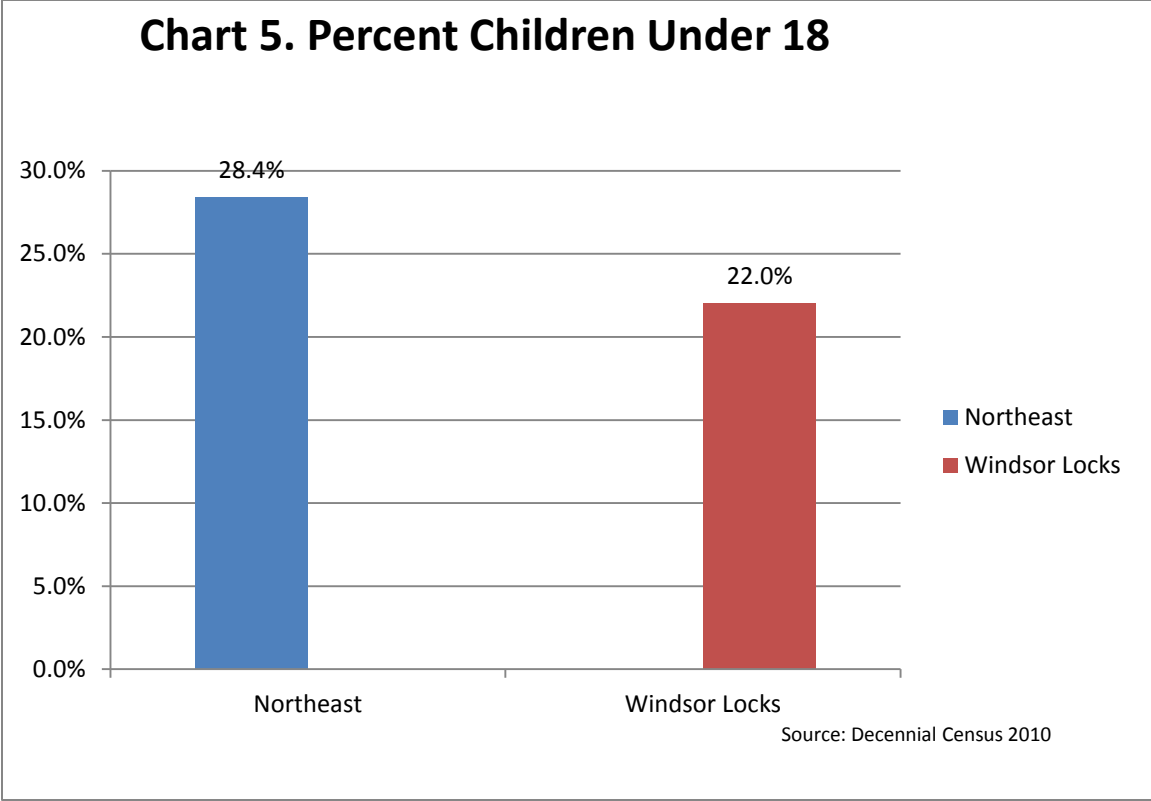


Demographic Indicators

The last set of indicators of disadvantage based on census variables are the proportion of families headed by females, the proportion of families with minor children and the proportion non-Hispanic Black. Chart four depicts the proportions of families in both census tracts that are headed by females. The proportion of families headed by females is approximately 2.5 times as high in the Northeast neighborhood. To the extent that higher proportions of female headship correlate with neighborhood distress, the figures presented in Chart four show that the Northeast neighborhood is clearly the more distressed neighborhood.

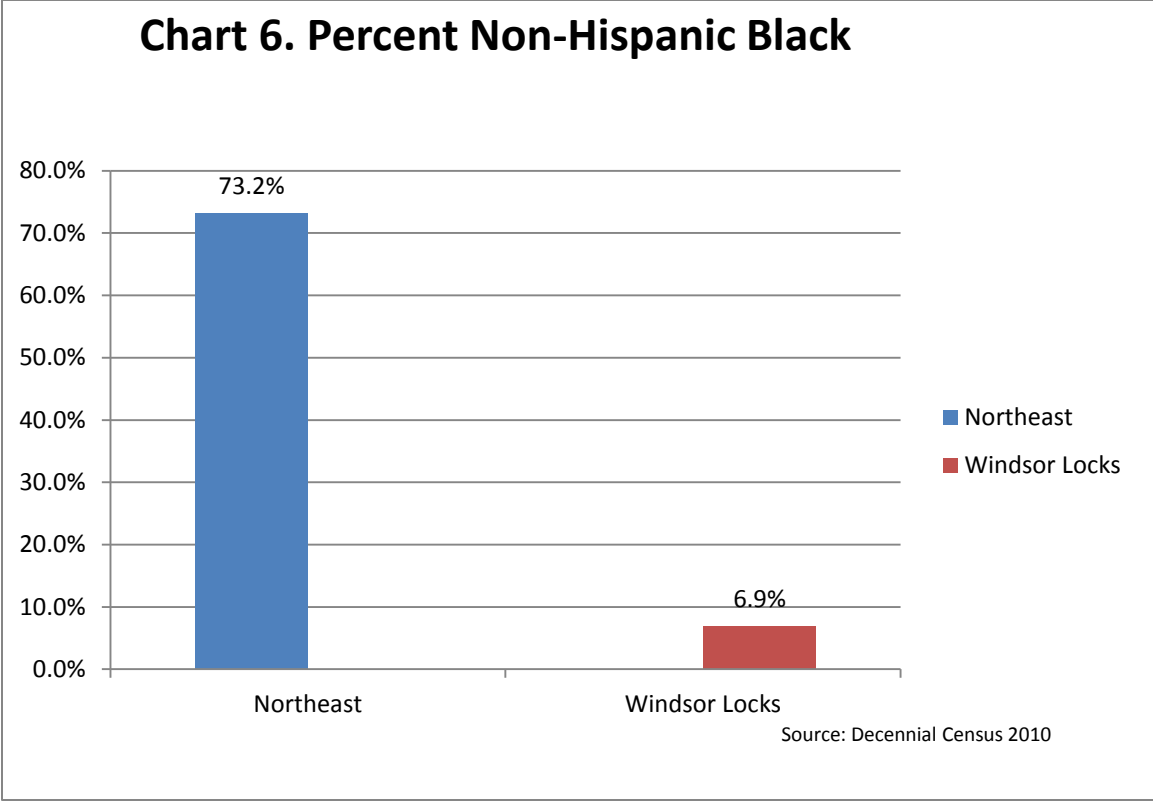


The second demographic indicator discussed here is the proportion of families with minor children. As was discussed previously, this is another family composition indicator that correlates with neighborhood distress (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997). A higher proportion of children, in conjunction with the other indicators considered here (i.e. poverty, unemployment, etc.) are predictive of neighborhood disadvantage. Presented in chart five are the proportion of the population in the respective neighborhoods who are under age 18.



While the differences in the proportion of the population under 18 are not as dramatic as the differences evinced for other comparisons, the Northeast neighborhood still differs substantially from the Windsor Locks neighborhood in this comparison.

The final demographic indicator discussed in this section is the percent of the population that is non-Hispanic black. As a voluminous literature has shown, black neighborhoods are disproportionately disadvantaged and consequently this demographic indicator is an important predictor of neighborhood distress (Logan and Alba 1993; Massey, Condran, and Denton 1987). The Northeast neighborhood has a substantially greater non-Hispanic black population according to the figures presented in chart six.

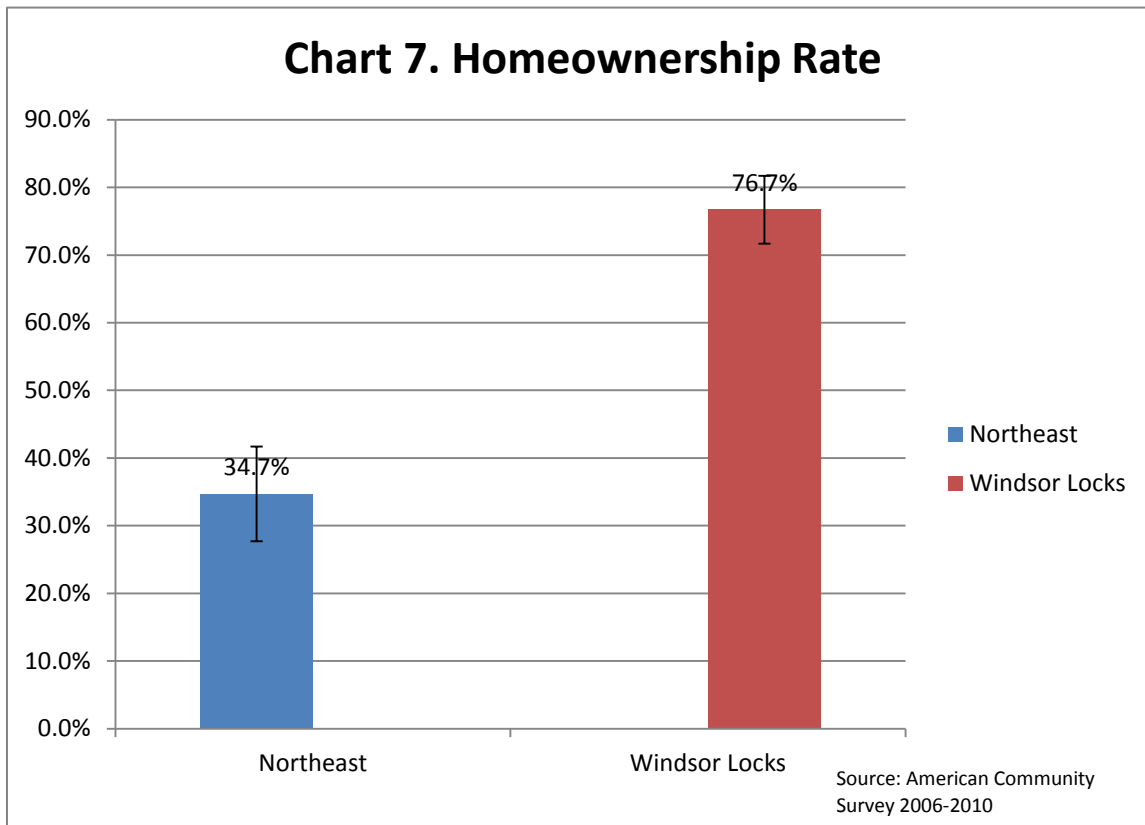


If we consider both the three indicators discussed in this section, which were measures demographic indicators of disadvantage, and the indicators discussed in the previous section, a clear outline of the differences between Northeast and Windsor Locks emerges. In terms of demographic characteristics and socioeconomic status, Windsor Locks is clearly the more advantaged neighborhood.

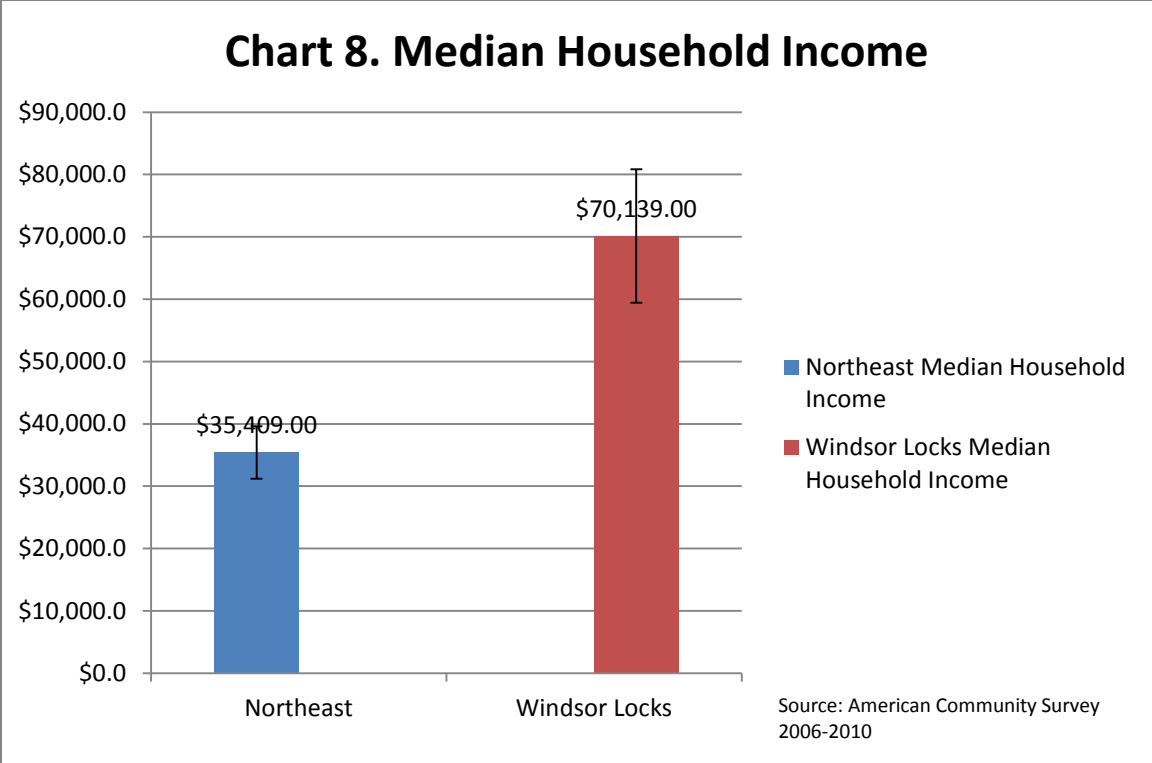
The first six indicators discussed, the unemployment rate, poverty rate, proportion of households receiving food stamps, the proportion of households female headed, and the proportion non-Hispanic black are important indicators of disadvantage. But the obverse, or indicators of advantage, can also inform our views of the health of a neighborhood and the extent to which that neighborhood provides opportunities for its residents. Moreover, as discussed previously, it may be the lack of access to relatively privileged members of society, rather than having poor neighbors, that leads to the negative consequences associated with living in a poor neighborhood. We thus consider two measures of neighborhood advantage in this section.

The homeownership rate in the Northeast neighborhood and Windsor Locks is depicted in chart seven. Windsor Locks has a homeownership rate nearly twice that of Northeast. Moreover, this

difference is statistically significant.



The second indicator of advantage considered in this section is median household income. Income is a measure of the amount of economic resources have coming into their household and thus is good indicator of the economic status of a household. Chart eight depicts the median household income for the two tracts that are the subject of this report. Windsor Locks is clearly the more affluent neighborhood with a median household income approximately twice that of the Northeast neighborhood. This difference is also statistically significant as depicted by the non-overlapping error bars.



The two indicators of neighborhood advantage considered in this report, the homeownership rate and median household income consistent in depicting Windsor Locks as the more advantaged of the two neighborhoods.

Crime

Crime is an important indicator of the quality of life in a neighborhood and the extent to which a neighborhood provides opportunities for its residents to thrive and prosper. Exposure to crime can not only end a victim’s life, as in the case of murder, or leave a victim maimed or scarred as in the case of an assault. High levels of crime can also distort the social fabric of a neighborhood and induce a high degree of stress even among those residents who are not victimized. In the presence of crime residents become distrustful of others and devote significant resources to protecting themselves. People and institutions avoid high crime places depriving these neighborhoods of everyday amenities like stores. For these reasons a comparison of the crime rates in Northeast and Windsor Locks will be instructive.

Chart nine shows violent crime rates in the Northeast and Windsor Locks neighborhoods, respectively. The level of violent crime in the Northeast neighborhood is orders of magnitude greater than that found in Windsor Locks. In the three years included in the study period the violent

crime rate is at least 10 times as high in Northeast. Needless to say, Northeast is a much more violent place.

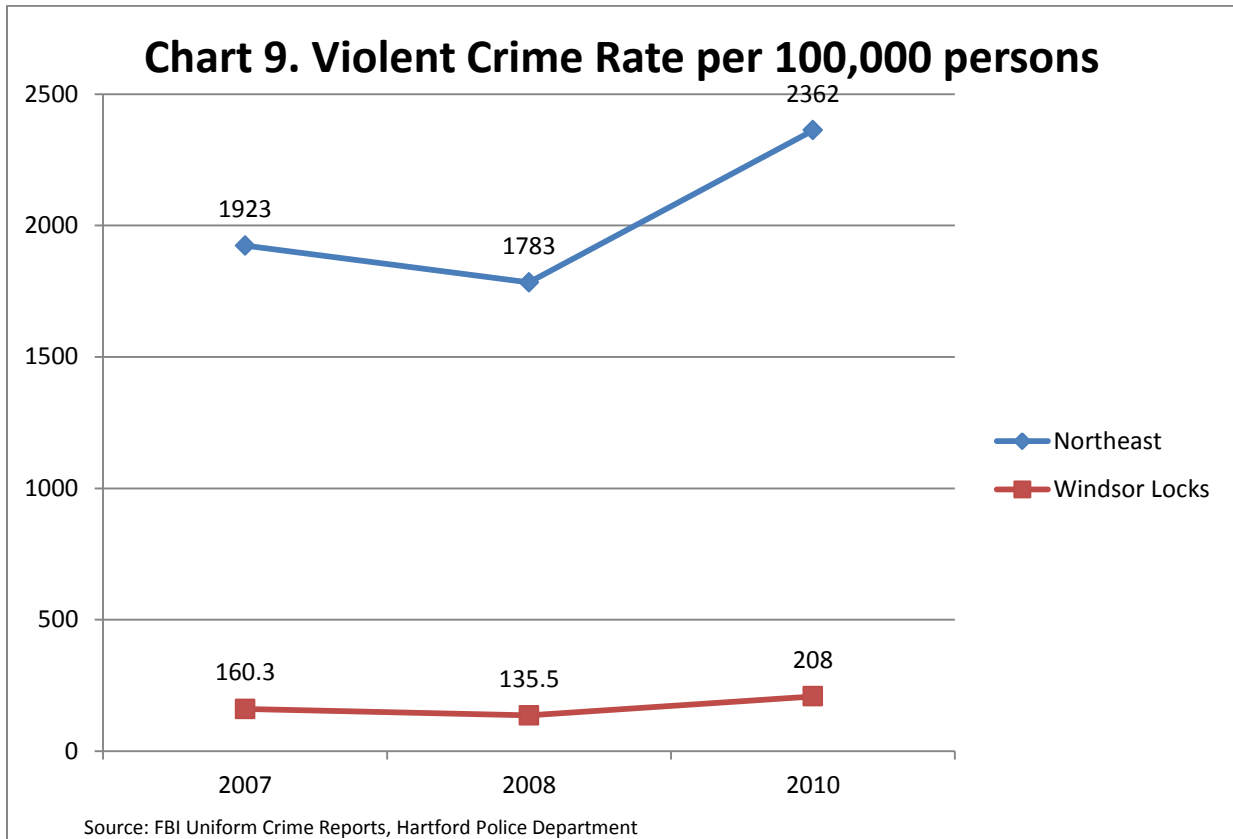
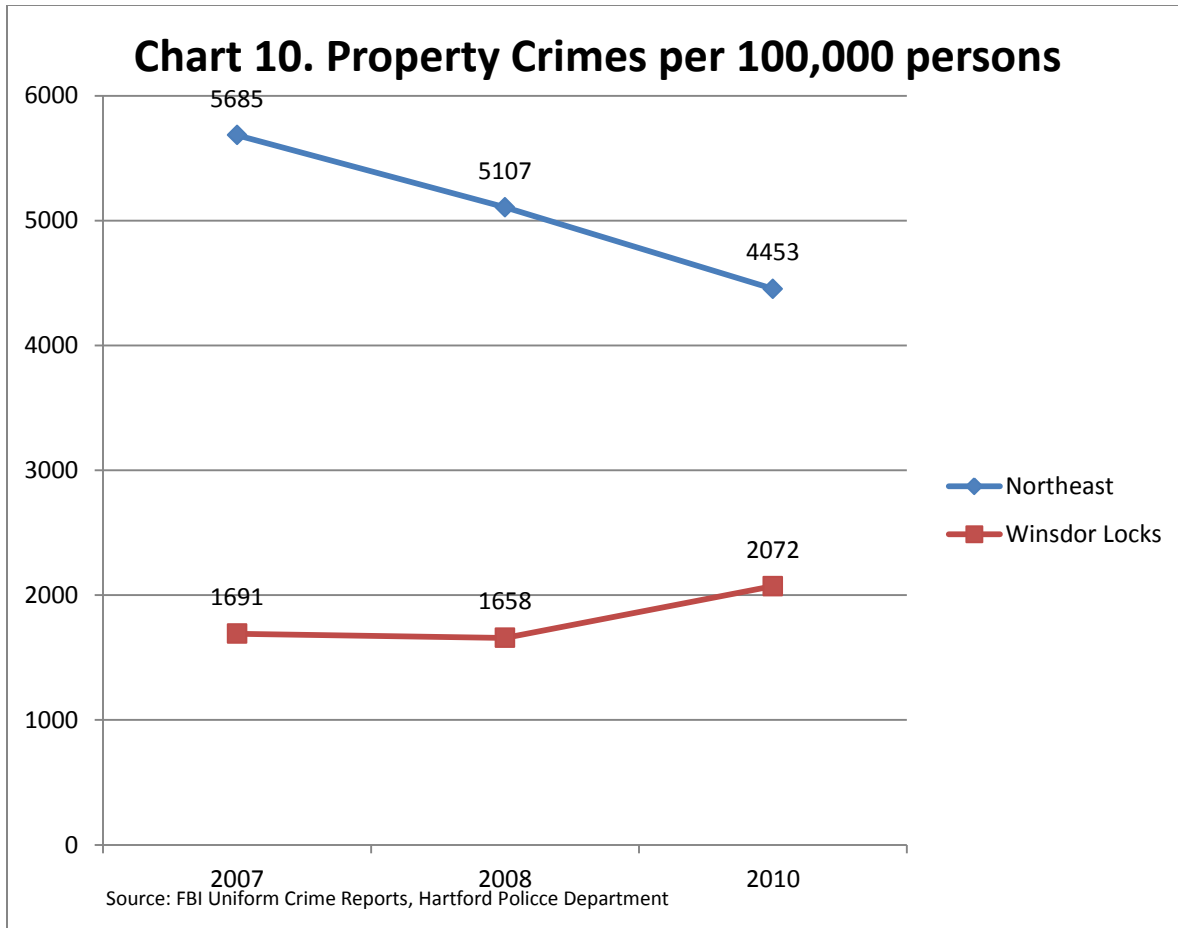


Chart 10 depicts property crime rates in Northeast and Windsor Locks, respectively. The disparity in property crime rates between the two neighborhoods are not as great as was found were comparing violent crime rates. Yet property crime rates are still substantially higher in Northeast than in Windsor Locks. For the three years included in the analysis the property crime rates are between two and three times as great in Northeast than in Windsor Locks.

Charts nine and 10 provide consistent evidence that crime, including both violent and property is substantially higher in the Northeast neighborhood.

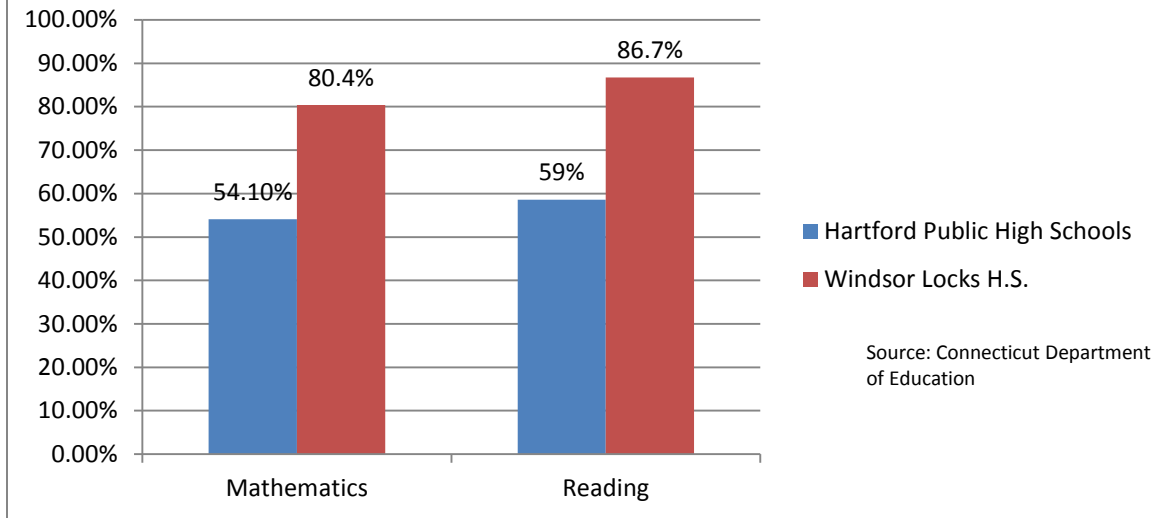


School Performance

The least set of indicators discussed in this report are related to school quality. Recall that we contrast the Windsor Locks Middle School and Windsor Locks High School with all City of Hartford Middle Schools and High Schools, respectively. The entire City of Hartford serves as the reference in these instances because Hartford residents can apply to attend schools outside of their zone and are assigned based on a lottery.

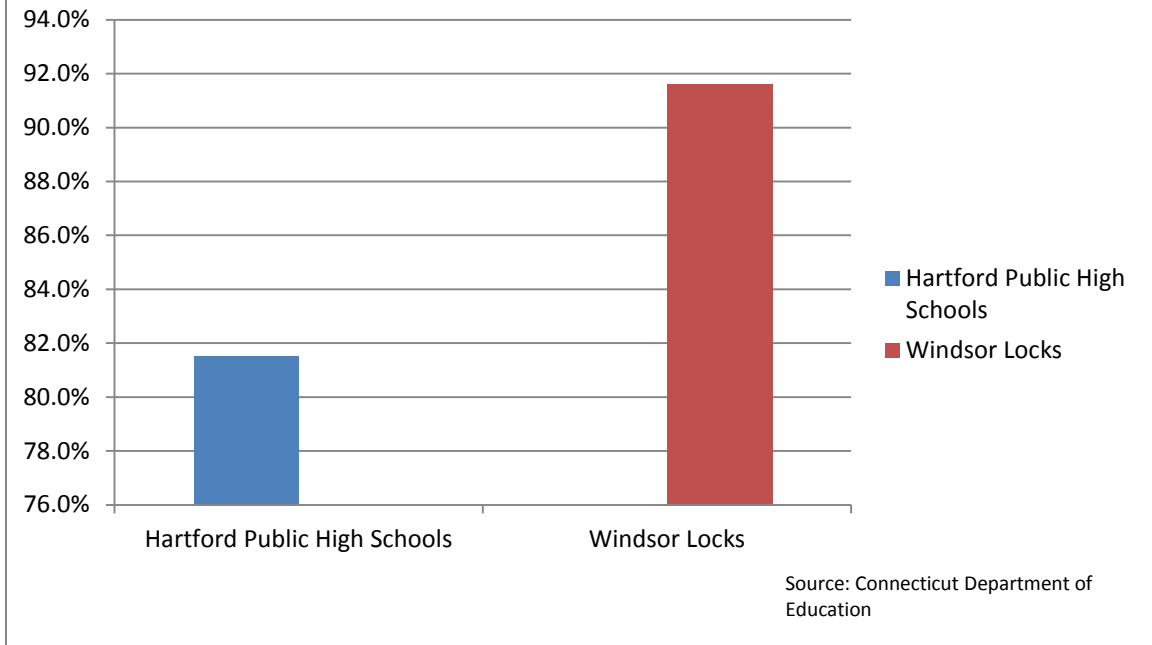
Chart 11 reports the proportion of high school students who scored at or above proficient on the Connecticut Academic Performance Test (CAPT) in reading and mathematics in the Hartford Public High Schools and the Windsor Locks High School, respectively. In both reading and mathematics students attending the Windsor Locks High School were much more likely to score at or above the proficient level on these tests.

Chart 11. Percent at or above Proficient on CAPT 2009-2010



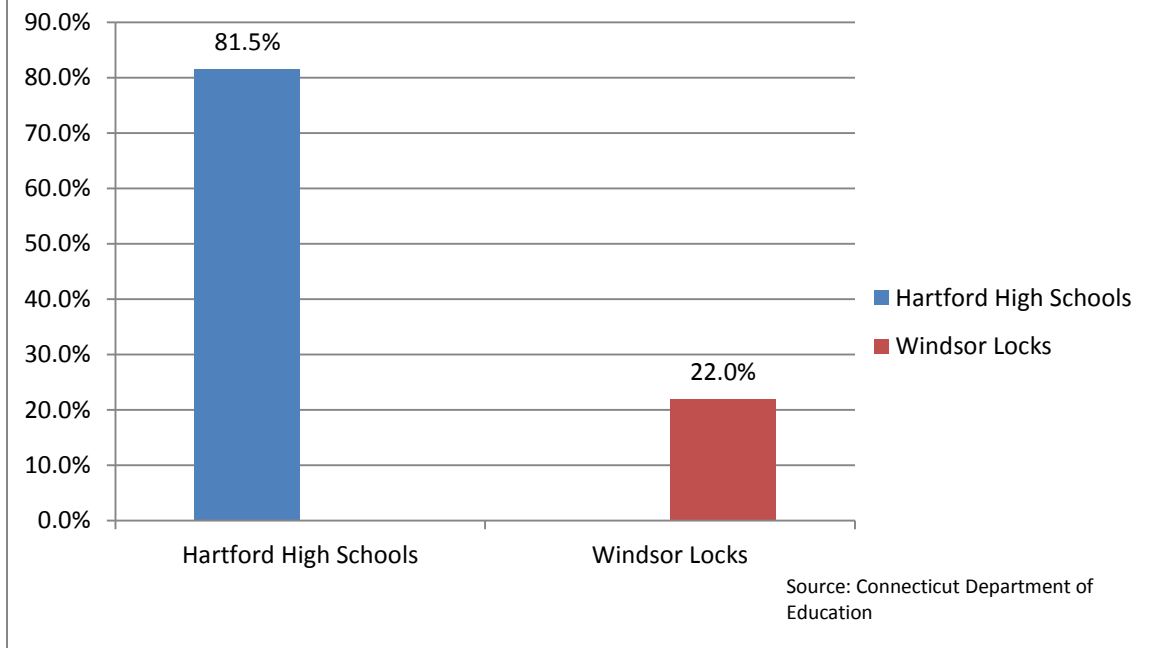
Contrasted in chart 12 are the respective graduation rates for the Hartford Public Schools and the Windsor Locks High School. The probability of a Windsor Locks High school student graduating is approximately 10 percentage points higher than that of a high school student attending a Hartford public high school.

Chart 12. GraduationRate 2009-2010



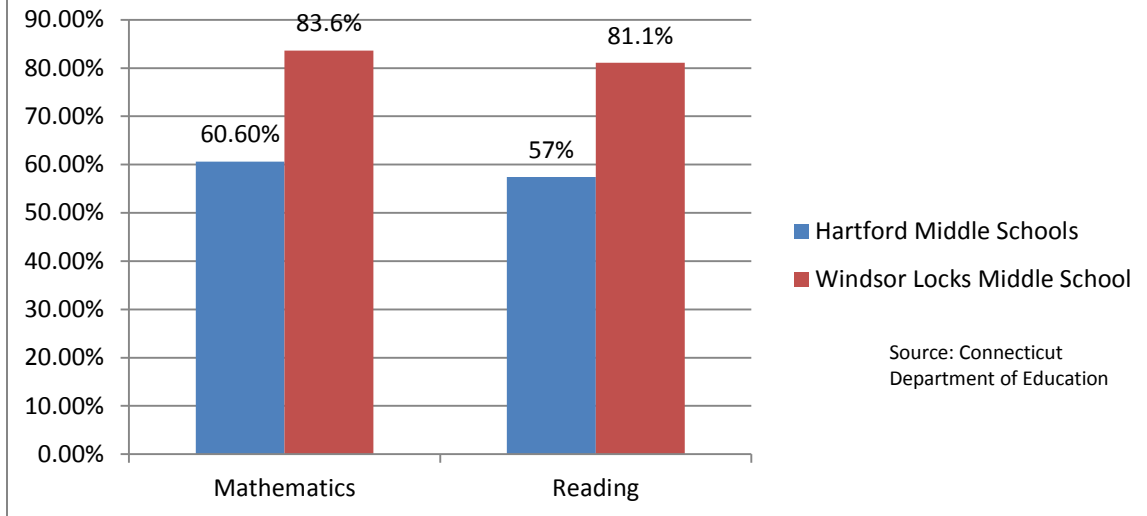
The final indicator of high school quality discussed here is the proportion of students eligible for free or reduced lunch. Chart 13 depicts the proportion in the respective school districts that are eligible for free or reduced lunch. The proportion of high school students eligible for free or reduced lunch is more than three times as great in Hartford as in Windsor Locks. Indeed, the proportion of high school students eligible for free or reduced lunch in Hartford is 81%, exceeding 75% threshold that has been identified among social scientists for a high-poverty school. High poverty schools have been found to suffer from low academic achievement, poor student engagement, and other behavioral problems among students (Rowan 2011).

Chart 13. Percent of High School Students Eligible for Free or Reduced Lunch 2009-2010



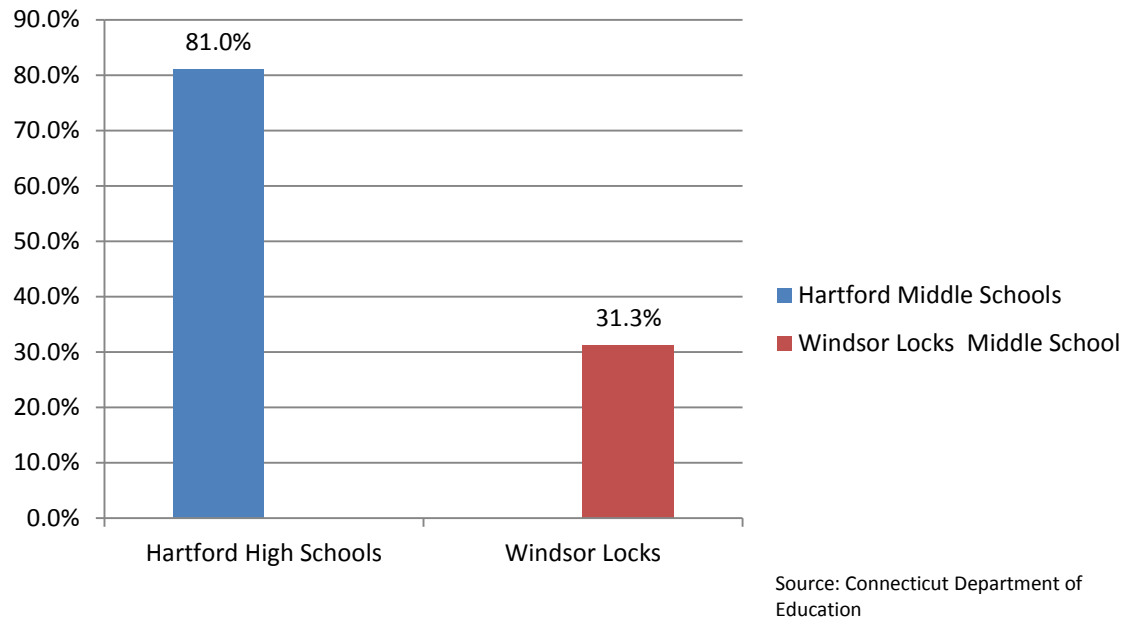
We next consider indicators of school quality for middle schools. As was the case for high schools, we use the entire city of Hartford school district to represent school quality for students residing in Hartford. Chart 14 displays the proportion of middle school students who scored at or above proficient on the Connecticut Mastery Test (CMT) in reading and mathematics in the Hartford Middle Schools and the Windsor Locks Middle School, respectively. Substantially higher proportions of Windsor Locks Middle School students scored at or above the proficiency level than students attending a Hartford middle school.

Chart 14. Percent at or above Proficient on CMT 2009-2010



The last indicator of educational quality considered here are the proportions of middle school students eligible for free or reduced lunch. Chart 15 illustrates the differences between the school districts on the proportion of middle school students eligible for free or reduced lunch. The proportion of Hartford middle school students eligible for free or reduced lunch is well over double the proportion in Windsor Locks Middle School. Moreover, the entire district can be considered a high poverty district as the proportion eligible for free or reduced lunch exceeds the 75% threshold. As noted previously, this threshold is the conventional benchmark for identifying high poverty schools and schools crossing this demarcation line are at significantly greater risk of academic failure, student disengagement and student engagement in risky behaviors.

Chart 15. Percent of Middle School Students Eligible for Free or Reduced Lunch 2009-2010



Across all metrics for both middle schools and high schools the public schools of Windsor Locks are of higher quality than those found in Hartford. Students in Windsor Locks perform better on standardized tests and are more likely to graduate from high school. Moreover, Hartford schools are characterized by high rates of poverty which has been found to be an important predictor of educational failure. For these reasons the conclusion can be drawn that the Windsor Locks public schools offer superior educational opportunities to those available in Hartford.

5. CONCLUSION

This report considers whether neighborhood conditions in Northeast, the neighborhood of the plaintiff, differed from neighborhood conditions in Windsor Locks, the location where the plaintiff sought to move, in a way to deleteriously affect the plaintiff and plaintiff's family's opportunities and life chances. The notion that life chances and opportunities could be adversely affected by the location of one's residence is based on the neighborhood effects thesis. This thesis posits that neighborhoods, operating through several mechanisms that can be broadly classified as social structure, institutional infrastructure and the spatial environment can have important influences on life trajectories. Among the myriad ways neighborhoods influence opportunities are the types of

friends and acquaintances one has, the types of schools and other public goods and services that are accessible and one's exposure to crime and environmental hazards.

The social science evidence summarized in this report confirmed the tenets of the neighborhood effects thesis. Neighborhoods do matter for life chances and opportunities. Having established the theoretical foundation of the neighborhood effects thesis and concluding that the extant evidence supports this thesis, the actual conditions in Northeast and Windsor Locks were contrasted. The two neighborhoods were contrasted along several indicators that have been shown to be important predictors of life chances and opportunity including six measures of neighborhood disadvantage, two measures of neighborhood affluence, two measures of the crime rate and three measures of local school quality.

Across all measures and typically by substantial margins the Windsor Locks neighborhood is more advantaged than the Northeast neighborhood. The Northeast neighborhood is poorer, has higher rates of joblessness, is more racially isolated, has more female-headed households, has higher rates of crime and is in what is considered a disadvantaged school district with poorer performing schools. Based on the analyses presented in section three, the Northeast neighborhood is clearly more disadvantaged.

The neighborhood effects thesis and the voluminous evidence that has been compiled in support of this thesis provide a strong basis for inferring that the differences in neighborhood quality between Northeast and Windsor Locks will be consequential for life chances and opportunity. Someone living in Northeast as opposed to Windsor Locks will find their opportunities much more circumscribed. Based on the evidence presented in this report residents of Northeast are at greater risk of crime victimization, have access to lower quality schools, and live in a more disadvantage neighborhood and hence will be more susceptible to greater risk of unemployment, poor health and other deleterious outcomes that were described previously in this report.

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2008. A Count of Homeless Youth in New York City. Prepared for the Empire State Coalition of Homeless Youth and Family Services. With Darrick Hamilton.

2007. Subprime Lending: An Exploratory Analysis. Prepared for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.

2007. The Pine Forest Revitalization Story. Prepared for the Housing Partnership of Northeast Florida.

2006. [Net Benefits of Public Investments in Individuals: What Do, and Could, We Know?](#) Prepared for the MacArthur Foundation.

2006 "Black Homeownership at the Dawn of The 21st Century: A Dream no Longer Deferred?" In *The State of Black America*. Washington D.C.: National Urban League.

2006. "U.S. Poverty Policy in the Aftermath of Hurricane Katrina." New York: Russell Sage Foundation. With Jared Bernstein, William Spriggs, Peter B. Edelman, Patricia Ruggles, Thomas M. Shapiro, and Michael Stoll.

2005. "W.E.B. DuBois" in Roger Caves (ed.): *Encyclopedia of the City*. London and New York: Routledge.

2003. "A Hazard Rate Analysis of Housing Assistance Receipt." Report to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Amended version published in *Cityscape* 8(2).

2003. "Housing Assistance and Household Composition." Report to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Amended version published in *Cityscape* 8(2).

2003. Commentary on the “Impacts of New Neighborhoods on Poor Families: Evaluating the Policy Implications of the Moving to Opportunity Demonstration.” *Economic Policy Review*. 9(2): 141-43.

2002. “[Gentrification and Displacement](#).” *Urban Prospect*. New York: Citizens Housing and Planning Council.

2002. “The Impact of Secondary Mortgage Market and GSE purchases on Underserved Neighborhoods. Report to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Co-authored with George Galster. Amended version under review at *Urban Affairs Review*.”

2001. “The Impact of Assisted Housing Developments on Concentrated Poverty” Report Prepared for the Fannie Mae Foundation. Amended portions published in *Housing Policy Debate* 14(1/2).

2000. “[Attaining Home Equity](#).” *Urban Prospect*. New York: Citizens Housing and Planning Council.

2000. “[Fair Growth 2020: A Tale of Four Futures](#).” *Housing Facts & Findings* Washington, DC: Fannie Mae Foundation.

1998. *The Siting of Assisted Housing and its Impact on Neighborhood Racial Transition*. Report to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Co-authored with

William Rohe. Amended portions published in *Housing Policy Debate* 11(1) and *Journal of the American Planning Association* 67(3).

1998. *Assisting Unemployment Insurance Claimants: Impacts of the Job Search Assistance Demonstration*. Washington: DC Mathematica Policy Research. Co-authored with Paul T. Decker and Daniel Klepinger.

1997. "Is Pro-Integrative Housing Policy Justified?" *Critical Planning*, 4.

1997. *A Profile of Minority Entrepreneurs in North Carolina*. Durham, North Carolina: North Carolina Institute of Minority Economic Development.

1996. "Residential Segregation and the Options for a More Integrated Society." *Carolina Planning*. 21:2.

1996. *A Study of Impediments to Fair Housing*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Center for Urban and Regional Studies. Co-authored with Victoria Basolo, Margrit Bergholz, and William Rohe.

1995. *A Study of Obstacles to Homeownership in Lexington, North Carolina*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Center for Urban and Regional Studies.

1995. *Residential Segregation in North Carolina: A Barrier to African American Opportunity*. Durham, North Carolina: North Carolina Institute of Minority Economic Development.

Book Reviews:

2007. Review of *Jobs and Economic Development in Minority Communities*. *Journal of Planning and Education Research*. 26:4.

2006. Review of *Places of their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century*. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 72:2.

2000. Review of *No Shame in My Game* by Katherine S. Newman. *Urban Affairs Review* 35:3.

1998. Review of *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City* by Paul Jargowsky. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20:3.

Courses Taught:

Doctoral Colloquium. Columbia University, New York, NY.

Community Development Policy. Columbia University, New York, NY.

Advanced Quantitative Methods. Columbia University, New York, NY.

Race and Ethnicity in The City. Columbia University, New York, NY.

Measuring the Impacts of Your Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy. Neighborhood Reinvestment Institute.

Strategies for Affordable Housing in High Cost Areas. Neighborhood Reinvestment Institute.

Introduction to Housing Policy. Columbia University, New York, NY.

Planning Theory. Columbia University, New York, NY.

Planning Studio. Columbia University, New York, NY.

Quantitative Techniques for Planning. Columbia University, New York, NY.

Research Design for Planners. Columbia University, New York, NY.

Planning Methods. School of Public Policy and Urban Affairs, University of Delaware, Newark, DE.

Local Economic Development Policy. School of Public Policy and Urban Affairs, University of Delaware, Newark, DE.

Statistics for Public Management Decisions. School of Public Policy and Urban Affairs, University of Delaware, Newark, DE.

Public Policy Evaluation. Curriculum in Public Policy Analysis. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Conference Presentations, Invited Lectures:

2009. African American Locational Attainment before the Civil Rights Era. Presented at the annual meetings of the Social Science History Association, Long Beach, CA, November 13.

2009. Panelist. A Dream Deferred? The Future of Housing Opportunities for African Americans at the Annual Legislative Conference of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. September 22.

2009. Race, Poverty, and Spatial Accessibility in New York City. Presented at the annual meetings of the Urban Affairs Association. March 7.

2008. Panelist, Urban Gentrification. Thomas J. Anton/Frederick Lippitt Conference, Taubman Center, Brown University. Providence, RI, October 14.

2008. Neighborhood Diversity, Metropolitan Segregation, and Gentrification: What are the links in the US? Presented at the annual meetings of the Association of Collegiate Schools in Planning and the Association of European Schools of Planning, Chicago, IL July 11.

2008. The Impact of Gentrification on Indigenous Residents. Department of City and Regional Planning. University of Pennsylvania, April 22.

2008. The Impact of Gentrification on Indigenous Residents. Department of City and Regional Planning. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, February 8.

2007. The Impact of Subprime Lending on African Americans. Congressional Black Caucus Annual Legislative Conference, Washington, D.C. September 26.

2007. Panelist, Who Owns Brooklyn? From Farms to Brownstones. Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, NY, May 31.

2007. Panelist, Who Benefits from Gentrification in Brooklyn? Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, NY, April, 5.

2007. Panelist, Policy and Poverty. District Level Forum sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus. New York, February, 23.

2006. Panelist, Development or Gentrification? New York University Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service, November 8.

2006. Panelist, *What is the State of Black America?* National Urban League Annual Conference. Atlanta, July 28.

2006. Panelist, *Promoting Homeownership: How far can we go?* Citizens Housing and Planning Council, New York, June 21.

2006. Panelist, *Housing Displacement in Brooklyn*. Center for the Study of Brooklyn, Brooklyn College, June 9.

2006. Panelist, *Creating Positive Neighborhood Change without Displacement*. Reinvesting Older Communities: People, Places and Markets. Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank. Philadelphia, April 6.

2006. Discussant. Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Residential Segregation. Annual meeting of the Population Association of America. Los Angeles, April 1.

2006. *Gentrification in Black Communities*. Guest Lecturer, Lifelong Learners, Columbia University. January 27.

2005. *Neighborhood effects in the context of gentrification*. Presented to the Center on Family Demography and Public Policy, School of Social Work, Columbia University. November 26.

2005. *Affordable Housing Strategies for Reducing Poverty*. Presented at the Poverty, Race and Policy Roundtable sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. Washington, DC November 17.

2005. *Does Gentrification bring Neighborhood Effects? Evidence from a Qualitative Inquiry*. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. Philadelphia, PA August 14.

2005. Panelist on the *When Gentrification comes Knocking* Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation symposium. Minneapolis, MN April 20.

2005. *Deciphering Gentrification*. Presented at the Preservation Development Symposium. Washington, D.C. January 25.

2004. *Ghettoization and U.S. Housing Policy*. Lecture to the Housing Committee of the Danish Parliament. Columbia University, October 12.

2004. *Gentrification: the Double Edged Sword*. Presented at the annual National Preservation Conference. Louisville, KY September 25.

2004. *Gentrification Trends in African American Neighborhoods*. Presented at the Annual Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Convention. Washington, D.C. September 8.

2004. *There the Goes the 'Hood: The Meaning of Gentrification to Long-Term Residents*. Presented at the annual meetings of the Urban Affairs Association. Washington, D.C. April 3.

2004. Panelist on *What is Gentrification?* At the second Annual Symposium on Institution Building in Harlem. City College, New York. March 20.

2004. *The American Dream Deferred: Trends in African American Homeownership*. Presented at the annual meetings of the Allied Social Sciences Association. San Diego, CA January 5.

2003. *Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighborhoods*. Presented at the annual meetings of the North American Regional Science Council. Philadelphia, PA November 22.

2003. *The American Dream Deferred: Trends in African American Homeownership*. Department of Public Administration, George Washington University. March 10, 2003.

2002. *Gentrification and Displacement in New York City*. Colloquium on Law, Economics, Politics and Urban Affairs. Wagner School of Public Service and New York University School of Law.

2002. *The Impact of Segregation on Homeownership Opportunities for African Americans*. Presented at the annual meetings of the Association of Collegiate Schools in Planning, Baltimore, MD November 23.

2002. *A Dream no Longer Deferred: African American Homeownership during the 1990s*. Center for Urban and Regional Studies, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. November 18.

2002. *Gentrification and Displacement: New York City during the 1990s*. Presented at the Urban Issues Workshop. School of International and Public Affairs. Columbia University. New York, NY, March 12.

2002. *Commentary on Moving to Opportunity Demonstration*. Presented at the Policies to Promote Affordable Housing Conference sponsored by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and New York University Law School. New York, NY, February 7.

2001. *A Dream Deferred or Realized? The Impact of The Impact of Public Policy on Fostering Non-White Homeownership in New York City in the 1990s*. Presented at the annual meetings of the Association of Collegiate Schools in Planning, Cleveland, OH, November 1-4.

2001. *Housing Trends in New York City during the 1990s*. Presented at the Annual Fannie Mae Foundation Conference, Cleveland, OH, October 31.

2001. *Does the Spatial Assimilation Model Work for Blacks Immigrants in the U.S.?* Presented at the annual meetings of the Urban Affairs Association, Detroit, MI, April 25-28.

2000. *Immigrant Segregation: the New York Experience*. Presented at the annual Fund for an Open Society conference. Philadelphia, PA. December 2.

2000. *Fair Growth 2020: A Tale of Four Cities*. Presented at the annual Fannie Mae Foundation Conference, Atlanta, GA, November 1.

2000. *The Impact of Assisted Housing on Concentrated Poverty*. Presented at the annual meetings of the Association of Collegiate Schools in Planning, Atlanta, GA, November 2-5.

2000. *Moving Up and Moving Out of the 'Hood: A Test of Three Perspectives*. Urban Issues Lecture Series, Institute of Architecture and Planning, Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD, March 14.

1999. *The Impact of Assisted Housing on "White Flight."* Presented at the annual meetings of the Association of Collegiate Schools in Planning, Chicago, IL, October 21-24.

1999. *Minority Proximity to Whites: A Test of Three Perspectives*. Presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, IL, August 6-10.

1998. *The Siting of Assisted Housing and its Impact on Neighborhood Racial Transition*. Presented at the annual meetings of the Urban Affairs Association, Fort Worth, TX, April 22-25.

Media Appearances:

Culture Clash in Metropolis. *The Brian Leher Show*, WNYC, New York City. July 28, 2008.

Guest on *Thinking Allowed*, BBC, June 18, 2008.

Guest on *In the Money*, CNN, November 18, 2006.

Guest on *Naomi's New Morning*, Hallmark Channel, September 20, 2006.

Guest on *The Global Black Experience*, WBAI, New York City. August 30, 2006.

Media Appearances, Continued:

There Goes the Hood: Gentrification in New York City. *News and Notes*. National Public Radio. July 20, 2006.

The Gentrification Debate. *The Business Shrink*. Sirius Radio Channel 114. March 29, 2006.

Gentrification: Progress or False Promises? *The Tavis Smiley Show*. May 13, 2005.

Gentrification: Blessing or Blight? *Talk of the Nation*. National Public Radio. April 25, 2005.

Is Gentrification Good or Bad for San Diego? KPBS' *These Days*. April 27, 2005.

Guest on Karamu, WURD, Voices of the City, Philadelphia. April 29, 2005.

Grants and Consulting:

Principal Investigator. The Impact of Source of Income Anti-Discrimination Laws on Voucher Utilization and Spatial Segregation. \$24,500.

Co-Principal Investigator. Race, Poverty, and Spatial Accessibility in New York City. National Science Foundation. \$149,980.

Co-Principal Investigator. *Obesity, Physical Activity and Built Space in New York City*. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. \$1,666,777.

Principal Investigator. *Equitable Development and Gentrification*. July 2004-December 2004. Center for Urban Research and Policy, Columbia University. \$2,500.

Principal Investigator. *Gentrification and the Poor*. February 2003-December 2004. Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, Columbia University. \$7,445.

Principal Investigator. *A Hazard Rate Analysis of Housing Assistance Receipt*. July 2003-November 2003. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. \$12,000.

Principal Investigator. Housing Assistance and Household Composition. February 2003 – July 2003. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. \$10,000.

Principal Investigator. *The Siting of Federally Assisted Housing and Neighborhood Change during the 1990s*. July 2002. Brookings Institution. \$9,500.

Co-Principal Investigator, *The Impact of GSE Mortgage Purchases on Undeserved Neighborhoods*. September 2001-June 2002. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. \$49,767.

Principal Investigator, *The Impact of Assisted Housing on Concentrated Poverty*. April 2000 to April 2001. Fannie Mae Foundation. \$25,000.

Co-Principal Investigator, *The Siting of Assisted Housing and its Impact on Neighborhood Racial Transition*. September 1997 to August 1998. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. \$50,000.

Honors, Awards and Fellowships

Best Book in Urban Affairs. For *There Goes the Hood*. 2007.

One of 10 Best Books in Planning. Planetizen. For *There Goes the Hood*. 2006.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Urban Scholars Postdoctoral Fellowship. September 2001 to December 2002. \$92,170.

Summer Fellow. Mathematica Policy Research. June 1997 to September 1997.

Minority Presence Fellow. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. August 1994 to May 1997.

Patricia Roberts Harris Fellow. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. August 1990 to December 1991.

Professional Service:

University:

Faculty Senator, 2000-2002

Development Committee of the Faculty Senate, 2000-2002

Faculty Affiliate, Robert Wood Johnson Health and Society Scholars Program

Faculty Fellow, Institute for Social and Economic Policy Research

School/Program

Director, Urban Planning Program

Acting Director, Doctoral Program in Urban Planning

Faculty Search Committee

Minority Recruitment Committee

Curriculum Development

Doctoral sub-committee in Urban Planning

Joint Faculty Committee on Avery Library

Postgraduate William Kinne Fellows Traveling Prize Committee Best Thesis Award Committee

Co-organized *Race, Ethnicity and the City* conference held April 22, 2005, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Columbia University

External:

Editorial Advisory Board *Cityscape*

Editorial Advisory Board *Housing Policy Debate*

Editorial Advisory Board *Housing Studies*

Editorial Advisory Board *Journal of the American Planning Association*

Editorial Advisory Board *Journal of Planning and Education Research*

Editorial Advisory Board *Planning Theory and Practice*

Editorial Advisory Board *Urban Affairs Review*

Referee *American Journal of Public Health*

Referee *American Sociological Review*

Referee *City and Community*

Referee *Economic Development Quarterly*

Referee *Housing Policy Debate*

Referee *Housing Studies*

Referee *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*

Referee *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*

Referee *Journal of Planning Education and Research*

Referee *Journal of Planning Literature*

Referee *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*

Referee *Journal of Regional Science*

Referee *Journal of the American Planning Association*

Referee *Journal of Urban Affairs*

Referee *Planning Theory and Practice*

Referee *Real Estate Economics*

Referee *Review of Black Political Economy*

Referee *Social Forces*

Referee *Social Science Quarterly*

Referee *Social Science Research*

Referee *Urban Affairs Review*

Referee *Urban Studies*

Reviewer University of Chicago Press

Reviewer University of Minnesota Press

Reviewer World Conference on Transport Research Society

Reviewer of proposed methodology by the U.S. General Accounting Office to evaluate the impacts of Empowerment Zone initiative, March 8, 2006

Annual Conference Selection Committee, Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management, 2005

Workshop participant, Workshop on Developing Research Methodologies

That Integrate Administrative Records With Summary Statistics from the American Community Survey, September 20, 2002 The Jacob France Institute, University of Baltimore.

Professional Associations

Member, American Planning Association

Professional Associations, continued

Member, National Economics Association

Board Member, Urban Affairs Association

Expert Witness/Consultant to Litigator

New York, NY: Fair Housing Justice Center v. Edgewater Park Owners cooperative (Disparate impact of recommendation requirements), 2011—Present.

New York, NY: Broadway Triangle Community Coalition v. Michael Bloomberg (Disparate impact of neighborhood preferences and proposed housing unit configuration), 2010—Present.

U.S. Department of Justice, Eastern District v. Town of Oyster Bay (Disparate impact of housing programs), 2010-Present.

New York, NY: MLB Associates Corp v. City of New York (impact of night clubs on surrounding property values), 2002 – Present.

New York, NY: Juana Sierra v. City of New York (impact of residence in a SRO on surrounding child development), 2008.

Cleveland, OH: 84 Video/Newsstand, Inc. V. Thomas Sartini. (impact of night clubs on surrounding property values), 2005 – Present.