The arc of opportunity: a decade of research on housing, neighborhoods, and social mobility

— Raj Chetty

(Keynote address at the 9th National Housing Mobility Conference. September 20, 2023)

There's no higher compliment, in my view, for an academic than seeing that your work has had a real impact on people's lives, so this conference is incredibly meaningful to me. And of course, that impact is only possible because of the work you all do, so I'm very grateful for all of your efforts. As I was reflecting on what I'd talk about this afternoon, it occurred to me that my own life, the opportunities I've had, have really been because of housing mobility, not so much at the local level, but in an international sense. My parents grew up in low-income families in South India, and moved to the United States in search of the American dream,

around the time my parents and others came to the United States, it was a virtual guarantee that you were going to achieve the American dream of moving up. We estimate that 92% of kids born in 1940 went on to earn more than their parents did. But if you look at what has happened over time, you can see that there's been a dramatic fading of the American Dream such that for children born in the 1980s, who are turning 30 around now, when we're measuring their incomes as adults, it's become basically 50/50 as to whether you're going to achieve the American dream of doing better than your parents: the American dream has become a coin flip. And so that broad trend is of

The Fading American Dream
Percent of Children Earning More than Their Parents, by Year of Birth

Source: Chetty, Grusky, Hell, Hendren, Manduca, Narang (Science 2017)

in search of better opportunities for themselves and especially for their kids, like countless other immigrants. And when they moved to the United States, which was back in the 1960s, the U.S. was truly a land of opportunity, much more so than it is today.
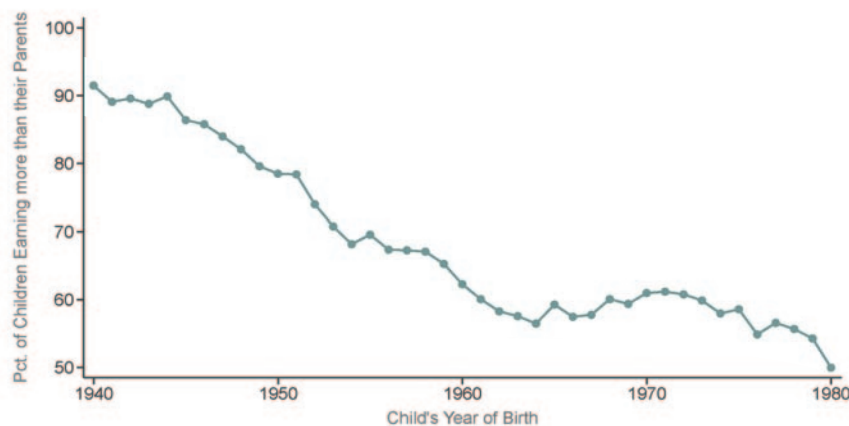
So in this first chart here, I want to set the stage for what I want to talk about this afternoon. What we're looking at here is children's chances of achieving the American dream, measured in a simple way: asking what fraction of children go on to earn more than their parents did by the year in which the child was born. And what you can see is that for kids born in the middle of the last century, back in the 1940s or 1950s,

great interest to economists like myself, because it reflects a fundamental change in the U.S. economy that we'd like to understand. I think it's this very trend that underlies a lot of the frustration that people around the United States are expressing, that this is no longer a country where it's easy to get ahead, even through hard work.

So why do I start with this chart? Broadly, in our research group at Harvard—Opportunity Insights—we've been interested in studying why the American Dream is fading, and what we can do to restore the American Dream going forward. And there are many different issues at play.

Recycled Paper

And basically, the way I've structured my thinking and research agenda over the past decade or so is trying to understand the science of economic opportunity, what is happening here and what we can do to make progress going forward. That's taken us in various different directions. Something I didn't anticipate is that it would take us in the direction of housing policy — and housing mobility, in particular — as being a key aspect of what may matter for economic opportunity.

What I'm going to do today is spend a few minutes talking about how our research proceeded from the first chart, and what I see as the state of the field, and this is going to connect to themes you've heard about in sessions this morning and what you'll hear about in the next session on the Community Choice Demonstration, which I think is very exciting. And then I'm going to talk about some of the key open questions and future directions in this field.

So let's start with this trend of declining intergenerational income expectations. When you look at this trend, overall, it's very hard to figure out exactly what may be driving it. Because there are numerous things that have changed in the United States over the past 60 years. And you probably can think of many different explanations: globalization, changes in inequality, the decline of unions, changes in levels of education, numerous things could have been driving this trend. What has really allowed us to make progress as a field, in the context of housing mobility, in the context of many other questions from a scientific perspective, is the ability to break down this national data in a much finer grained way, thanks to the power of big data. So, very analogous to

how the microscope revolutionized biology, we're at a point in the social sciences where we now have the tools and the data to look at these kinds of kinds of questions in a much more granular way, and thereby obtain much greater insight. And that's basically the approach we're trying to take at Opportunity Insights to this and many other questions.

So, what was the first step in that agenda? To understand economic mobility in a finer-grained way, we used data from anonymized tax returns, covering the entire U.S. population, and we looked at a subset of kids who were born in the early 1980s in the United States, about 20 million children. We mapped those kids back to where they grew up, and we linked them to their parents. And we divided the U.S. into 740 different metro and rural areas. And in each of those areas, we calculate a very simple measure of upward mobility. We asked, "What is the average income at age 35 for kids who grew up in low-income families in these areas?" And the first simple point that became evident to us about 9 or 10 years ago is that there's an enormous amount of variation in your chances of rising up and achieving the American dream. Even in the present day, in the United States, there's some parts of the country like the center of the U.S., a place like Dubuque, Iowa, for example, where kids growing up in families making $27,000 a year, on average, are making $45,000 or even $50,000, a year, a tremendous amount of upward mobility in a single generation.

Yet, there are other places like Charlotte, North Carolina, which I know is represented here today, and is trying to make lots of changes on these very issues. In the historical data,

What has really allowed us to make progress as a field is the ability to break down this national data in a much finer grained way, thanks to the power of big data.

In This Issue:

The Role of the Federal Government in Promoting Cross-Sector Regional Collaboration

Elizabeth H. DeBray, Philip Tegeler, Ariel H. Bierbaum, & Andrew J. Greenlee

Segregation and concentration of poverty are long-standing issues with material consequences for academic and life outcomes as well as democratic representation and participation. The enduring impacts of housing and school segregation continue to undermine the democratic nature of our public education system. As powell pointed out more than 25 years ago:

> The failure to act perpetuates the injury of apartheid in education, housing, and, indeed, in our very psyche. If we are to avoid a fractured society, forever at war with itself, we must make it possible for everyone to participate equally in our communities. We must challenge the racial hierarchy implicit in segregation and remove the barriers to discovering our common humanity, filtered through our differences (powell, 1996, p. 754).

Segregation, as powell noted, does not just create a racialized hierarchy, but creates uneven geographies of opportunity that foreclose low-income households and Black and Brown communities' access to quality healthcare, housing, employment, transportation, childcare, education, and so on, resulting in negative consequences and outcomes (Galster & Killen, 1995). On the flipside, these geographies enable spatial "opportunity hoarding" where wealthier and predominantly white households accrue positive outcomes from the implicit and explicit policy mechanisms that have spatially distributed opportunity unevenly (Rury & Rife, 2018). Desegregated schools have had real material benefit; attendance at racially desegregated schools and higher per-pupil spending have been found to reduce intergenerational transmission of poverty (Johnson & Nazaryan, 2019). Despite these gains, inter-district racial disparities have increased over the past decades (Owens et al., 2016), while fragmentation of multiple school districts in metropolitan areas hindered coordination of broader policies aimed at reducing the racial isolation of students (Holme & Finnigan, 2018).

In the realm of housing, individual-level actions exacerbate and cement segregation. For example, in many communities, parents and realtors rely on test-based accountability metrics to market houses and neighborhoods, which worsens racially segregated patterns in both housing and schools (Wells, 2015). In this way, "privileged families shape not only the schools [and neighborhoods] they choose, but also the ones they don't" (Noonan & Schneider, 2022). Less attention is paid to the role of transportation in school and neighborhood segregation, though some recent work has focused on mobility justice as far as the role of transportation in education equity and spatial patterns relating to public transportation access (Bierbaum et al., 2020).

Regions and states could act to promote greater collaboration, but education is almost never addressed by metropolitan planning organizations, and local politics usually thwart any regionwide consensus or willingness to collaborate and cede the advantages of affluent districts and municipalities.

> **Education is almost never addressed by metropolitan planning organizations.**

For instance, a regional student assignment plan for Omaha, Nebraska was created in 2008, but was not sustained because of the lack of cooperation by suburban districts (Holme & Finnigan, 2018). A different point of intervention is needed, and a new scale of action required. By linking the housing, education, and transportation sectors, we can begin to abolish racial exclusion and radically transform our society.

A Problem of Intergovernmental Relations

Given the current structural and political limitations of both local and regional entities, we contend that the federal government has a crucial role to play promoting and facilitating collaboration toward reducing segregation across the siloed policy areas of housing, education, and transportation. The federal government is the only actor with the leverage and resources to promote common targets that will enhance spatial and educational justice for children and families.

Our suggestion is not without precedent. In 2011, the What Works Collaborative commissioned researchers at the UC Berkeley Center for Cities + Schools (CC+S) to write a white paper on the nexus of schools, housing, and regional planning for sustainable communities (McKoy et al., 2011). While not explicitly focused on desegregation, the CC+S white paper outlines persistent challenges of cross-sector and multi-level collaboration, despite acknowledged synergies and shared goals towards equity. These challenges include divergent approaches to mitigating inequities and segregation (e.g., place-based investments versus mobility strategies); deeply entrenched silos that result in jurisdictional misalignment, different time horizons for planning and implementation; a lack of shared vocabulary, metrics, and data systems; and limited staff capacity to initiate and sustain cross-sector collaborations (McKoy et al., 2011).

Charlotte, unfortunately, was a place where if you grew up in a family making that exact same income level $27,000 a year, one generation later, you're actually making less than your parents were on average, which is kind of unbelievable, given the amount of economic progress that has happened over the past 30 years in America in general, and in Charlotte, in particular. So we started to recognize that place might matter in an important way. And furthermore, in subsequent work, it became evident that place matters not just at the level of different metro areas, but at a much finer geographic level.

I think a number of you have heard about the Opportunity Atlas, a tool that we put out about five years ago, that allows you to look at the same set of statistics that I was just showing you, but now at the census tract level. Here, I'm just showing you a snapshot in the New York City area where, tract by tract, you can see what children's chances of rising up are. The striking thing in this map is the spectrum of colors that you're seeing within New York, from the darkest reds to the deepest blues. You can drive two miles down the road in New York City. And it's like you're going from Alabama to Iowa in terms of rates of upward mobility. So the roots of these differences in economic opportunity are hyperlocal. And this is the sense in which mobility across neighborhoods can potentially be quite important.

We're by no means the first to think that neighborhood environment in place might matter. Folks in this room: sociologists, practitioners, for many decades have had that view, and a lot of their work has been motivated by that hypothesis. But it's been surprisingly hard in the social sciences to actually document hard evidence that places have a causal effect on people's outcomes. And so the key next step in this research agenda, which I think was really crucial for the field is understanding what places' causal effects are on people's outcomes. And again here big data was very useful. We were able to look at millions of families that moved between different neighborhoods, in New York and in cities across America. I'll skip the details, but basically, the punchline of what we found is that places do matter. They matter in particular for kids, rather than for adults. And they matter in proportion to how long you are growing up there.

So now you can start to understand why the early studies of Moving To Opportunity necessarily focused on adults and older kids, because the young kids had not grown up yet when HUD was doing its final impacts evaluation, or when my colleague, Larry Katz, and many others were writing studies using survey data of MTO. They just weren't able to look at the youngest kids. And so with this big data approach, we were first able to show at the national level that you get this very strong dosage effect: the more years you spend in a better environment, the better you do.

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So then we were able to go back to the MTO data working with folks at HUD, linking that to the Internal Revenue Service tax records, and showed that you get the exact same pattern with MTO, a randomized control trial, as we saw in the Opportunity Atlas. Then things really started to make sense, in accord with the intuitions of people here who were working on these issues well before I was. We had kind of missed this proof with the research methodology we had before, and we learned we need to focus on the young kids who get that biggest dosage of moving into a better environment, who gain the most from making those moves.

With that set of research findings, the next thing that emerged that's really influential in my own thinking about how to do research, both in this context and more broadly, is thinking about what this actually means for practice on the ground, and how we can make this work for more kids. And the pivotal moment here—which I think Sunia [Zaterman] mentioned in her introductory remarks this morning—was when Greg Russ [then executive director of the Cambridge Housing Authority] walked into my office one summer at Harvard. And I vividly remember he had a number of our papers marked up in red ink. He had read them in great detail. And he said, "You know, I think there's a real opportunity here to work with practitioners in the housing mobility space to make a difference."

The thesis was, working with Greg and others, like Stephen Norman and Andrew Lofton in Seattle, let's try to think about how we might make a difference. What can we learn about how to make housing mobility programs more effective? What came out of that was a collaboration Creating Moves To Opportunity (CMTO) that I think a number of you are familiar with. It was basically a pilot study, set up as a randomized trial, to help families with housing vouchers move to higher opportunity neighborhoods by doing three things: providing customized counseling services, connecting people to landlords, and providing a little bit of financial support for things like security deposits, application fees, and so on in a tailored way. Essentially, the way I think about it abstractly is sort of a social support service to help you use the voucher more effectively without fundamentally changing the parameters of the voucher itself.

So we set up a randomized trial with the Seattle and King County Housing Authorities, we had almost 1,000 families come in to apply for housing voucher to in the standard way, and 500 of them—roughly half—received these additional services.. And we were then able to follow these families over time and ask what happened. And what you can see from our results, and as I think a number of you are aware, these additional services made a huge difference. In Seattle, the

Recalibrating a (new) Sociology of Housing
A review of *The Sociology of Housing*, edited by Brian McCabe and Eva Rosen

By Gregory Preston

Housing is often only in the public consciousness or policymaker agenda during cyclical busts, as in the foreclosures of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis or the eviction moratoria of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, for many low-income homeowners and renters, housing is in a state of perpetual crisis: a shortage of affordable and habitable housing, housing precarity and the risk of displacement, a durable architecture of segregation and resulting exclusion from opportunities, to name a few.

Studying the inequalities that arise from these housing crises is not new for sociologists. Some of the discipline's earliest scholars placed housing in their analyses of social inequality, like Du Bois in *The Philadelphia Negro*. However, the study of housing itself remained indirect and fragmented across sociology's many subfields. In *The Sociology of Housing*, Brian McCabe and Eva Rosen bring together preeminent scholars in a twenty-four-essay edited volume to make the case for housing as a coherent subfield and a primary object within sociological inquiry.

Many of the contributing authors contend sociology has much to extend research on housing, including the discipline's theoretical frameworks and methodological toolkit. The sociological perspective is unique, the editors posit, in that it facilitates seeing housing as both an input and outcome—on both sides of the equation—of social relations. The focus of the collection, however, is not novel empirical findings. Instead, *The Sociology of Housing* aims to trace the definitional contours and lay out a research agenda for a more coordinated field of study.

Across the numerous topics covered in the volume, some fundamental themes and components of a sociology of housing emerge: First, race is a central and salient axis of housing inequality in the United States. Second, a sociology of housing must attend to the spatial and locally differentiated facets of inequality. Third, a sociology of housing must contend with social inequalities as dynamic processes, not just fixed outcomes. Lastly, researchers of the field must engage with policy as it is part of the causal mechanism of inequality, and the products of their research have inherent consequences for policymaking.

To bring together such a vast literature, the editors organize the volume into four parts. The first takes on the many drivers that elevate housing to a societal issue: institutionalized racism, settler colonialism, and the social determinants of

> *A sociology of housing must contend with social inequalities as dynamic processes, not just fixed outcomes.*

health. Two standout chapters address a gap in the racial residential segregation literature which has largely focused on and theorized from Black-white differences: In Chapter 3, Rendón, Martínez, and Kulkarni call on sociologists to adopt a relational treatment of race, where racialization is a dynamic process understood in both local and historical contexts. From a relational perspective, the experience of Latinos is not taken to be somewhere between Blacks and whites (comparative) but is richly theorized on its own terms and co-constituted with the racial formation of other groups. Darrah-Okike, Rile, Garboden, and Rita similarly challenge the Black-white binary in Chapter 5 and call for the sociology of housing to grapple with settler colonialism and integrate indigenous challenges to property into the field's theoretical framework.

In Part II, authors address the full spectrum of housing insecurity, from unstable tenure and 'doubling up' to eviction and homelessness. Overall, this research articulates that the state of being housed is neither static nor binary, but dynamic. Considering there is now an extensive literature, Nelson and Lens in Chapter 8 urge researchers to extend eviction research beyond the correlates and deleterious outcomes of eviction and explore the institutional arrangements and processes that shape the diverse local political economies of eviction. Similarly, Herring in Chapter 12 prompts researchers to adopt longitudinal perspectives, to focus on dynamic processes in which people enter and exist shelter systems and permanent supportive housing. The drive to confront complexity is mirrored in novel sites of analysis offered in this part: of unique homeownership/land-rentership arrangements that characterize much of manufactured housing, of mixed housing arrangements like 'doubling up' and non-family households that are often obscured in survey data, and of the varied motivations of people squatting in informal housing. These authors in this section challenge the disciplinary norms that tend toward theoretical abstraction and paradigmatic cases.

In Part III, housing supply is considered not just an economic good in abstract exchange, but as a market constructed and perpetuated by social relations. This section illustrates how a robust sociology of housing will emerge from the interplay of structural theorizing and agent-based fieldwork. Garboden's compelling conceptualization of 'exploitation' in housing markets in Chapter 17 makes its contribution to the

comprehensive mobility services cost about $2,500 per family, which is not a tiny sum, but relative to the monthly voucher payments that you're making, it's actually not that much of an incremental expense. This intervention dramatically changed where families chose to live. In the treatment group, 55% ended up moving to high opportunity areas, while in the control group only 14% did. Now, this was very exciting to us, but the next question was, of course, why is this happening?

One of the new things we did in the context of this study was to collaborate with the brilliant Stefanie DeLuca, who led a team of folks to talk with the families who ended up moving to these high opportunity places to try to understand what it was that was making a difference to them. I know that Stephanie touched on some of these themes this morning, so I'll be brief, but we learned that the families valued the support that these mobility programs provide above and beyond the financial support of the voucher itself: emotional and psychological support, the flood of relief that comes from having a housing counselor helping you out, somebody who's helping you broker with landlords and navigate an unfamiliar situation, someone who's able to provide short-term financial assistance exactly when you need it, and tailored to your particular situation.

I think what I see as a vision for modern social science, is about bringing these different types of people working together: people doing quantitative work like myself and my team, and people on the ground, practitioners, like all of you who really understand how these programs work and make can make a difference, and people doing qualitative work like Stephanie. I think there's a valuable interplay between these different methods.

Many economists would have the view that what really matters is giving people incentives to move to these higher opportunity places, maybe telling them where they are. If you take a totally rational economic view of the world, that's the only thing that you might think would matter. In fact, that turns out to be totally wrong. If you just give people financial incentives and information, it doesn't get us anywhere close to what the customized services do. And if you do kind of a "light touch" version of these services — so basically try to save some money and don't help people on a one-on-one basis, do something a little bit more uniform — you get part of the way there but not nearly as far as really working with people kind of meeting them where they're at. So the lesson from that is these kinds of mobility services can be really impactful, but they need to be done in this higher touch sort of way. And they can really dramatically shift the impacts of the voucher program.

What can we learn about how to make housing mobility programs more effective?

Fraction of Families Who Leased Units in High-Opportunity Areas
Phase II of CMTO Pilot Study
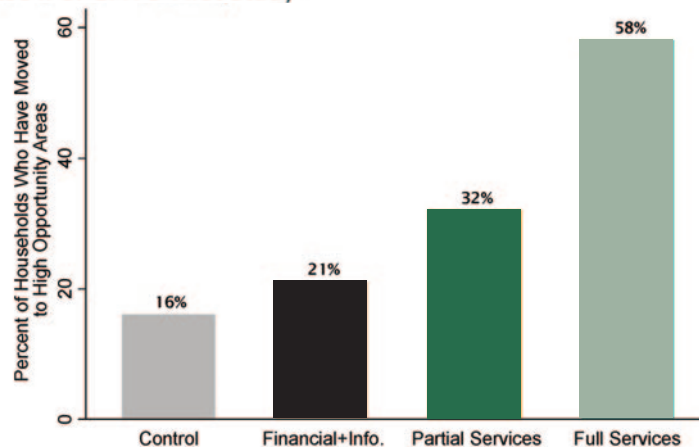
Just to put a number on it, we estimate that the average kid who grows up in a high opportunity place as a result of being randomly assigned to the treatment group will go on to earn about $200,000 more over their lifetimes, relative to the children in the control group who, just by chance, didn't get those additional services. So that shows you the value, the rate of return to society of that $2,500 upfront investment. And I think it's that kind of quantification that that can help motivate policymakers and Congress to change things on scale. And so what came out of that sort of work and other related work that others have done, as you all know, is the bill that supports the demonstration that HUD is now doing, and a number of you are now involved in — plus the new housing mobility services funding that just went out. There are other policy efforts like the Family Stability and Opportunity Vouchers Act, which is currently being considered in Congress, a $5 billion expansion of the Housing Choice Voucher Program, with additional mobility supports, additional opportunity vouchers, and so on. All of this data helped shift the conversation, in terms of what we should do going forward in the housing mobility space.

What I want to do in the last couple of minutes here, is talk about what I see as some of the key open questions and

What is Social Housing?

Alliance for Housing Justice

Social housing is a public option for housing. Social housing is permanently and deeply affordable, under community control, and most importantly, exists outside of the speculative real estate market. Social housing can exist in different forms. It can be owned by public entities, residents or mission-driven nonprofits. It can be occupied by renters or homeowners. It includes public housing, community land trusts, new construction, existing affordable housing, and conversion of current market-rate housing, and should meet the scale of the housing crisis.

The Alliance for Housing Justice defines social housing as follows:

Socially owned. Social housing must be owned by public entities (cities, housing authorities, counties, states, or the federal government), tenants, or mission-driven nonprofits, such as cooperatives and community land trusts.

Permanently decommodified. Social housing must be protected from for-profit investors and the speculative market. It must never be resold for profit. It should be treated as a human need, not a commodity to provide profit to landlords or investors.

Permanently affordable. Social housing must be permanently affordable to all, even the lowest income residents, including residents with no incomes. It should be deeply affordable. No social housing resident should pay over 30% of their income on housing costs.

Under community control. Social housing must be developed, owned, managed, and operated in a way that is accountable to residents, the community, and the public. Residents should have a direct role in management and decision-making, including through tenant unions.

Anti-racist and equitable. Social housing must be designed to promote racial and gender equity and end displacement of communities of color. Immigration status and criminal records should not disqualify people from residence. Social housing should be planned to advance the access of marginalized communities to greater social and economic opportunities, by equalizing these resources across geography.

Sustainable. Social housing should be built using green construction methods according to the principles of energy efficient design. It should include the renovation and sustainable rehabilitation of existing buildings for energy efficiency and disaster resilience.

High quality and accessible. Social housing must be high quality and built to last. It should be accessible to all people regardless of age, physical need, or other factors.

With tenant security. Social housing should be operated within a set of practices that protect tenants from evictions and displacement, such as rent regulation, just cause protections, right to counsel, right to organize, and more.

Social Ownership

Social housing must be owned by residents, a public entity, or a mission-driven nonprofit, not a for-profit developer. Examples of social housing ownership structures include public housing, community land trusts, limited equity tenant cooperatives, and international social housing systems.

Public housing is the primary form of social housing in the United States and often the only source of affordable housing for America's lowest-income families. 1.2 million families currently live in public housing (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, n.d.). However, our government has, time and again, chosen to disinvest from public housing – and done so in racially discriminatory ways – causing too much to be in a state of extreme disrepair. Residents have reported being mistreated by management and criminalized by the police (Miller, 2020). Despite legal requirements to the contrary, public housing residents often don't have much say over their living conditions. Current public housing residents also face eviction if their incomes rise too much. Any social housing program must include public housing and its residents by returning the program to its original promise of high quality, stable, affordable housing for all residents.

Currently, over 225 community land trusts (CLTs) exist in the United States. CLTs are nonprofit, democratically governed organizations that provide shared equity opportunities for communities. By separating the ownership of a structure from the ownership of the land it sits on, CLTs are able to provide permanently affordable housing to both homeowners and tents (Grounded Solutions Network, n.d). Ground leases ensure the property stays permanently affordable. CLTs are often governed by boards that are made up of residents and community members (Mironova & Waters, 2020). However, CLTs are limited in scale. Any social housing program should expand CLTs through seed grants, pension loan funds, federal and local public funds, and ongoing funding from taxes, as well as mandating prices that are affordable to all (including low/no-income) residents.

Thousands of limited equity housing cooperatives exist across the country. Many provide permanently affordable housing to lower-income people, through community-

controlled non-profits. However, government support for these is very limited.

Other cities and countries produce social housing differently. Most land in Helsinki and Vienna is owned by the government and used for social housing. While priority access is given to homeless applicants, residents can remain in their homes even if their incomes change (Chew, 2022).

Permanent Affordability

Almost half of renters in the U.S. are considered cost-burdened, meaning that they pay more than 30% of their income on rent and utilities. According to the federal government, housing is affordable if it costs no more than 30% of the monthly household income for rent and utilities (California Housing Consortium, n.d). Permanently affordable housing is housing that is kept affordable to its residents in perpetuity (unlike other forms of affordable housing, which can "expire" and be put back on the speculative market after a period of time).

> ### *Any social housing program must guarantee permanently and deeply affordable housing for the lowest income residents.*

Any social housing program must guarantee permanently and deeply affordable housing for the lowest income residents, including those with no incomes. While our goal is for everyone to one day have the option to live in social housing, people with the lowest incomes have the fewest choices and should be prioritized, and public funding should be targeted to support them. To that end, social housing should exist and be funded in a way that does not rely exclusively on a need for cross-subsidization to ensure that everyone, including those without incomes, are housed. No tenant in social housing should pay more than 30% of their income inclusive of all housing costs. Where allowable, that amount could be lower for extremely low-income people in order to ensure they can afford their basic needs and the needs of their families.

Examples around the globe show that public ownership of housing is the best way to keep housing affordable for even the lowest-income residents. In the United States, most affordable housing — even government-subsidized housing — is usually owned or financed by for-profit companies (Chew, 2022). Lack of investment from the federal government means that affordable housing developers often cannot afford to build for the lowest-income residents (TechEquity Collaborative, 2021). And when for-profit companies like Wells Fargo and Google get involved as investors, they expect a return on that investment — anywhere from 5% to

14% a year, which also limits how affordable the housing is to the tenants who need it (Rohrlich, 2023).

Currently, in the United States, even government-subsidized housing such as LIHTC, Section 8, and other HUD-assisted projects may be owned or financed by for-profit entities or reliant on for-profit investors. Any social housing program should ensure adequate funding from nonprofit investments, such as government grants, low-interest public bank loans, or bonds to ensure that social housing is permanently affordable to all low-income or no-income residents.

Decommodification

"Communities are built on land, and we — as human beings — get most of our food, fibers and materials from it...However, the very concept of land ownership is problematic...It suggests that the earth is essentially up for sale. To consider and create the types of societies we would like to see in the future, I believe we must examine this concept critically and think about how we can create equal opportunities for land access without reinforcing conventional ideas about ownership."
– Malik Yakini, from *Land Justice: Reimagining Land, Food, and the Commons in the United States*

Decommodifying housing means making housing for people. Specifically, it means taking housing off of the speculative market, so it cannot be bought, sold, and exploited for a profit. Decommodifying housing is a prerequisite for keeping it **permanently affordable**.

For far too long, housing has been primarily treated as an asset — something to create and hold value — rather than as a social good (a roof over one's head, a home). In fact, because of government policies (like secondary markets, backstop insurance, and securitization), speculative investment (betting that an asset will be worth more in the future) is going up. In 2021, one of every seven homes for sale in a major metropolitan area was bought by an investor (Kasakove, 2022). These investors get money to purchase these homes through private equity firms, who often demand profits of 20% or more for their shareholders.

> ### *For far too long, housing has been primarily treated as an asset — something to create and hold value — rather than as a social good.*

It is clear that the private market, with its goals of investor profits instead of providing shelter for people, cannot

meet the needs of the vast majority of people. There is simply no way to provide permanently affordable housing for all without decommodification.

Public, not-for-profit financing is an important way to ensure decommodification. Any social housing system must be publicly financed, through government grants, low-interest public bank loans, or bonds, and not allowed to be used to make a profit. Public banking should be expanded as part of the infrastructure to support social housing.

Democratic accountability, through ensuring that social housing is owned by residents, a public entity, or a mission-driven nonprofit — along with mandated permanent affordability — will also help guarantee that social housing remains permanently decommodified.

Community Control

Resident Control

Resident control describes the level of meaningful influence a housing model's residents have over decision-making and governance of their housing. Resident control includes making decisions about management, about what residents' living space looks like, and more.

Traditional public housing was developed with the promise of high resident control, but that promise is not currently fully realized. While public housing residents do have a legal right to organize and to elect a resident council to represent their interests, the power of resident councils can be limited in practice.

Any social housing program should realize the full promise of resident councils and ensure that public housing residents achieve a meaningful level of control over their homes.

In multifamily buildings, New York's cooperative model is another example of high resident control. Residents of cooperatives elect a board of directors who make decisions about how the property will be run. However, neither of these examples meets our other criteria of social housing, namely permanent affordability and decommodification (Mironova & Waters, 2020).

Community Control

Community control goes beyond resident control by recognizing that the entire community, especially the most marginalized members, deserve a say in the production and maintenance of the built environment. Democratic community control begins with the planning, development, and construction of social housing to ensure that new developments will not gentrify neighborhoods or displace existing residents. Community control also provides an opportunity for intergenerational involvement for communities, especially marginalized groups with different voices and identities, to shape their future.

An existing example of community control is community land trusts, where residents democratically control

> *Democratic community control begins with the planning, development, and construction of social housing.*

their housing. Some CLT boards also incorporate non-resident community members, ensuring that neighborhood residents, even those who do not live in the CLT properties, can have a say in their neighborhoods.

Any social housing program should have a high level of community control from the planning stages through day-to-day operations and maintenance.

Anti-Discrimination & Equity

Due to centuries of racist policies and practices, low-income people of color have suffered the most harms from our housing system. Most people are now familiar with the practice of redlining, a practice endorsed by the Federal government, which along with many government and private sector policies, facilitated the creation and perpetuation of racially segregated neighborhoods by denying Black home-buyers the same wealth building opportunities through home-ownership conferred upon white home-buyers. The reverberations from these discriminatory housing policies, i.e., entrenched racialized wealth disparities and continued racialized disinvestments, continue to this day. Even now, wealthy communities fight viciously against affordable housing developments in their neighborhoods in an attempt to exclude Black residents and other people of color from being able to live there (Le et al., 2022). Any social housing program must vigorously combat these inequities by ensuring that social housing development investments are made not only in disinvested communities that are predominantly Black, Latinx, and Indigenous but also provide low-income residents with access to well-resourced education, recreation, and other amenities.

Further, predatory investment, wealth-stripping, and present-day exploitation by corporate landlords, has targeted low-income communities of color. Many Black and Brown communities, and lower-income neighborhoods of color, "once stigmatized as ghettos and pockets of immorality" have been redeveloped and gentrified to attract younger, whiter, higher-income people while pushing the original residents out (Dantzler & Rodriguez, 2023). Predatory subprime mortgage lending and the foreclosure crisis disproportionately harmed Black and brown communities, which lost over half their wealth in the aftermath. Social housing offers alternative ownership models that provide more stability to lower-income households of color. Social housing developments should take care to not exacerbate gentrification and displacement, but prioritize serving the needs of low-income Black, Brown, immigrant, and other

residents most in need, in order to promote racial justice and social equity.

Ultimately, everyone deserves the right to self-determination. The right to choose where you live should not be restricted to people with disposable income. Abundant social housing, affordable to all, must be available in every neighborhood and community.

"Social housing is for everyone. To curb homelessness and displacement, social housing programs must first start by prioritizing those most in need: low-income residents and people of color who have the least housing options. But at scale, social housing provides affordable housing options for the majority of the population, including moderate-income households – in order to limit the power and influence of large corporate landlords."

> *Abundant social housing, affordable to all, must be available in every neighborhood and community.*

Sustainability

"Confronting climate change means more than just the aggressive abolition of carbon pollution. We must also adapt to extreme weather, sea level rise, and chronic effects from climate change like heat and drought that are already locked into projections of the near future," (Fleming et al., 2019).

Sustainability is an environmental justice issue. A 2007 study found that the majority of people who live within two miles of a hazardous waste facility are people of color (Bullard et al., 2007). A 2016 study confirmed that people of color are twice as likely as white people to live near chemical facilities or near a fenceline zone of an industrial facility and that two thirds of children living within one mile of a high-risk chemical facility in the U.S. are children of color (Center for Effective Government, n.d.). Residents of public housing, our main existing source of social housing and often the only option for people with the lowest incomes, disproportionately suffer from mold, lead, and poor indoor air quality (Cohen et al., 2019).

Green social housing is energy efficient, disaster resilient, and produced through sustainable renovation or construction techniques.

Any newly constructed social housing should be fully carbon-neutral, meeting the most stringent sustainability requirements, including those relating to embodied carbon. They also must be carefully located away from areas at high risk of flooding from sea-level rise, wildfire, drought, and extreme heat. But equally importantly, existing buildings, like the 1.1 million public housing units in need of repair, must be renovated into healthy, safe, zero-carbon, green housing. Retrofitting public housing alone would not only improve the living conditions of nearly two million

Americans, but would also reduce annual carbon emissions by the equivalent of taking over 1.2 million cars off the road (Cohen et al., 2019).

Social housing development can first prioritize acquisition, rehabilitation, and renovations of existing buildings, including vacant, underutilized, and distressed properties – as this is both more ecological and less expensive than new construction. Wasteful allocations of resources and harmful environmental impacts often result when housing production is driven by profit, not human needs: e.g., market-rate luxury construction contributes to greenhouse gas emissions even as vacancy rates in these properties are higher.

Both newly constructed and renovated social housing developments should have resilience hubs — community serving facilities that can also be used as shelters and resource centers during natural disasters.

All of this would involve the creation of hundreds of thousands of well-paying, career-track, union jobs in construction and maintenance.

Tenant Protections

Stable "housing is foundational to the rest of our lives — without it, it's hard to meet our needs around health, school, jobs, or community," (Kumar, 2022). Any social housing program must guarantee the stability of its residents by providing them with robust tenant protections, including (but not limited to):

Just Cause for Eviction Requirements

Just cause (or good cause) for eviction protections make it harder for tenants to be evicted by limiting the reasons a tenant can be evicted. Just cause for eviction protections promote stability by limiting displacement and empower tenants to advocate for themselves without fear of retaliation (Vasquez & Gallagher, 2022).

There are many examples of just cause for eviction legislation and the specific protections in each ordinance vary by jurisdiction. Just causes for eviction usually include failure to pay rent, damaging property, threatening other residents, and lease violations.

Rent Control

Permanent affordability should be guaranteed in part by rent control measures that limit total rents by limiting allowable annual rent increases. Rent stabilization not only limits tenants' contribution towards rent payments – by limiting

total rents, it also helps dampen housing speculation and price inflation in the market more broadly, protecting affordability throughout our housing stock.

Right to Organize

For tenants, collective action is often the most effective way to solve issues with a landlord. The right to organize enshrines the right of tenants to form and operate tenant unions. It should protect activities like doorknocking, leafleting, and postering. And it should include the collective bargaining rights, like the right to regular negotiations over rents, living conditions, leases, contracts, and more, with landlords. The right to organize will help residents enforce community control and other tenant protections.

Right to Counsel

In eviction cases, landlords are much, much more likely to be represented by attorneys than their tenants. Studies show that having an attorney in an eviction case increases a family's chance of avoiding homelessness by over 70% (Eviction Defense Collaborative, n.d.). Right to counsel would provide any tenant who has been served with an unlawful detainer lawsuit the option to have a free attorney represent them through all stages of their eviction case.

Accessibility

Every person, irrespective of their diverse physical and mental health needs has the right to equal enjoyment of their housing. The ability to fully enjoy one's home should not depend on an individual resident's conformity to the housing available. Rather, accessible housing demands that the housing stock accommodate the various needs of the residential population and ensure integration of individuals with diverse accommodation needs into the larger residential community. Accessible housing must address a broad range of needs including those of the aging population, individuals with physical and cognitive disabilities, individuals with mental health needs, and caregivers. Accessible housing promotes independent living, reduces reliance on institutional care, and enhances overall well-being. It allows individuals with disabilities to participate more actively in education, employment, and social activities, contributing to the economic and social fabric of the community. Furthermore, accessible housing designs have the potential to benefit a wide range of individuals, including older adults and parents with young children. By embracing accessibility, social housing initiatives create communities that are not only more inclusive but also more resilient and adaptable to changing needs. Social housing would be available to everyone, regardless of their age or abilities.

People with disabilities face many barriers to securing housing including physical constraints, social stigmas, and disparate economic burdens to accessing housing. First, with respect to physical constraints, most of the federally assisted housing stock for people with the lowest incomes was built before the 1970s, making it exempt from the design and construction standards of the Fair Housing Act (Popkin, 2023). Likewise, deferred maintenance and unsafe housing conditions contribute to exacerbating pre-existing illnesses for individuals with particular disabilities, such as asthma. Second, in regards to social stigmas, individuals with disabilities are likely to confront barriers at the initial tenant screening process and beyond. Last, many individuals with disabilities are unable to work and thus live on a fixed and limited income. Because of these work-related economic constraints, many individuals with disabilities cannot afford market rate housing.

Social housing should be designed, constructed, and renovated to accommodate a broad range of residential abilities and needs so that all residents have equal enjoyment of their housing. By integrating accessibility into the design, construction, and renovation of social housing, communities can create environments that respect and support the rights, comfort, and dignity of all residents. Accessibility also extends beyond physical accommodations. It encompasses inclusive design principles that consider a range of needs, including those related to sensory impairments, cognitive disabilities, and mental health conditions. By creating an inclusive environment, social housing fosters a sense of belonging and improves the overall quality of life for all residents. ■

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The Alliance for Housing Justice is powered by the Action Center on Race & the Economy, the Center for Popular Democracy, Housing Justice for All NY, Housing Now! California, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Liberation in a Generation, the National Housing Law Project, PolicyLink, the Poverty & Race Research Action Council, PowerSwitch Action, Public Advocates, and the Right to the City Alliance.

These principles are also posted at www.allianceforhousingjustice.org/us-social-housing-principles

NEW ON PRRAC'S WEBSITE

Building Opportunity III: Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing In The Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program

Social Housing Goals In State Housing Plans - A 50-State Survey

PRRAC contributions to the American Institutes for Research publication, *"Integration and Equity 2.0: New and Reinvigorated Approaches to School Integration"*

"Prioritizing School Integration in the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing (AFFH) Process" and *"Supporting School Integration Through the Federal Housing Choice Voucher Program."*

Summary Report And Recommendations from the 2023 Source Of Income Discrimination Research Convening
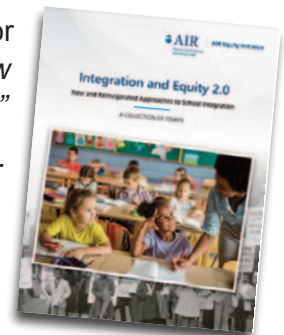
Photos and powerpoint presentations from the Ninth National Housing Mobility Conference

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field in its application to the housing market intermediaries described in Chapter 14 by Korver-Glenn, Bartram, and Besbris or the institutions and actors who struggle over housing construction as LaBriola details in Chapter 13. Similarly, by conceptualizing actors and institutions in the housing market by their fiscal relationships, in Chapter 18 Martin reshapes an evaluation of social responsibility for well-known housing policies such as the Home Mortgage Interest Deduction (HMID) and the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC). Here, the editors suggest a break from methodological and topical siloing they claim currently characterizes the field of research.

> *Sociologists of housing should feel compelled to engage with policy because it is both cause and consequence of an unjust social order.*

Lastly, Part IV connects a sociology of housing to broad social issues and policy goals, such as racial residential segregation and racialized carceral state-violence. This part contends that a sociology of housing is inherently political. In Chapter 19, Faber notes racial residential segregation and its resulting consequences are social phenomena, that are created and perpetuated by actors and institutions. Therefore, disassembling racial segregation will require interfacing with political power to rebuild more just institutions. In the same vein, Kurwa in Chapter 22 argues that to challenge the discriminatory criminal justice system requires also challenging the social relations inherent in legal conceptions of property itself. This suggests sociologists of housing should feel compelled to engage with policy because it is both cause and consequence of an unjust social order.

Taken together, this volume is a tremendous feat of wrangling and organizing a significant terrain of subfields into a coherent whole. It is a roadmap I wish I had when beginning my studies. However, without a concluding chapter from the editors that explicitly lays out a consistent definitional framework or coordinated scope of research, it can be difficult for the reader to parse between the many, widely varied agendas. This is not to say that sociologists of housing will ever take up a universal approach to their research. Indeed, the most successful essays in the volume embody reciprocal thinking between, say, top-down (structural) and bottom-up (agent-based) research. As it stands, the contribution of the volume is in putting all the contributing authors between the same covers and hoping, yet, for them to begin conversing.

Similarly, I question whether the volume achieves its goal of defining a novel sociology of housing, for there is a rich and ever-growing history of sociological research already represented in this volume. Instead, perhaps, the editors are ultimately aiming to recalibrate sociological research for a new age. This recalibration might include a new set of methodological and theoretical approaches that confront demographic transformations in the nation's racial makeup and geography as well as macroeconomic shifts, like the financialization of housing, that imbue novel social meanings and economic motivations into housing. In this way, reading between the chapters, I believe they are successful.

The task of sociologists studying housing, then, is to continue to challenge contextless abstractions and classical thinking. Instead, a new sociology of housing will precipitate out of complexity, such as relational constructions of race and atypical sites of analysis, which will advance and continuously test the field. In my own work as a quantitative researcher, this is a call to question the simplifying assumptions made in the construction and selection of independent variables in statistical analyses. Still, it is common to use monolithic categories of Latino and Asian or to standardize households to their nuclear arrangements because it is convenient to the survey data available. That itself is insufficient reasoning, and this volume pushes researchers to reshape those theories, data sources, and methods.

I expect this volume will be valuable in both academic and applied research settings. Each respective essay represents the most up-to-date review of the literature and often provocations for the near-future of research on the topic. Some of the most transformative agenda items include integrating indigenous and anti-carceral challenges to property relations, challenging normative and nuclear conceptions of the household as a unit of analysis, reconciling theories of development that place business elites or existing residents (NIMBYs) as the central drivers, reconciling theories of neighborhood change that balance accounts of both neighborhood decline and gentrification, extending the field to the Global South, and repoliticizing the field as a whole. Overall, this collection makes a powerful case for why researchers should take seriously the place of housing in sociological research, while also recalibrating its canon for social issues of the twenty-first century. ∎

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future directions in the field. One question we're very interested in is understanding the mechanisms through which neighborhoods matter. What is the underlying science of these differences in economic opportunity? Why do some neighborhoods give kids much better chances of rising up than others? Is it, in fact, just about the schools? Is it about integration?

One factor that I want to highlight that's emerging in our research as being quite important is this idea of social capital, which I know Sarah [Oppenheimer] touched upon in her remarks this morning, and I just want to come back to it and show you why it seems to be so important. To explore this issue we created what we're calling the Social Capital Atlas. This is constructed from a completely different data source than the Opportunity Atlas, using Facebook data, to measure the extent to which low and high income people are friends with each other in different counties in America. And it shows very clearly that in places with greater cross class interaction, like Dubuque, Iowa, for example, you have much higher rates of economic mobility, than in places like Charlotte, North Carolina, where you have much more disconnection across class lines, and correspondingly much lower levels of economic mobility. Who you're interacting with and who you're connected to, what your networks look like, what your social capital is, in that sense, is really a key driver of mobility and other related outcomes. And that's part of the reason why housing mobility, which is basically one way to create more integration, can be so effective in increasing economic opportunity going forward.

A second key thing that we're thinking about, and again, I know this came up in the opening remarks, is thinking not just about helping people move to opportunity, but bringing opportunity to people where they currently are. There's no reason to debate which of these approaches is more effective,

A Model for Social Science Research and Policy

From Big Data Research to Collaborative Work with Practitioners to Policy Impact

Basic Research on Mechanisms — Translational Work: Policy Pilots — Scaled Policy Impact

I think it makes sense to take a "both-and" approach here. So how can you create high opportunity neighborhoods? Right now, for example, we are looking at the long term impacts of public housing redevelopment to see what the second generation effects look like – stay tuned for that research next year.

Another preview of work we'll be putting out in the next few months, is an analysis of how opportunities change across neighborhoods, like a new version of the Opportunity Atlas that evolves over time. This addresses a limitation of the Opportunity Atlas as it currently stands – as Phil [Tegeler] and others have correctly pointed out, the Atlas only shows you the outcomes for kids who are growing up in the 1980s and 1990s. Obviously, what we really want to know is what the outcomes look like for more recent generations of kids. And so now with enough data, we're able to construct these maps where you're able to look at how a particular county is changing over time: are things changing in Charlotte in more recent years? How are they changing for Black folks in Charlotte versus white folks in Charlotte? That is new data that we'll be putting out. And we hope will shed light on these issues going forward.

Let me conclude by coming back to the slide that I started out with. You know, you can look at this picture as a disappointing one, showing that the American Dream is fading. But I think increasingly, we also have the tools to understand how we can change that trend going forward. And I think the work that all of you are doing is an incredibly important part of that picture. ◼

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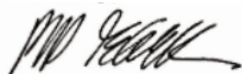
November 2023

Dear friend of PRRAC,

2023 has been a challenging year for civil rights, particularly with the Supreme Court's decision challenging the use of race in college admissions, and continuing efforts to undermine key voting rights protections. But at the same time, we have seen important advances in racial equity in housing and education – on the civil rights issues we have prioritized. Just a few examples:

- In the Housing Choice Voucher program, HUD announced a new $25M housing mobility grants program, in addition to the $50M Community Choice Demonstration funded two years ago. In September, we brought this community of practice together to share, reflect, and celebrate at the ninth national housing mobility conference in Washington.

- Last month, HUD expanded the Small Area Fair Market Rent rule to 41 new metro areas, potentially opening up new housing opportunities for hundreds of thousands of families.

- The Department of Education announced the first 14 grantees in the Fostering Diverse Schools program – a school integration program that the National Coalition on School Diversity has been championing for the past three years.

- Our most recent analysis of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program (our largest affordable housing production program) found surprising fair housing progress over the past seven years in the policies that state housing finance agencies use to allocate credits.

In the coming months, we are looking to build on this progress, even in the context of a dysfunctional Congress and a looming presidential election. There are several key HUD regulations that we need to see over the finish line, and important defensive work as conservative legal groups seek to expand the Supreme Court's affirmative action holding to challenge K-12 school integration efforts. Plus we are continuing to work with the Alliance for Housing Justice to expand federal funding for social housing programs. The modern civil rights movement needs organizations like ours, that bring focused organizing, research and advocacy in specific areas of law and policy, to advance the larger goals we all share.

We hope that you will be able to contribute generously this year.

Sincerely,

Philip Tegeler
Executive Director
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www.prrac.org/support-prrac

The persistence of these challenges, particularly in the struggles towards neighborhood and school integration, motivated a 2016 federal "Dear Colleague" letter "calling on local education, transportation, and housing leaders to work together on issues at the intersection of our respective missions in helping to guarantee full access of opportunity across the country" ((U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Department of Education, & U.S. Department of Transportation, 2016). The secretaries of Education, Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development encouraged local and regional jurisdictions to leverage new analysis and community planning processes under the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing (AFFH) rule "so that regional planning promotes economic mobility and equal access to the many benefits provided by affordable housing, great schools, and reliable transportation."

This 2016 statement is important but narrow in scope (focused only on AFFH) and limited in strength (with no mandate or "carrots" incentivizing coordination). Although many AFFH plans across the country included very basic and narrow school quality data and a few incorporated school district perspectives in their plans (Finnigan et al., 2021), the mandate came without clear protocols for implementation or clarification regarding how local and regional institutions and school districts might coordinate around the use of federal funds resulting in weak cross-sector efforts. And importantly, the Trump administration halted this initiative. In the absence of policy and regulatory clarity, the work of cross-sector coordination for desegregation remains subject to the political winds at all levels of government.

> *The Sustainable Communities Initiative did not engage public schools, but showed promise in incentivizing regional collaboration on housing and transportation.*

Next Steps: Linking Policy, Research, and Practice across Sectors

Now is the time to take up and further specify the recommendations of the CC+S white paper (McKoy et al., 2011). Specifically, the federal government working in tandem with academic and practitioner partners should initiate a collaborative process to define a meaningful sub-state or regional geographic unit for the purposes of analysis, accountability, and targeted implementation. Research and documentation, convening and consensus-building, and ongoing learning from practice are central to identifying the specific vocabulary, metrics, and shared data systems necessary to achieve meaningful integration in schools and communities. Through cross-sector and multi-scalar work,

these efforts would also build the capacity of local and regional leaders through cross-sector learning, toolkits and policy development. This could potentially lead to initial efforts focused on translating collaborative diagnoses across these sectors into collaborative and cross-sector implementation.

A short-lived effort during the Obama Administration, the Sustainable Communities Initiative, did not engage public schools, but showed promise in incentivizing regional collaboration on housing and transportation (HUD, 2017). The Initiative was centered at the Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) level, and with federal financial support, dozens of regions developed housing-transportation plans. Many regions also developed a "Fair Housing Equity Assessment" looking at barriers to equal housing access and integration – a precursor to the 2015 AFFH rule.

A new interagency task force could revisit the potential of this Obama-era program, but this time more comprehensively, with education planning and participation of state and local school agencies. The task force could be jointly administered among ED, DOT, and HUD to develop and incentivize cross-sector programs with neighborhoods and school-level racial and economic integration as the desired outcome. No new legislation would be required for such an effort, as it is built into HUD's affirmatively furthering fair housing obligations under the Fair Housing Act, and also implicit in the Department of Education's and the Department of Transportation's obligations under Title VI to avoid policies with a foreseeable discriminatory impact (Tegeler, 2016). Such affirmative obligations at DOT and ED are also arguably required under the Fair Housing Act, as these agencies play a significant role in urban and regional development (42 USC 3608; Executive Order 12892, 1994; Abraham, 2022).

A national community of practice (CoP) supporting the interagency task force could be the centerpiece of these efforts and help to advance progress. Facilitated by academic partners who are thought leaders in the space of housing and school segregation, metropolitan inequality, transportation justice, and cross-sector collaboration, the CoP would necessarily include a diverse set of voices to ensure cross-fertilization and knowledge development. In particular, planners and community development professionals tackle a diverse range of issues related to housing, employment, transportation, taxation, and spatial integration that have direct implications for education policy and equity. CoP members thus would include: urban and regional planners, community

development professionals, housing and transportation experts, educators and educational leaders working at local, regional, state, and federal levels on policies, planning, and program implementation. Non-education regional commissions and state education and school board members/superintendents would also be invited to the network, with substantial input built in from parents, students, and community residents.

As CoP members brought their practice and policy-making to the network, facilitators would provide ongoing technical assistance, document existing efforts and craft a toolkit for local and regional practitioners, and develop model state, regional, and local policies. Facilitators could conduct a national survey and convene the CoP network to identify metrics, vocabulary, opportunities for desegregation and cross-sector collaboration around desegregation strategies. Out of this local and regional work and in consultation with federal agency CoP members, facilitators would propose pilot programs, policies, and regulatory language that HUD, DOT, and ED could adopt to advance these goals.

Facilitators, working with CoP members would also document all federal policies that currently help to drive school and housing segregation and develop workable solutions. This work has already started. For example, Title I of the Every Student Succeeds Act's funding formula penalizes districts for reducing poverty concentration through interdistrict programs and disincentivizes efforts to reduce poverty concentration in individual schools (Tegeler & Milwit, 2019). Another example is transportation for interdistrict magnet schools, which is vital for important for those that may draw students from neighboring districts. A 2008 study of magnet school leaders found that magnet schools that provided free transportation were less likely to be racially isolated than those that did not (Frankenberg & Siegel-Hawley 2008). Finally, as mentioned above, the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing (AFFH) rule, expected to be fully reinstated in 2024, has the potential to encourage states, local jurisdictions, and housing authorities to develop and promote policies improving access to high-quality schools and to collaborate with school districts. However, recent research revealed that most of the initial plans did not actually have such goals, and very few had discussion of the housing-school segregation linkage in their Contributing Factors section (Finnigan et al., 2021). Additionally, state governments may be in the strongest position to encourage and oversee regional cross-sector collaboration (Haberle & Tegeler, 2019), but due to

> ### State governments may be in the strongest position to encourage and oversee regional cross-sector collaboration.

bureaucratic delays, state governments never had the opportunity to engage with the original AFFH rule in 2016-17 before the Trump Administration suspended it. When the new rule is rolled out next year, there will be significant opportunities for advocacy and innovation to support cross-sector efforts toward integration (Sullivan et al., 2022).

Through systematic review, more avenues for cross-sector engagement and alignment will be identified and model policies and pilot programs proposed at the federal level for state, regional, and local practitioners to implement.

Prior efforts have been unsustainable, in part because federal policymakers do not have cross-sector policy targets. There is also currently jurisdictional misalignment from the federal government; that is, there is not a definition of what is a meaningful sub-state of "regional" unit that ED, DOT, HUD (and anyone else) could agree upon. As a consequence, the spatial orientation, vocabulary, and levers for change are not well coordinated. Only when there is a deliberate initiative to unite researchers, policymakers and practitioners across fields of specialization, supported with capacity-building, guidance, and research about what policies currently exist, can the underlying structures militating against integration be alleviated.

The next phase of addressing the impact of segregation and the concentration of poverty on the educational opportunities and outcomes for youth requires cross-sector knowledge generation and action that will bridge the disparate worlds of education policy, housing, transportation, urban planning, community development, and law. The solutions identified here lay the groundwork to build the political capacity and will for cross-sector solutions to these seemingly intractable issues so that we might begin to finally bring about more equitable outcomes through federal policy change. ∎

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