



**Creating Loving Systems Across Communities to
Provide All Students an Opportunity to Thrive**

JULY 2020



www.lovingcities.org



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PREFACE

Leaning into the Arc

Dr. John H. Jackson
*President & CEO,
 Schott Foundation for Public Education*

In 1853, Unitarian minister Theodore Parker wrote a sermon calling for the abolition of slavery titled, “Of Justice and the Conscience,” that contained a line that would go on to be figuratively quoted by ministers, rabbis, presidents, social justice leaders and ultimately, during a turbulent time in our country, flow from the pen of Dr. Martin Luther King in 1958: *The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.*

At America’s core is a nation birthed from colonies to cities with a vision of increased opportunity, democracy and love for all mankind — but also a nation that distorted that vision by using the instruments of violence and oppression over humanity. That oppression metastasized into inequities and racism that spread through every organ of America’s system, including healthcare, education, employment, and policing, and into communities across the nation.

America’s mercurial journey on the moral arc should tell us about the length and rigidity of the arc and that bending that arc towards justice doesn’t occur in lukewarm climates nor because of natural winds. Like steel, which bends best under heat, justice requires intentional moments of confrontation, protest and critical assessments.

In 2018, the Schott Foundation launched the Loving Cities Index to provide a community-informed assessment tool to determine the degree to which city



Photo by Joe Piette

systems were actually addressing their institutional inequities by providing the care, capacity, commitment and stability needed for children and families to thrive regardless of race or ethnicity. Recognizing that systemic racism is institutionalized lovelessness, the Loving Cities Index highlighted the degree to which local leaders were eliminating the policies and practices which led to racial disparities in access to the critical supports (health, transportation, financial, etc.) that too many cities had covered with Band-Aid approaches. Our 2018 assessment of 10 cities revealed that while several of the cities were beginning to use a cross-sector approach to address their support disparities, none of the ten cities were offering over 55% of the supports needed for all children in the community to thrive. Simply stated, America’s cities cannot help children reach their full potential while only giving them half of the support.

Several months ago, the COVID-19 pandemic ripped off the Band-Aid to reveal the systemwide inequities in most communities. Today, these com-

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munities remain in crisis mode, attempting to connect the dots and fill the holes caused by the persistent health, education, food, housing, mental health and transportation disparities, to name a few. Even the cities that have prepared a path to recover from the COVID-19 virus, have yet to develop a framework or path to address the true sicknesses in their systems — unemployment and non-livable wages, pervasive learning and wealth gaps, rampant disparities and unfettered systemic racism. COVID-19 made clear that inequities impacting any part of a community weaken the entire community.

Before state and local public officials can experience transformative changes in the heart of their cities, they must commit to concretizing transformative changes by creating loving systems for all. With the release of this 2020 Loving Cities Index, once again Schott engages a new group of communities in the work of assessing and addressing the supports needed in their systems to extend the care, capacity, commitment and stability to all of their children and families — creating the type of loving systems that makes it clear that their lives matter.

Assessing and creating these systems should have a heightened level of importance, as individuals of all hues and backgrounds across the country have taken to the streets to reaffirm Black Lives Matter and protest the police murders of George Floyd and Brianna Taylor, to name just a few. As protesters hit their streets in peaceful protest and unity, they seek to decouple America's vision of opportunity and democracy from the tools of violence and oppression.

On America's moral arc is the brutality and genocide waged against Native Americans, the slave trade, Jim Crow laws, the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing killing four Black girls, massive deportations separating children and families, the murders of nine church members at Mother Emanuel AME in Charleston, SC. But also bending that are Harriett Tubman and those who maintained an underground

railroad network, abolitionist writers and poets, social justice organizations, those who marched on Washington to secure civil rights and voting rights legislation, Sanctuary Cities, Black Lives Matter, and today hundreds of thousands of peaceful protesters who are committed to lending a shoulder to bend America's moral arc towards justice.

The Old Testament of the Bible gives an account of a man named Joshua who right before taking God's people across the Jordan River, reminds them that "you have never been here before." Joshua issues this proclamation fully aware that these people had already crossed many challenging seas and rivers in their journey. Yet as they sat on the bank of the Jordan River, they needed to know that though it looked familiar their God was seeking to do a new thing once they got to the other side.

While the unrest and protest and even the format of this Loving Cities Index may look familiar, collectively we have never been here before. And when we move beyond this moment and cross this proverbial river, history will judge all of us by whether the growing awareness of racism, violence and oppression translates into commitment to alter our communities' and our nation's course, to achieve systemic, lasting change.

The Schott Foundation remains committed to walking towards new opportunities and being a critical bridge to create the types of loving systems that ensure all children and families can thrive. As cities discuss defunding police budgets, the Loving Cities Index provides city and community leaders an assessment of where to reallocate those resources to add the critically needed supports to make the community a vibrant, safe and more loving place to live. Schott issues this 2020 Index as a community and philanthropic partner lending a shoulder and joining history's army of justice fighters who used love for humanity to lean in and bend America's moral arc toward justice.

FOREWORD

Nikole Hannah-Jones

*Pulitzer Prize Winning
Investigative Journalist*

When public health departments first began releasing racial data on Covid-19 infections and deaths, it came as no surprise to those of us who have studied this country's history that Black Americans would suffer the worst. Of course an unprecedented global pandemic would hurt most those who have been living under a 400-year racial one. The long shadow of slavery forced black Americans disproportionately into the type of service jobs that made workers more vulnerable to infection, it created the segregated neighborhoods full of environmental toxins that make Black Americans sicker at earlier ages, it ensured Black Americans experience a lack of quality healthcare options, that they rely heavily on public transit and live the crowded conditions that make social distancing impossible. All of this racialized inequality built a dragnet of disadvantage leading to unparalleled Black suffering. Covid-19 did not create these inequalities. It magnified and laid bare the racial inequality that's long been endemic in our cities but that we have again and again chosen to justify and ignore. With millions of Americans now suffering the job losses and financial precariousness that have been the norm for Black America, we have seen a willingness to reconsider our stingy social safety net and a renewed understanding that government's job is to support and uplift its citizens, particularly those who are struggling the most. The depth of Black suffering brought on by pandemic will be unprecedented in our lifetime. Already, more than half of Black adults are out of work. More than one in four Black adults have missed a mortgage or rent payment since the shutdowns. Black children are expected to lose 10 months of learning due to school



shutdowns -- the most of all groups. And that's on top of Black Americans dying of Covid-19 at the highest rates. In the wake of George Floyd's killing, hundreds of thousands of people have been marching in every state in the country to declare that Black Lives Matter. But Black lives cannot only matter in the rare occasions where a police encounter turns deadly. The changes we demand in this moment must be far greater, far bolder and far more transformative in all of the areas that rob Black Americans of all ages, but especially Black children, of the opportunity to take part in America's bounty. We, as a society, must not tolerate these immoral systems of structural and preventable disadvantage any longer. This moment of unprecedented protest and unprecedented national pain must lead to transformation of all the systems of inequities that we have too long tolerated. The racial and social economic inequality in this country was intentionally created. We put an inordinate amount of societal resources and money into creating it. That is disheartening but also reveals an important truth: That which has been created can be un-created. If you built it, you can tear it

LOVING CITIES INDEX

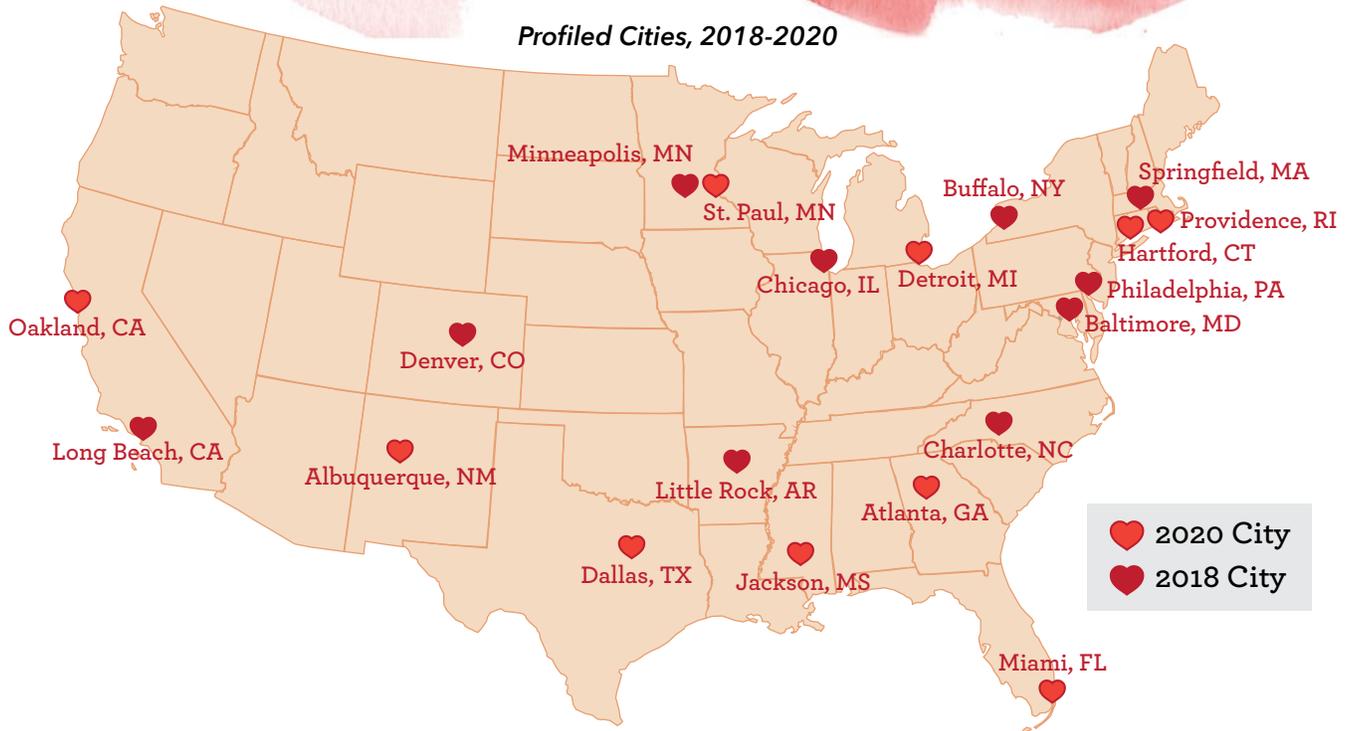
down and build something new. In this moment of potential transformation, where the societal rifts have forced us to question that which we have too long accepted, this Schott Foundation for Public Education 2020 Loving Cities Index provides a roadmap for us to reconstruct cities based on opportunity, dignity and equality. In this moment of potential transformation, we can defy the selfish ideology of scarcity and acknowledge that we have enough resources in this

great country to take care of and support all of our citizens. Inequality is a choice. It is time for us to make another. We can start here by getting at the root of it all. We can start by committing to build, for the first time in our history, a nation of Loving Cities.



Photo by Ken Fieger

ABOUT THE LOVING CITIES INDEX



What Makes a Loving City?

Throughout American history, the policies and practices that create opportunity gaps at birth have been baked into the ecosystem of local and state systems.

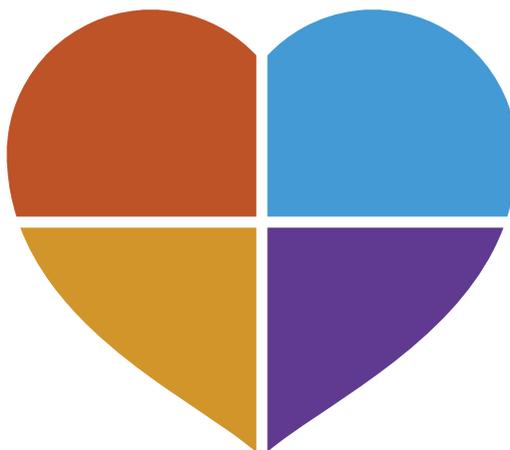
It is well documented that many of these policies and practices were rooted in implicit racial bias at best, and explicit racism and hate at worst. Even today, far too often the policies and practices that govern how cities manage and resource housing, education, healthcare, transportation, workforce development, criminal justice, and civic engagement reinforce inequity in outcomes for children and families of color compared to their white peers by creating a system of barriers to success across all facets of a child's living and learning environments. These inequities have been laid bare during the COVID-19 pandemic, where people of color

are disproportionately represented in low paid front-line work facing the greatest exposure to the virus, and often are cut off from the healthcare, food services, income stability, and other resources that white, more affluent families access. And the police murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis has become a tipping point that opened a flood gate of awareness of racism, protests, and calls for systemic change, including ending the police violence faced by communities of color. Certainly, it is impossible to create loving systems without changing that fundamental underpinning.

Loving Cities are created by having a system of local and state policies and practices that provide all children and families with:

1. CARE through access to mental and physical health services from birth, nutritional food and healthy community spaces

3. COMMITMENT through economically and civically empowered communities that democratize access to healthy living and learning environments



2. STABILITY through consistent expectations and practices that reinforce a culture of inclusion and healing among students and adults

4. CAPACITY through well-resourced learning climates that meet the physical, emotional and academic needs of students

To address racial disparities in learning outcomes and provide equal opportunity, we must replace racially biased policies with practices that institutionalize love and support for all children. The Loving Cities Index is a tool and framework that provides a comprehensive analysis of local systems of love and support. The Index framework draws from the wisdom of communities and a large body of evidence-based research to identify 25 indicators that represent the supports needed for students to have the opportunity to learn and achieve academic and economic success. Each indicator reflects key city policies and practices needed to provide all children with care, stability, commitment, and capacity. The Schott Foundation believes that, by prioritizing these measures, over time cities can significantly accelerate educational outcomes, particularly for students of color.

The Schott Foundation and research partners have studied 20 cities using the Loving Cities Index to assess the systems of love and support in place at the local and state levels to provide children with an opportunity to learn. Ten cities are profiled in this 2020 Loving Cities Index Report,

and ten were previously profiled in the 2018 report.

For each city, researchers collected publicly available data at the local level collected consistently across the country and scored the city against 25 indicators of love and support. For each indicator, a city can earn up to three points for levels of access to that support, and when data disaggregated by race and ethnicity is available, cities can earn up to three more points for equity in access across racial groups. We recognize that opportunity gaps are impacted by more than just race/ethnicity, and ideally city, state, and federal policymakers should be collecting and analyzing data by gender, sexuality, and other intersectional identities that tell a deeper story of access and equity. Unfortunately, much of the national datasets that we used for this report did not include data disaggregated by both race and gender, and oftentimes localities are not collecting and reporting data at this level. And sexuality is often missing completely from disaggregated data. Organizing to require states and localities to disaggregate more data by race, ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation is an essential part of addressing opportunity gaps which remain hidden because of

data gaps. Simply stated, data gaps are too often platforms for opportunity gaps.

We consistently see massive gaps in access to resources in each city, reflecting major opportunity gaps based on race. While in each city there may be some policies and practices in place to provide access to some critical supports, every city studied has significant gaps in delivering the full system of supports that were needed for all children to thrive. We have developed profiles for each city studied. Within each city profile, we provide historical context for racial inequities, highlighting the policies rooted in racism and hate that have governed access to education, housing, fair wages, healthcare, public spaces and other critical resources and sup-

ports, based on race; and highlight the persistent racial inequities in access that exist in our communities today, and the anti-racist policies that can be instituted to address them.

To achieve education justice, we must support healing in communities harmed by a long history of racist policies that persist to this day and replace systems of oppression with systems that institutionalize love and support. We hope the Loving Cities Index profile can be a tool for local community advocates that work tirelessly to advance an agenda of love and support for all children. We hope that city and state leaders will work in partnership with communities of color to truly meet the promise of “equity and justice for all.”

Thermometer vs. Thermostat

When we look at a thermometer, we can see what the current temperature in the room is, but we have no way of adjusting it. A thermostat is the tool that can change the temperature; “moving the dial” on the thermostat if the room is too cold will increase the flow of heat to the room until the temperature reaches the desired level.

As such, the indicators measured in the Loving Cities Index are what we call “thermostat” support indicators, and reflect a shift away from focusing on “thermometer” indicators. “Thermometer” indicators are community level outcome indicators like high school graduation, post-secondary attain-



ment, poverty and unemployment, which are important to look at, but can be difficult to interpret or move the needle on because they only provide a static snapshot of the existing community climate. “Thermostat” support indicators provide insight on

the various inputs or supports that are available to manipulate or change the existing community-level climate or outcomes. Thermostat indicators are more active and provide clear focus for creat-

ing positive change that will ultimately impact the “thermometer” measures of outcomes. The Loving Cities Index shifts focus to “thermostat” indicators to help communities set clear goals and track progress.

Overview of Access to Supports

CARE INDICATORS

Youth Health Insurance

Access to Healthy Foods

Exposure to Air Toxins

Low Birthweight

Access to Parks

Access to Mental Health Care

CARE

Health resources and physical environment that foster physical and mental development

COMMITMENT INDICATORS

Access to Early Childhood Ed.

Pre-school Suspensions

K-12 Suspensions

K-12 Expulsions

Referrals to Law Enforcement

Anti-Bullying Policies

Restorative Practices

COMMITMENT

School policies and practices that foster the unique potential of each student

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Each city profiled is given one of the following five designations, based on their overall measured supports across all indicators:

COPPER

<50% of supports measured

BRONZE

50%+ of supports measured

SILVER

60%+ of supports measured

GOLD

70%+ of supports measured

PLATINUM

80%+ of supports measured

STABILITY

Community infrastructure supports and policies that foster physical and financial security and civic participation

STABILITY INDICATORS

Access to Financial Services

Livable Wages

Public Transit Accessibility

Voter Turnout

Youth Mortality

Affordable Housing

CAPACITY

Financial polices and practices that foster expertise and resources to meet the needs of all children

CAPACITY INDICATORS

Access to Rigorous Coursework

Access to Advanced Curriculum

School Economic Integration

Teacher Salaries

Teacher Experience

In-School Support Staff



Albuquerque, NM

COPPER

Albuquerque, New Mexico, is located in the west-central part of the state and is the seat of Bernalillo County. Over one million people live in Albuquerque, the largest city in New Mexico. Albuquerque is home to several universities, research laboratories, and the Kirtland Air Force Base. Native communities in the area today known as New Mexico date back two millennia. Spanish colonizers arrived in the 1500s, claiming the area as New Spain until New Mexico became a territory during the 1820s in the newly sovereign Mexico Republic before incorporation into U.S. statehood in 1885 following the Mexican-American war.¹ Today the state has 23 pueblos, tribes and nations, several in the Albuquerque area² and Native Americans are 4% of the city's population. Albuquerque's population increased during the 1880s, when the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad made its way to Albuquerque, increasing migration flow to the city.³ At one time, almost half of all men in Albuquerque worked for the railroad.

Racist policies and practices have undoubtedly determined intergenerational opportunities in places like Albuquerque. Though not well known, New Mexico passed a "slave code" law in the 1850s which permitted slavery in the state and curtailed free Black people from traveling, testifying in court, and carrying weapons.⁴ In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years Jim Crow laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either "white only" or "colored" (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).⁵ In 1954, segregation was challenged in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Supreme Court held that "separate but equal" violated the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief

Justice, Earl Warren wrote, "In the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."⁶ Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated though without the formal laws of the South.

Although Albuquerque lacked a formal school segregation policy, students faced segregated conditions and marginalization. From the 1880s to the 1980s, Native American children were forcibly removed from their homes to attend the Albuquerque Indian School, where children were deprived of their culture.⁷ And, Black children in Albuquerque, forced to sit in the back of classrooms and line up separately during school activities, were treated as second class citizens.⁸ Officials attempted to open a separate school for Black children in the city, a move that Black families fought.⁹ Black activists in Albuquerque followed the lead of Hispanic activists in the pursuit of civil rights laws.¹⁰ Despite the passage of state anti-discrimination laws in 1952, equal access to employment and housing remained elusive in Albuquerque. Whites in Albuquerque neighborhoods imposed racial covenants prohibiting sales to Black buyers. At the time, most Black people lived in an area of the city known as South Broadway.

Over the past 20 years, Hispanic and Asian populations have increased¹¹ and the proportion of whites has decreased.¹² Different parts of the city have changed in different ways: on the east side, the percentage of people of color has declined, while on the westside, it has increased.¹³ School demographic

changes mirror these trends. Schools on the eastside have more white students (70%+) and schools on the west side have more students of color.¹⁴ The city has seen rapid job growth, but workers' wages in Albuquerque have declined since the 1970s and income inequality has grown over the past 30 years.¹⁵ People of color in Albuquerque at all education levels make lower wages compared to whites.¹⁶

Albuquerque Public Schools is the largest employer in the city. As of 2019, the district served 90,000 students,¹⁷ making it one of the 40 largest districts in the country. There are 142 traditional public schools (88 elementary schools, 4 K-8, 28 middle and 22 high schools) and 55 charter schools.¹⁸ Hispanic

students are 66% of the student population, white students 23%, American Indian students 6%, Black students 3%, and Asian students 2%.¹⁹ English language learners are 17% of enrollment. Two-thirds of students are low-income (66%). Students of color are more likely to live in poverty compared to white students in the city and a higher percentage of Black youth are out of school and unemployed.

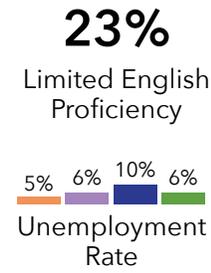
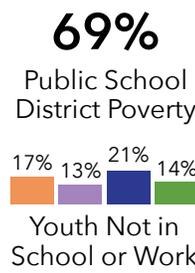
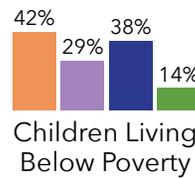
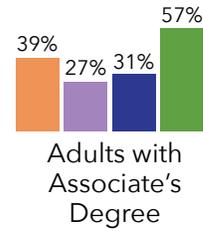
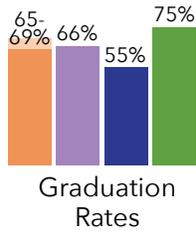
Downtown Albuquerque Black Lives Matter Rally, June 2020.



THERMOMETER INDICATORS



Current conditions for childhood success



Black Hispanic Native White

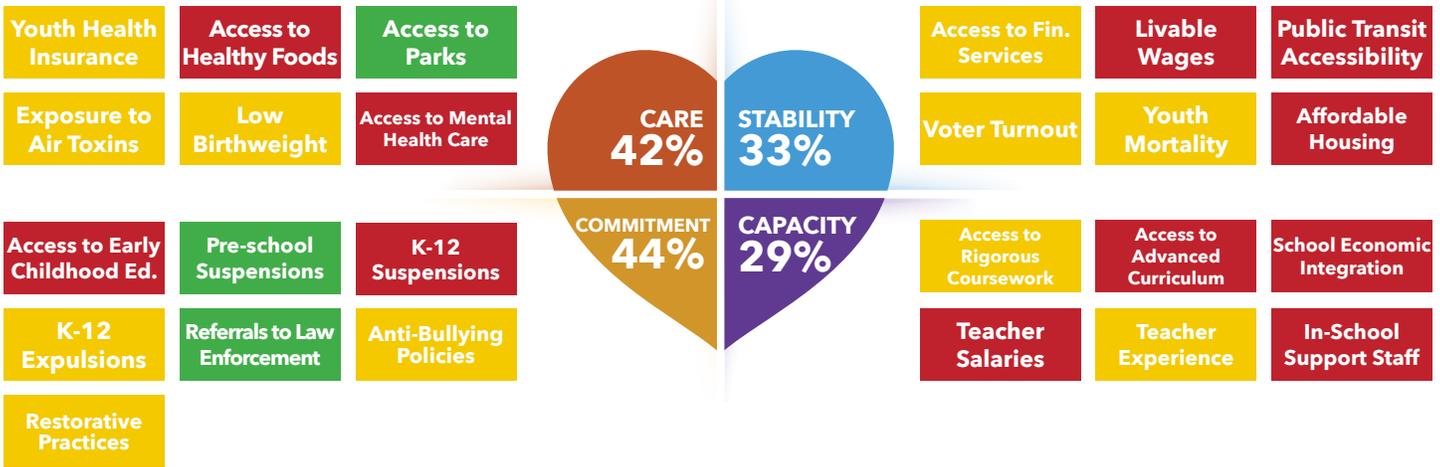
69%
Public School District Poverty

23%
Limited English Proficiency

THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



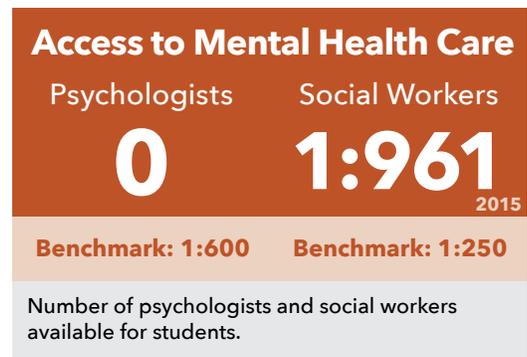
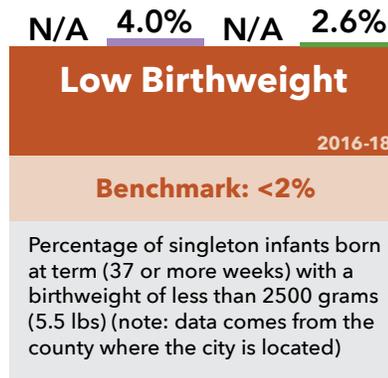
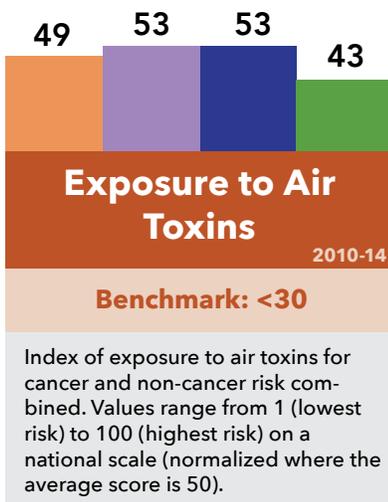
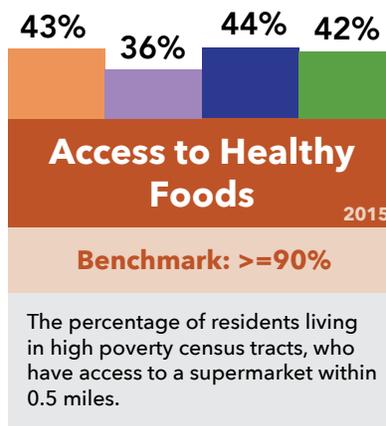
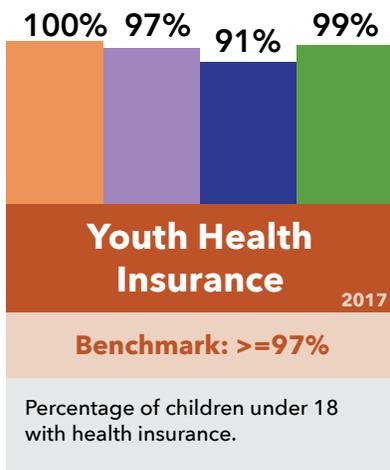
Overall, Albuquerque has some bright spots in access to Care and Commitment, with 97% of youth accessing health insurance, and nearly 90% of residents living within half a mile of public parkland. Still, when it comes to health equity, Albuquerque has far more infants born below birthweight compared to the national average, with large racial disparities between Hispanic and White infants, high rates of youth mortality, and limited access to fresh food among low-income residents (40%). When it comes to Stability, like most other cities, Albuquerque has major economic inequities in livable wages, with only 49% of Native families earning high enough wages for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 84% of white families. At the same time, only half of all families in Albuquerque have access to affordable housing, and there does not seem to be a reliable public transit system. In schools, nearly 30% of Black students in the city have received at least one in-school or out-of-school suspension – more than 3 times the rate of White suspension, and there are not clear commitment or resources for restorative practices.

Albuquerque has a community school partnership called the Albuquerque/Bernalillo Community School Partnership. Community schools are “public schools that partner with families and community organizations to provide well-rounded educational opportunities and supports for students’ school success.”²⁰ Well-implemented Community Schools are an evidenced-based approach for supporting student and family empowerment and success in academics and beyond.²¹ Albuquerque has 34 community schools (24% of all schools) that serve 21% of the district’s students. The ABC Community School Partnership provides health care, legal, and basic needs services to thousands of students and families, as well as extended learning time and local civic engagement opportunities.²² New Mexico is also making exciting progress in reimagining Native education through the success of the Native American Community Academy (NACA) in Albuquerque and the NACA Inspired Schools Network. NACA, and other schools following their approach design rich learning opportunities across subject areas that are grounded in traditional wisdom and prioritize Native language preservation.

CARE

Albuquerque has 52% of the supports needed for *Care*. The majority (97%) of children have insurance, though Native youth have lower access compared to other racial/ethnic groups (91%). A high percentage of infants are born below a healthy birth weight (4%), with more Hispanic infants born at a low birth weight compared to white infants; this highlights racial inequity in adequate care information and services, and discriminatory attitudes that are affecting these inequitable outcomes. Another health equity issue impacting youth wellness and opportunity to learn is access to healthy food. In Albuquerque, only 40% of low-income residents live within walking distance of a supermarket, and only one-third of Hispanics have access to grocery stores. Compared to national averages,

Albuquerque has relatively low exposure to air toxins, however, the rate of exposure is 10 index points higher for Hispanic and Native communities compared to white residents, which often is a reflection of ongoing practices of neighborhood segregation and intentional industrial development in closer proximity to communities of color, and away from white communities. School records also indicate a lack of school psychologists in the system, and too few social workers relative to student numbers to ensure all children's mental health needs are being met. These health needs will need to be met in schools and communities to ensure children and families have equitable access to healthy living environments that enable them to thrive overall and academically.

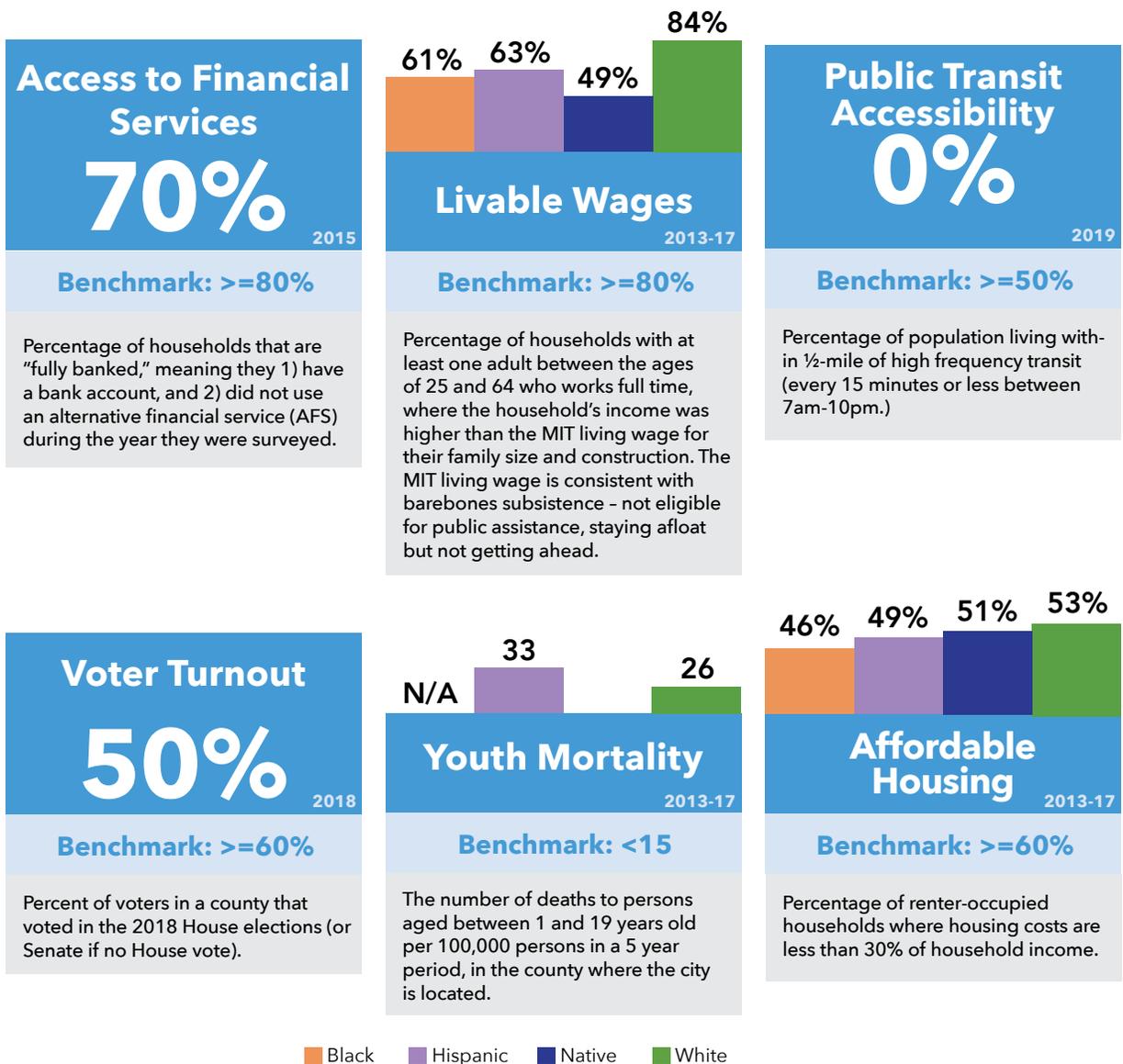


Black Hispanic Native White

STABILITY

Albuquerque has 33% of the supports needed for neighborhood *Stability*. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families in Albuquerque, as well as across the country, is economic inequality. Only around 60% of Black and Latino and 49% of Native households earned enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 84% of white households. This is compounded by rising housing costs; half of renters in the city are paying more than a third of their income towards the cost of rent, a level that puts their ability to cover other critical expenditures at risk. None of the area residents live within a half-mile of high-frequency transit, making it difficult to reliably get to a job without a car, and affecting access to public resources like healthcare and grocery stores that aren't

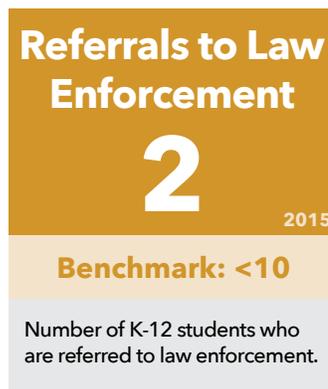
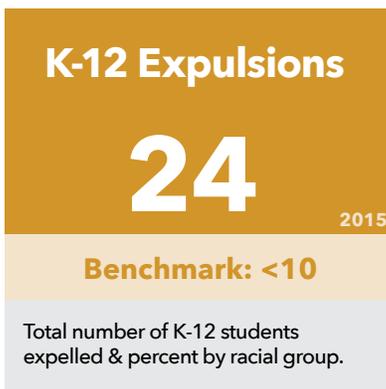
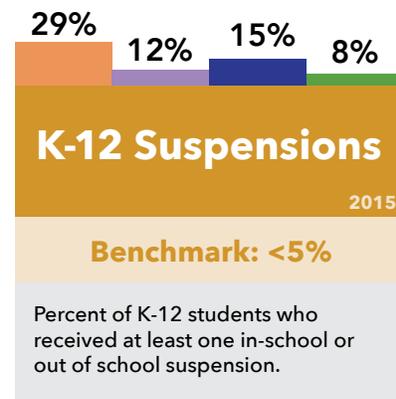
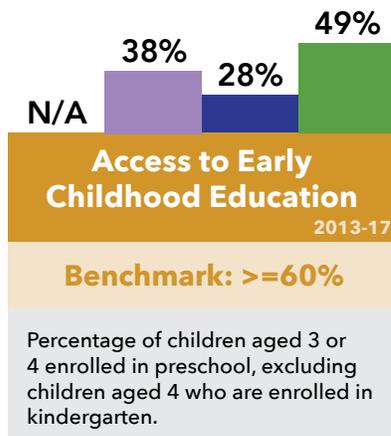
in immediate proximity to where people live. Youth and infant mortality rates were also concerning; there were approximately 30/100,000 deaths among youth, with higher rates for Hispanic youth (33) and lower rates for white youth (26). Infant mortality was also high, with nearly 6 deaths per 1,000 births, and the Black infant mortality rate nearly twice that of whites. This inequity in violence also impacts community stability. When children and adults directly experience trauma and toxic stress from exposure to violence and pain it affects their opportunity to learn and thrive, and when the rate of violence is high across a neighborhood or community there's a communal trauma that affects everyone.



COMMITMENT

Albuquerque has 56% of the supports needed for *Commitment* to each child's success. There are significant opportunity gaps in access to early childhood education, with over 20% difference in enrollment between Native 3-4-year-olds and their white peers. Early childhood learning has been shown to directly impact student success throughout elementary and high school and beyond, and provides an opportunity for early social-emotional development. Albuquerque Public Schools reported two pre-school suspensions, a practice that many cities have ended altogether. At the K-12 level, there were nearly 5,000 in-school suspensions and 5,000 out-of-school suspensions in the 2015-16 school year, with almost a third of all Black students experiencing at least one in- or out-of-school

suspension; as well as 12% of Hispanic students and 15% of Native students, compared to 8% of White students. These rates of suspension are among some of the highest for cities Schott has studied and reflect a highly problematic use of punitive discipline that feeds a school-to-prison pipeline. Far more efforts need to be made by the school district to demonstrate a commitment to resource restorative practices as an alternative to suspension and address bullying to ensure school cultures respect the inherent humanity of each child, regardless of race, gender, or sexuality. While expulsion and referrals to law enforcement are minimal, Black students were twice as likely to get expelled as white students.



■ Black ■ Hispanic ■ Native ■ White

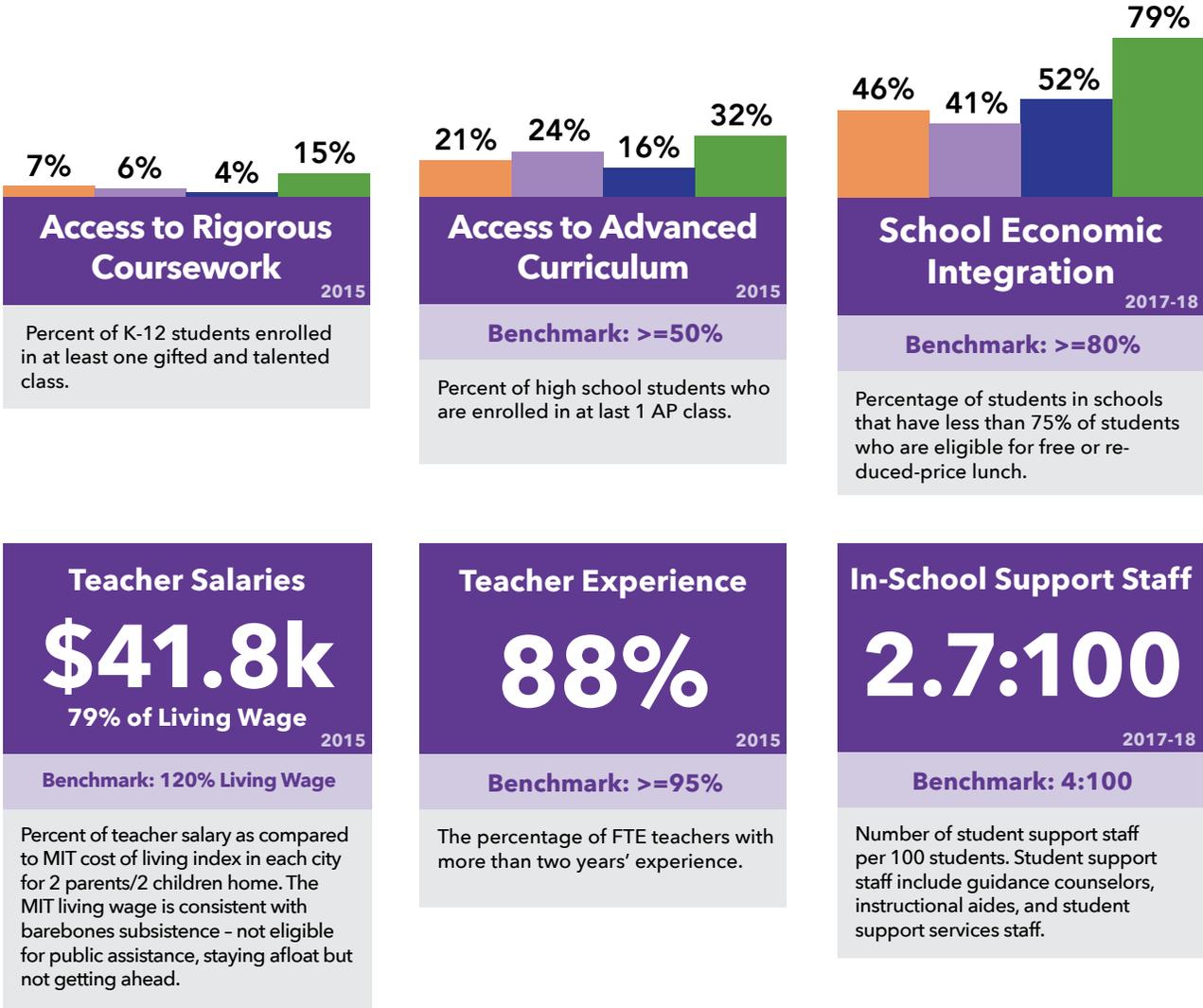
* **Commitment:** Is there a clear continual commitment to activities to reduce bullying incidences?
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Code of Conduct: Is bullying clearly addressed in student code of conduct with instructions on how to report incidences?

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Resources: Are there clear and easily accessible resources?
Code of Conduct: Are Restorative Practices addressed in the student code of conduct?

CAPACITY

Albuquerque has 29% of the supports needed for *Capacity* to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and providing students an excellent, high-quality education. When it comes to ensuring all students have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness, there are significant racial gaps that are often attributed to interpersonal racial bias where educators “track” students to particular classes based on race, discouraging students of color from more challenging

courses even when there’s evidence they would excel in those courses. In Albuquerque, the rate of white students enrolled in gifted and talented courses was twice that of Black students and Hispanic students, and 3 times that of Native students. For Advanced Placement classes, 32% of white students were enrolled in at least 1 AP class, compared to 24% of Hispanic students, 21% of Black students, and 16% of Native students.



Black Hispanic Native White

A panoramic view of the Atlanta skyline, featuring numerous skyscrapers and modern buildings, viewed from a distance with green trees in the foreground.

Atlanta, GA

COPPER

Located in Northwest Georgia, Atlanta, the “city in the forest,” is the state capital and home to 500,000 residents, making it the 37th most populous city in the U.S. Aerospace and telecommunications are some of the city’s major industries. Before Atlanta’s 1847 incorporation, the Muscogee and Cherokee people presided over the region. The U.S. military violently removed many Native people during the 1830’s Trail of Tears, forcibly relocating 60,000 Native Americans to the west of the Mississippi River.²³ Atlanta has been a place of profound racial struggle and resistance. It was a major geographic center of the civil rights movement and birthplace of prominent civil rights leaders including Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Racist policies and practices shaped the segregated landscapes of major cities like Atlanta. During the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to lend new mortgages refinance home mortgages that were at default during the Great Depression. By 1936 the federal agency had provided one million new mortgages and owned one in five nationally.²⁴ The HOLC developed lending risk maps in over 100 large cities and map-makers relied on the prejudices of local loan officers, city officials, appraisers and realtors in appraising sections of the city, rating white areas of town as “desirable” and “best” for lending and areas of town where Black people, immigrants, and Jewish people lived as “hazardous,” thereby curtailing lending or issuing loans at much higher interest rates.^{25,26}

Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, in which they sometimes paid double the worth of

the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. HOLC maps in Atlanta solidified segregation, and today that historic lending framework aligns with metro-wide inequalities in homeownership. (See Atlanta’s HOLC map showing the “redlining” of neighborhoods throughout the city.) Today’s residential demographic patterns, with more white people to the north and more people of color to the south, can be traced to redlined areas. In 1922, the Atlanta City Planning Commission zoned areas of the city as “white districts” and “colored districts,” saying that “race zoning is essential in the interest of public peace, order, and security” while also warning city officials that white areas needed to be protected from “encroachment of the colored race.”²⁷ During the 1980s, white people in Atlanta secured home loans at five times the rate of Blacks, and race, not home value or household income, determined those lending patterns.²⁸

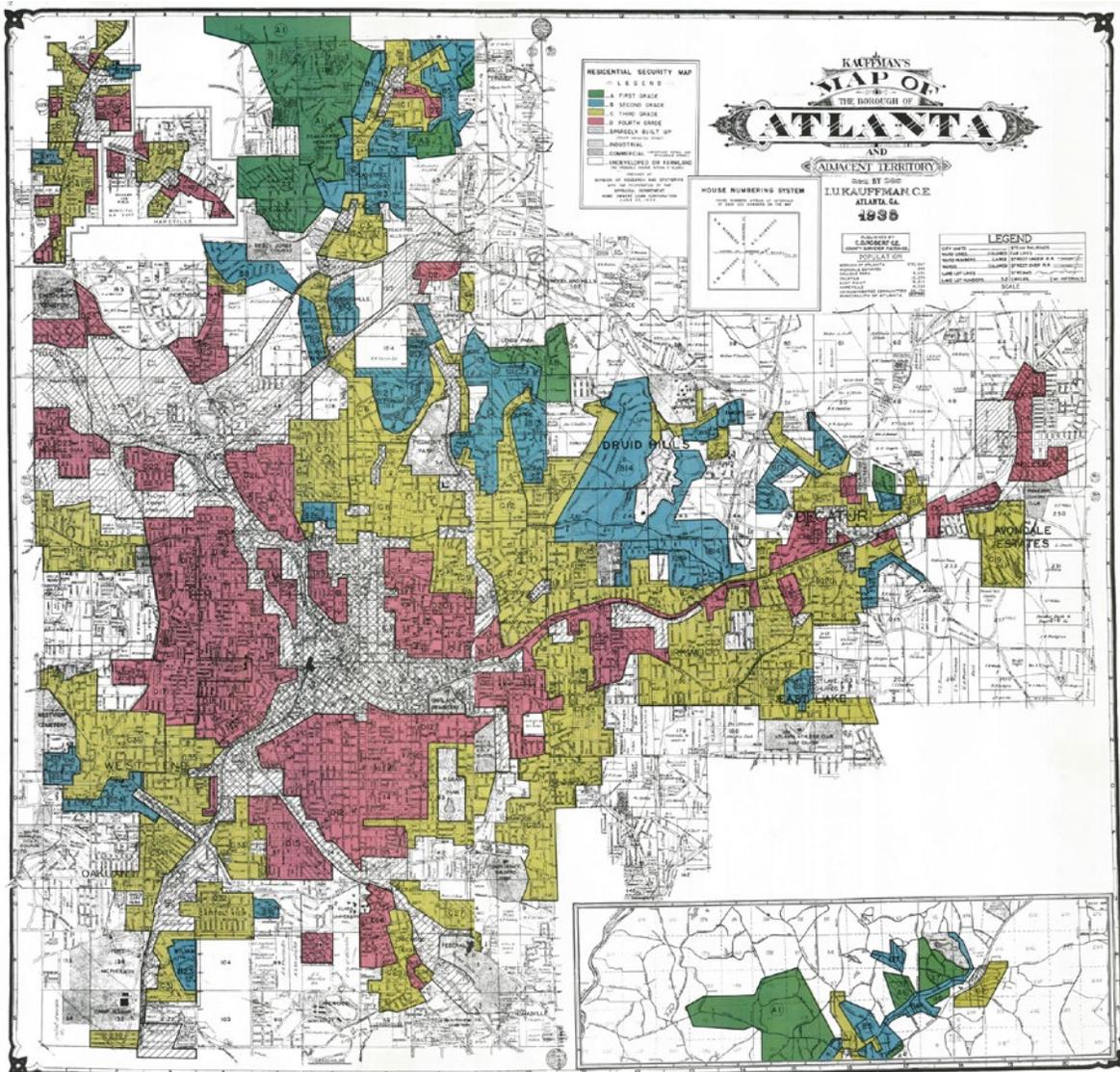
Educational suppression and segregation influenced intergenerational opportunities. Early in Georgia’s history, whites passed anti-literacy laws that prohibited Black people from reading and writing, punishable by death. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years Jim Crow laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either “white only” or “colored” (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).²⁹ In 1954, segregation was challenged in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Supreme Court held that “separate but equal” violated the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice, Earl Warren wrote, “In the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”³⁰

LOVING CITIES INDEX

Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated even without the formal laws of the South.

After the *Brown* decision, whites in Atlanta resisted integration until 1961, when the courts threatened to close Atlanta schools for non-compliance.³¹ That year, nine Black students (“the Atlanta Nine”) integrated four all-white high schools³² and desegregation busing began. The city’s busing program ended in 1973. During and after Atlanta’s desegregation era, the city underwent dramatic demographic changes: white realtors steered white homebuyers to outlying suburbs and Black middle-class families left the city for neighboring DeKalb county, leaving a primarily low-income and majority Black population.³³

Presently, Atlanta Public Schools is among the 100 largest school districts nationally, enrolling 51,600 students and overseeing 96 traditional schools (55 elementary schools and 16 middle and 25 high schools) and 12 charter schools. The majority of students are Black (75%), 15% white, 7% Latino, and .2% Native American. The percent of children in poverty across the city is 35%, but the school district has over twice that: 77%. Three percent of students are English language learners. The percentage of Black children in poverty is 12 times that of white children and for Latino children, it is 10 times higher. The youth of color in Atlanta are more likely to be out of school and unemployed compared to white youth. Communities in Schools works in almost 40 Atlanta Public Schools, providing a site-based coordinator to implement a model of integrated student supports.³⁴

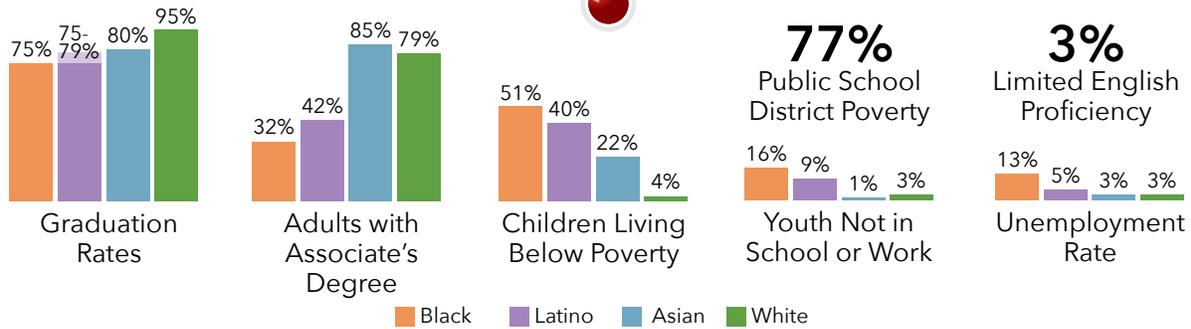


A 1938 example of a redlining map of Atlanta.

THERMOMETER INDICATORS



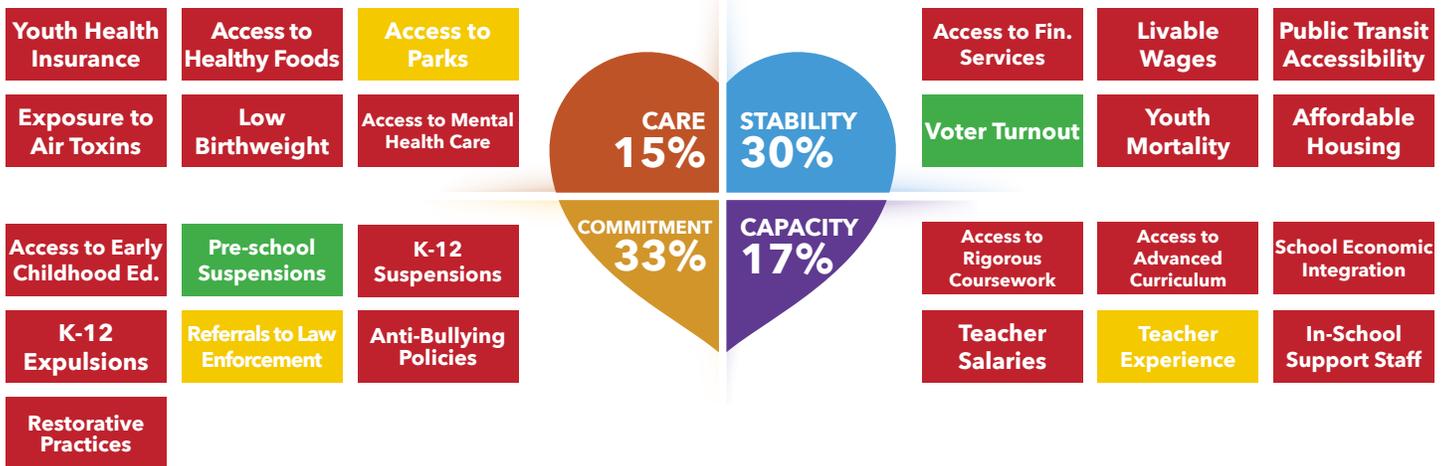
Current conditions for childhood success



THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



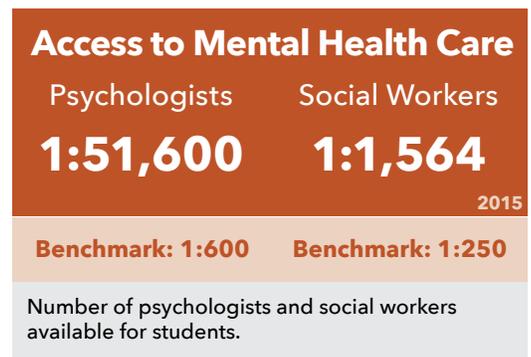
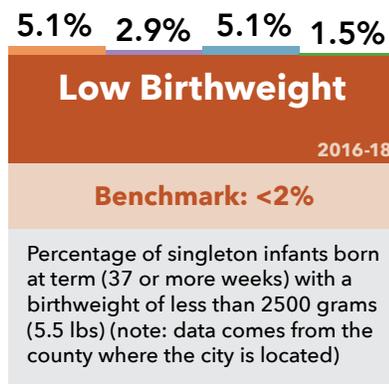
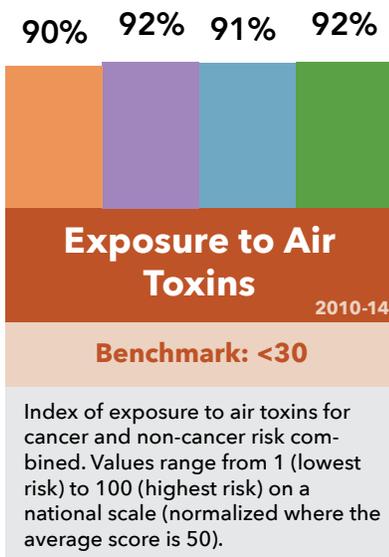
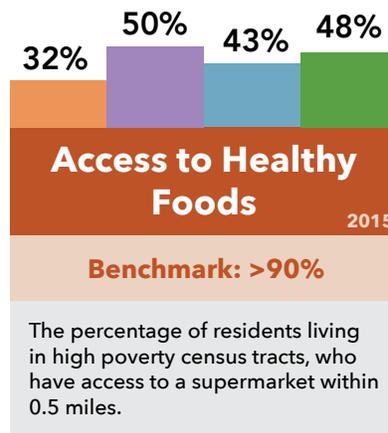
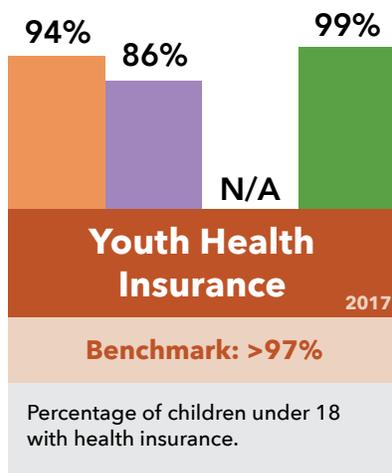
Overall, Atlanta has large gaps in access to resources and supports across each of the domains, with large racial inequities in access. However, voter turnout is a bright spot in Atlanta, with 66% of voters casting votes in the 2018 mid-term elections compared to the national average of 50%. While change is needed, this demonstrates that people are civically engaged – a key ingredient for demanding change. When it comes to health equity, Latino children face large gaps in access to health insurance; and there is a dearth of supermarkets within walking distance of residents living in low-income census tracts, especially for Black residents. Additionally, Atlanta has far more infants born below birthweight compared to the national average, with large racial disparities between Black and Asian infants, and white infants; and youth mortality for Black children is more than double the rate of white children.

When it comes to Stability, like most other cities, Atlanta has major economic inequities in livable wages, with only 55% of Black families and 69% of Latino earning high enough wages for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 95% of White families. At the same time, only half of all families in Atlanta have access to affordable housing, and the public transportation system is inadequate for most communities to rely on to get to where they need to go. In schools, nearly 20% of Black students in the city have received at least one in-school or out-of-school suspension – almost 10 times the rate of white suspensions, and there are not clear commitment or resources for restorative practices or anti-bullying.

CARE

Atlanta has 15% of the supports needed for *Care*. When it comes to health equity, only 86% of Latino children have health insurance, compared to 94% of Black and 99% of white children. Additionally, the Black infant mortality rate in Atlanta is a crisis: for every 1,000 infants born, there were ten Black infant deaths; for whites, there were three. A higher percentage of Black infants and Asian infants were born at low birth weights (5%) compared to Hispanic infants (3%) and white infants (1.5%). Systems assessments in Georgia have found that Black mothers face inadequate care information and services, and discriminatory attitudes and issues in local, municipal, and state-level practices that are affecting these inequitable outcomes.³⁵

In Atlanta, there is also a dearth of supermarkets within walking distance of residents living in low-income census tracts, especially for Black residents (only 32% of Black low-income residents live close to grocery stores); and exceptionally high levels of exposure to air toxins. School records indicate a lack of school psychologists in the system, and too few social workers relative to the number of students to ensure all children's mental health needs are being met. These health needs will need to be met in schools and communities to ensure children and families have equitable access to healthy living environments that enable them to thrive overall and academically.

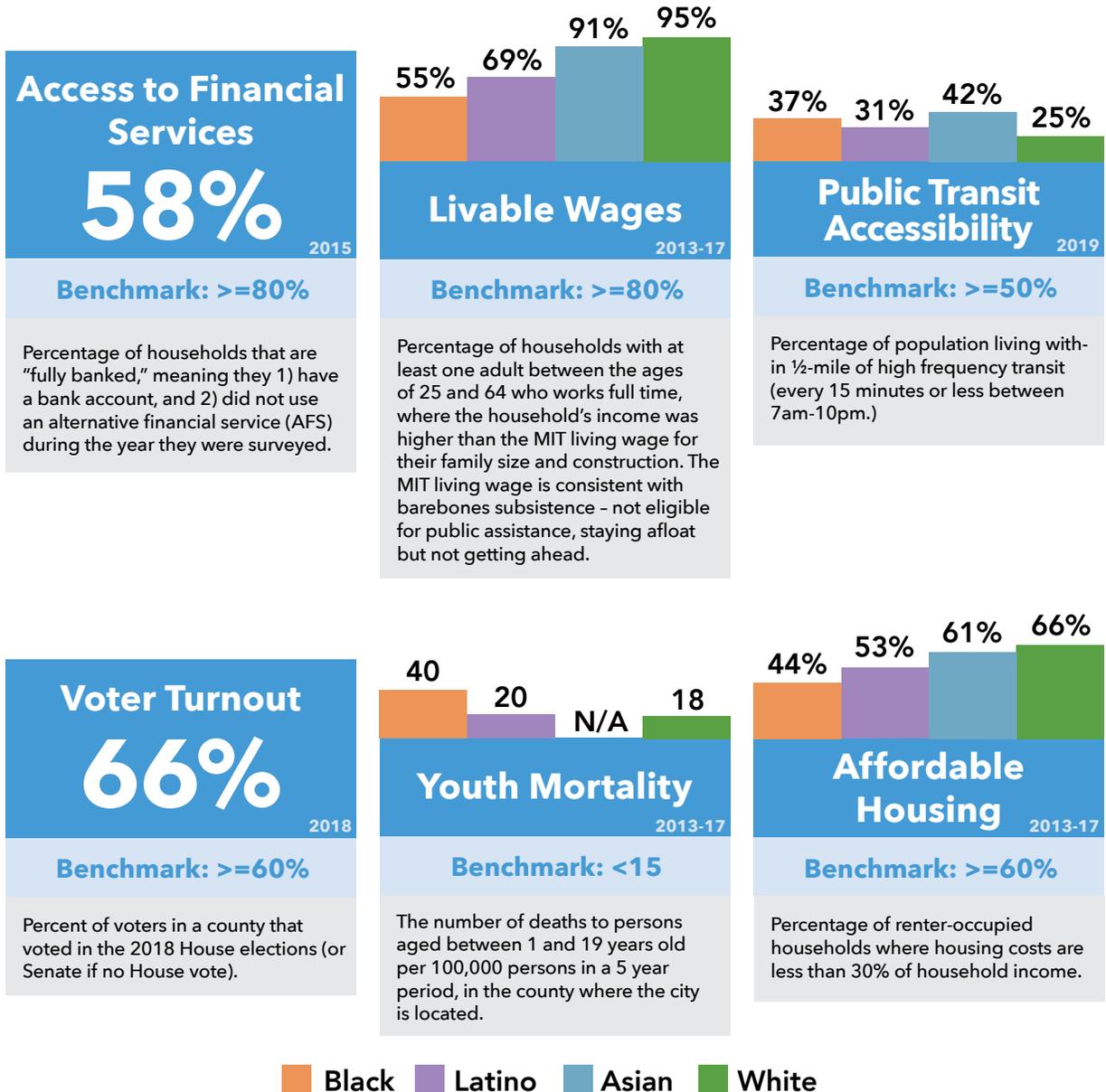


Black Latino Asian White

STABILITY

Atlanta has 30% of the supports needed for neighborhood *Stability*. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families in Atlanta, as well as across the country, is economic inequality. Only 55% of Black and 69% of Latino households earned enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 95% of White households. This is compounded by rising housing costs; half of the renters in the city are paying more than a third of their income toward the cost of rent, a level that puts their ability to cover other critical expenditures at risk. Only 44% of Black renters have access to affordable housing, compared to 66% of white renters.

Gaps in access to transportation and financial services also make it difficult to build wealth and reliably get around. Only 58% of residents have access to traditional financial institutions and credit services, and only a third lived close to high-frequency public transit. Youth mortality was also concerning: There were approximately 40 deaths among black children to every 100,000, more than double that of white youth. High levels of violence also impact community stability. When children and adults experience trauma and toxic stress from exposure to violence and pain it affects their opportunity to learn and thrive, and when the rate of violence is high across a neighborhood or community there's a communal trauma that affects everyone.

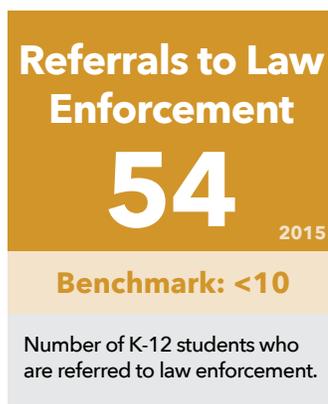
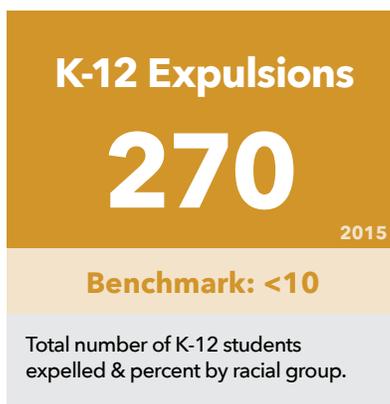
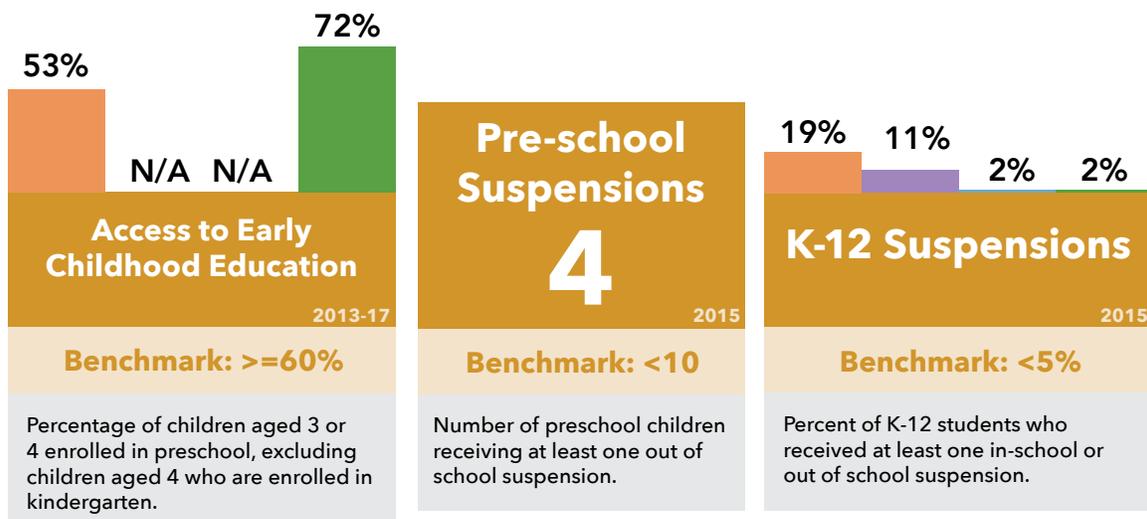


COMMITMENT

Atlanta has 33% of the supports needed for Commitment to each child's success. There are significant racial gaps in access to early childhood education, with only about half of Black 3-4-year-olds attending pre-school, compared to 72% of white children. Early childhood learning has been shown to directly impact student success throughout elementary and high school, and beyond; and provides an opportunity for early social-emotional development. Atlanta reported four pre-school suspensions, a practice that many cities have ended altogether.

Atlanta Public Schools assigned 94% of all out-of-school suspensions and expulsions to Black students, a number disproportionately higher compared to Black student enrollment (75%). In total 20% of all Black

students have experienced at least one in- or out-of-school suspension, compared to only 2% of White students. This disproportionate use of punitive discipline against Black students is a reflection of the over-policing that contributes to the racist school-to-prison pipeline. In fact, Atlanta only reports one psychologist for all 51,600 students in the district, but a third of schools had a sworn law enforcement officer on site, demonstrating a culture of policing instead of a culture of youth support and development. The school district needs to make greater efforts to demonstrate a commitment and adequately resource restorative practices as an alternative to suspension, and address bullying to ensure school cultures respect the inherent humanity of each child, regardless of race, gender, or sexuality.



Black Latino Asian White

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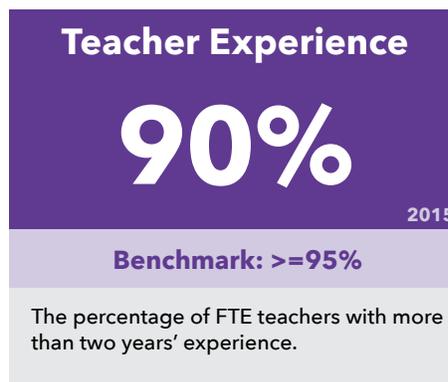
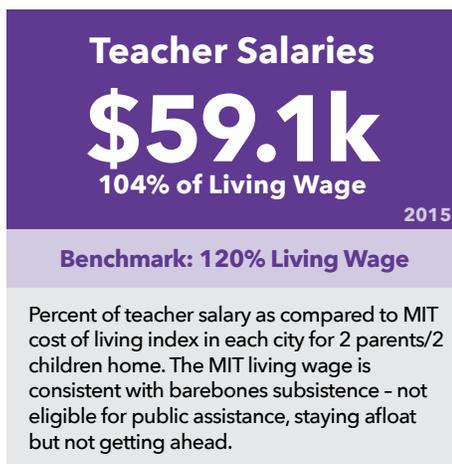
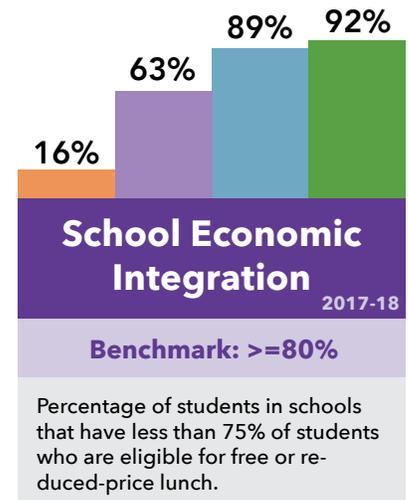
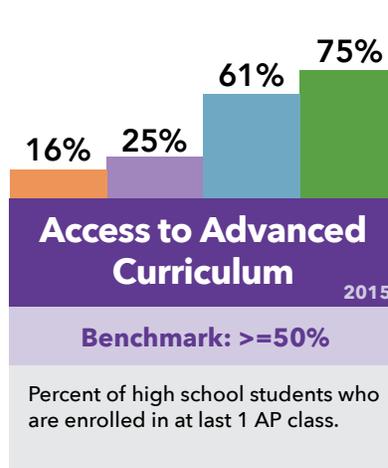
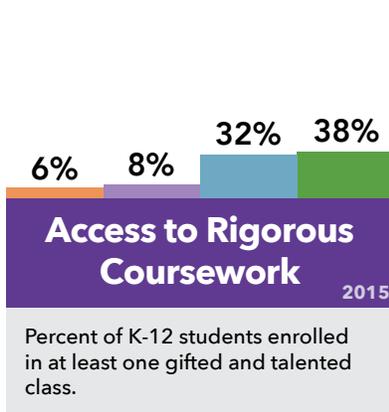
** **Commitment:** Is there a clear commitment by school system to use restorative practices?
Resources: Are there clear and easily accessible resources?
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CAPACITY

Atlanta has 17% of the supports needed for *Capacity* to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and providing students an excellent, high-quality education. When it comes to ensuring all students have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness, there are significant racial gaps that are often attributed to interpersonal racial bias where educators “track” students to particular classes based on race, discouraging students of color from more challenging courses even when there’s evidence they would excel in those courses. In Atlanta, the rate of white students enrolled in gifted and talented courses for K-12 was six times that of Black students and 4 times that of Latino students. By high school, 75% of white students were enrolled in at least one Advanced Placement class compared to only 16% of Black students and 25% of Latino students.

Teacher salaries on average were generally on par with the minimum cost of living for the city of Atlanta, and 90% of teachers had at least two years of experience, suggesting a decent level of teacher pay and retention compared to some other cities. As in many cities, school

enrollment policies in the district have led to nearly all Black students being enrolled in schools where over 75% of the student body is experiencing poverty, while 92% of white students attend schools with far lower rates of student poverty. School districts must interrogate how their policies, especially when it comes to charter school enrollment, contribute to racial and economic segregation of schools and determine ways to reduce the number of “high poverty” schools. Schools with high rates of students living in poverty typically have lower resourcing compared to schools serving more affluent families, who can cover the costs of extracurricular activities and often fundraise for additional resources and supports for their children’s schools. School districts must adequately compensate for that by fully resourcing schools serving students of color and students living in poverty. Fully-resourced community schools offer a promising approach to ensuring schools are designed in collaboration with communities and in ways that are culturally responsive and resource-full. Building upon the current efforts to grow the number of students attending Community Schools can help ensure all students have access to healthy living and learning environments.



Black Latino Asian White



Dallas, TX **COPPER**

Located in north-central Texas, Dallas has a population of over one million and is the state's third-largest city. Historically, the area was home to the Wichita, Comanche, Caddo, Cherokee, and Kiowa peoples.³⁶ "In 1841, General Edward H. Tarrant led an armed expedition of Texans into the Three Forks area, bent on removing the last Indian residents... in order for the Republic to attract other Americans to settle in Texas."³⁷ Today, approximately 20,000 American Indians live in the Dallas-Fort Worth metro area.³⁸

The first white American farmers to settle in the Dallas area brought slaves with them, and by 1859 one out of every 10 people in the county was a Black slave. Dallas Truth, Racial Healing, & Transformation compiled historical narratives to lift up the erased or untold stories of Dallas's origins, and details Dallas's long history of "forced labor, violence, murder, rape, terrorism, torture, lynching, anti-Blackness and the dehumanizing and impoverished after-effects of the chattel slavery system such as Jim Crow laws", none of which Dallas county or the City of Dallas acknowledges, despite Dallas having the largest chapter of the Ku Klux Klan.³⁹

Racist policies and practices shaped the segregated landscapes of major cities, including Dallas. During the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to lend new mortgages refinance home mortgages that were at default during the Great Depression. By 1936 the federal agency had provided one million new mortgages and owned one in five nationally.⁴⁰ The HLOC developed lending risk maps in over 100 large cities and map-makers relied on the prejudices of local loan officers, city officials, appraisers and realtors in appraising sections of the city, rating white areas of town as "desirable" and "best" for lending and areas

of town where Black people, immigrants, and Jewish people lived as "hazardous," thereby curtailing lending or issuing loans at much higher interest rates.^{41,42}

Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, in which they sometimes paid double the worth of the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. Dallas adopted local racial zoning rules that decreed separate living areas for Black and white families and used public housing and Section 8 programs to perpetuate segregation.⁴³ Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, which they paid sometimes double the actual worth of the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. HOLC maps knit segregation into the landscape, and today many of these historic maps align with metro-wide segregation and inequalities in homeownership. In Dallas, residential segregation patterns observable today align with redlining maps.⁴⁴ (See Dallas' HOLC map showing the "redlining" of neighborhoods throughout the city).

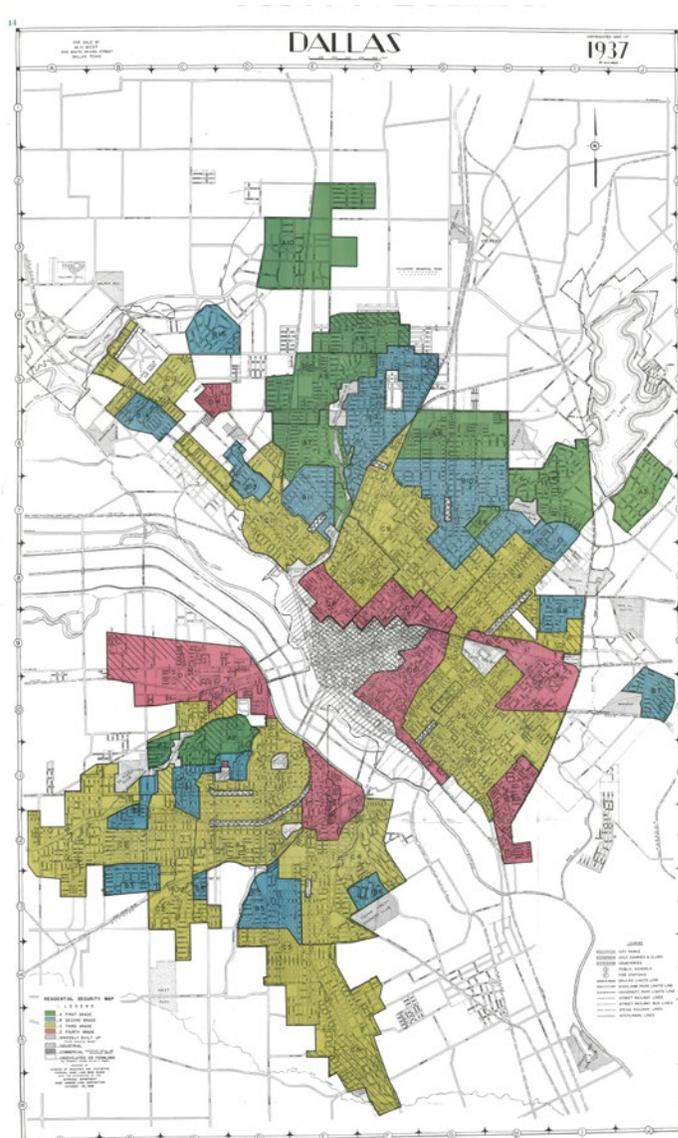
School segregation also undoubtedly determined intergenerational opportunity in Dallas. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years Jim Crow laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either "white only" or "colored" (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).⁴⁵ In Dallas, white officials also established segregation laws prohibiting Mexican Americans from attending the same theatres, parks, swimming pools, and schools as whites.⁴⁶ White Texan officials further oppressed Mexican American children and adults by creating segregated schools for Mexican American children and passing English-on-

ly laws punishable by penalties, fines, and classroom shaming.^{47, 48} In 1954, segregation was challenged in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Supreme Court held that the “separate but equal” doctrine violated the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice, Earl Warren wrote, “In the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”⁴⁹ English-only laws remained in place until 1973 when the Bilingual Education and Training Act was passed.⁵⁰

Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated though without the formal laws of the South. After the *Brown* decision, white officials and residents in Dallas passed laws that prohibited desegregation and empowered the governor to close schools to avoid it.⁵¹ The Dallas school superintendent was quoted in the fall of 1954 as saying the district “will not end segregation.”⁵² However, the Fifth Circuit Court ordered desegregation in 1961 to begin in Dallas, and efforts to make integration a reality continued unsuccessfully into the 1980s.^{53, 54}

In 2003, Dallas was officially released from court oversight of desegregation,⁵⁵ but schools continue to be racially concentrated: the average Latino student attends a school where 80% of their peers are Latino. Similarly, the average Black student attends a school where 50% of their peers are Black, and where 45% of their peers are Latino.⁵⁶ In general, the northern part of the district is predominantly white, while other areas have more children of color.⁵⁷ It’s not just racial differences within district schools but also those that exist between Dallas and nearby school districts, such as Highland Park, where 86% of children are white compared to Dallas which is predominantly students of color.

Dallas Independent School District is the 16th largest in the nation⁵⁸ and the largest district in the state, serving 158,941 students in 230 schools, including



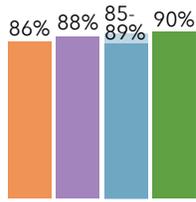
A 1937 example of a redlining map of Dallas.

147 elementary, 35 middle, 38 high and 10 multi-level. Approximately 43% of students are English language learners. Latino students are 70% of the student population, Black 23%, white 5%, Asian 1%, and Native .3%. The percentage of low-income children in Dallas is 34%, but the percentage in the district is twice that (88%). The percent of Latino children in poverty is twice as high as white children, and for Black children it is nearly three times as high. The percentage of Black youth out of school and unemployed is three times that of white youth, and for Latino youth it is nearly twice that of white youth.

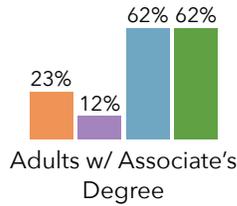
THERMOMETER INDICATORS



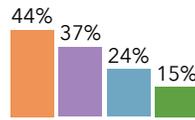
Current conditions for childhood success



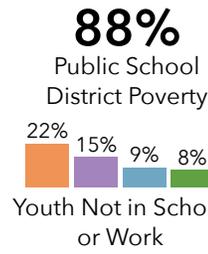
Graduation Rates



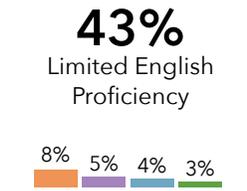
Adults w/ Associate's Degree



Children Living Below Poverty



Youth Not in School or Work



Unemployment Rate

Black Latino Asian White

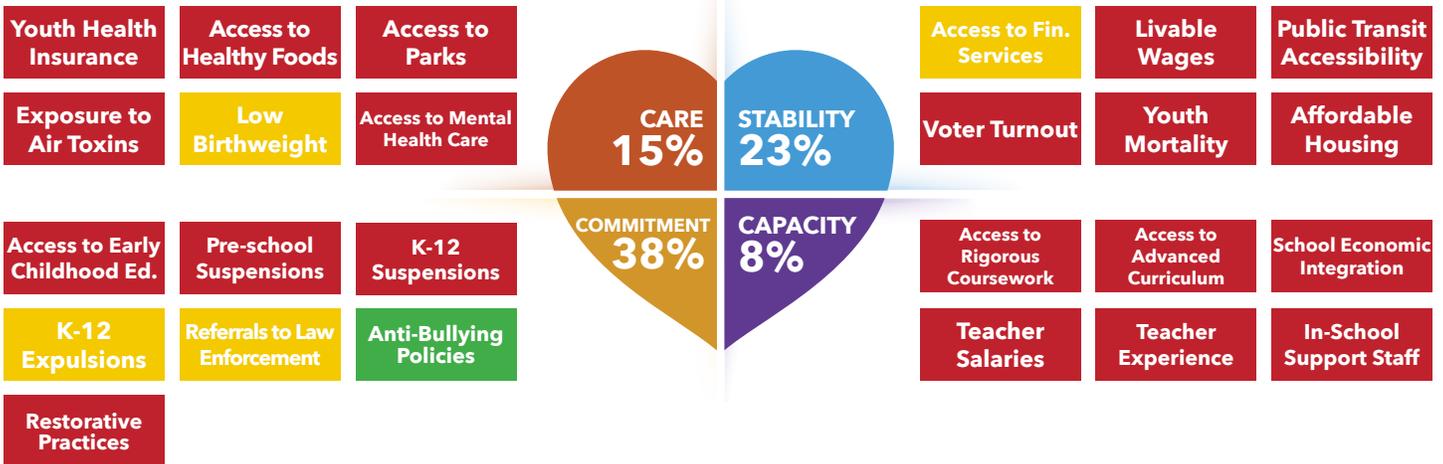
88%
Public School District Poverty

43%
Limited English Proficiency

THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



Overall, Dallas has large gaps in access to resources and supports across each of the domains, though major community-driven solutions and policy changes are showing promise. Of the cities studied, Dallas has the lowest rate of insured youth (85%), and some of the lowest rates of access to healthy food for low-income residents. As of the latest national reporting data from the 2015-16 school year, there were not any psychologists in the school system and only a few social workers for the entire district of 160,000 students. When it comes to neighborhood living environments, Dallas had basically no access to high-frequency public transportation,

and one of the lowest levels of access to financial services (checking and credit services). Dallas does have the highest percentage of renters in affordable housing compared to other cities studied (55%), though inequity in wages is pronounced. 45% of Latino households and 55% of Black households do not earn enough wages for their labor to live above subsistence, while nearly 90% of white households do earn above that threshold.

Dallas and surrounding suburbs are also confronting the need to address racism and racial violence in the police department, particularly in the Black

community following two recent high-profile cases where the police shot innocent Black people in their own homes. Botham Jean was shot and killed in his Dallas apartment by Officer Amber Guyger who reportedly entered his apartment mistaking it for her own, and Atatiana Jefferson also was shot and killed in her home in nearby Fort Worth by police responding to a non-emergency call from a neighbor who was concerned when they saw her front door standing open. This racist, over-policing of Black bodies is pervasive and goes much deeper than the stories that make national headlines. For example, in the 2015-16 school year Dallas public schools had the highest number of pre-school suspensions compared to other cities studied, all of which were Black or Latino children. House Bill 674 recently barred school districts in Texas from suspending students in pre-k through second grade under most circumstances, and in the past school year, out-of-school suspension for young students did drop significantly, though in-school-suspensions have generally remained high.⁵⁹ However, a culture of policing Black and brown children even at the earliest ages has continued, and Black students in grades 3-12 still experience disproportionate in- and out-of-school suspensions that remove students from the class-

room and create a school-to-prison pipeline, instead of taking a youth development approach like using restorative practices.

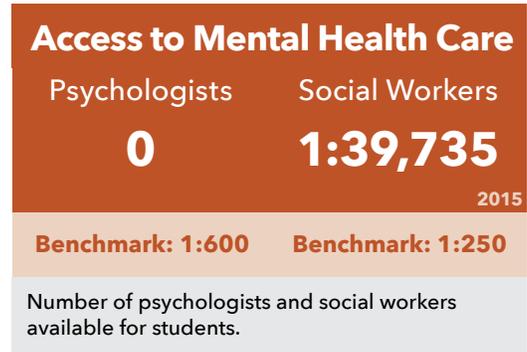
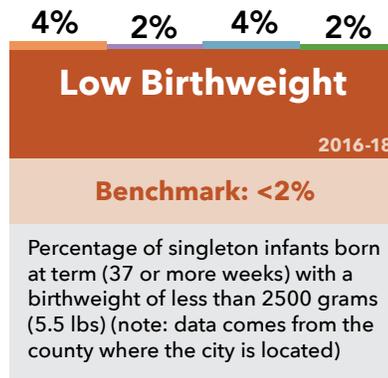
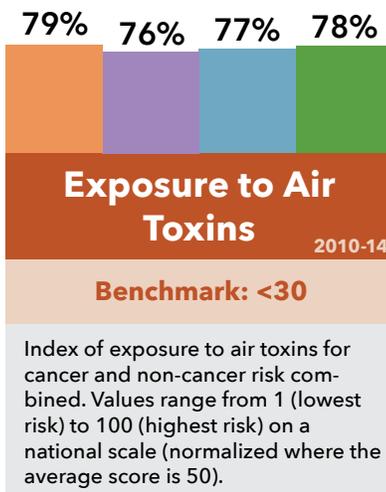
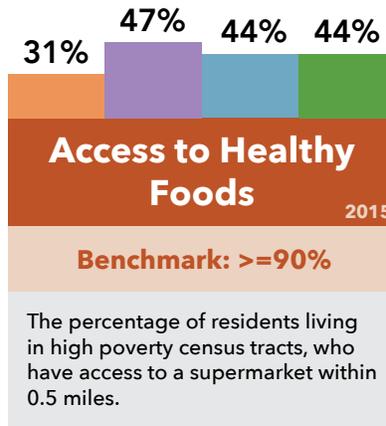
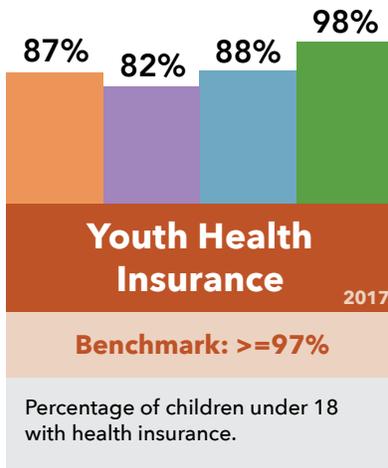
The [Dallas Truth, Racial Healing, and Transformation](#) (TRHT) Task Force is working to build relationships, narrative change, and policy change through deep community engagement across racial/ethnic groups and neighborhoods to create an inclusive city. “The TRHT approach examines how the hierarchy of human value became embedded in our society, both its culture and structures, and then works with communities to design and implement effective actions that will permanently uproot it.”⁶⁰ Dallas TRHT hosted nearly a dozen community visioning sessions with Dallas-area residents and has developed a theory of change and cohort of community leaders to adopt a cross-sector approach to supporting youth and families. This comprehensive approach to changing systems led by Dallas TRHT is a best practice model for other cities seeking to end racism and a reminder that community-building work cannot be left out of the equation and must be resourced to bring about sustainable, long-term transformational change.

CARE

Dallas has 15% of the supports needed for *Care*. When it comes to health equity, only 82% of Latino children have health insurance, compared to 87% of Black and 93% of White children. Closing this gap would mean insuring an additional 10,000 Latino youth. Additionally, Black and Asian infants have twice the low birth weight rate as white infants, and youth mortality is highest for Black youth (36%), which highlights racial inequity in adequate care information and services, and discriminatory attitudes that are affecting these inequitable outcomes.

In Dallas, there is also a dearth of supermarkets within walking distance of residents, especially for Black residents (only

31% of Black low-income residents live close to grocery stores); and fewer people live in close geographic proximity to public parks. Both of these metrics are more difficult to address in more sprawling cities like Dallas. Both of these issues point to inequitable resources that impact health outcomes for residents based on race and socioeconomic status. Schools are not equipped to deal with the health and other needs of students. District records indicate that there are no school psychologists and only a few social workers for the entire district. These health needs will need to be met in schools and communities to ensure children and families have equitable access to healthy living environments that enable them to thrive overall and academically.



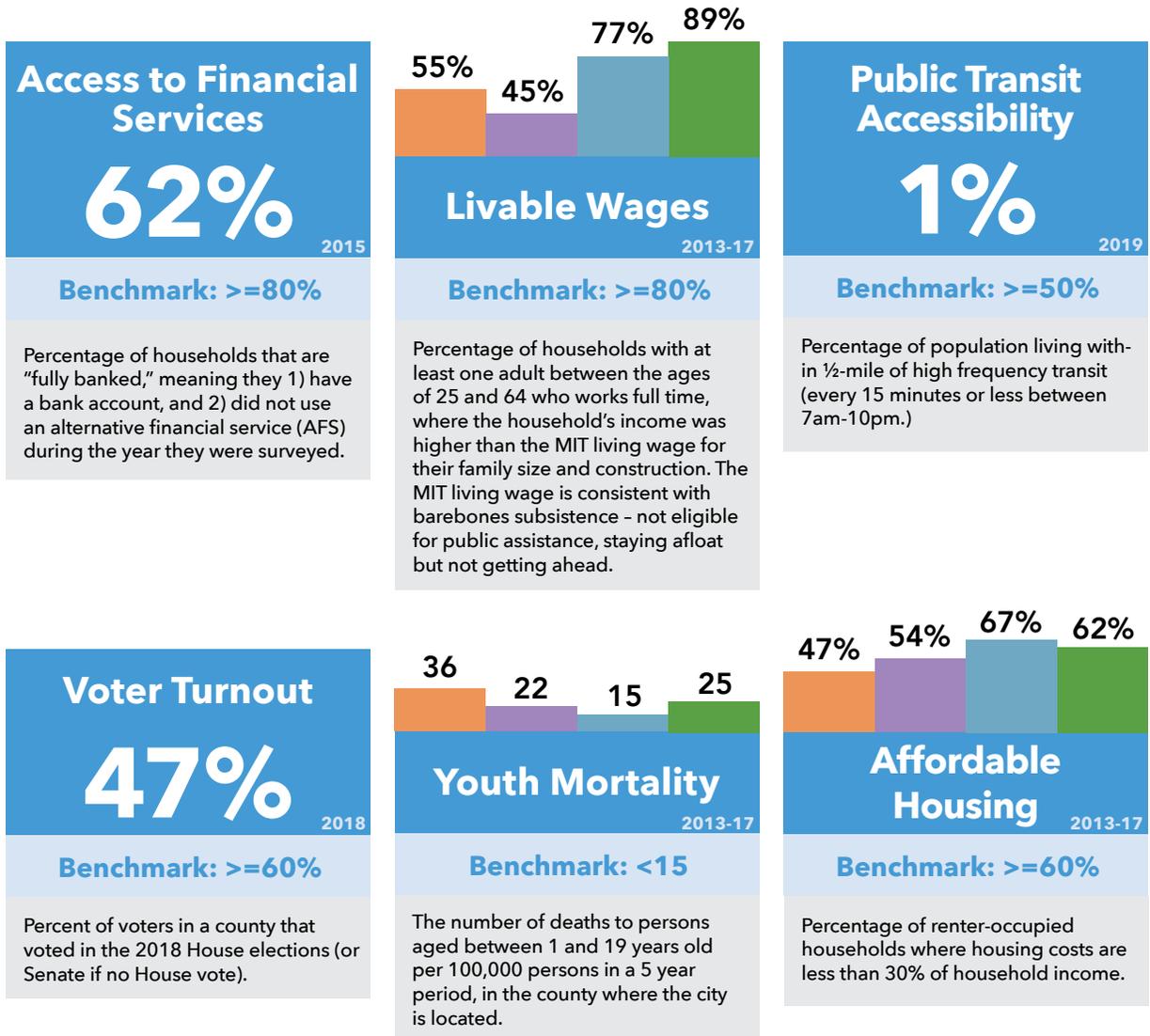
Black Latino Asian White

STABILITY

Dallas has 23% of the supports needed for neighborhood *Stability*. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families of color in Dallas, as well as across the country, is economic inequality. Only about half of Black and Latino households earned enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to nearly 90% of white households. This is compounded by rising housing costs – about half of the renters in the city are paying more than a third of their income toward the cost of rent, a level that puts their ability to cover other critical expenditures at risk. Only 47% of Black renters and 54% of Latino renters have access to affordable housing compared to 62% of White renters. In addition to housing affordability challenges, gaps in access to transportation and financial services also make it difficult to build wealth and reliably get around. Dallas

lacks any kind of reliable public transportation system, and only 6 out of every 10 people in Dallas have access to financial services like checking accounts and access to affordable credit.

Youth mortality rates are also concerning. There were 36 deaths among every 100,000 Black children, with the mortality rate among white children also high (25 per 100,000). High levels of violence and disease impact community stability. When children and adults experience trauma and toxic stress from exposure to violence and untimely death it affects their opportunity to learn and thrive, and when the rate of violence is high across a neighborhood or community there is a communal trauma that affects everyone.



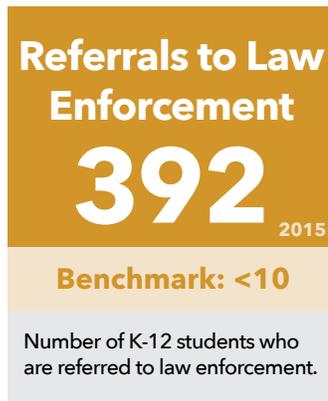
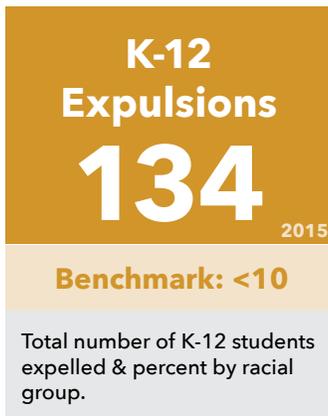
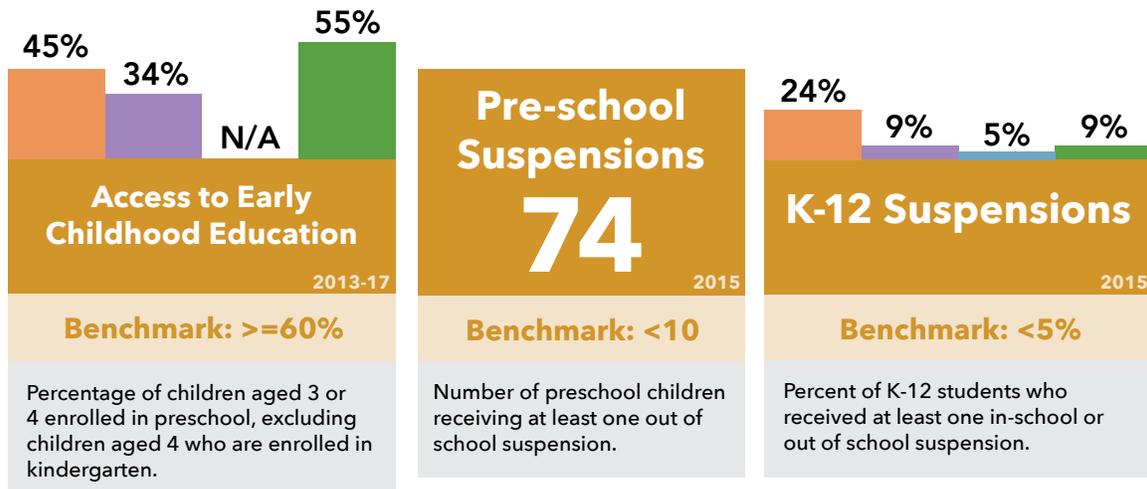
Black Latino Asian White

COMMITMENT

Dallas had 33% of the supports needed for *Commitment* to each child's success, however the most recent data available in national databases are typically a few years old and do not reflect the considerable investments that have been made in these areas in more recent years. For example, there have been considerable increases in investment and enrollment in early childhood education, so the current enrollment has continued to exceed the 40% of all 3-4 year-olds in Dallas enrolled in pre-school that is reflected in this report. Dallas also had a high number of pre-school suspensions (74), all of which were Latino (57%) or Black children (43%), but has since adopted policy that bans pre-school suspension.

At the K-12 level, Black and Latino students were again overrepresented in out-of-school suspensions. Of 13,000 out-of-school suspensions, half were Black students and the other half Latino. Dallas recorded 34 expulsions, the bulk of which were also assigned to Black

students and Latino students. The district made nearly 400 referrals to law enforcement: 41% against Black students and 56% against Latino students. The school district reports no school psychologists and only four social workers for a population of 160,000 students. There is no clear commitment to restorative justice practices, yet 136 of schools (nearly half of all schools) have a sworn law enforcement officer. This indicates a district-wide culture of over-policing and criminalization of young Black and Brown bodies, instead of a culture of supporting and developing youth in recognition of each child's potential and humanity. While it appears efforts have been made to address bullying to ensure school cultures respect the inherent humanity of each child, regardless of race, gender, or sexuality, significant investment must be made in weeding out educators with high use of suspension and expulsion against Black and Brown students and system-wide training around restorative practices.



Black Latino Asian White

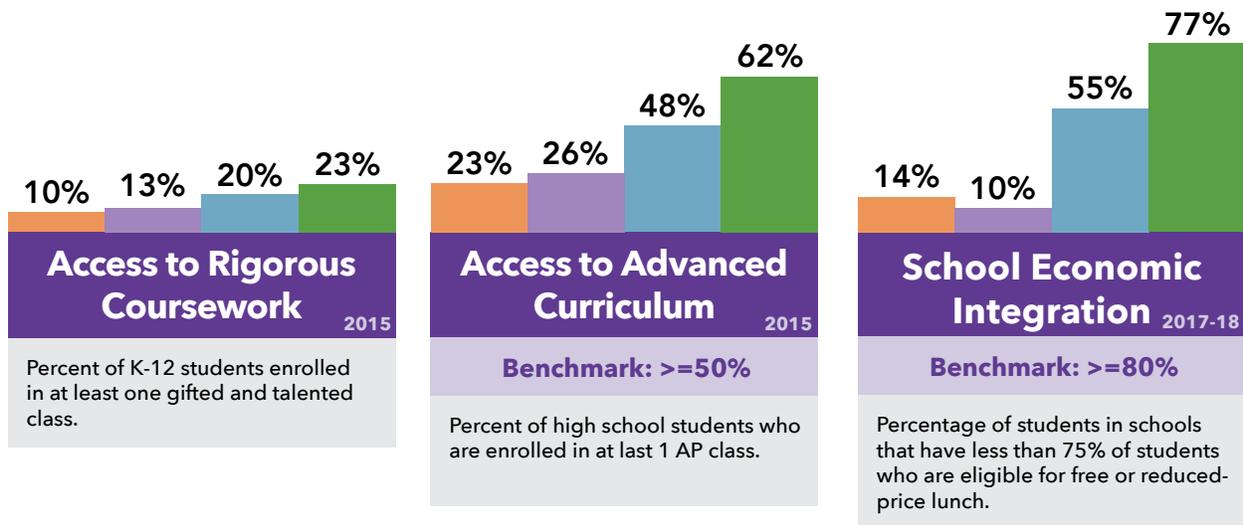
* **Commitment:** Is there a clear continual commitment to activities to reduce bullying incidences?
Transparency: Are there clearly accessible dates to bullying incidents or a clear point of contact /department on bullying?
Code of Conduct: Is bullying clearly addressed in student code of conduct with instructions on how to report incidences?
 ** **Commitment:** Is there a clear commitment by school system to use restorative practices?
Resources: Are there clear and easily accessible resources?
Code of Conduct: Are Restorative Practices addressed in the student code of conduct?

CAPACITY

Dallas has only 8% of the supports needed for Capacity to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and provide students a high-quality education. When it comes to ensuring all students have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness, there are significant racial gaps that are often attributed to interpersonal racial bias where educators “track” students to particular classes based on race, discouraging students of color from more challenging courses even when there’s evidence they would excel in those courses. In Dallas, the rate of white students enrolled in gifted and talented courses for K-12 was about double that of Black and Latino students. By high school, 62% of white students were enrolled in at least one Advanced Placement class compared to only 23% of Black students and 26% of Latino students.

Teacher salaries are also an important indicator for the capacity of schools, recognizing that when teacher salaries are lower than the cost of living, as they are in Dallas (86% of minimum cost of living), cities often experience teacher shortages and high rates of turnover. Only 76% of Dallas teachers had more than 2 years of experience, more than 10% below the national average. As in many cities, school enrollment policies in the district have led to the vast majority of

Black and Latino students being enrolled in schools where over 75% of the student body is experiencing poverty, while 77% of white students attend schools with far lower rates of students in poverty. School districts must investigate how their policies, especially when it comes to charter school enrollment, contribute to racial and economic segregation of schools and determine ways to reduce the number of “high poverty” schools. Schools with high rates of students living in poverty typically have lower resourcing compared to schools serving more affluent families, who can cover the costs of extracurricular activities and often fundraise for additional resources and supports for their children’s schools. School districts must adequately compensate for that by fully resourcing schools serving students of color and students living in poverty. Fully-resourced community schools offer a promising approach to ensuring schools are designed in collaboration with communities and in ways that are culturally responsive and resource-full. Communities in Schools currently works in 11 schools in Dallas ISD⁶¹, providing a site-based coordinator to implement a model of integrated student supports. Building upon the current efforts to grow the number of students attending Community Schools can help ensure all students have access to healthy living and learning environments.



Teacher Salaries

\$45.3k
86% of Living Wage

2015

Benchmark: 120% Living Wage

Percent of teacher salary as compared to MIT cost of living index in each city for 2 parents/2 children home. The MIT living wage is consistent with barebones subsistence – not eligible for public assistance, staying afloat but not getting ahead.

Teacher Experience

76%

2015

Benchmark: >=95%

The percentage of FTE teachers with more than two years’ experience.

In-School Support Staff

1.8:100

2017-18

Benchmark: 4:100

Number of student support staff per 100 students. Student support staff include guidance counselors, instructional aides, and student support services staff.

Black Latino Asian White

Detroit, MI COPPER

Detroit, Michigan, is the largest city in the state and has a population of nearly 672,000, making it the 23rd most populous city in the U.S. Detroit has an indigenous history that predates the arrival of French and British colonizers in the 1700s and 1800s.⁶² Indigenous groups endured centuries of colonial persecution, and today Detroit has the 10th largest Native American urban population in the U.S. The city's nicknames, "Motown" and "Motor City," allude to major Detroit companies that have defined American culture and industry: Berry Gordy's Motown, General Motors, Chrysler and Ford. Detroit played a major role in the *Great Migration* -- a term used to describe the sixty-year period during which six million Black southerners fled white terrorism of the Jim Crow south.⁶³ The Great Migration began in the early 1900s and continued through 1970. Detroit was a receiving city for Black southerners, particularly those coming from Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and Arkansas.⁶⁴

Racist policies and practices influenced the segregated landscapes of cities like Detroit. During the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration created a federal agency to lend new mortgages refinance home mortgages that were at default during the depression, called the *Home Owners Loan Corporation* (HOLC). By 1936 the agency had provided 1 million new mortgages and the agency owned one in five nationally.⁶⁵ The agency developed lending risk maps in over 100 large cities⁶⁶, and map-makers relied on the prejudices of local loan officers, city officials, appraisers and realtors in appraising sections of the city, rating white areas of town as "desirable" and "best" for lending and areas of town where Black people, immigrants, and Jewish people lived as "hazardous," thereby curtailing lending or issuing loans at much higher interest rates.⁶⁷

Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, which they paid sometimes double the actual worth of the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. HOLC maps solidified segregation. Developers and financiers reinforced segregated boundaries, for example, in 1940, the Federal Housing Authority denied a development project and required the developer to build a wall separating his whites-only project from nearby African American residencies, thereby reinforcing residential racial segregation.⁶⁸ HOLC maps knit segregation into the landscape, and today many of these historic maps align with metro-wide segregation and inequalities in homeownership. (See Detroit's HOLC map showing the "redlining" of neighborhoods throughout the city).

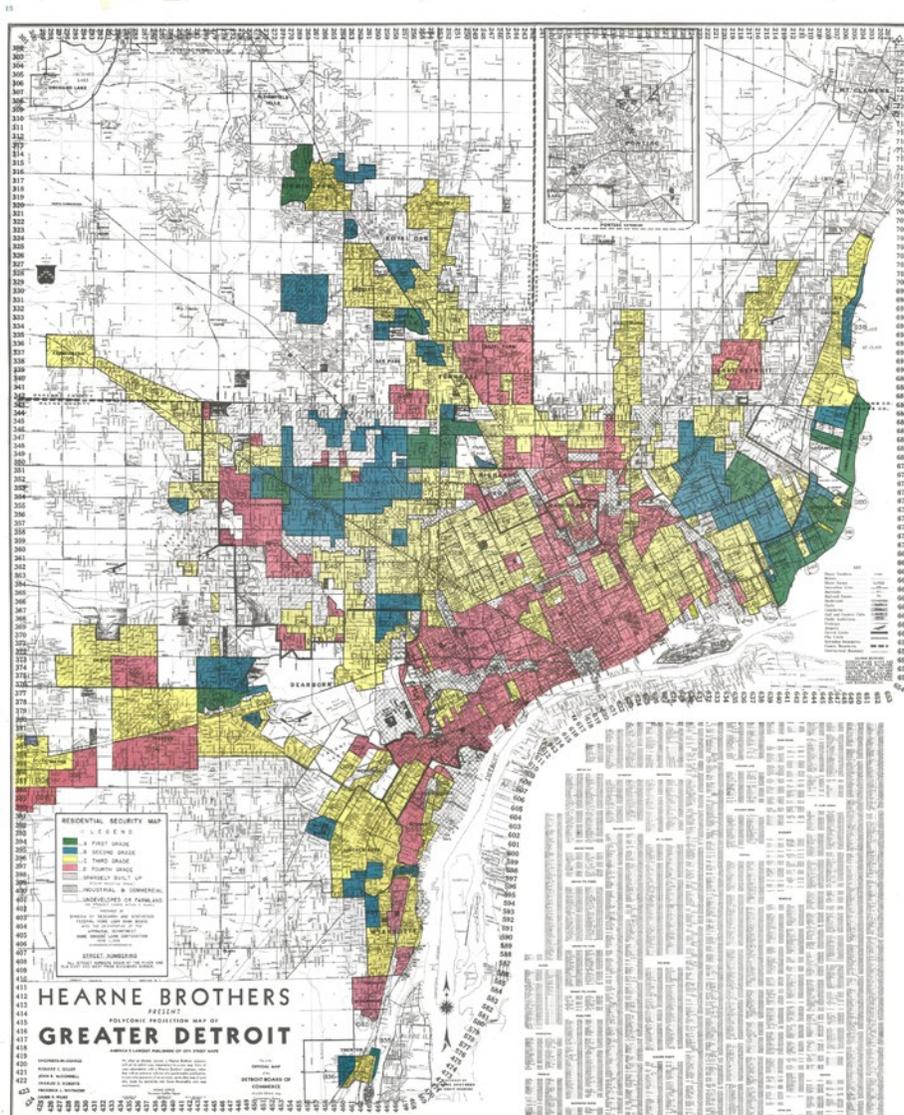
School segregation also undoubtedly determined intergenerational opportunity, even in Northern cities like Detroit. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years *Jim Crow* laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either "white only" or "colored" (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).⁶⁹ In 1954, segregation was challenged in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Supreme Court held that the "separate but equal" doctrine violated the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice, Earl Warren wrote, "In the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."⁷⁰ Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated though without the formal laws of the South.

LOVING CITIES INDEX

In 1971, the NAACP argued that rampant housing discrimination had led to segregated schools and sued the state of Michigan. The federal District Court agreed and issued an intra-district desegregation plan.⁷¹ The U.S. Supreme Court, however, disagreed and struck down the metro-wide plan, which included neighboring districts. Instead, they limited desegregation to the single district, a decision that protected neighboring white districts from inclusion in desegregation plans.⁷² This decision, *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974)⁷³, has had a long-lasting impact on Detroit. Today, wide differences exist between Detroit Public Schools and other nearby districts, such as Grosse Point. Detroit is almost 98% students of color, whereas Grosse Point is 25% students of color and has a lower percentage of low-income students and higher per-pupil revenue.⁷⁴ As a Supreme Court decision, *Milliken* also influenced decisions in other states; *Milliken* is a part of

why there are significant demographic differences between neighboring school districts in many major cities. According to desegregation expert Gary Orsfield, *Milliken* “ended the rapid growth of desegregated schooling for Black students that had begun in the mid-1960s.”⁷⁵

Today, Detroit Public Schools is the largest district in the state and enrolls 51,600 students in 106 schools.⁷⁶ Black students are 75% of enrollment, white students 15%, Latino students 7% and Native students .2%. Three percent of students are English language learners. Child poverty is a concern across racial groups: 50% of children in each racial and ethnic category live in poverty and the district’s percentage of low-income children is even higher (73%). One quarter of youth were out of school and unemployed, with the highest rate among Black youth (28%).

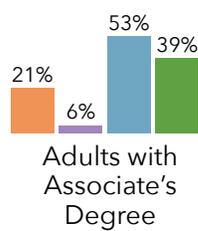
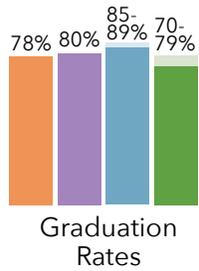


A 1939 example of a redlining map of Detroit.

THERMOMETER INDICATORS



Current conditions for childhood success

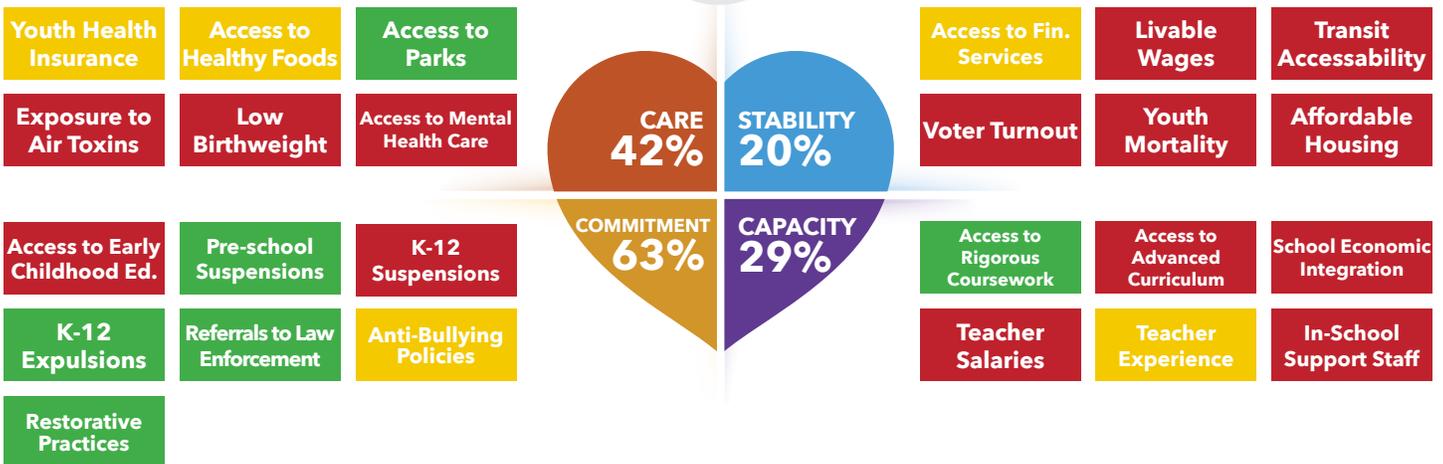


Black Latino Asian White

THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



Overall, Detroit has bright spots with improving *Commitment* to each young person's success, though there are still major gaps in access to resources and supports, especially in community *Stability* and school *Capacity*. In the 2015-16 school year, 18% of all students had received at least one in- or out-of-school suspension, but recently Detroit school officials adopted new policies around restorative justice, and there's strong anecdotal evidence that suspensions have been dropping significantly this school year.⁷⁷ When it comes to health equity, Detroit had the highest rate of infants born below a healthy birth weight and the highest rate of youth mortality of cities studied. The Michigan Department of Health and Human Services has adopted an Infant Health & Equity Improvement Plan and other steps to improve health equity, though a major issue in Detroit is the lack of public health centers in the city, especially on the east side of the city. Private healthcare like Detroit Wellness Plan Medical Center has stepped in to expand Urgent Care and other services on the east side, though many health experts in Detroit are calling for resources like access to transportation and healthy food, and addressing the living conditions of individuals living in poverty as critical factors that can help ensure residents are healthy.⁷⁸

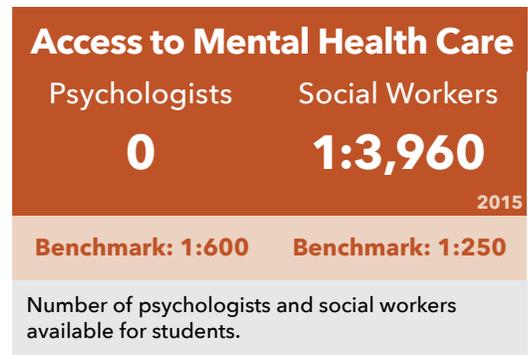
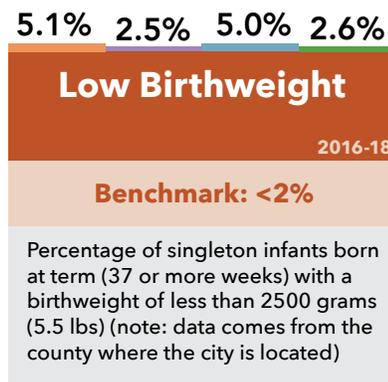
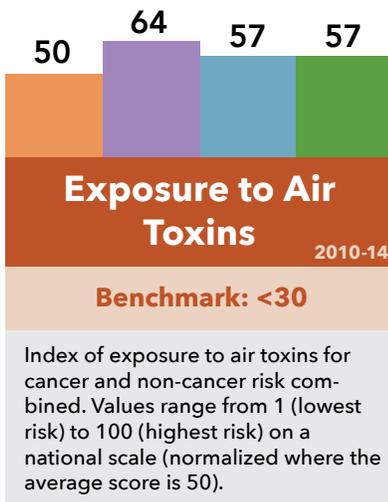
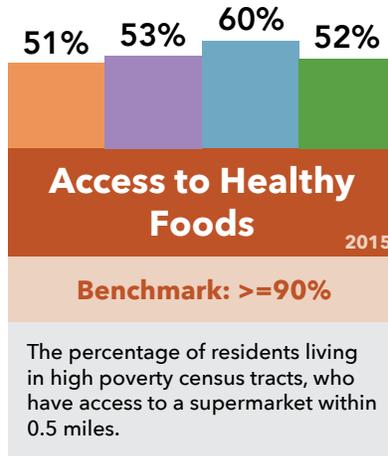
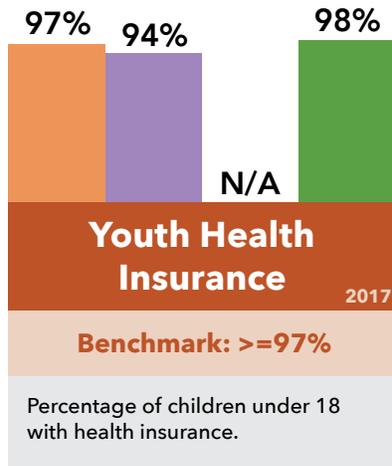
The Loving Cities Index highlights these broader resources that impact health in the *Stability* domain. Only about 40% of Black renters and around 50% of Hispanic and white renters have access to housing that is affordable for their income level. Much of this is impacted by living wages: 50% of Black households and 35% of Latino households with at least one full-time worker are not making high enough wages for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 64% of White households. The city also has very low rates of pre-school enrollment (36%), and with 73% of public school students living in poverty, nearly all students are attending schools where the vast majority of students are living in poverty. Community organizing groups like [482Forward](#) are working to build strong relationships and organize with residents and families to help build an education justice movement. 482Forward has worked with other community organizations, community members, and families to fight school closures and introduced legislation for greater equity and accountability, among other initiatives that empower residents through education and resources for community-driven change.

CARE

Detroit has 42% of the supports needed for *Care*. The majority of children have health insurance (97%), however, infant mortality rates and low birth weights highlight racial disparities. For every 1,000 Black infants born, there were 13 deaths, compared to six for white births. And, a higher percentage of Black and Asian infants were also born below a healthy birth weight (5%) compared to white and Latino infants (2.5%). These issues highlight racial inequity in adequate care information and services and discriminatory attitudes that often affect outcomes based on race.

Another health equity issue impacting youth wellness and the opportunity to learn is access to healthy food. In Detroit, only half

of the low-income residents live within half a mile of a supermarket, with several neighborhoods lacking any supermarket within several miles. Detroit's exposure to air toxins is comparable to the national average, however, the rate of exposure for Latino residents (64) is considerably higher than the exposure of Black (50) and White (57) residents. School records also indicate a lack of school psychologists in the system, and too few social workers relative to students to ensure all children's mental health needs are being met. These health needs will need to be met in schools and communities to ensure children and families have equitable access to healthy living environments that enable them to thrive overall and academically.



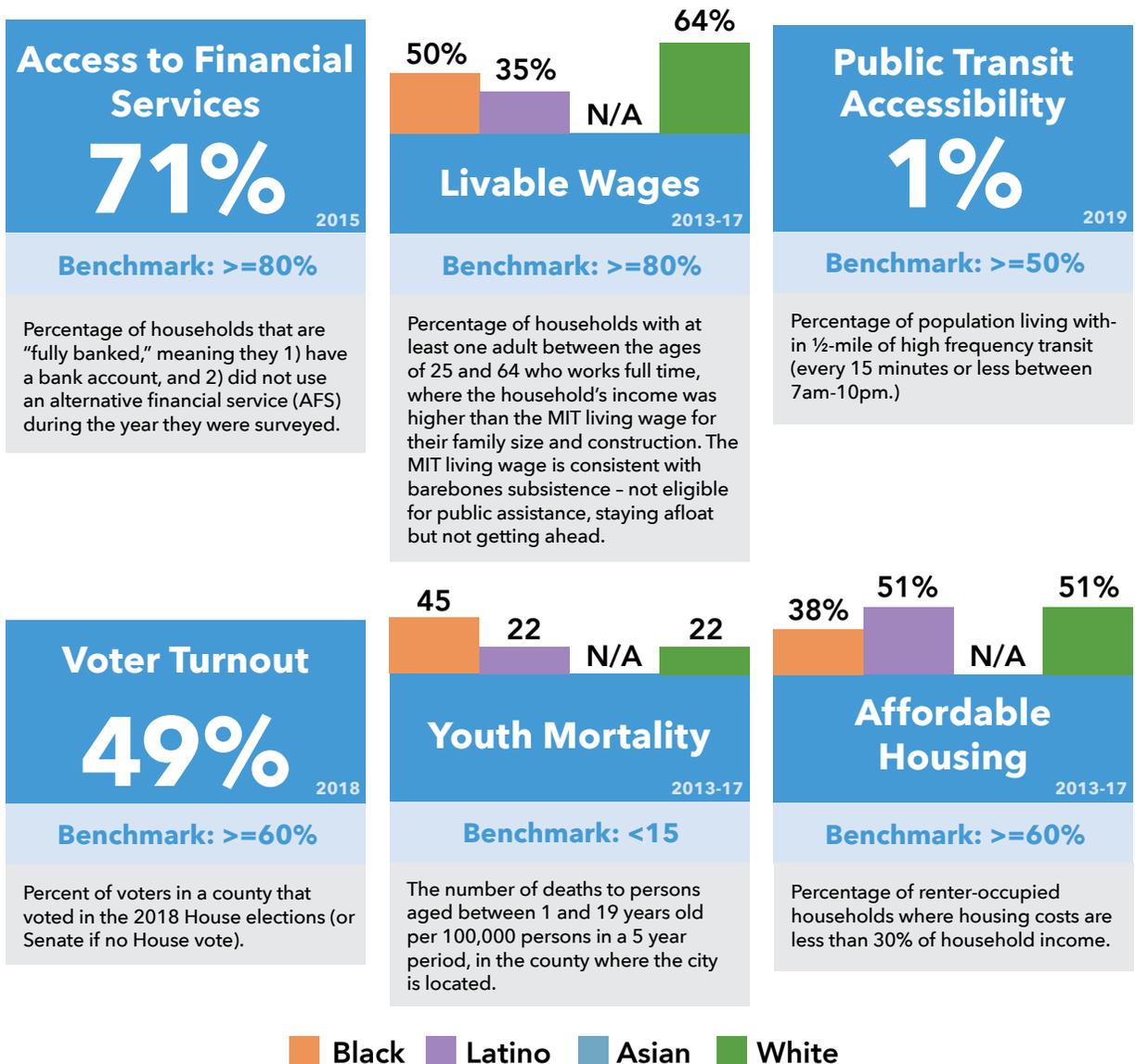
Black Latino Asian White

STABILITY

Detroit has 20% of the supports needed for neighborhood *Stability*. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families of color in Detroit, as well as across the country, is economic inequality. Only about half of Black and a third of Latino households earned enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to nearly 65% of white households. Renters in Detroit are also largely struggling to access affordable housing; just over a third of Black renters and about half of Latino and white renters pay rent that is affordable for their income level. When renters pay more than 30% of their income towards rent, they are considered “housing cost-burdened” and their ability to cover other critical living expenditures is put at risk. Detroit residents across the board do not have access to

reliable, high-frequency transit and only three-fourths of residents have access to traditional financial institutions and credit services.

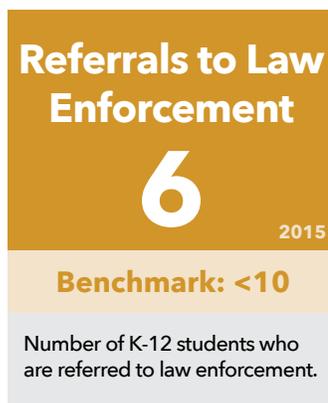
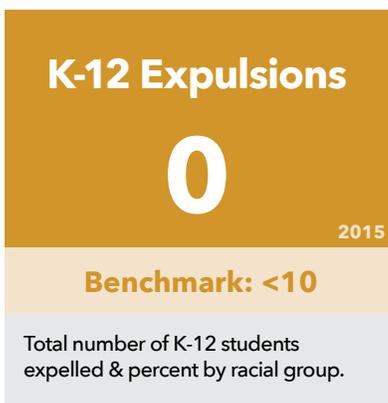
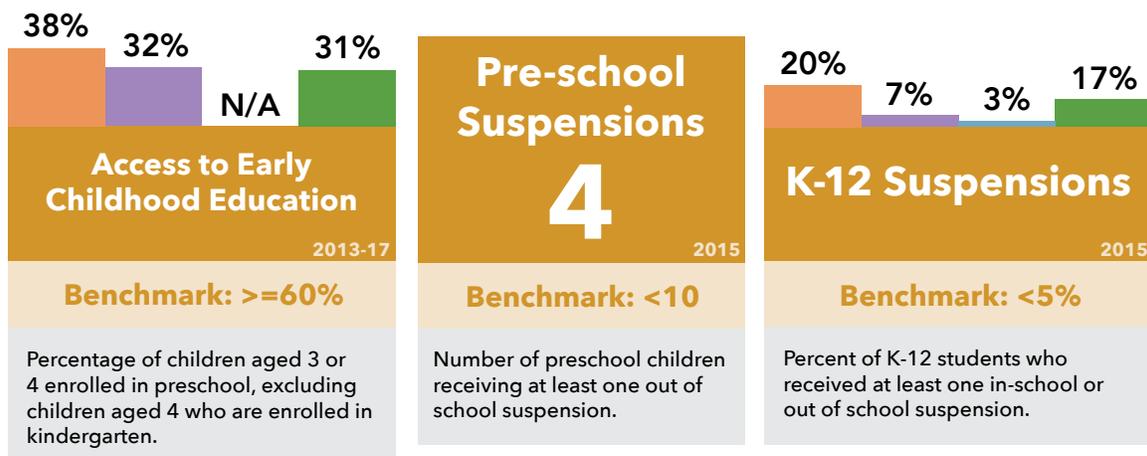
Racial inequities in adolescent mortality also impact community *Stability*. The rate of Black youth mortality is *twice* as high as white youth. A case study of teenage deaths in Detroit suggests that accidents, including gun violence, were the leading cause of youth mortality in the city.⁷⁹ When children and adults experience trauma and toxic stress from exposure to violence and death it affects their opportunity to learn and thrive, and when the rate of violence is high across a neighborhood or community there’s a communal trauma that affects everyone’s well-being.



COMMITMENT

Detroit has 63% of the supports needed for *Commitment* to each child's success. There are major gaps in access to early childhood education across racial groups, with just over a third of all 3-4-year-olds enrolled in pre-school. Early childhood learning has been shown to directly impact student success throughout elementary and high school, and beyond; and provides an opportunity for early social-emotional development. The district recorded four suspensions for pre-schoolers, all of them Black children. While this is a relatively

small number, many cities have ended this practice altogether. In the 2015-16 school year, at the K-12 level the district assigned 8,000 out-of-school suspensions in the school year 2015-16, 92% of which were Black students, and all six referrals to law enforcement were made against Black students. However, in the past year, Detroit school officials have shifted policies and made a significant commitment to restorative justice practices, and there are early reports of considerable reductions in suspensions in the most recent school year.⁸⁰



Black Latino Asian White

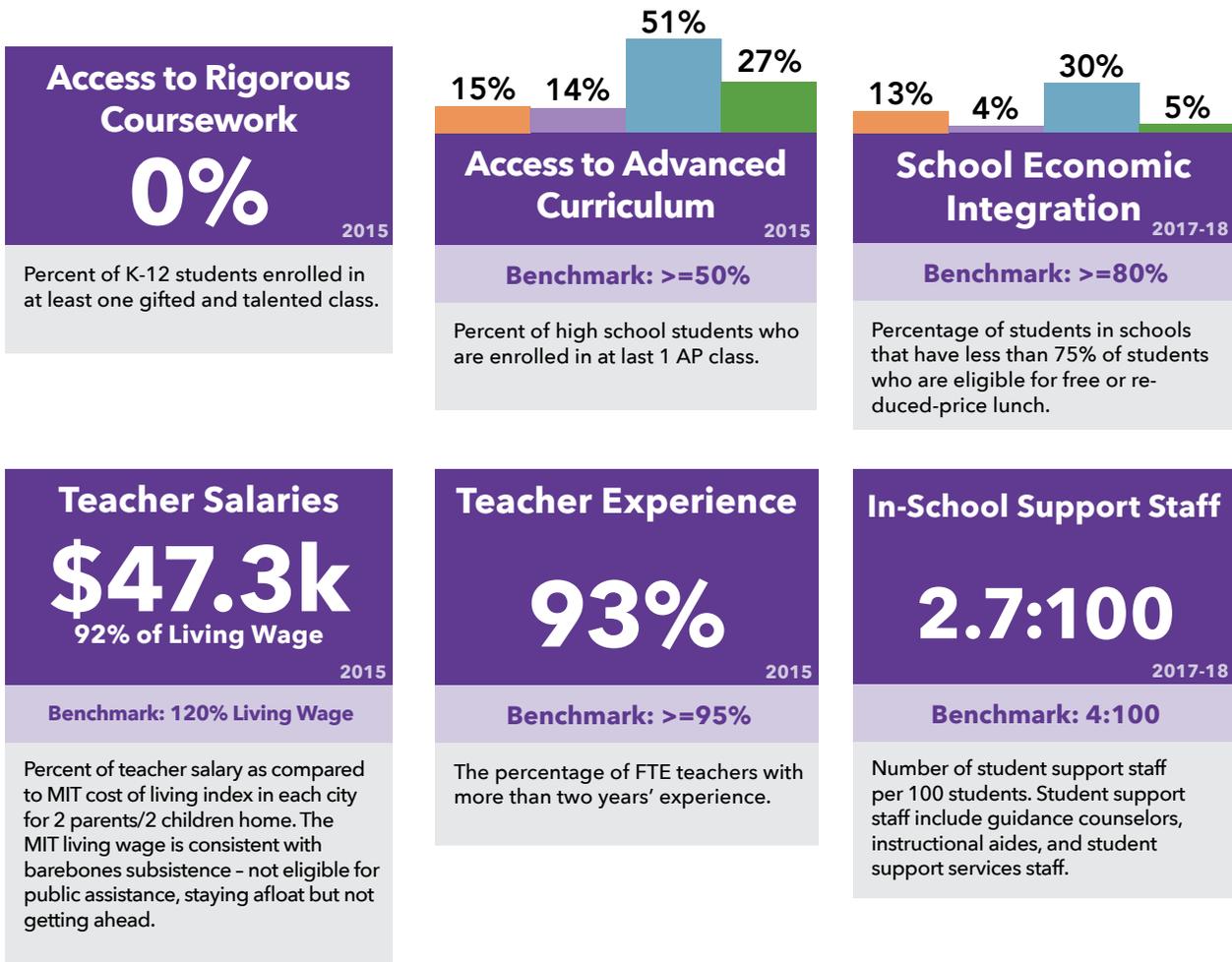
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CAPACITY

Detroit has 29% of the supports needed for *Capacity* to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and provide students a high-quality education. When it comes to ensuring all students have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness, there are significant racial gaps that are often attributed to interpersonal racial bias where educators “track” students to particular classes based on race, discouraging students of color from more challenging courses even when there’s evidence they would excel in those courses. Though Detroit doesn’t appear to have gifted and talented courses for K-12, there is clear evidence of “tracking students” in high school Advanced Placement courses. 51% of Asian and 27% of white students are enrolled in at least one AP course, compared to only 15% of Black and 14% of Latino students.

Teacher salaries on average were just below the minimum cost of living for the city of Detroit (92% of Living Wage), and 93% of teachers had at least two years of experience, suggesting a decent level of teacher pay and retention compared to some other cities. The high rates of public school students living in poverty make it difficult for the Detroit School District to address

the economic integration of schools. Asian students are most likely to be in more economically integrated schools, while the vast majority of Black, Latino, and white students all attend schools where over 75% of students are living in poverty. The segregation of schools in Detroit is a regional issue that must be addressed at the state level since there are a larger number of small neighborhood school districts compared to other cities where there is typically one or maybe two school districts covering an entire city. By creating their own school districts, white neighborhoods were able to resist any efforts to integrate schools and equitably distribute local tax revenue across Detroit neighborhoods. The 1974 Milliken v. Bradley decision struck down metro-wide integration plans across neighboring districts and continues to protect segregation and inequitable education today. It will be hard to achieve racial segregation without overturning this court decision, which is not likely in the current political climate, but major effort should be put into changes in state funding formulas to address inequity in education funding and resources that persist in the current system. Successful statewide organizing in Massachusetts recently achieved a [major victory that allocates increased resources to underserved districts in that state.](#)



Black Latino Asian White



Hartford, CT **COPPER**

Located in north-central Connecticut, Hartford is the capital and the fourth largest city in the state. Nicknamed “New England’s rising star,” Hartford was settled by Dutch and English traders in the 1600s and is one of the nation’s oldest cities. The city of Hartford is surrounded by inner-ring suburbs such as East and West Hartford and outer-ring suburbs such as Farmington, and Andover that have historical, economic, and social ties with the city.⁸¹ Since the 1700s, insurance has and continues to be a major industry. The area was originally home to many Native American tribes, many of who were killed or forced into slavery or servitude following battles with the British over land and resources.⁸² Today, the Mohegan and Mashantucket Pequot remain sovereign nations in the region.⁸³

Like other major urban cities, racist housing policies and practices intersected with schooling dynamics to form intensely segregated neighborhoods and schools in Hartford. During the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to lend new mortgages refinance home mortgages that were at default during the Depression. By 1936 the agency had provided one million new mortgages and the agency owned one in five nationally.⁸⁴ The agency developed lending risk maps in over 100 large cities and map-makers relied on the prejudices of local loan officers, city officials, appraisers and realtors in appraising sections of the city, rating white areas of town as “desirable” and “best” for lending and areas of town where Black people, immigrants, and Jewish people lived as “hazardous,” thereby curtailing lending or issuing loans at much higher interest rates.⁸⁵ Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain

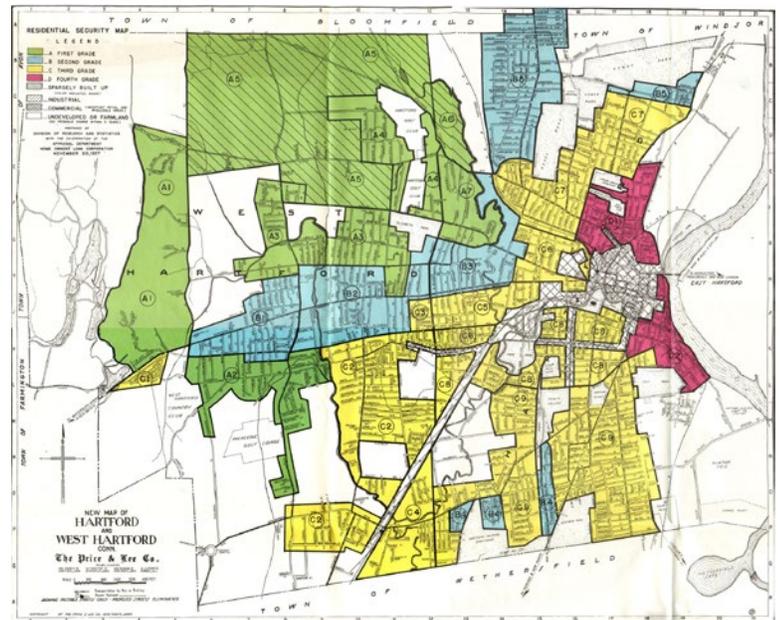
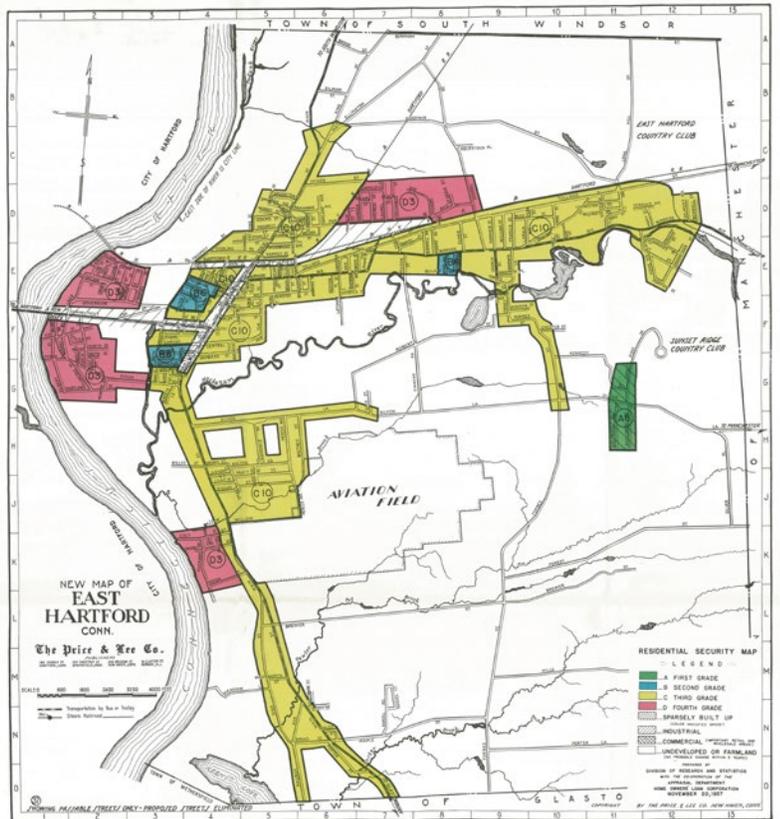
fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, which they paid sometimes double the actual worth of the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. HOLC maps knit segregation into the landscape, and today many of these historic maps align with metro-wide segregation and inequalities in homeownership. (See Hartford’s HOLC map showing the “redlining” of neighborhoods throughout the city.)

School segregation also influenced intergenerational opportunities in places like Hartford, even as a northern city. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years *Jim Crow* laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either “white only” or “colored” (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).⁸⁶ In 1954, segregation was challenged in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the U.S. Supreme Court held that the “separate but equal” doctrine violated the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice, Earl Warren wrote, “In the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”⁸⁷ Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated even without formal laws of the South.

Hartford’s segregated housing contributed to segregated schools and in 1989 NAACP counsel, representing a multiracial group of Hartford families used this as the basis in *Sheff v. O’Neill*⁸⁸ for challenging the district’s racial and economic segregation.⁸⁹ They argued that Black, Latino, and white students

in Hartford were being denied an education equal to their suburban counterparts.⁹⁰ The State Supreme Court agreed and encouraged the state government to prioritize integration. Magnet, choice, and inter-district exchange programs spurred some integration gains.⁹¹ However, a 2015 analysis found that over half of Hartford schools were intensely segregated (90-100% minority) and that one-eighth were considered apartheid schools (99-100% students of color). Another 2015 analysis found that housing costs and zoning issues were still an obstacle to educational access.^{92, 93} Elementary schools to the north of the district tend to have more Black and Latino students, compared to those in the southern part of the district that have more whites.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, Hartford borders South Windsor, an affluent and predominantly white school district that enrolls only 4,000 students and where the per-pupil revenue is \$15,206 compared to Hartford's \$3,785, making the line between the two among the nation's most "segregated borders."⁹⁵ West Hartford is another nearby district with opposite enrollment demographics. At the beginning of 2020, *Sheff v. O'Neil* was finally settled and an agreement was reached for resources to aid integration through June 2022.⁹⁶

Hartford Public Schools is the largest district in the state and serves approximately 44 schools. Enrollment demographics are 53% Latino, 30% Black, 11% white, and 4% Asian. The percent of children living in poverty is 42% in the city, but 75% among children in the district schools. Higher percentages of children of color live in poverty compared to white children and youth out of school and unemployment rates were highest for Black youth and Latino youth.

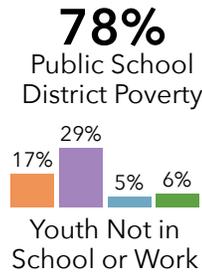
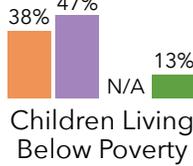
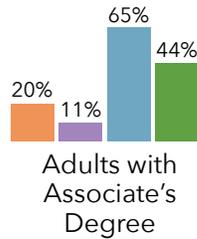
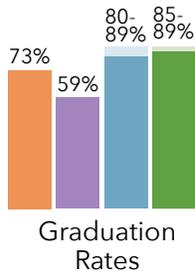


1937 examples of redlining maps of Hartford, East Hartford, and West Hartford.

THERMOMETER INDICATORS



Current conditions for childhood success



Black Latino Asian White

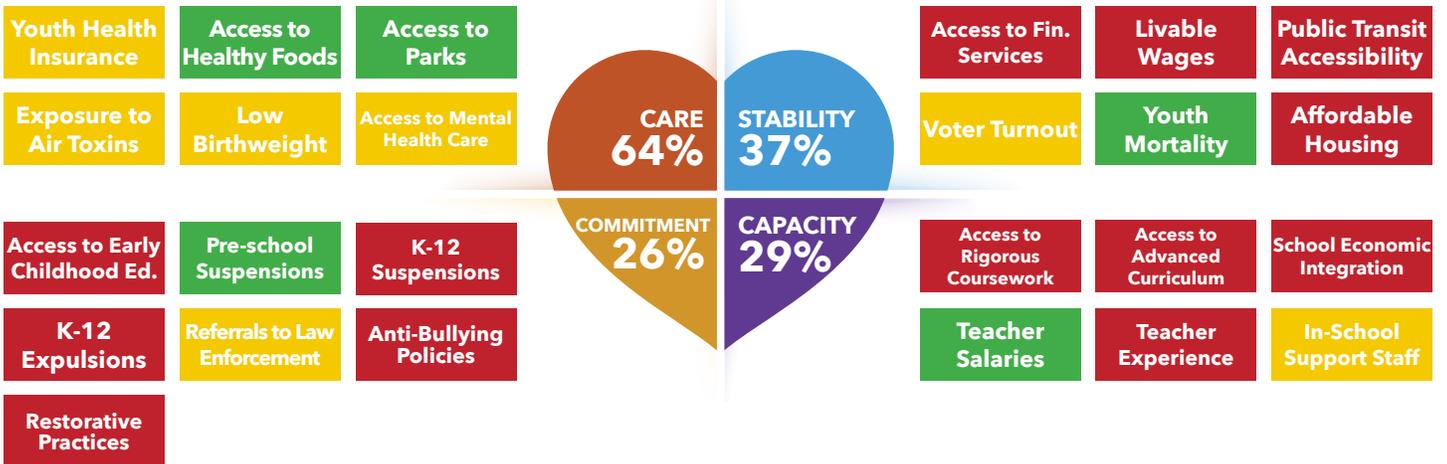
78%
Public School District Poverty

18%
Limited English Proficiency

THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



Overall, Hartford has bright spots in access to Care, with the high rates of grocery stores in low-income neighborhoods, 96% of youth covered by health insurance, access to parks, and a decent investment in social workers in schools. While overall Hartford has relatively low rates of exposure to air toxins compared to other cities, there is also one of the greatest gaps in air quality between Black and Latino neighborhoods and white neighborhoods. Hartford also had among the lowest rate of youth mortality, with similarly low mortality rates when disaggregated by race.

There are opportunities to address neighborhood *Stability*, as well as *Commitment* and *Capacity* in schools. Hartford had one of the lowest levels of households with at least one full-time worker earning high enough wages to live above subsistence compared to the other cities studied. Only 52% of households earned livable wages, with only 41% of Latino households earning livable wages compared to 58% of white

households. In schools, Hartford had the highest overall suspension rate of all cities (19%), with over 25% of Black students and nearly 20% of Latino students receiving at least 1 in- or out-of-school suspension. There do not seem to be any steps being taken to adopt restorative justice practices, highlighting a culture of over-policing children of color that creates a racially oppressive school-to-prison pipeline.

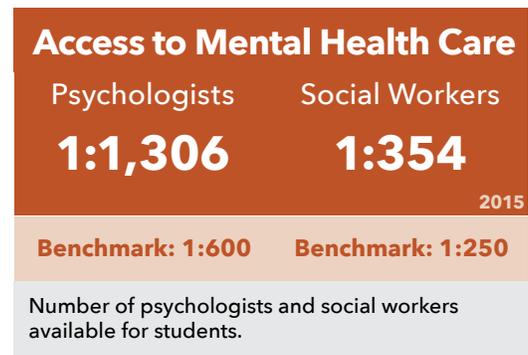
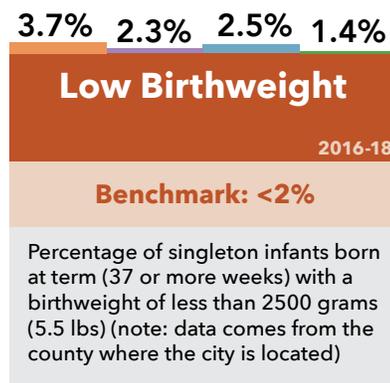
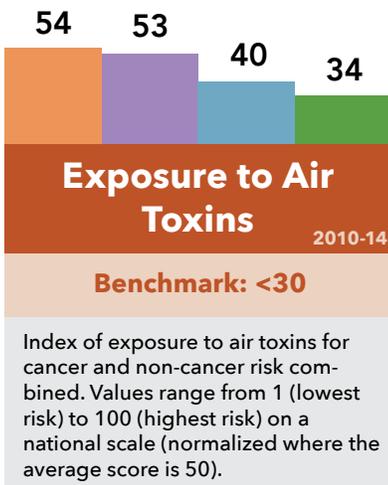
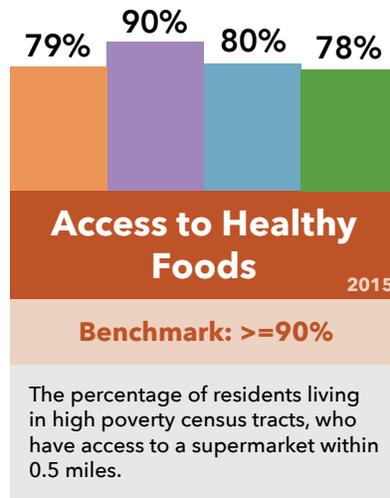
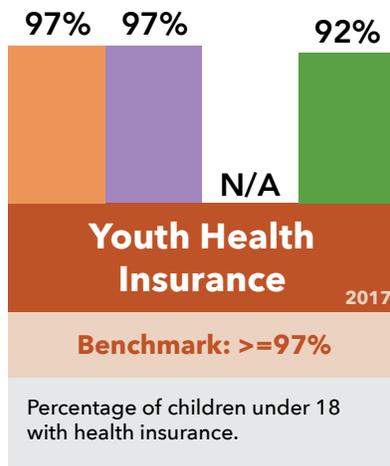
The Hartford Partnership for Student Success has collaborated for over a decade to implement Community Schools in the city. Community schools are “public schools that partner with families and community organizations to provide well-rounded educational opportunities and supports for students’ school success.”⁹⁷ Well-implemented Community Schools are an evidenced-based approach for supporting student success in academics and beyond.⁹⁸ Currently, the district has seven Community Schools and has seen numerous positive impacts, with a goal of all schools being community schools by 2022.⁹⁹

CARE

Hartford has 64% of the supports needed for *Care*. The majority of children have health insurance (97%), and 94% of the population lives near to public parks. A majority (82%) of low-income residents lived near supermarkets, and access appears fairly equitable across racial groups. Exposure to air toxins was low overall (index of 39 out of 100) but whites had far lower exposure (34) compared to Black residents (54) and Latino residents (53). This deep inequity in air quality often is a reflection of historical and ongoing practices of neighborhood segregation and intentional industrial development in closer proximity to communities of color, and away from White communities. While infants born with low birth weight are relatively lower in Hartford compared to some other cities, there still exists considerable inequities between Black in-

fants and White infants. This issue highlights racial inequity in adequate care information and services and discriminatory attitudes that often affect outcomes based on race.

Within schools, Hartford had the highest levels of investment in social workers, though there are still not enough social workers and psychologists in the school systems based on recommendations from professional organizations. As Hartford makes efforts to expand Community Schools city-wide, investment in these healthcare needs will ensure children and families have equitable access to healthy living environments that enable them to thrive overall and academically.

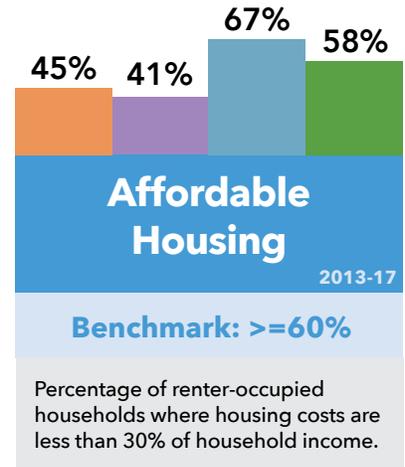
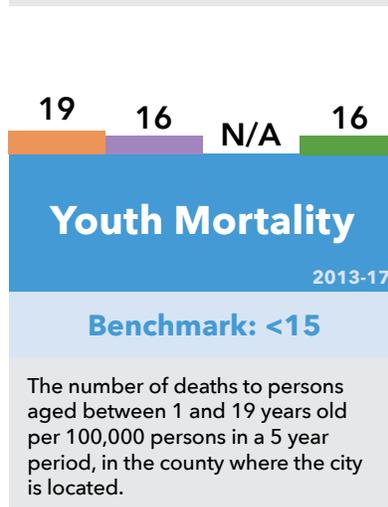
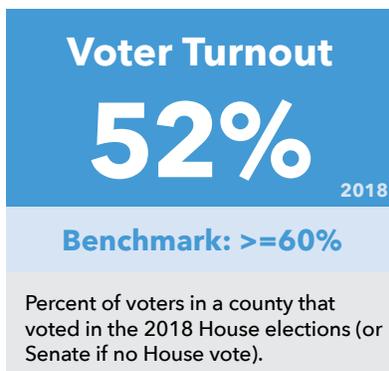
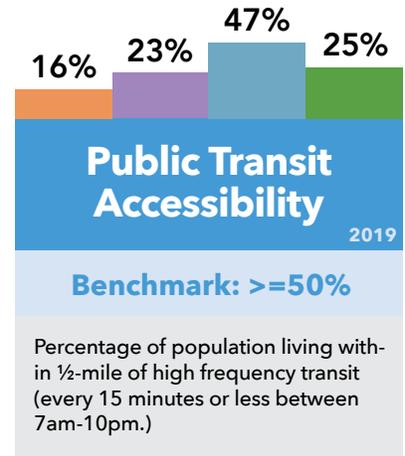
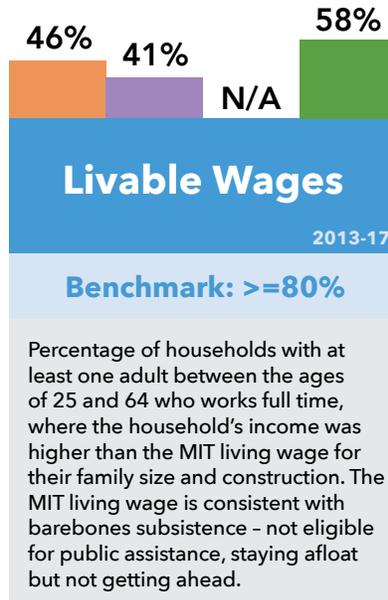
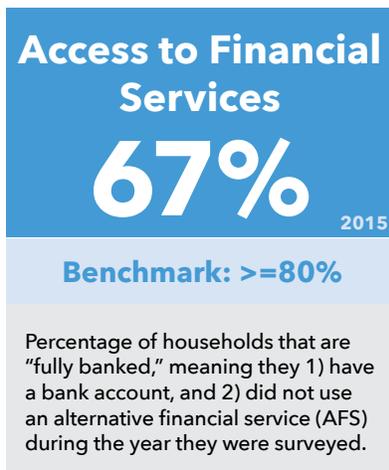


Black Latino Asian White

STABILITY

Hartford has 37% of the supports needed for neighborhood *Stability*. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families in Hartford, as well as across the country, is economic inequality. Only half of the city's adults made livable wages, with only 46% of Black households and 41% of Latino households earning high enough wages for their full-time work to live above subsistence, compared to 58% of white households. Many of these households are renters, and we see similar statistics on housing affordability, with only

45% of renters paying affordable housing costs relative to their income. When renters pay more than 30% of their income towards rent, they are considered "housing cost-burdened" and their ability to cover other critical living expenditures is put at risk. Hartford residents have limited access to reliable, high-frequency transit. Only 67% of households have full access to banking (checking and credit services), which is just under the national average of 73%.

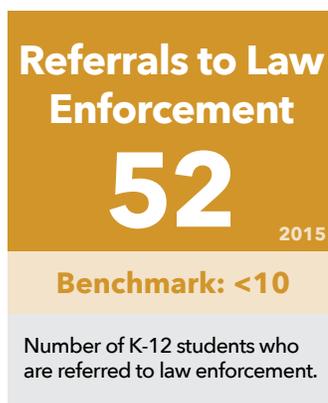
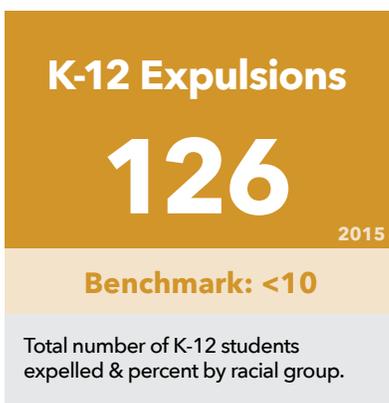
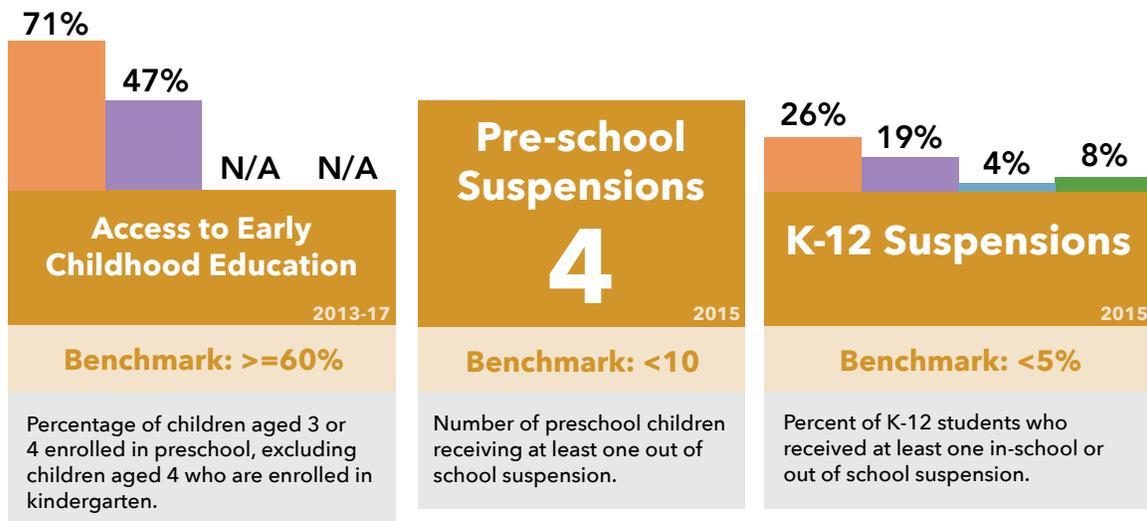


Black Latino Asian White

COMMITMENT

Hartford has 26% of the supports needed for *Commitment* to each child's success. Over half (56%) of the city's 3-4-year-olds were in pre-school, with the highest rates among Black children (71%) and Latino children (47%) compared to cities studied. In terms of punitive discipline, Hartford assigned 2,008 in-school suspensions and 2,050 out-of-school suspensions, mostly to Black and Latino students. Overall, 26% of Black students and almost 20% of Hispanic students received at least one in- or out-of-school suspension, compared to 8% of White students.

The district also expelled 126 students (41% Black, 52% Latino) and made 52 referrals to law enforcement (39% Black, 58% Latino). There are no clear indications that the district is committed to addressing this district-wide culture of over-policing and criminalization of young children of color. Significant investment must be made in restorative justice practices and training for educators to support students instead of taking punitive approaches, and similarly more is needed to address bullying to ensure school cultures respect the inherent humanity of each child, regardless of race, gender, or sexuality.



Black Latino Asian White

* **Commitment:** Is there a clear continual commitment to activities to reduce bullying incidences?
Transparency: Are there clearly accessible dates to bullying incidents or a clear point of contact /department on bullying?
Code of Conduct: Is bullying clearly addressed in student code of conduct with instructions on how to report incidences?

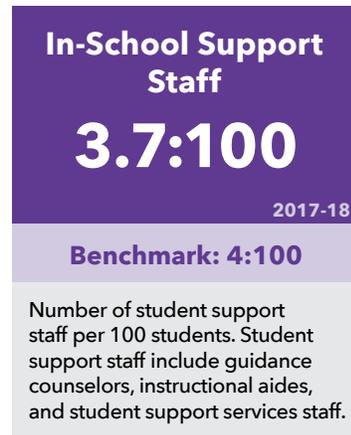
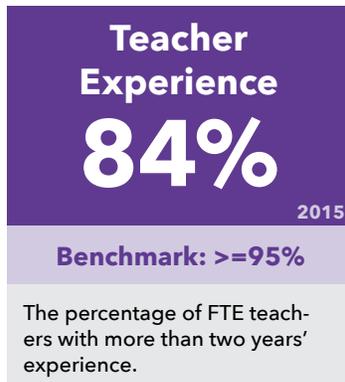
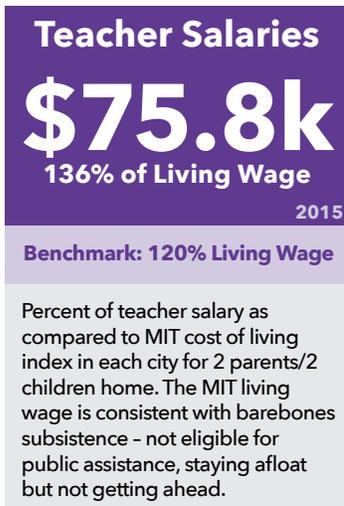
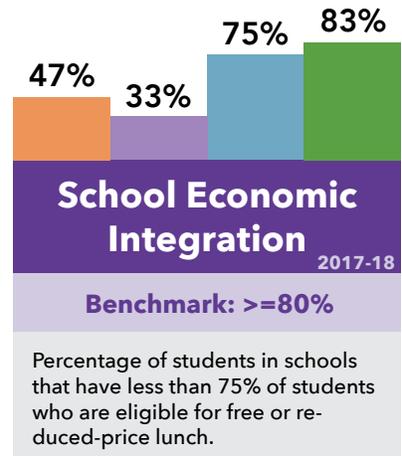
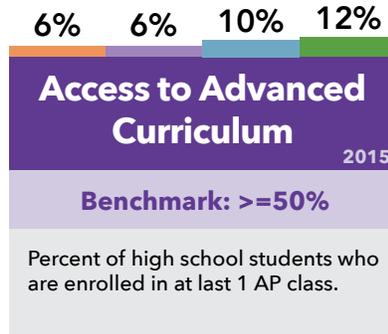
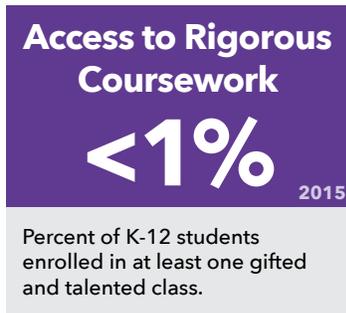
** **Commitment:** Is there a clear commitment by school system to use restorative practices?
Resources: Are there clear and easily accessible resources?
Code of Conduct: Are Restorative Practices addressed in the student code of conduct?

CAPACITY

Hartford has 29% of the supports needed for Capacity to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and provide students a high-quality education. More may be needed to ensure students in Hartford have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness. Currently, only 7% of high school students are enrolled in at least one Advanced Placement course, including 6% of Black and Latino students compared to 12% of White students.

Teacher salaries on average were well above the minimum cost of living for the city of Hartford, though teacher retention still may be an issue given that only 84% of the teaching force had at least two years of experience. As in many cities, school enrollment policies in the district have led to Black and Latino students largely attending schools where over 75% of the student body is experiencing poverty, while 83% of white students and 75% of Asian

students attend schools with far lower rates of students in poverty. School districts must investigate how their policies, especially when it comes to charter school enrollment, contribute to racial and economic segregation of schools and determine ways to reduce the number of “high poverty” schools. Schools with high rates of students living in poverty typically have lower resourcing compared to schools serving more affluent families, who can cover the costs of extracurricular activities and often fundraise for additional resources and supports for their children’s schools. Fully-resourced community schools offer a promising approach to ensuring schools are designed in collaboration with communities and in ways that are culturally responsive and resource-full. Building upon the current efforts to grow the number of students attending Community Schools can help ensure all students have access to healthy living and learning environments.



Black Latino Asian White



Jackson, MS

COPPER

Located along the Pearl River in west-central Mississippi, Jackson, the “city with soul,” is the state capital and one of two seats in Hinds County. Jackson is home to 165,000 people and is the largest metropolitan area in the state. Jackson once served as a trading post along the Natchez Trace trade route. Today, the city’s economy still relies heavily on distribution and trade, along with manufacturing, construction, and healthcare. Historically, Jackson was originally home to the Choctaw Nation. In 1830 Andrew Jackson, for whom the city is named, authorized the *Indian Removal Act*, resulting in the forced relocation of many indigenous people to west of the Mississippi River. White racial terrorism continued into the era of American slavery and through the post-Reconstruction era of Jim Crow. According to the Equal Justice Initiative, Mississippi had the highest number of reported lynchings in the nation, and Jackson Public Schools resides in the county that had the highest number in the state.¹⁰⁰

Racist policies and practices shaped the segregated landscapes of today’s cities, including Jackson. During the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to lend new mortgages and refinance home mortgages that were at default during the depression. By 1936 the agency had provided one million new mortgages and the agency owned one in five nationally.¹⁰¹ The agency developed lending risk maps in over 100 large cities, and map-makers relied on the prejudices of local loan officers, city officials, appraisers and realtors in appraising sections of the city, rating white areas of town as “desirable” and “best” for lending and areas of town where Black people, immigrants, and Jewish people lived as “hazardous,” thereby cur-

tailing lending or issuing loans at much higher interest rates.¹⁰²

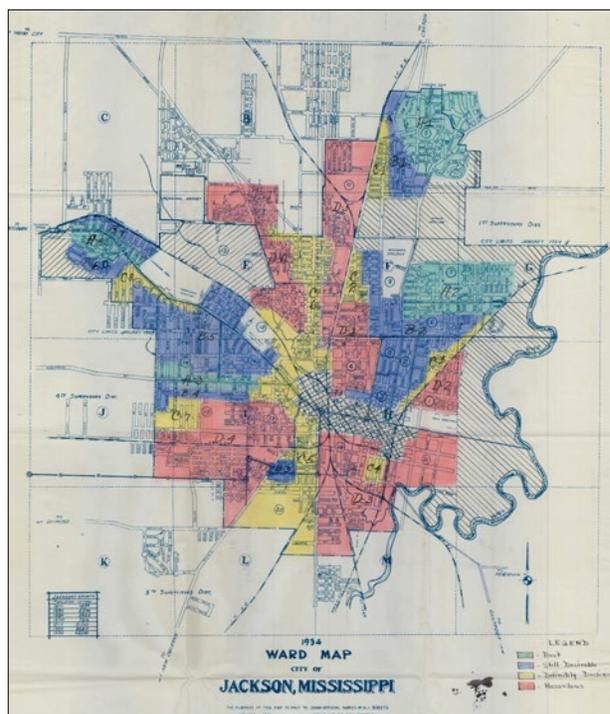
Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, which they paid sometimes double the actual worth of the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. HOLC maps in Jackson solidified segregation, and today that historic lending framework aligns with metro-wide inequalities in homeownership. (See Jackson’s HOLC map showing the “redlining” of neighborhoods throughout the city.) Housing discrimination continues to shape the city’s neighborhoods: a 2017 housing investigation in Jackson found that when Black and white potential homebuyers made inquiries about available housing, realtors did not call Black interested homebuyers back and actively steered whites away from integrated neighborhoods.¹⁰³

Early in Mississippi’s history, whites passed anti-literacy laws that prohibited Black people from reading and writing, punishable by death. Educational suppression coupled with later segregation influenced intergenerational opportunities. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years these *Jim Crow* laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either “white only” or “colored” (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).¹⁰⁴ In 1954, segregation was challenged in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Supreme Court held that the “separate but equal” doctrine violated the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice, Earl Warren wrote, “In the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate edu-

cational facilities are inherently unequal.”¹⁰⁵ Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated though without the formal laws of the South.

After the *Brown* decision, white officials in Jackson immediately passed laws that reaffirmed segregated schools and granted the governor the power to close schools in order to defy desegregation orders. The all-white Mississippi legislature managed to delay desegregation for almost 10 years by arguing that residents had the “freedom of choice” to integrate (messaging that has continued to be used today to promote school choice programs that have been shown to maintain segregation and inequitable resourcing). Finally, in 1969 the U.S. Supreme Court ordered Jackson schools to integrate, kicking off an out-migration of whites: 9,000 white students immediately left the district, some to attend private academies, abetted by a voucher-like tuition law that allowed public funds to be used for private school tuition.¹⁰⁶ By 1973, the White Citizens’ Council, a white supremacist group, operated five privately run, publicly funded schools serving 5,000 students by 1973.¹⁰⁷ By 1970, 61% of students in the public school district were Black, and by 1994, 85% of students were Black; today 97%, nearly all students in the district, are Black. Segregated schools continue today: Black and Latino students are concentrated in many of the district’s schools, while a small number of others are majority white.¹⁰⁸ In 2016, a U.S. district judge ruled Jackson needed to do more to integrate two high schools.¹⁰⁹ The U.S. Justice Department is still party to dozens of desegregation suits in Mississippi and 61 of the state’s districts are under desegregation orders.^{110, 111}

Today, Jackson is the second-largest school district in Mississippi and includes 63 schools that serve 80% of school-aged children in the city.¹¹² Black students are the majority (97%), white students are 1.4% and Latino students 1.8%. 100% of the district’s students are low-income and 2% of students are English language learners. Black children in Jackson are six times as likely as white children to live in poverty and Black youth are three times as likely as whites to be out of school and unemployed.

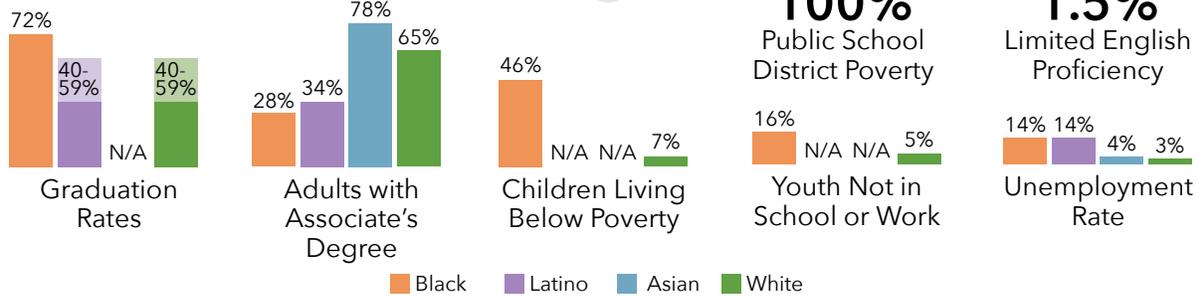


A 1934 example of a redlining map of Jackson, MS.

THERMOMETER INDICATORS



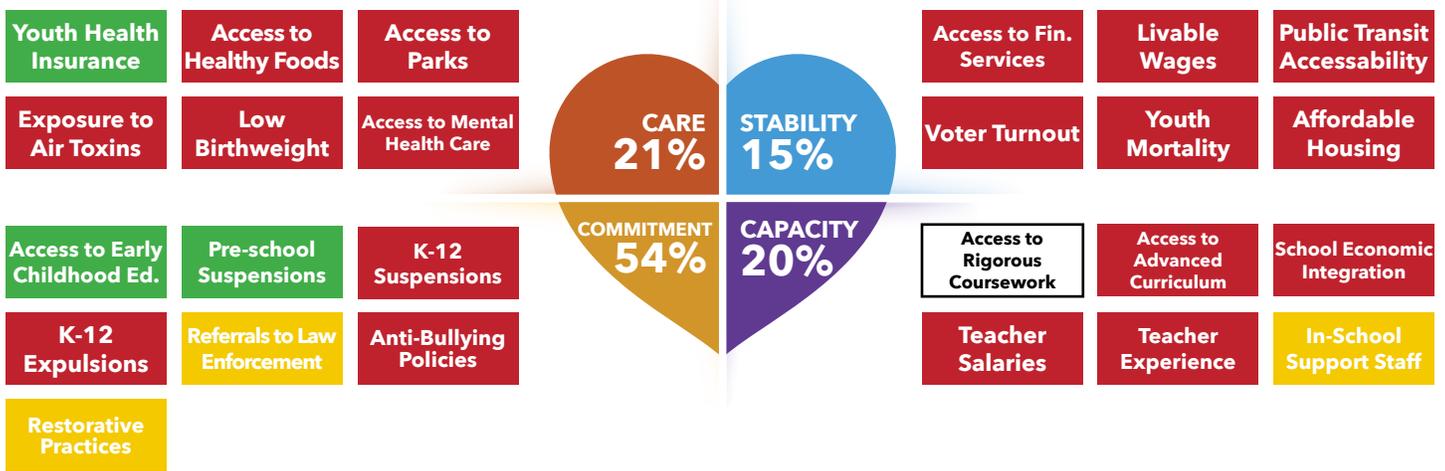
Current conditions for childhood success



THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



Overall, Jackson has large gaps in access to resources and supports across each of the domains of Loving Cities. Compared to other cities studied, Jackson had the lowest percentage of healthy food access for low-income residents (only 28%), the lowest access to public parks (only 31%), and high exposure to air toxins, especially where communities of color live. One health equity bright spot was that nearly all children do have access to health insurance. However, there are high rates of infant and youth mortality for Black children and considerably higher rates of Black infants born at a low birth weight compared to white infants.

When it comes to neighborhood living environments, Jackson has major inequity in wages, similar gaps in housing affordability, no access to high-frequency public transportation, and one of the lowest levels of access to financial services (checking and credit services) of cities studied. 100% of Jackson Public School students live in pover-

ty, so none of the schools are economically integrated. This points to the need for state-wide intervention to ensure inter-district policy that supports greater racial and economic integration in schools in the greater Jackson area.

When Chokwe Lumumba won a historical election for the Mayor of Jackson in 2013, he started the work of bringing a comprehensive agenda for human rights and self-determination for Black people that aligns with the Loving Cities framework, and increased community participation in the political process, co-creating the People's Platform. As his son and current Mayor Chokwe Antar Lumumba continues this legacy, including initiatives for local economic development initiatives that can address indicators in economic stability, and by extension education outcomes, there is hope for transformational change in Jackson grounded in social justice.

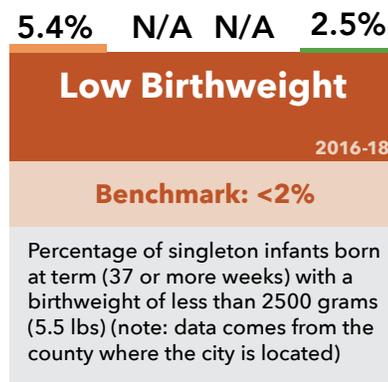
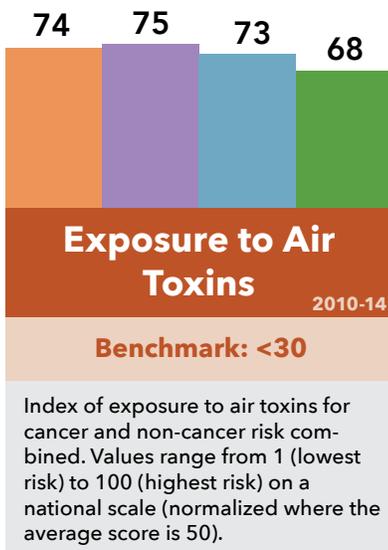
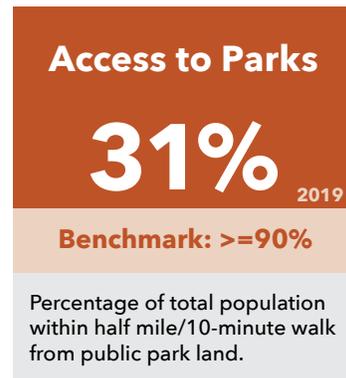
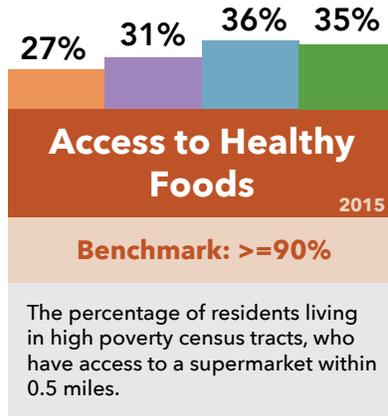
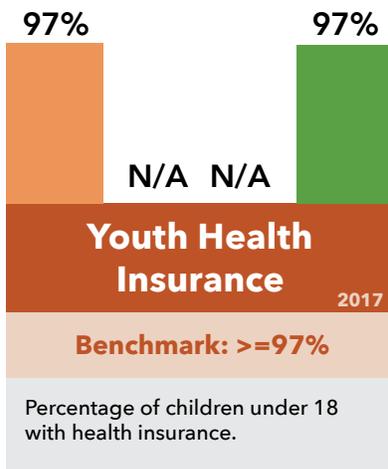
CARE

Jackson has 21% of the supports needed for *Care*. When it comes to health equity, Black and white children are insured at the same high rates (97%), but Black infants were more likely to be born below birth weight (5%) compared to white infants (2%), which often reflects inadequate maternal care information and services and discriminatory attitudes against Black women affecting health outcomes for their children.

In Jackson, there is a food insecurity crisis, and some of the lowest levels of access to grocery stores in the cities studied. Only 27% of Black residents live close to a grocery store, compared to 35% of white low-income residents. There is also very low access to public parks (31%), and very high levels of exposure to air toxins, with

higher levels of toxins in Black, Latino, and Asian neighborhoods compared to White neighborhoods. Inequity in air quality often is a reflection of historical and ongoing practices of neighborhood segregation and intentional industrial development in closer proximity to communities of color, and away from White communities.

Records indicate a lack of school psychologists and social workers in the public education system, a troubling reality given that all of the children in the Jackson public school system are living in poverty and could benefit deeply from services that address holistic needs and mental health effects from the trauma that many children living in poverty experience.



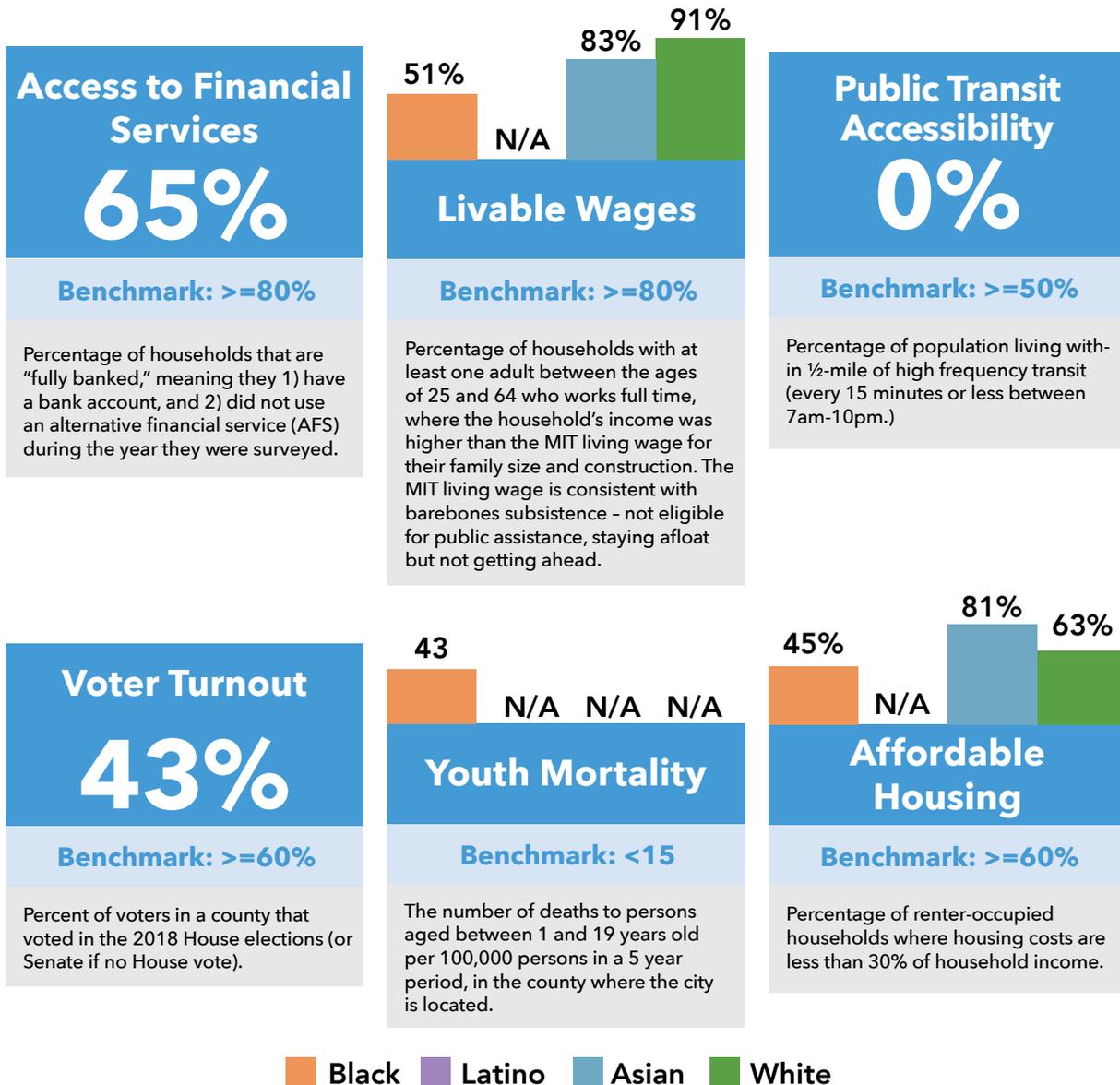
Black Latino Asian White

STABILITY

Jackson has 15% of the supports needed for neighborhood *Stability*. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families of color in Jackson, as well as across the country, is economic equality. Only about half of Black households earned enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 91% of white households and 83% of Asian households. Renters in Jackson are also largely struggling to access affordable housing; less than half of Black renters pay housing costs that are affordable to their income level, while Asian and white renters are more likely to be able to afford their rents. When renters pay more than 30% of their income toward rent, they are considered “housing cost-burdened” and their ability to cover other critical living expenditures is put at risk. Jackson residents across the board do not have access to reliable, high-fre-

quency transit and only 65% of residents have access to traditional financial institutions and credit services.

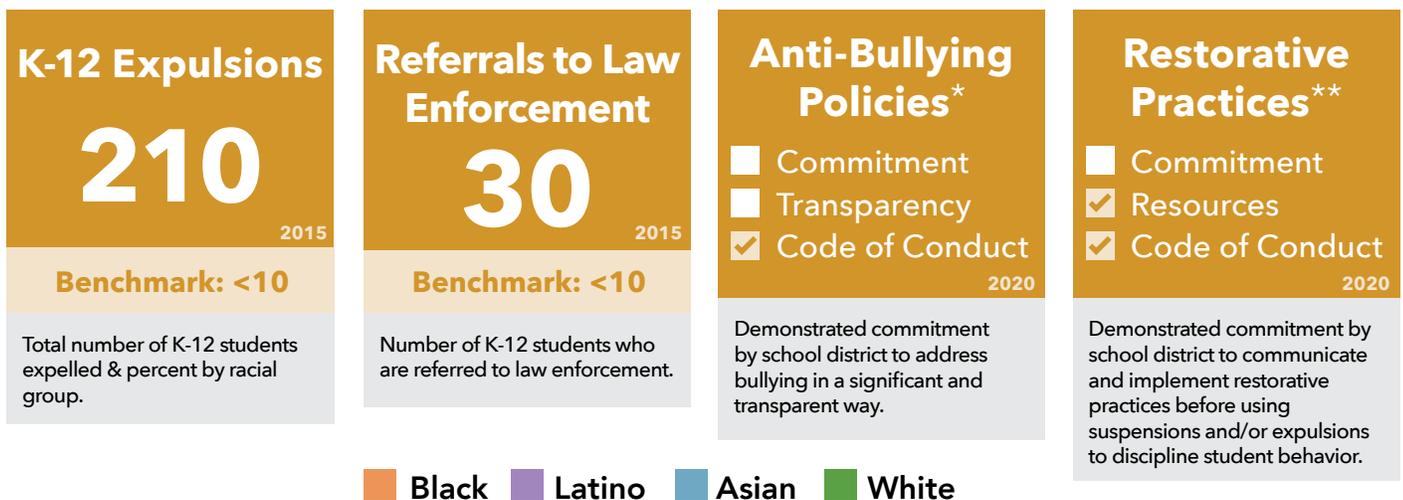
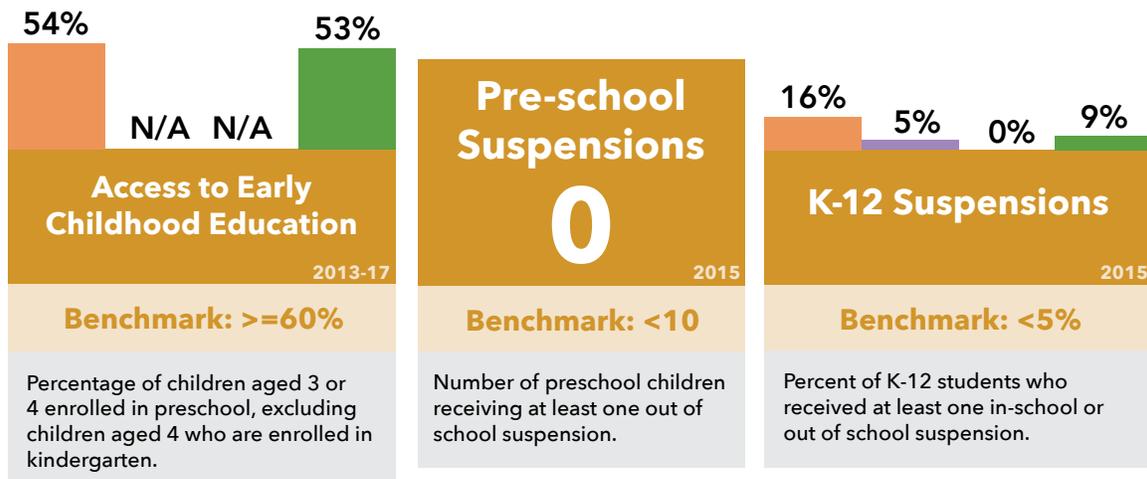
Racial inequities in adolescent mortality also impact community *Stability*. The rate of Black youth mortality is a staggering 43 Black deaths per 100,000 youth. According to a 2019 Annie E. Casey Foundation report, youth mortality in Mississippi has increased over the past nine years, citing poverty and economic factors as causes.¹¹³ When children and adults experience trauma and toxic stress from exposure to violence and death it affects their opportunity to learn and thrive, and when the rate of violence is high across a neighborhood or community there’s a communal trauma that affects everyone’s well-being.



COMMITMENT

Jackson has 54% of the supports needed for *Commitment* to each child's success. Just over half of the city's white and Black 3-4-year-olds were enrolled in pre-school. There were no reported pre-K suspensions, but at the K-12 level, 16% of all Black students received at least 1 in-school or out-of-school suspension in the school year 2015-16, compared to 5% of Latino students and 9% of White students. The district also issued a surprisingly large number of expulsions (210), most-

ly to Black students and every law enforcement referral (30) was made against a Black student. Significantly more investment must be made in restorative practices and training for educators to support students instead of taking punitive approaches, and similarly more is needed to address bullying to ensure school cultures respect the inherent humanity of each child, regardless of race, gender, or sexuality.



* **Commitment:** Is there a clear continual commitment to activities to reduce bullying incidences?
Transparency: Are there clearly accessible dates to bullying incidents or a clear point of contact /department on bullying?
Code of Conduct: Is bullying clearly addressed in student code of conduct with instructions on how to report incidences?

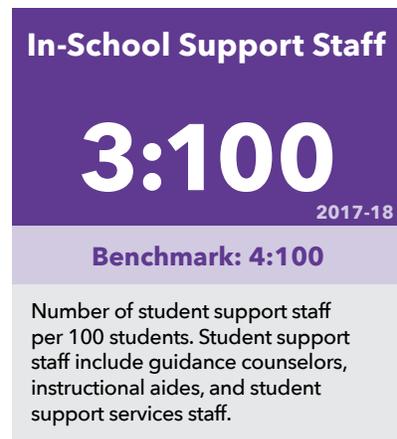
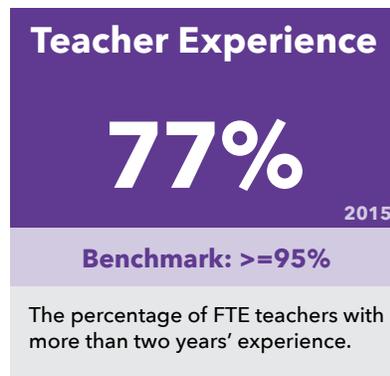
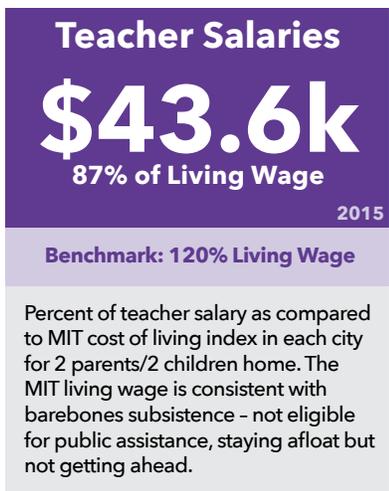
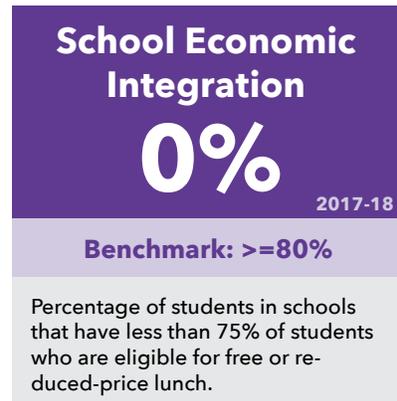
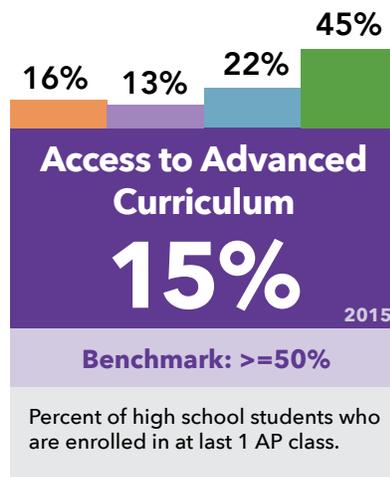
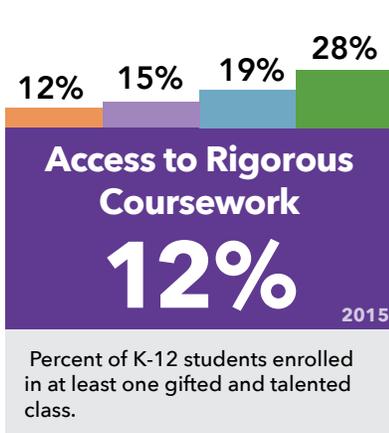
** **Commitment:** Is there a clear commitment by school system to use restorative practices?
Resources: Are there clear and easily accessible resources?
Code of Conduct: Are Restorative Practices addressed in the student code of conduct?

CAPACITY

Jackson has 20% of the supports needed for *Capacity* to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and provide students a high-quality education. None of Jackson's students attended an economically integrated school, as all of Jackson's students were classified as low-income. When it comes to ensuring all students have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness, there are significant racial gaps that are often attributed to interpersonal racial bias where educators "track" students to particular classes based on race, discouraging students of color from more challenging courses even when there's evidence they would excel in those courses. In Jackson, the rate of white students enrolled in gifted and talented courses was about twice that

of Black and Latino students. By high school, 45% of white students were enrolled in at least one Advanced Placement class, compared to 16% of Black students, 13% of Latino students, and 22% of Asian students.

Teacher salaries are also an important indicator for the capacity of schools, recognizing that when teacher salaries are lower than the cost of living, as they are in Jackson (87% of minimum cost of living), cities often experience teacher shortages and high rates of turnover. Only 77% of Jackson teachers had more than two years of experience, more than 10% below the national average.



Black Latino Asian White



Miami, FL **COPPER**

Situated in South Florida, between the Everglades and Biscayne Bay, Miami is the sixth most densely populated city in the U.S., with approx. 471,000 people. Today's major industries include finance, commerce, media, and international trade. Nicknamed the "magic city" and "the gateway to the Americas," Miami was officially incorporated in 1896. Before European contact, Historically, Miami was home to many indigenous groups, such as the Seminoles, a coalition of Northern Florida and Southern Georgia natives that banded together to fight European invaders, including the Creek, Miccosukee, Hitchiti, and Oconee tribes.¹¹⁴ Between 1800 and 1850, the U.S. military waged war against the Seminoles, who fought to stay on their land. Today, many of the descendants of this now united sovereign nation remain in and beyond Miami.¹¹⁵

Additional layers of racist policies and practices were baked into Miami's founding. In 1896, officials restricted Black households to an area of the city called "Colored Town" known today as Overtown.¹¹⁶ Restrictive racial covenants in Miami also expressly discriminated against Jewish people.¹¹⁷ For example, the "Father of Miami Beach," Carl Fisher, refused to sell property to Jewish people and deed restrictions forced Jews to live south of Fifth Street.¹¹⁸ According to local papers, a 1930s Miami Beach hotel promised vacation-goers, "always a view, never a Jew."¹¹⁹ In 1936 Miami officials enacted Ordinance 457, which required seasonal workers and domestic servants, many of whom were Black, to register with the police department and to carry I.D. cards at all times. For decades, Black residents were prohibited from entering nearby affluent areas like Miami Beach and Coral Gables.¹²⁰

Another major influence creating segregated landscapes in major cities like Miami was the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), created by the Roosevelt administration during the 1930s to lend new mortgages and refinance home mortgages that were at default during the Depression. By 1936 the agency had provided one million new mortgages and the agency owned one in five nationally.¹²¹ The agency developed lending risk maps in over 100 large cities, and map-makers relied on the prejudices of local loan officers, city officials, appraisers and realtors in appraising sections of the city, rating white areas of town as "desirable" and "best" for lending and areas of town where Black people, immigrants, and Jewish people lived as "hazardous," thereby curtailing lending or issuing loans at much higher interest rates.¹²² Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, which they paid sometimes double the actual worth of the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. HOLC maps knit segregation into the landscape, and today many of these historic maps align with metro-wide segregation and inequalities in homeownership. (See Miami's HOLC map showing the "redlining" of neighborhoods throughout the city.) By the 1940s Miami had become one of the most segregated cities in the U.S., a status that continues today.^{123, 124}

School segregation also determined intergenerational opportunity in Miami. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years *Jim Crow* laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either "white only" or "colored" (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).¹²⁵ In 1954, segregation was challenged

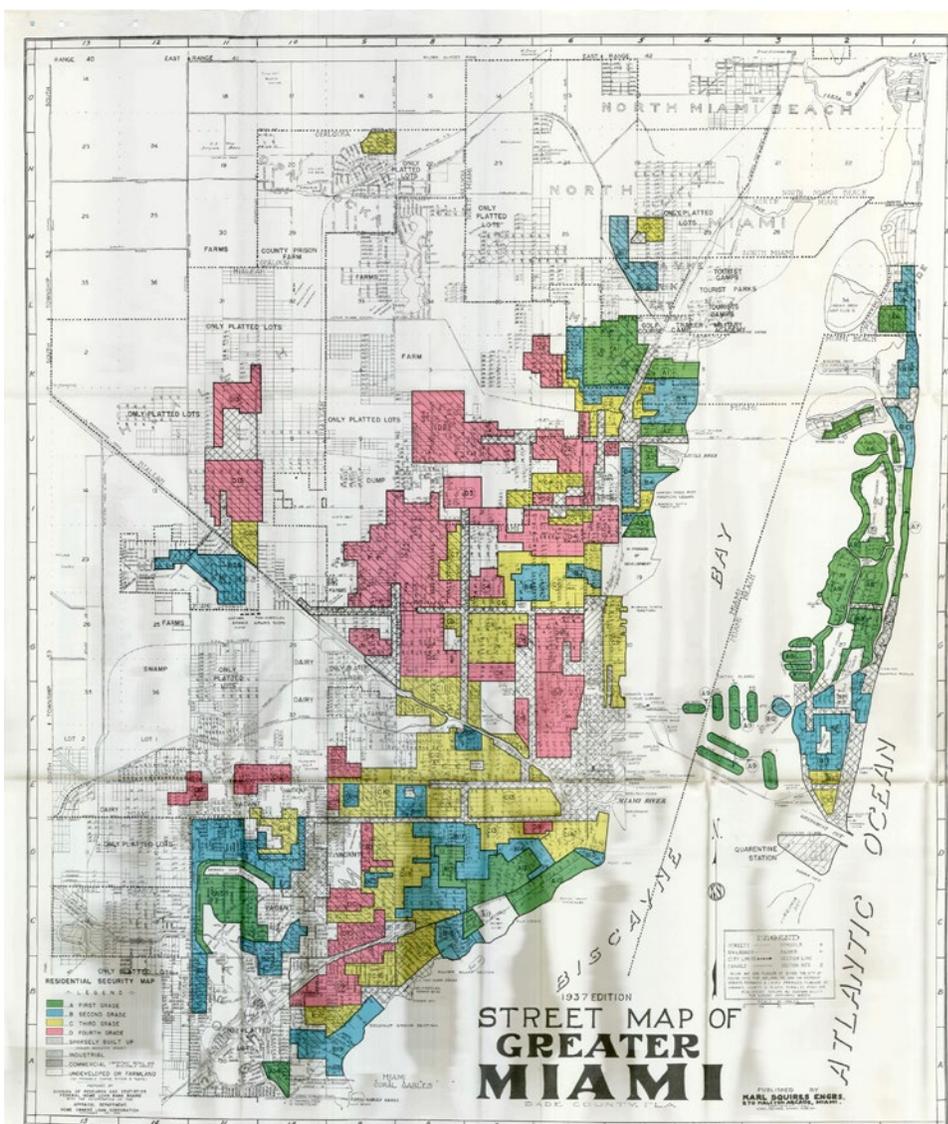
LOVING CITIES INDEX

in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Supreme Court held that the “separate but equal” doctrine violated the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice, Earl Warren wrote, “In the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”¹²⁶

Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated without formal laws. Miami evaded integration until 1959 when Black parents filed an integration lawsuit against the school district, which anti-integration activists fought. Miami’s desegregation plan ended in 2001 and since then the percentage of schools considered racially isolated (85% or more of one racial group) has increased,¹²⁷ caused in part by increases in Hispanic and Caribbean Black populations and the out-migration of whites to private schools and housing developments north of Miami in Broward County.^{128,129} Currently, Miami is among the most segregated districts released from desegregation plans.¹³⁰ Across the district, the average Black student attends a school where 64% of their peers are Black and the average Latino student attends a school where nearly 80% of their peers are Latino.¹³¹ Orchard Villa Elementary, the first of Miami’s all-white schools to be integrated back in 1959, today enrolls only two white students.¹³²

Miami-Dade is the third-largest school district in the nation¹³³ and the largest in the state, serv-

ing 358,179 students in 476 schools, including 134 charters and 342 traditional schools.¹³⁴ Latino students were 69% of the student population, Black students 22%, white students 7.3%, Asian students 1%, and Native students .1%. One-fifth of students are English language learners. Over a third of children live in poverty, but the rates for Latino and Black children are two and three times that of white children. The percentage of youth out of school and unemployed is highest for Black youth (20%). Communities in Schools works in seven Miami-Dade schools, providing a site-based coordinator to implement a model of integrated student supports.¹³⁵

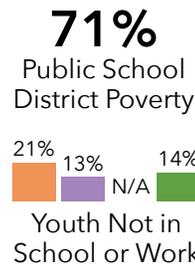
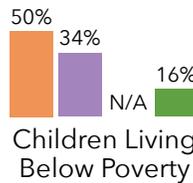
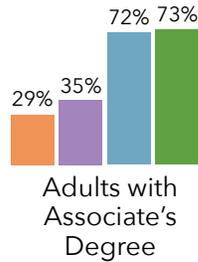
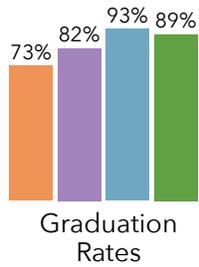


A 1937 example of a redlining map of Miami.

THERMOMETER INDICATORS



Current conditions for childhood success



Black Latino Asian White

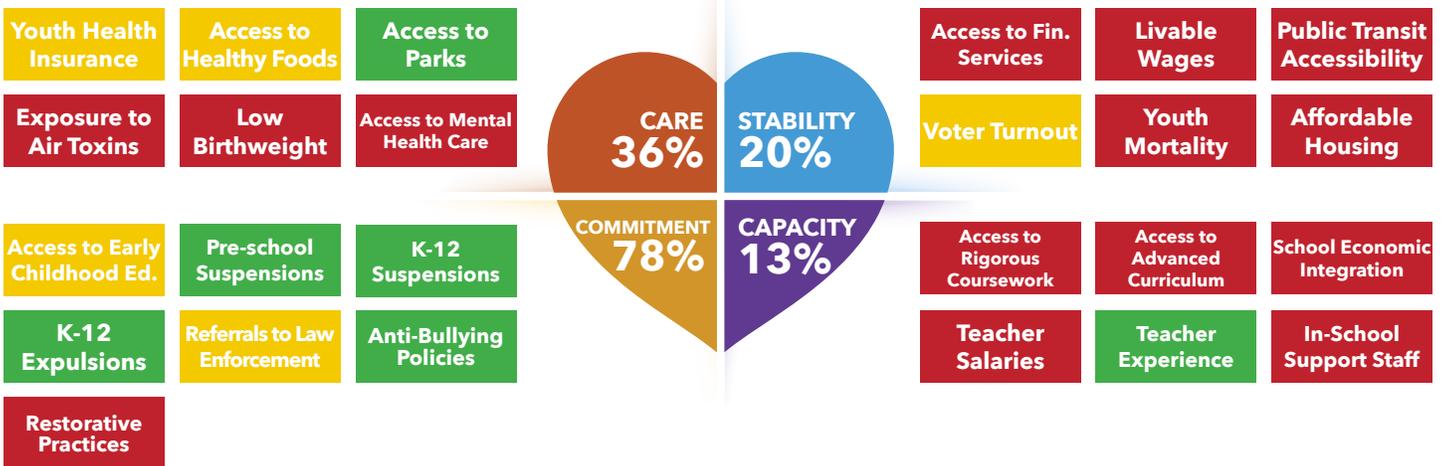
71%
Public School District Poverty

20%
Limited English Proficiency

THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



Overall, Miami has bright spots in *Commitment* to every child's success, with a relatively high pre-school enrollment (65%), low suspension rates, and no reported pre-school suspensions or K-12 expulsions. Still, there were a high number of referrals of students to law enforcement (617 in the school year 2015-16), and those referrals were disproportionately made for Black (44%) and Hispanic students (47%). When it comes to health equity measures of *Care*, Miami had the lowest rate of insured youth (93%), and racial gaps in infants born with low birth weight, an indicator of inequity in access to maternal healthcare and discrimination of healthcare workers towards Black women. In schools, there appears to be a dearth of psychologists and social workers available to students.

There are also opportunities for improving policies and practices that strengthen neighborhood *Stability*. Like many other cities, Miami has considerable racial gaps in livable wages, with only about

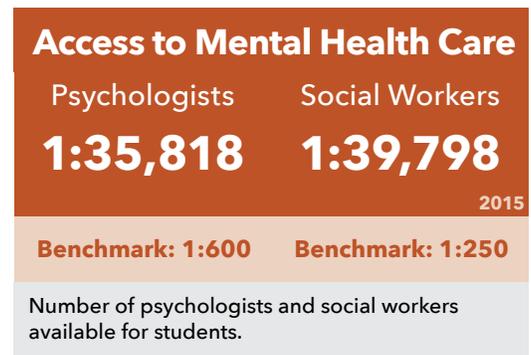
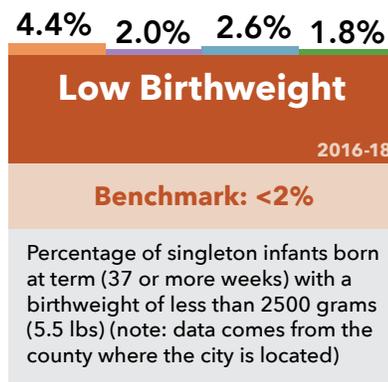
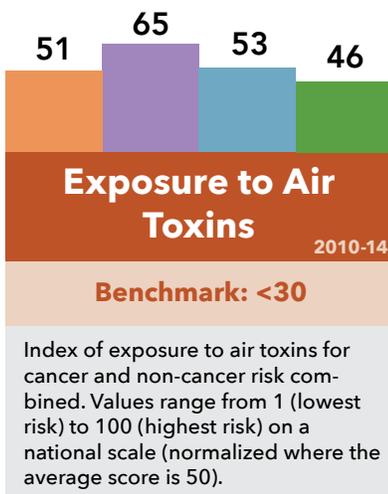
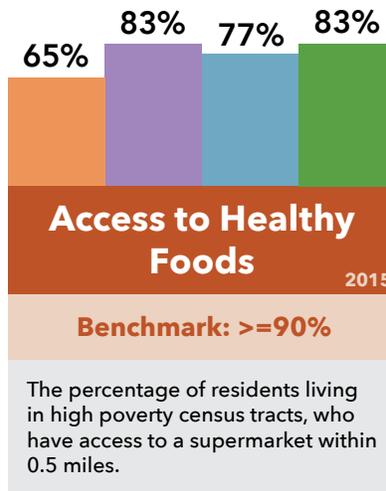
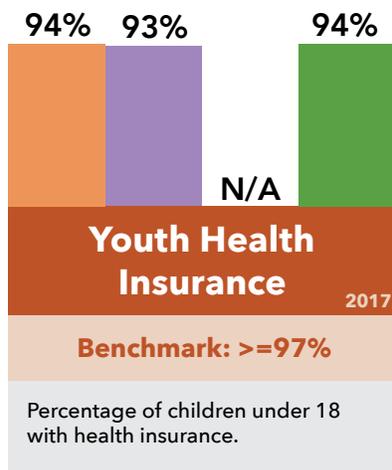
half of Black and Latino households working full-time earning enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 88% of white households. This, combined with rising housing costs, resulted in Miami having the lowest access to affordable housing of cities studied – only 37% of renters pay housing costs that less than 30% of their total income. Teachers are likely part of this population struggling with low wages and unaffordable housing – average teacher salaries are \$35,000, only 61% of the minimum living wage needed to live above subsistence. There is also considerable economic and racial segregation in Miami public schools, with the majority of Black and Latino students attending schools where more than 75% of the student body are living in poverty, compared to White students. Similarly, there are major racial gaps in student enrollment in advanced placement courses that prepare students for college and career readiness.

CARE

Miami has 36% of the supports needed for *Care*. Only 93% of youth have health insurance coverage, which is under the national average, though coverage by racial groups is comparable. Black infants are twice as likely to be born underweight than white infants, which highlights racial inequity in adequate care information and services and discriminatory attitudes that often affect outcomes based on race. Within schools, Miami reports one of the lowest levels of investment in social workers and psychologists available for students.

When it comes to health resources in the community, a majority (78%) of low-income residents live near supermarkets, but Black

low-income residents had considerably lower access (65%) compared to White and Latino low-income residents (83%). The vast majority of all residents (86%) live near a public park. While exposure to air toxins was low overall (index of 40 out of 100), predominantly white neighborhoods have considerably lower exposure (46) compared to Latino (65), Asian (53), Black (51) neighborhoods. This deep inequity in air quality often is a reflection of historical and ongoing practices of neighborhood segregation and intentional industrial development in closer proximity to communities of color and away from White communities.



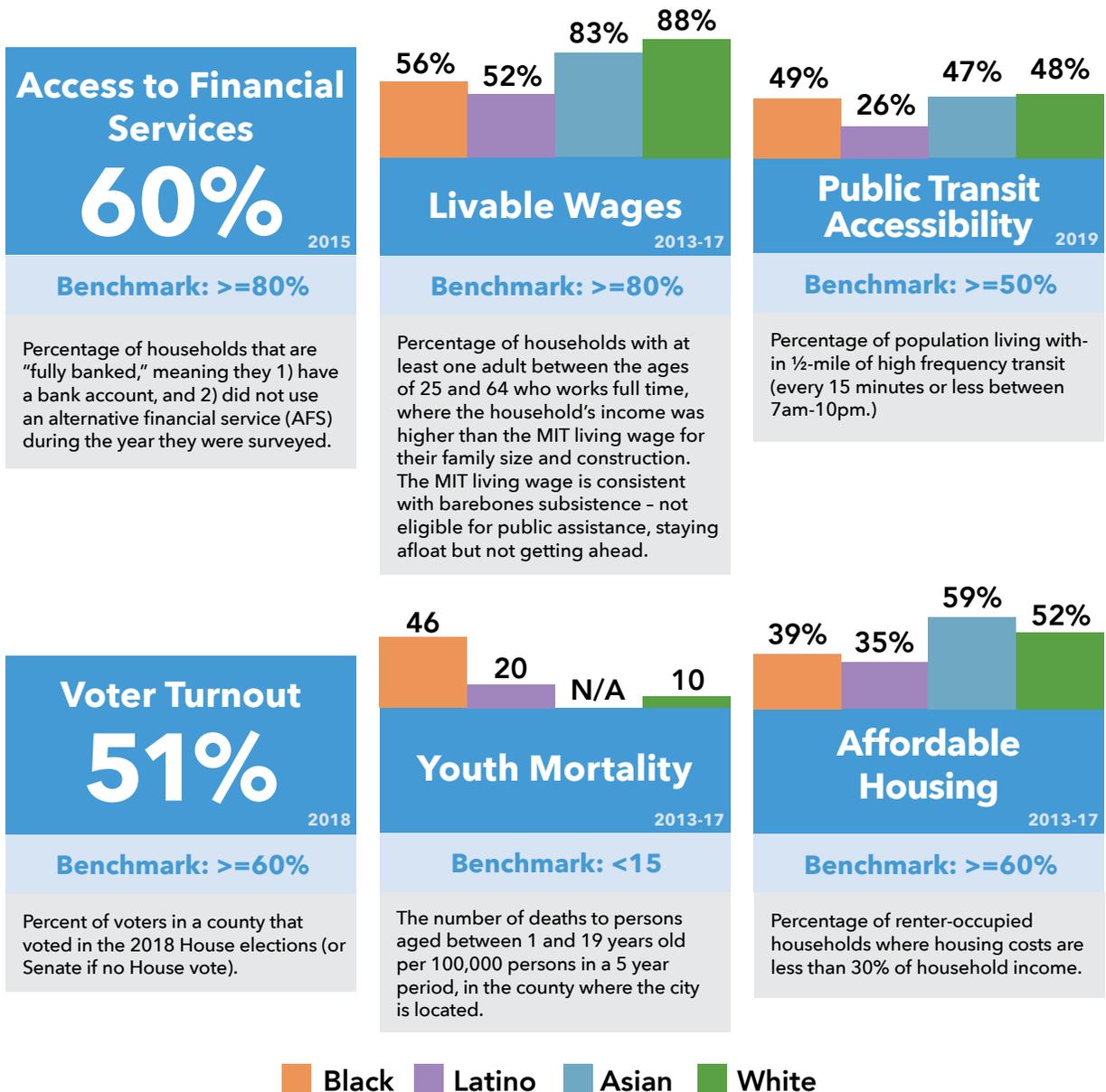
Black Latino Asian White

STABILITY

Miami has 20% of the supports needed for neighborhood *Stability*. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families of color in Miami, as well as across the country, is economic inequality. Only about half of Black and Latino households earned enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 88% of white and 83% of Asian households. Renters in Miami are also largely struggling to access affordable housing – less than 40% of Black and Latino renters pay housing costs that are affordable to their income level, more than 20% less than white and Asian renters. When renters pay more than 30% of their income toward rent, they are considered “housing cost-burdened” and their ability to cover other critical living expenditures is put at risk. Only a third of Miami residents have access to

reliable, high-frequency transit (Latino community access is considerably lower than other residents), and only 60% of residents have access to traditional financial institutions and credit services.

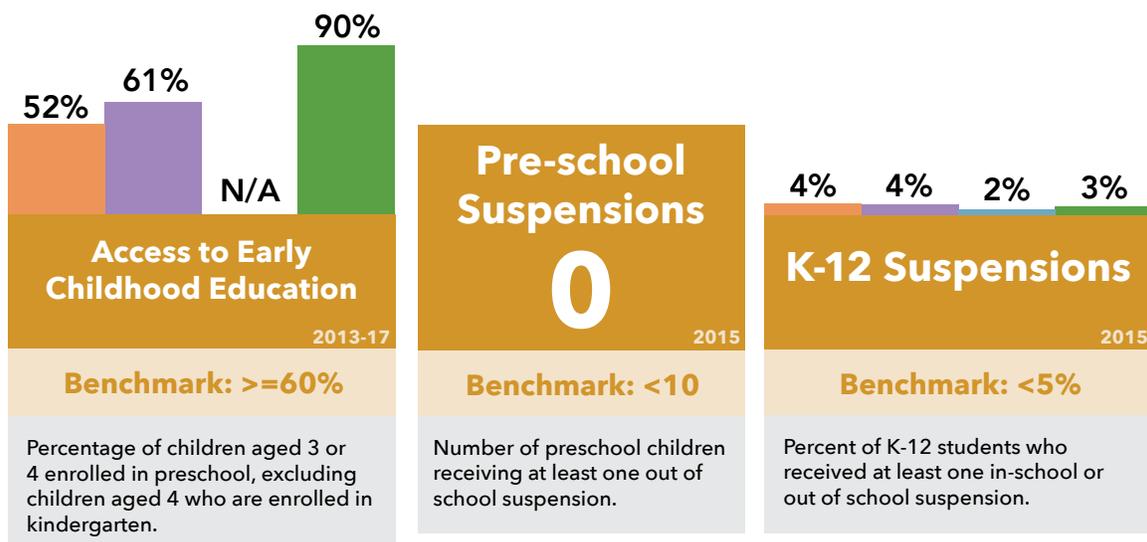
Racial inequities in adolescent mortality also impact community *Stability*. The rate of Black youth mortality is a staggering 46 Black deaths per 100,000 youth, compared to 10 for White youth. When children and adults experience trauma and toxic stress from exposure to violence and death it affects their opportunity to learn and thrive, and when the rate of violence is high across a neighborhood or community there’s a communal trauma that affects everyone’s well-being.



COMMITMENT

Miami has 78% of the supports needed for *Commitment* to each child's success. A majority (65%) of 3-4-year-olds were in pre-school, but there were large racial inequities: 90% of white children were enrolled, compared to 60% of Latinos and only 52% of Black children. Miami reported zero pre-school suspensions and zero K-12 expulsions. The rates of suspension are relatively low compared to other cities, though 1,864 out-of-school suspensions and nearly 12,000 in-school suspensions were issued. In total, 4% of all Black and Hispanic youth and 3% of White youth received at least one in- or out-of-school suspension. While the district includes language on restorative justice practices in their official code

of conduct, there is little other evidence of a commitment and resourcing of these practices. Doing so could provide an alternative to the high rates of in-school suspension, which, despite keeping kids in school, may nonetheless undermine educational opportunity.¹³⁶ The district made 617 referrals to law enforcement and 203 instances of student arrest, mostly impacting Black and Latino students. In a district with only 10 psychologists and 19 social workers, nearly 100 schools had a sworn law enforcement officer on-premises, showing a culture of policing children of color even in schools, instead of a culture of youth development and mentorship to ensure their success in classrooms.



K-12 Expulsions

0 2015

Benchmark: <10

Total number of K-12 students expelled & percent by racial group.

Referrals to Law Enforcement

617 2015

Benchmark: <10

Number of K-12 students who are referred to law enforcement.

Anti-Bullying Policies*

- Commitment
- Transparency
- Code of Conduct

2020

Demonstrated commitment by school district to address bullying in a significant and transparent way.

Restorative Practices**

- Commitment
- Resources
- Code of Conduct

2020

Demonstrated commitment by school district to communicate and implement restorative practices before using suspensions and/or expulsions to discipline student behavior.

Black Latino Asian White

* **Commitment:** Is there a clear continual commitment to activities to reduce bullying incidences?
Transparency: Are there clearly accessible dates to bullying incidents or a clear point of contact /department on bullying?
Code of Conduct: Is bullying clearly addressed in student code of conduct with instructions on how to report incidences?

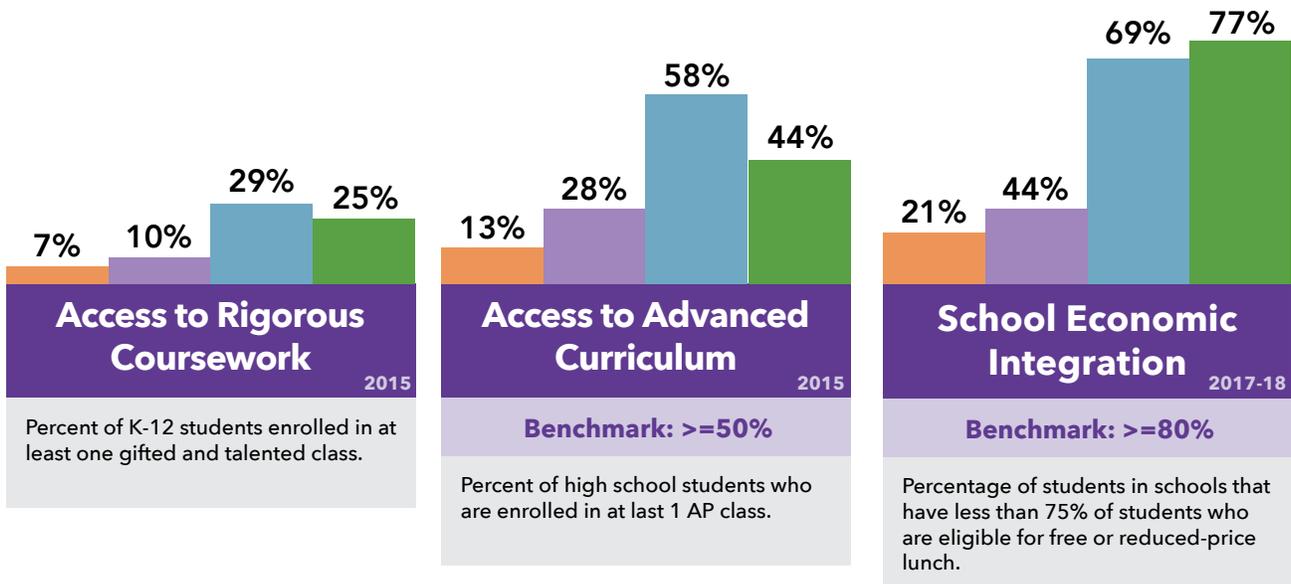
** **Commitment:** Is there a clear commitment by school system to use restorative practices?
Resources: Are there clear and easily accessible resources?
Code of Conduct: Are Restorative Practices addressed in the student code of conduct?

CAPACITY

Miami only has 13% of the supports needed for *Capacity* to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and provide students a high-quality education. When it comes to ensuring all students have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness, there are significant racial gaps that are often attributed to interpersonal racial bias where educators “track” students to particular classes based on race, discouraging students of color from more challenging courses even when there’s evidence they would excel in those courses. In Miami, the rate of white students enrolled in gifted and talented courses for K-12 was about three times that of Black and Latino students. By high school, 44% of white students and 58% of Asian students were enrolled in at least one Advanced Placement class compared to only 13% of Black students and 28% of Latino students.

Teacher salaries are also an important indicator for the capacity of schools, recognizing that when teacher salaries are lower than the cost of living, as they are in Miami (61% of minimum cost of living), teachers can’t afford to live where they work and often have to take up additional work to make ends meet. Often, with low salaries it can be hard to retain experienced teachers, though Miami is somewhat of an anomaly, with 96% of teachers

having more than two years of experience despite the extremely low salary levels. As in many cities, school enrollment policies in the district have led to the vast majority of Black and Latino students being enrolled in schools where over 75% of the student body is experiencing poverty, while 77% of white students attend schools with far lower rates of students in poverty. School districts must investigate how their policies, especially when it comes to charter school enrollment, contribute to racial and economic segregation of schools, and determine ways to reduce the number of “high poverty” schools. Schools with high rates of students living in poverty typically have lower resourcing compared to schools serving more affluent families, who can cover the costs of extracurricular activities and often fundraise for additional resources and supports for their children’s schools. Equitable state funding and school districts must adequately compensate for that by fully resourcing schools serving students of color and students living in poverty. Fully-resourced community schools offer a promising approach to ensuring schools are designed in collaboration with communities and in ways that are culturally responsive and resource-full.



Teacher Salaries
\$35.1k
 61% of Living Wage
 2015

Benchmark: 120% Living Wage

Percent of teacher salary as compared to MIT cost of living index in each city for 2 parents/2 children home. The MIT living wage is consistent with barebones subsistence - not eligible for public assistance, staying afloat but not getting ahead.

Teacher Experience

96%
 2015

Benchmark: >=95%

The percentage of FTE teachers with more than two years’ experience.

In-School Support Staff

1:100
 2017-18

Benchmark: 4:100

Number of student support staff per 100 students. Student support staff include guidance counselors, instructional aides, and student support services staff.

Black Latino Asian White



Oakland, CA **COPPER**

Oakland is a major port city located in California's San Francisco Bay area. It is the eighth most populous city in the state and the 45th largest in the country. Oakland began as a railroad terminus for the Transcontinental Railroad, and today major industries include transportation, financial services, and health care. The Ohlone lived in Oakland before Spanish explorers and missionaries who arrived in the 1770s.¹³⁷ During the Gold Rush, the state enlisted local militias in the mass murder of indigenous people. Enduring these horrific events and more, indigenous groups in the Bay Area now comprise one of the largest communities of intertribal Indians in the county.¹³⁸ Oakland played a major role in the Great Migration, a term used to describe the sixty years during which six million Black southerners fled the white terrorism of Jim Crow.¹³⁹ The Great Migration began in the early 1900s and continued through 1970. Oakland was a receiving city for Black migrants, particularly those coming from Louisiana and Texas.¹⁴⁰ During the 1940s and 1950s, thousands of African-Americans migrated to Oakland and the Black population grew from 8,500 to 83,000.¹⁴¹

Racist policies and practices created deep inequities in cities like Oakland.¹⁴² During the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to lend new mortgages and refinance home mortgages that were at default during the Depression. By 1936 the agency had provided one million new mortgages and the agency owned one in five nationally.¹⁴³ The agency developed lending risk maps in over 100 large cities¹⁴⁴, and map-makers relied on the prejudices of local loan officers, city officials, appraisers and realtors in

appraising sections of the city, rating white areas of town as "desirable" and "best" for lending and areas of town where Black people, immigrants, and Jewish people lived as "hazardous," thereby curtailing lending or issuing loans at much higher interest rates.¹⁴⁵

Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, which they paid sometimes double the actual worth of the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. HOLC maps knit segregation into the landscape, and today many of these historic maps align with metro-wide segregation and inequalities in homeownership. (See Oakland's HOLC map showing the "redlining" of neighborhoods throughout the city.) Restrictive racial covenants were written into Oakland property deeds, which prohibited whites from selling, renting, or leasing in whole or any part to African Americans. For example, the Claremont Improvement Club neighborhood association restricted the neighborhood to those "of pure Caucasian blood."¹⁴⁶

School segregation also undoubtedly determined intergenerational opportunity, even in northern cities like Oakland. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years *Jim Crow* laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either "white only" or "colored" (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).¹⁴⁷ In 1954, segregation was challenged in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Supreme Court held that the "separate but equal" violated the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice, Earl Warren wrote, "In the field of public education, the doctrine

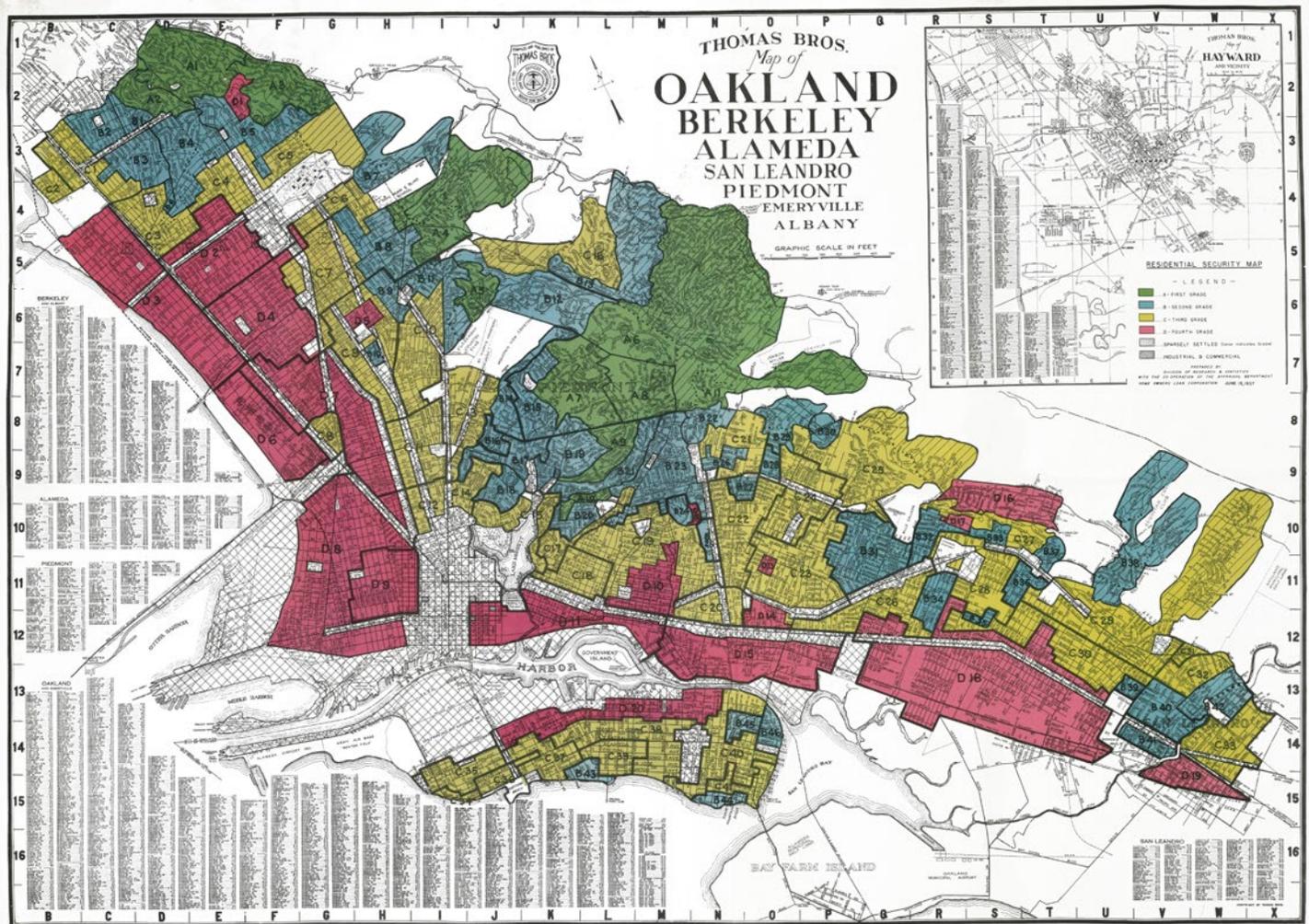
LOVING CITIES INDEX

of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."¹⁴⁸

Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated even without formal segregation laws. Oakland entered into voluntary desegregation orders in 2012 and 2013 but advocates argue more is still needed to address racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic segregation.¹⁴⁹ Today, the percentage of white students in the north part of the district hovers near 90%; in the southern part whites are 10% and Latino and Black students are the majorities. But, it's not just racial differences within the district; segregated schools are also an inter-district issue. For example, Oakland, which is 90% students of color, is next door to

Piedmont City Unified School District, which is 40% white, has more affluent students, and almost \$5,000 more in per-pupil revenue compared to Oakland.

Presently, Oakland Unified serves 32,286 in 87 traditional public schools and 34 charter schools.¹⁵⁰ Latino students account for 42% of the student population, Black students 24%, Asian students 13%, and white students 12%. The percentage of English language learners is 32%. The percentage of low-income children in the city is 27%, but in the school district is 74%. Higher percentages of Black and Latino children live in poverty compared to white children and youth of color were more likely to be out of school and unemployed.

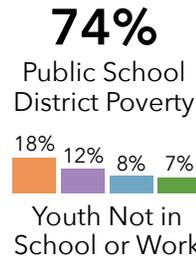
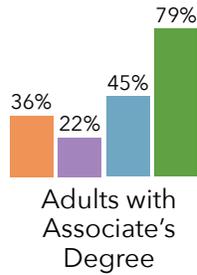
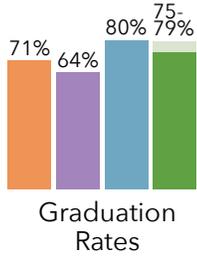


A 1937 example of a redlining map of Oakland and surrounding communities.

THERMOMETER INDICATORS



Current conditions for childhood success

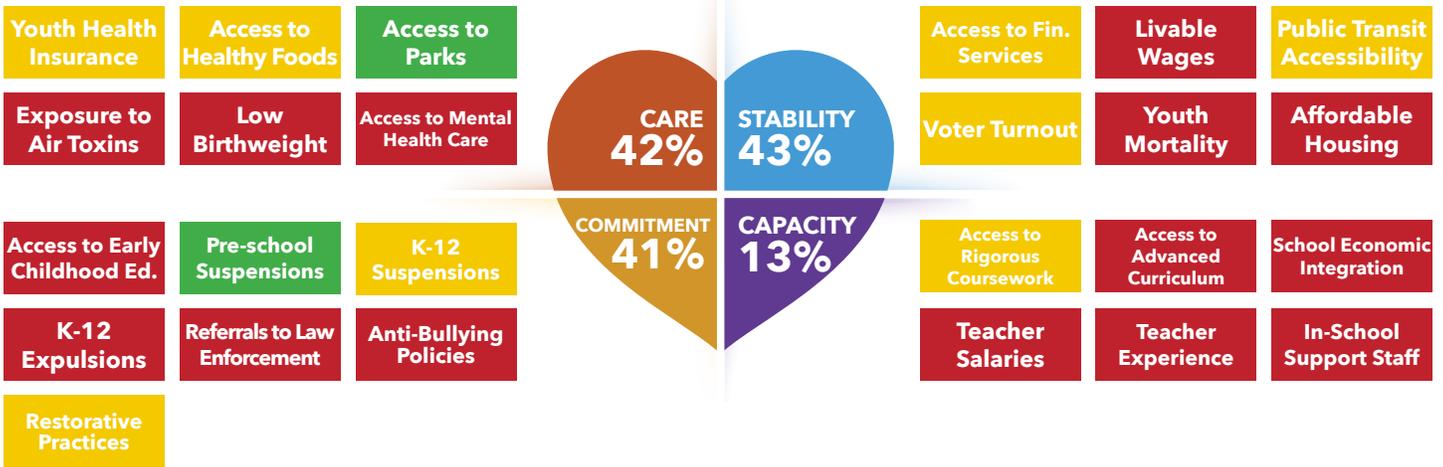


Black Latino Asian White

THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



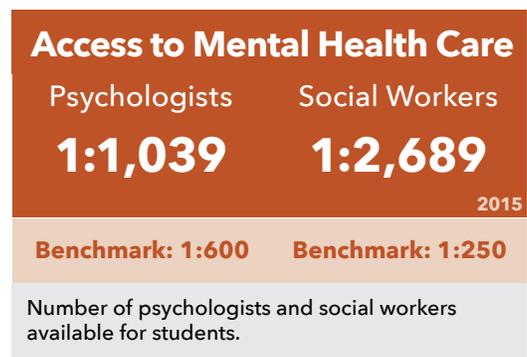
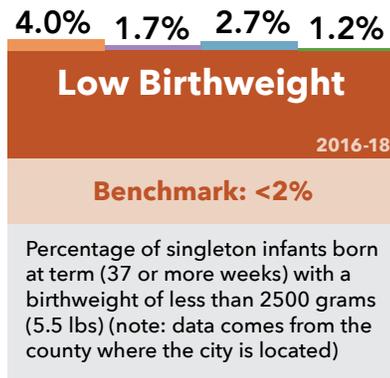
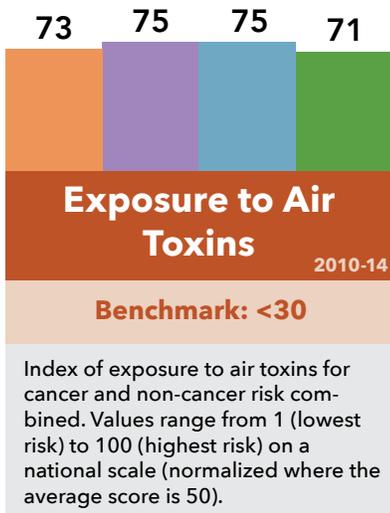
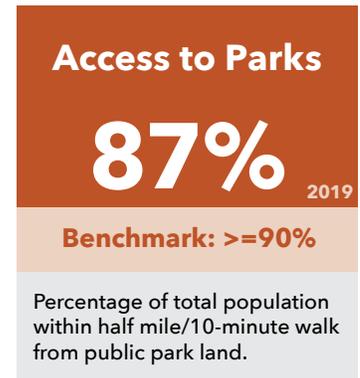
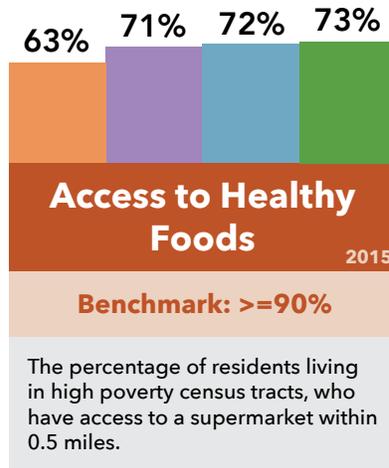
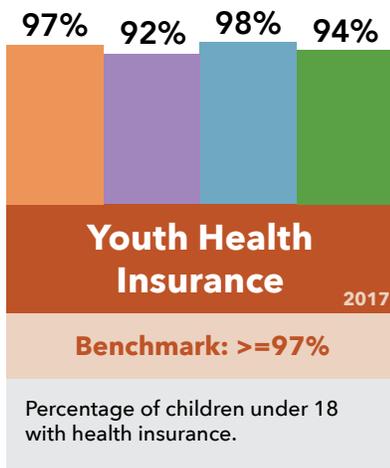
Overall, Oakland has some bright spots across several of the domains, and many significant racial gaps that must be addressed for all children to learn and all families to thrive. When it comes to neighborhood stability, Oakland had the highest public transit access of the cities studied, with 76% of residents living near high-frequency transit, and equitable access to transit by race. There are relatively high levels of adults using traditional financial institutions (74%), just above the national average, and voter turnout in the last mid-term election was also above average (53%). Still, Oakland, like many cities across the country, faces income inequality and racial gaps in access to affordable housing. Only 59% of Black households, 41% of Latino households, and 66% of Asian households earn enough from their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 90% of white households. Less than half of renters of color in the city have access to housing that is reasonably priced relative to their income. Neighborhood stability is also negatively impacted by the troubling level of youth mortality among Black children.

In schools, Oakland students had less access to gifted and talented and advanced placement classes compared to other cities, and “tracking” of students into those advanced classes based on race is likely leading to much lower representation of Black and Latino students in those advanced courses. Oakland teacher salaries on average are well below the minimum cost of living (74% of cost livable wages), and the teaching force is less experienced than other cities studied (only 75% of teachers have more than 2 years of experience). The policing of Black bodies appears to be prevalent in the culture of the school system, with 15% of Black children receiving at least one in- or out-of-school suspension in the 2015-16 school year. In 2011, Oakland started the Oakland Community Schools initiative,¹⁵¹ and today operates 25 full-service Community Schools. Community Schools are “public schools that partner with families and community organizations to provide well-rounded educational opportunities and supports for students’ school success.”¹⁵² Well-implemented Community Schools are an evidenced-based approach for supporting student success in academics and beyond.¹⁵³

CARE

Oakland had 42% of the supports needed for *Care*. Nearly all youth in Oakland have health insurance coverage (95%), though Latino students were least likely to be covered (92%) relative to other racial/ethnic groups. Black infants are three times as likely and Asian children are two times as likely to be born underweight than white infants, an issue which highlights racial inequity in adequate care information and services and discriminatory attitudes that often affect outcomes based on race. Within schools, Oakland's investment in social workers and psychologists is still well below the recommended level of provider to student ratio, highlighting a need for increased access to ensure all students have mental healthcare and support in accessing other resources they may need to thrive.

When it comes to other health resources in the community, a majority (69%) of low-income residents live near supermarkets, but Black low-income residents had considerably lower access (63%) compared to white and Latino low-income residents. The vast majority of residents (87%) live near a public park. Exposure to air toxins was high overall (index of 73 out of 100), with slightly lower exposure in predominantly White neighborhoods (71) compared to Latino (75), Asian (75), Black (73) neighborhoods. Inequity in air quality often is a reflection of historical and ongoing practices of neighborhood segregation and intentional industrial development in closer proximity to communities of color, and away from white communities.



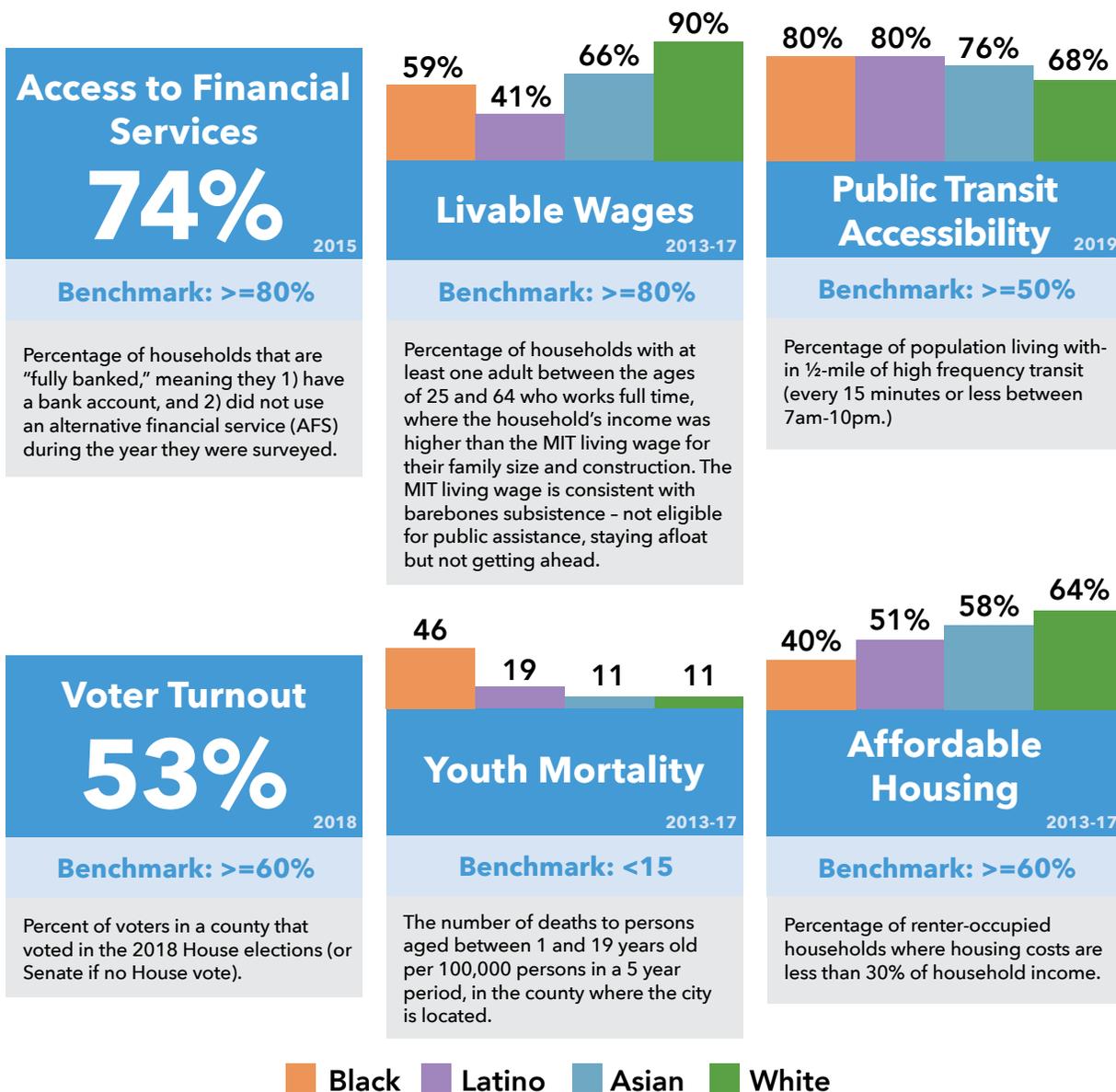
Black Latino Asian White

STABILITY

Oakland had 43% of the supports needed for neighborhood Stability. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families of color in Oakland, as well as across the country, is economic inequality. Only 59% of Black and 41% of Latino households earned enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 90% of white households and 66% of Asian households. Renters in Oakland are also largely struggling to access affordable housing – only about half of renters pay housing costs that are affordable to their income level, with access to housing even lower for Black renters. When renters pay more than 30% of their income towards rent, they are considered “housing cost-burdened” and their ability to cover other critical living expenditures is put at risk. Oakland did have bright spots within neighborhood *Stability*: nearly 80% of res-

idents live close to reliable, high-frequency transit and that access is equitable by race/ethnicity, and 74% of residents have access to traditional financial institutions and credit services.

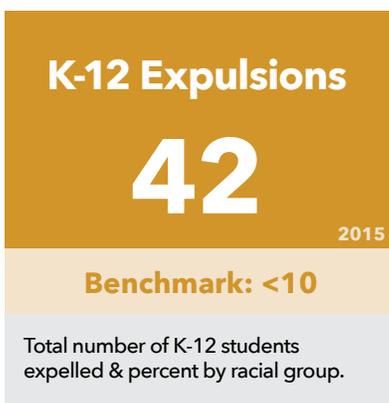
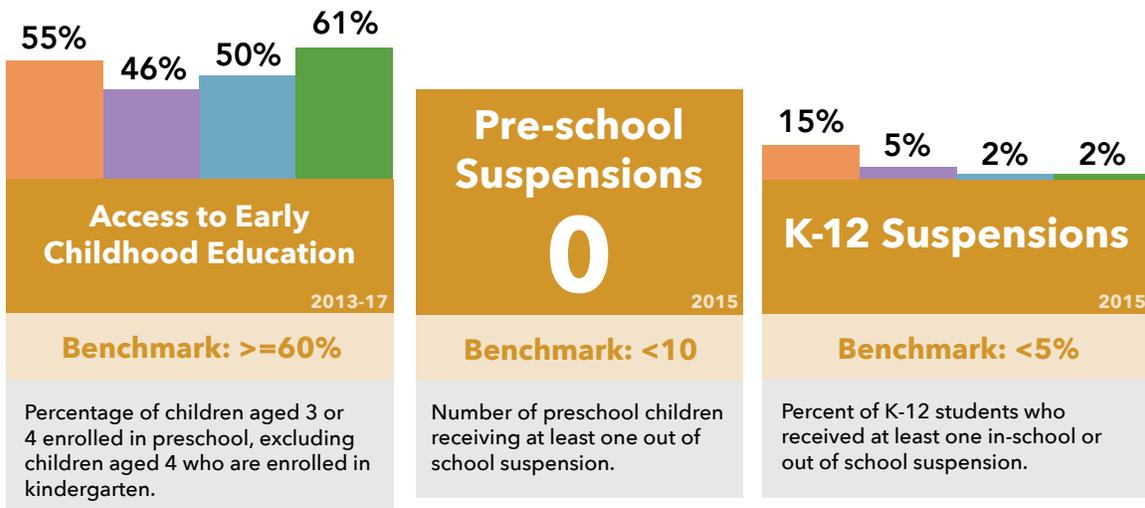
Racial inequities in adolescent mortality also impacts community *Stability*. The rate of Black youth mortality is a staggering 46 Black deaths per 100,000 youth, compared to 11 for white youth. When children and adults experience trauma and toxic stress from exposure to violence and death it affects their opportunity to learn and thrive, and when the rate of violence is high across a neighborhood or community there’s a communal trauma that affects everyone’s well-being.



COMMITMENT

Oakland had 41% of the supports needed for *Commitment* to each child's success. About half of the city's 3-4-year-olds were enrolled in pre-school, but rates were higher for white children than children of color: 61% of white children were in pre-school compared to only 46% of Latino, 55% of Black, and 50% of Asian children. Oakland reported zero pre-school suspensions, but at the K-12 level, 15% of all Black students had received at least one in- or out-of-school suspension, compared to 2% of white students. The district also expelled 42 students, the majority of whom were Black (57%)

or Latino (29%). Oakland also made 229 referrals to law enforcement and 28 school-related arrests. The district has shown some commitment to restorative practices and investment in psychologists and social workers, though more is needed on both fronts to end the over-policing of students of color and instead provide support and resources to those children. Similarly, it appears more could be done to implement anti-bullying policies and resources to ensure school cultures respect the inherent humanity of each child, regardless of race, gender, or sexuality.



■ Black ■ Latino ■ Asian ■ White

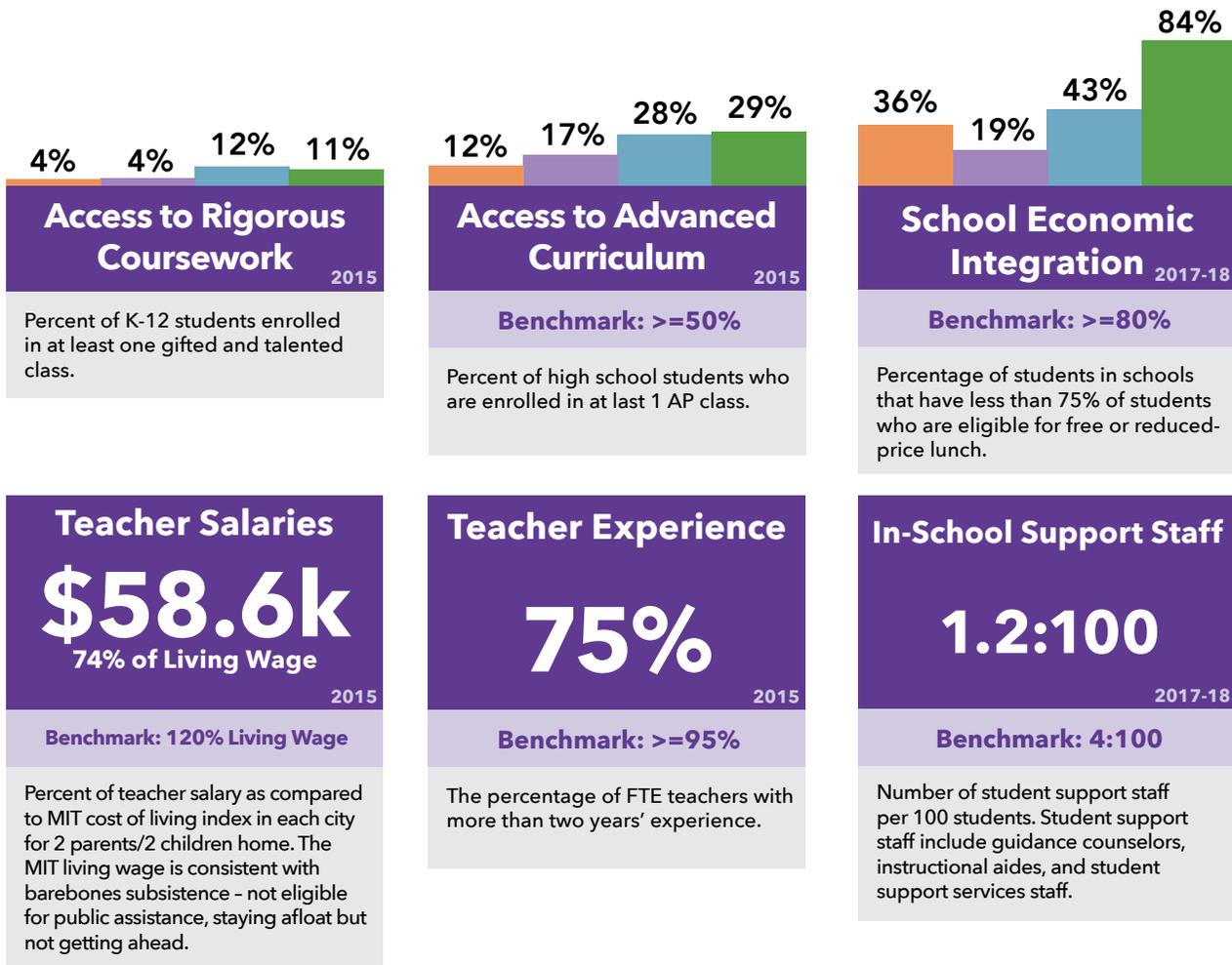
* **Commitment:** Is there a clear continual commitment to activities to reduce bullying incidences?
Transparency: Are there clearly accessible dates to bullying incidents or a clear point of contact /department on bullying?
Code of Conduct: Is bullying clearly addressed in student code of conduct with instructions on how to report incidences?
 ** **Commitment:** Is there a clear commitment by school system to use restorative practices?
Resources: Are there clear and easily accessible resources?
Code of Conduct: Are Restorative Practices addressed in the student code of conduct?

CAPACITY

Oakland had 13% of the supports needed for *Capacity* to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and provide students a high-quality education. When it comes to ensuring all students have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness, there are significant racial gaps that are often attributed to interpersonal racial bias where educators “track” students to particular classes based on race, discouraging students of color from more challenging courses even when there’s evidence they would excel in those courses. In Oakland, the rate of white students enrolled in gifted and talented courses for K-12 was about triple that of Black and Latino students. By high school, 29% of white students were enrolled in at least one Advanced Placement class compared to only 12% of Black students and 17% of Latino students.

Teacher salaries are also an important indicator for the capacity of schools, recognizing that when teacher salaries are lower than the cost of living, as they are in Oakland (74% of minimum cost of living), cities often experience teacher shortages and high rates of turnover. Only 75% of Oakland teachers had more than 2 years of experience, more than 10% below the national average. As in many cities, school enrollment policies

in the district have led to the majority of Black and Latino students being enrolled in schools where over 75% of the student body is experiencing poverty, while 84% of white students attend schools with far lower rates of students in poverty. School districts must investigate how their policies, especially when it comes to charter school enrollment, contribute to racial and economic segregation of schools and determine ways to reduce the number of “high poverty” schools. Schools with high rates of students living in poverty typically have lower resourcing compared to schools serving more affluent families, who can cover the costs of extracurricular activities and often fundraise for additional resources and supports for their children’s schools. State funding and school districts must adequately compensate for that by fully resourcing schools serving students of color and students living in poverty. Fully-resourced community schools offer a promising approach to ensuring schools are designed in collaboration with communities and in ways that are culturally responsive and resource-full. There are 25 full-service Community Schools in Oakland, and building upon these current efforts to grow the number of students attending Community Schools can help ensure all students have access to healthy living and learning environments.



Black Latino Asian White



Providence, RI **BRONZE**

Located in northern Rhode Island, Providence is the state capital and home to 180,000 people, making it the most populous city in the state. Providence is one of the oldest cities in the U.S., with European colonists laying claim to the land in 1636. The “Creative Capital” and “Divine City,” Providence is a major seaport and a hub for trade, healthcare, and financial services. The Providence area includes Pawtucket, East Providence, Central Falls, Cranston, Warwick, and Woonsocket.

Before European arrival, the area was home to the Narragansett and several other smaller tribes. During *The Great Swamp Massacre*, which occurred in present-day Kingston, many Narragansett fled into the woods or migrated north and west.¹⁵⁴ Persisting through centuries of colonial persecution, today the Narragansett constitute the largest group of native people in the state, followed by the Pequot, Wampanoag, and Nipmuc. Much of the state’s native population lives in Providence.¹⁵⁵ Further setting the stage for generations of racial inequality, the region played a major role in the transatlantic slave trade. Rhode Island was one of the trade’s major geographic corners; sugar and molasses grown on Caribbean plantations were brought to Rhode Island for rum and then carried to West Africa in exchange for enslaved people. Despite having passed laws abolishing slavery in the 1600s the area heavily benefited from Southern slavery.¹⁵⁶

Racist policies and practices created deep inequities in cities like Providence. Despite being a northern state, Black people in Rhode Island faced significant racial discrimination, leading one longtime community organizer to refer to it as the “Mississippi of New England.”¹⁵⁷ Racism played a role in the city’s devel-

opment decisions. For example, during a 1950s highway development project, officials chose routes that favored affluent white residents and reinforced segregation.¹⁵⁸ Federal policy also played a role. During the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to lend new mortgages and refinance home mortgages that were at default during the Depression. By 1936 the agency had provided one million new mortgages and the agency owned one in five nationally.¹⁵⁹ The agency developed lending risk maps in over 100 large cities¹⁶⁰, and map-makers relied on the prejudices of local loan officers, city officials, appraisers and realtors in appraising sections of the city, rating white areas of town as “desirable” and “best” for lending and areas of town where Black people, immigrants, and Jewish people lived as “hazardous,” thereby curtailing lending or issuing loans at much higher interest rates.¹⁶¹

Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, which they paid sometimes double the actual worth of the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. HOLC maps knit segregation into the landscape, and today many of these historic maps align with metro-wide segregation and inequalities in homeownership. (See Providence’s HOLC map showing the “redlining” of neighborhoods throughout the city.) Today, a lower percentage of families of color in Providence own homes compared to whites,¹⁶² and more Black families and Latino families live near environmental contamination.¹⁶³

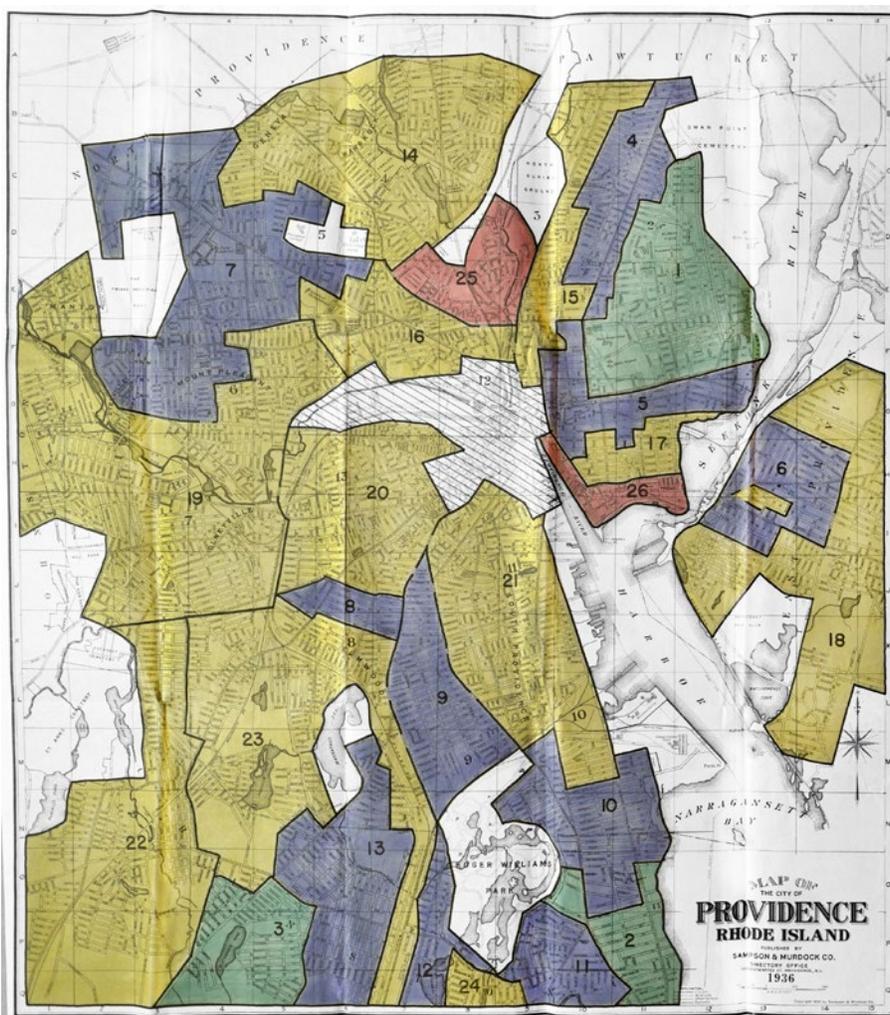
School segregation also undoubtedly determined intergenerational opportunity, even in northern cities like Providence. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court

LOVING CITIES INDEX

upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years *Jim Crow* laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either “white only” or “colored” (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).¹⁶⁴ In 1954, segregation was challenged in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Supreme Court held that the “separate but equal” violated the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice, Earl Warren wrote, “In the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”¹⁶⁵ Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated without the formal laws of the South. On the face of it, educational equity in Rhode Island districts may not have looked to be a problem—the state was early to outlaw school segregation (1866) and had a progressive education tradition.¹⁶⁶ But, like many northern cities, due

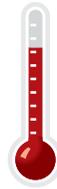
to residential patterns and district boundaries, Providence schools were segregated.¹⁶⁷ In 1967, the school board ordered schools to desegregate.¹⁶⁸¹⁶⁹ White-flight and demographic changes¹⁷⁰ have created a district that today serves mostly students of color and low-income students while other districts in the state are whiter and wealthier.¹⁷¹

Providence operates 41 schools, including 22 elementary schools, seven middle schools 10 high schools, and two charter schools¹⁷² and 24,075 students, with Hispanic students accounting for 63% of the student population, Black students 17%, White students 9%, Asian students 4.9% and Native students, 1%. Almost a quarter of the students are English language learners. The rate of poverty among Black children is twice that of white children, and for Latino children, it is nearly three times that. And, a higher percentage of Black youth and Latino were out of school and unemployed.

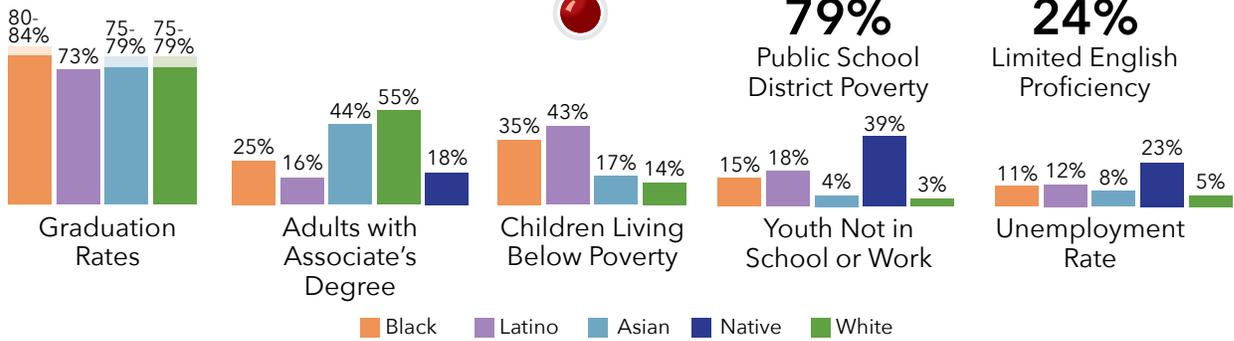


A 1936 example of a redlining map of Providence.

THERMOMETER INDICATORS



Current conditions for childhood success



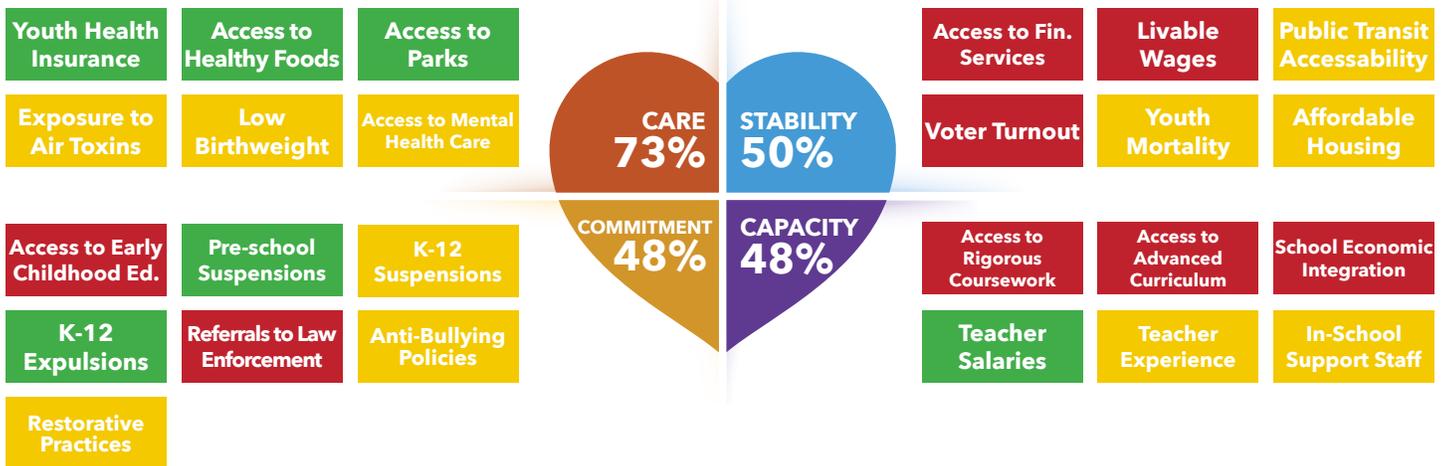
79%
Public School District Poverty

24%
Limited English Proficiency

THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



Overall, Providence has bright as well as challenging spots across each of the domains. When it comes to *Care*, Providence had the highest rate of insured youth (99%), and one of the highest rate of park access (97%) compared to other cities studied. Providence had the lowest exposure to air toxins overall (29), though there is a nearly 20 points difference between white neighborhoods and Latino and Black neighborhoods reflecting historical and ongoing policies of segregation and allowing industrial development and contamination near communities of color and away from White neighborhoods. Neighborhood stability is impacted by economic inequity – with Black and Latino households far less likely to earn living wages compared to white households.

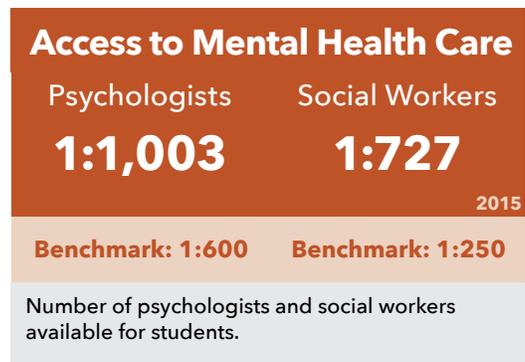
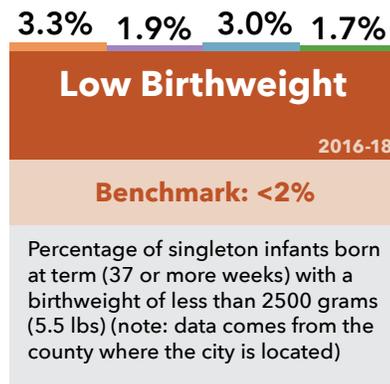
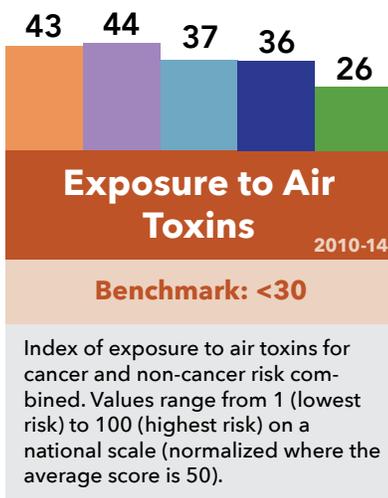
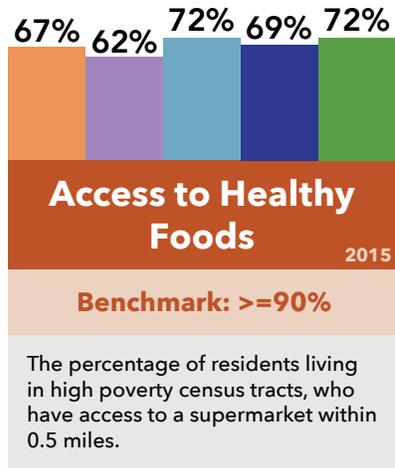
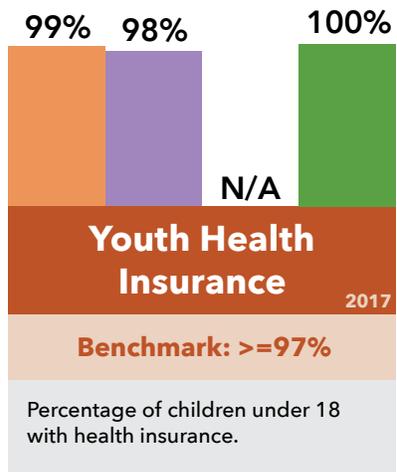
In schools, only 38% of 3-4-year-olds were enrolled in preschool, with white youth are more than two times as likely to be enrolled. The district appears to have a culture of over-policing in schools, which especially impacts Native and Black youth. 16% of all Black students and 15% of all Native students received at least one in-

or out-of-school suspension. The district also had a high number of police referrals relative to other cities, with 15% of all Native students and 5% of Black students being referred to law enforcement. While schools do appear to offer relatively high teacher salaries and have in-school support staff, there are large racial gaps in access to advanced curriculum. Providence has one Community School, established through the Rhode Island Partnership for Community Schools, a statewide alliance to mobilize resources for the Community School model.¹⁷³ Community Schools are “public schools that partner with families and community organizations to provide well-rounded educational opportunities and supports for students’ school success.”¹⁷⁴ Well-implemented Community Schools are an evidenced-based approach for supporting student success in academics and beyond, and there’s an opportunity to build on this model to improve learning environments for students in Providence, to ensure transformation system change is driven by the community of students and parents.¹⁷⁵

CARE

Providence has 73% of the supports needed for *Care*. Nearly 100% of all youth in Providence have health insurance coverage across racial groups. Still, there are racial gaps in low birth weights among infants, with Black and Asian infants nearly two times as likely to be born below weight compared to white infants. This issue highlights racial inequity in adequate care information and services and discriminatory attitudes that often affect outcomes based on race. Within schools, Providence's investment in social workers and psychologists is still well below the recommended level of provider to student ratio, highlighting a need for increased access to ensure all students have mental healthcare and support in accessing other resources they may need to thrive.

When it comes to health resources in the community, a majority (67%) of low-income residents live near supermarkets, but Latino low-income residents had considerably lower access (62%) compared to white and Asian low-income residents (72%). The vast majority of residents (97%) live near a public park. Overall, exposure to air toxins was the lowest of cities studied (index of 29 out of 100), though there were massive differences in exposure between Latino and Black neighborhoods and white neighborhoods. Inequity in air quality often is a reflection of historical and ongoing practices of neighborhood segregation and intentional industrial development in closer proximity to communities of color, and away from white communities.



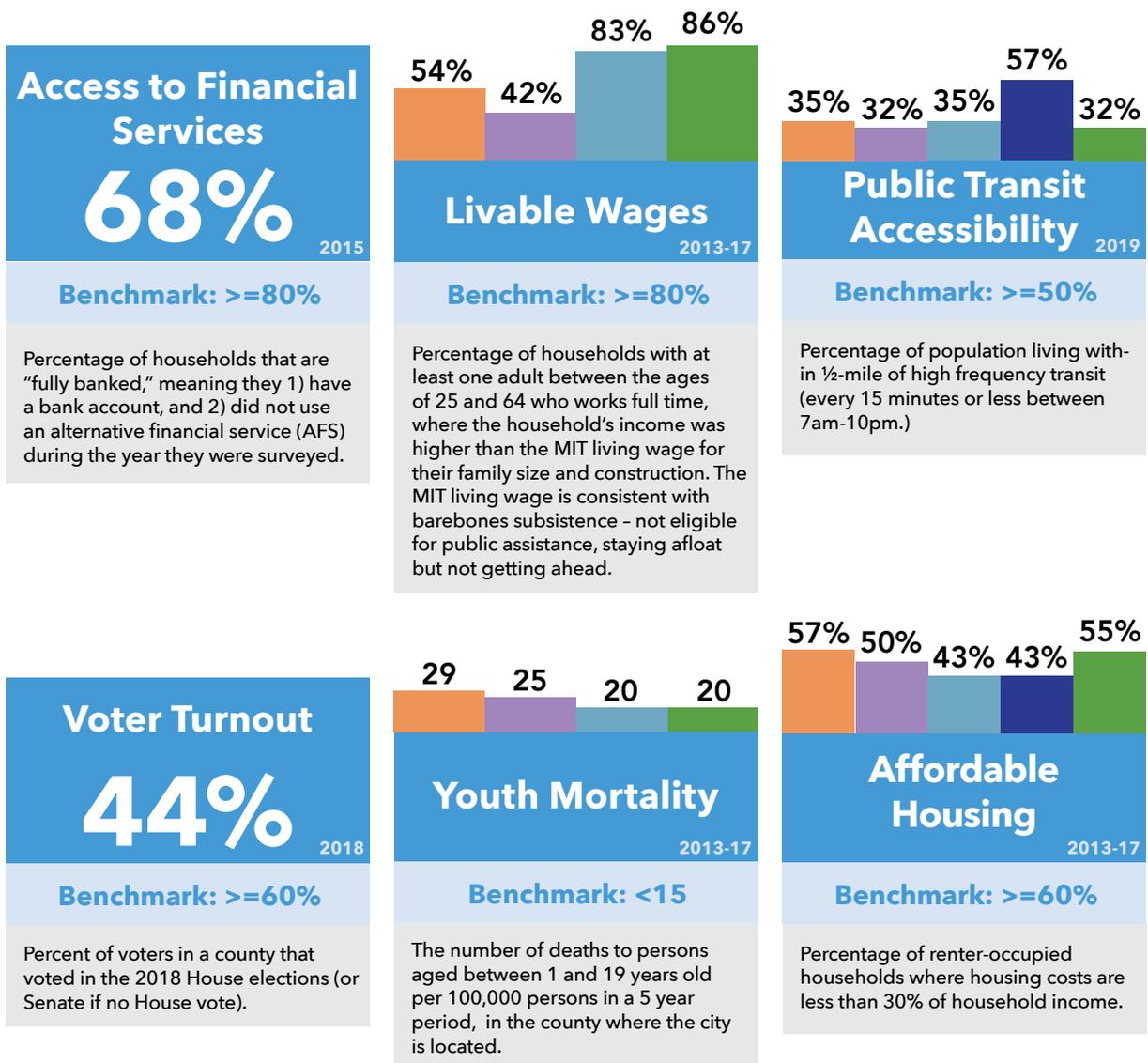
Black Latino Asian Native* White

*Sample size for Native was often too small for reporting, but where available it has been included.

STABILITY

Providence has 50% of the supports needed for neighborhood *Stability*. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families of color in Providence, as well as across the country, is economic inequality. Only 54% of Black and 42% of Latino households earned enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 86% of white and 83% of Asian households. About half of renters in Providence struggle to access affordable housing – with Asian and Native renters most affected. When renters pay more than

30% of their income towards rent, they are considered “housing cost-burdened” and their ability to cover other critical living expenditures is put at risk. Public transit is only accessible to about a third of the residents, though access seems to be comparable across racial/ethnic groups. Access to traditional financial institutions and credit services in Providence (68%) is below the national average.

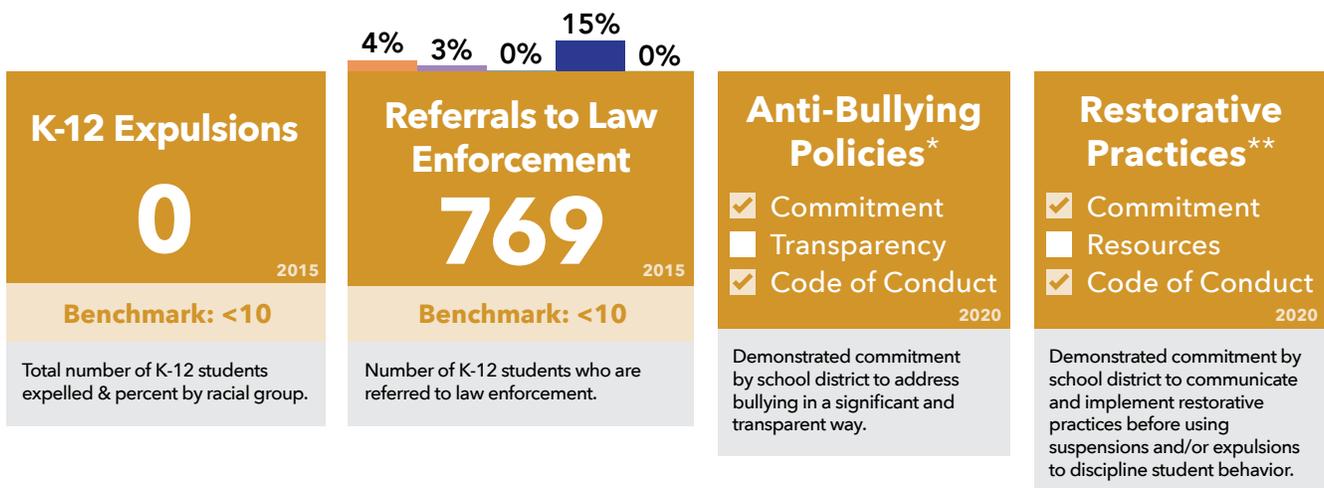
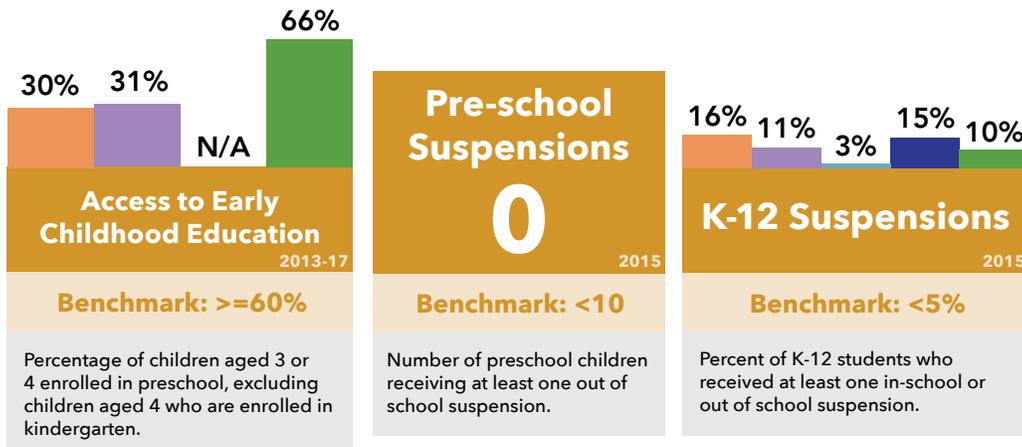


Black Latino Asian Native White

COMMITMENT

Providence has 48% of the supports needed for *Commitment* to each child's success. Only 37% of 3-4-year-olds were enrolled in pre-school and there were big racial inequities: 66% of white children were enrolled in pre-school compared to 30% of Black and 31% of Latino children. Providence reported zero out-of-school suspensions for preschoolers, but at the K-12 level students across racial/ethnic groups experience high rates of suspension and expulsion, with 16% of all Black students and 15% of all Native students experiencing at least one in- or out-of-school suspension. The district also issued a staggering number of police referrals (769) and

made 140 school-related arrests. The police referrals disproportionately impacted Native students, with 15% of all Native students being referred to the police, as well as 4% of all Black and 3% of Hispanic students. In a district with approximately one psychologist and social worker for every 1,000 students, nearly half of all schools had a sworn law enforcement officer on-premises. All of these factors suggest a systemic culture of over-policing students, especially students of color, which must be dismantled and replaced with resources and supports for students and educators, including greater resources for implementing restorative justice practices.



■ Black
 ■ Latino
 ■ Asian
 ■ Native
 ■ White

* **Commitment:** Is there a clear continual commitment to activities to reduce bullying incidences?
Transparency: Are there clearly accessible dates to bullying incidents or a clear point of contact /department on bullying?
Code of Conduct: Is bullying clearly addressed in student code of conduct with instructions on how to report incidences?

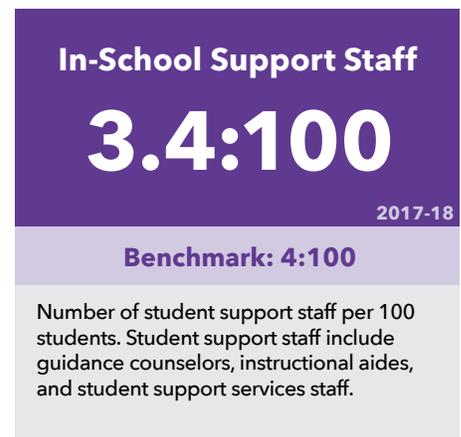
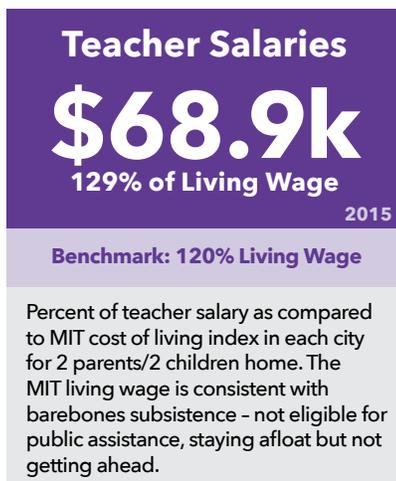
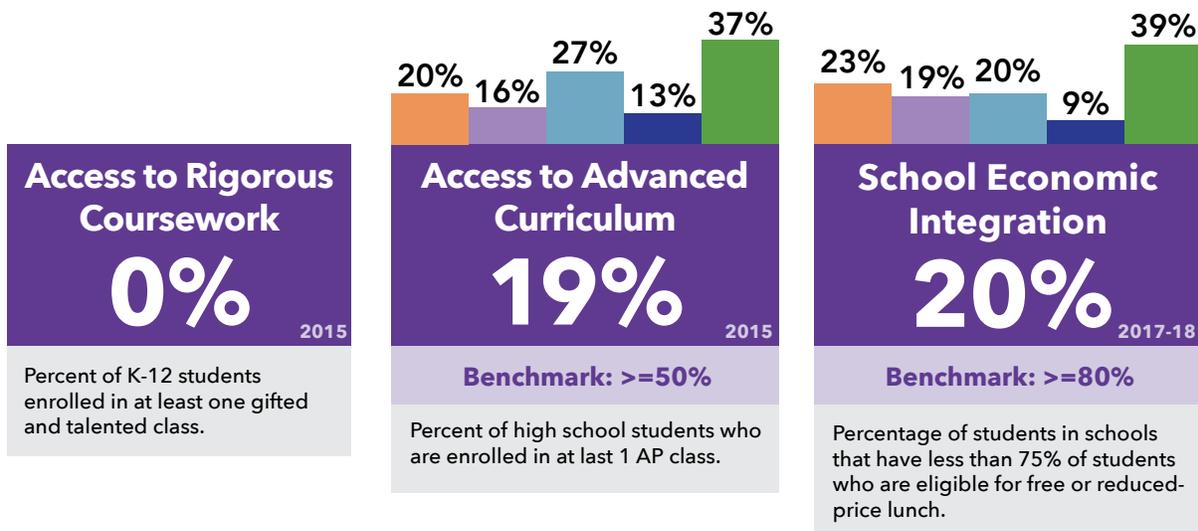
** **Commitment:** Is there a clear commitment by school system to use restorative practices?
Resources: Are there clear and easily accessible resources?
Code of Conduct: Are Restorative Practices addressed in the student code of conduct?

CAPACITY

Providence has 48% of the supports needed for *Capacity* to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and providing students an excellent, high-quality education. More may be needed to ensure Providence students have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness. Currently, only 19% of high school students are enrolled in at least one Advanced Placement course, including only 14% of Native, 20% of Black, and 16% of Latino students compared to 37% of white students. There doesn't appear to be K-12 gifted and talented programming, which many activists feel is a better approach, preferring instead that there are efforts to ensure all students are getting high quality, rigorous coursework.

Teacher salaries on average were well above the minimum cost of living for the city of Providence (129% of living wages), though teacher retention still may be an issue given that only 89% of the teaching force had at least two years of experience. As in many

cities, school enrollment policies in the district have led to students of color being more likely to attend schools where over 75% of the student body is experiencing poverty, compared to White students. The numbers, in general, are not quite as stark as other cities, though Native youth, in particular, are almost all attending "high poverty" schools. Providence, like all school districts, must investigate and address how their policies, especially when it comes to charter school enrollment, contribute to racial and economic segregation of schools and determine ways to reduce the number of "high poverty" schools. Fully-resourced Community Schools offer a promising approach to ensuring schools are designed in collaboration with communities and in ways that are culturally responsive and resource-full. Building upon the current efforts to grow the number of students attending Community Schools can help ensure all students have access to healthy living and learning environments.



Black Latino Asian Native White



St. Paul, MN **COPPER**

Located at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, St. Paul is the second-most populous city in the state at 308,000 people. One of two “twins,” St. Paul joins Minneapolis-St. Paul to form a major metropolitan area. Major industries in St. Paul include financial services, technology, biomedical, and retail. Historically, the city was a key transportation and trade route among Native peoples — including the Dakota, Ojibwe, Ho-Chunk, Cheyenne, Oto, Iowa and Sac & Fox indigenous peoples.¹⁷⁶ St. Paul became the capital of the Minnesota territory in 1849, after which the U.S. forced many Dakota off the land. In 1956, the Indian Relocation Act defunded reservation services and relocated many indigenous peoples back into the Minneapolis-St. Paul metro area. Today the area is home to one of the most diverse and largest urban American Indian populations, over 35,000.¹⁷⁷

Racist policies and practices created deep inequities in cities like St. Paul. During the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to lend new mortgages and refinance home mortgages that were at default during the Depression. By 1936 the agency had provided one million new mortgages and the agency owned one in five nationally.¹⁷⁸ The agency developed lending risk maps in over 100 large cities and map-makers relied on the prejudices of local loan officers, city officials, appraisers and realtors in appraising sections of the city, rating white areas of town as “desirable” and “best” for lending and areas of town where Black people, immigrants, and Jewish people lived as “hazardous,” thereby curtailing lending or issuing loans at much higher interest rates.¹⁷⁹ Many Black and immigrant families who could not obtain

fair mortgages were forced into contract sales, which they paid sometimes double the actual worth of the home, could not build equity, and were more easily subject to eviction. HOLC maps in the Twin Cities solidified segregation and reflect currently metro-area inequalities in transportation, affordable housing, and mortgage lending.¹⁸⁰ (See St. Paul’s HOLC map showing the “redlining” of neighborhoods throughout the city.)

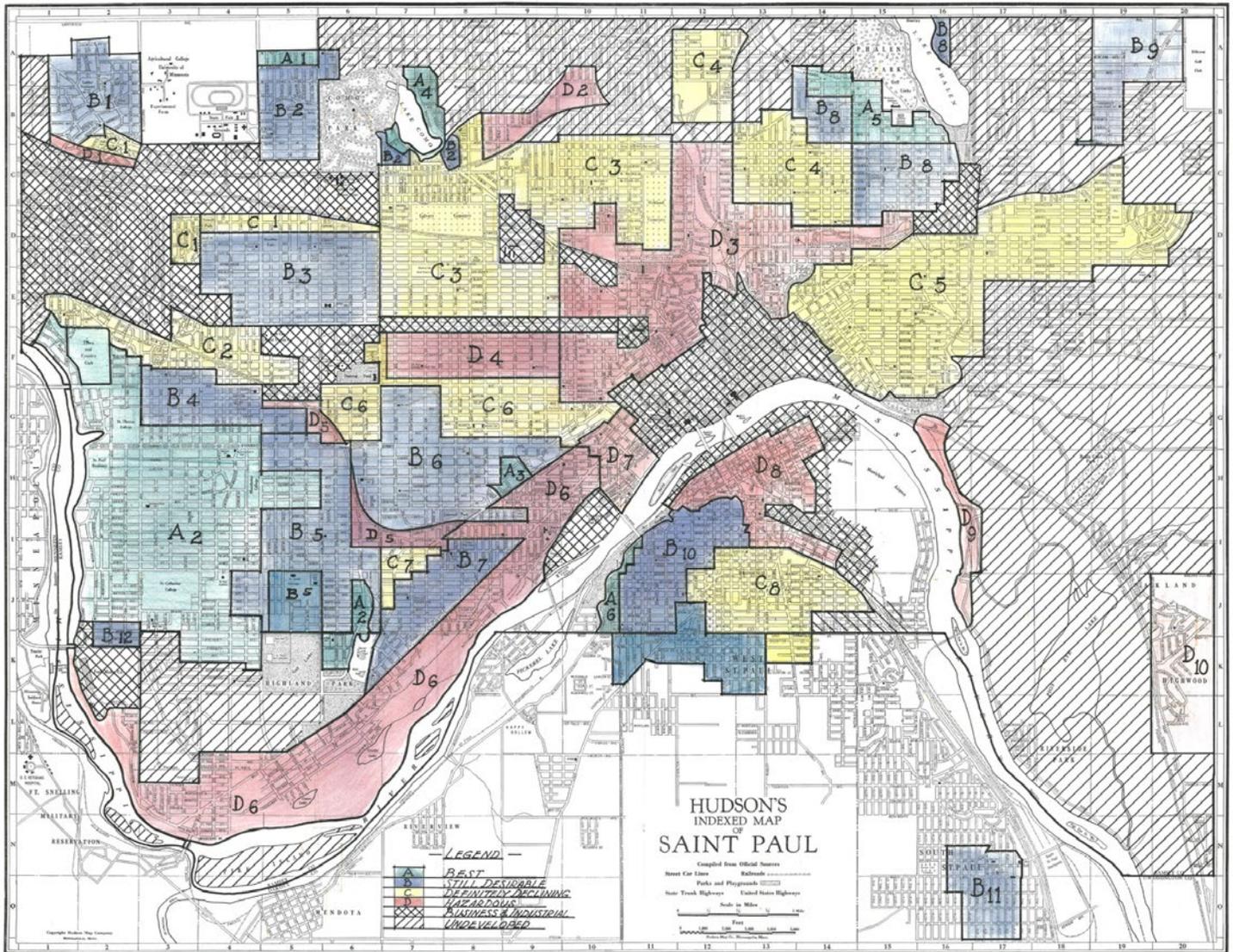
School segregation also undoubtedly determined intergenerational opportunities, even in Northern cities. In Minnesota, Native American children were separated from their families and forced to attend segregated “Indian Boarding Schools” which sought to eliminate their culture. Fourteen of these repressive schools operated in the state until the 1970s, and although white and Black children attended school together during Minnesota’s territorial days, segregation was imposed in the 1880s.¹⁸¹¹⁸²¹⁸³ In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld racial segregation and for the next 60 years these *Jim Crow* laws legally defined schools, workplaces, buses, railroad cars, and even hospitals and cemeteries as either “white only” or “colored” (*Plessy v. Ferguson*).¹⁸⁴ In 1954, segregation was challenged in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Supreme Court held that the “separate but equal” doctrine violated the 14th Amendment. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice, Earl Warren wrote, “In the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”¹⁸⁵ Subsequently, school desegregation plans were initiated in many cities, both in the South as well as in the North, where schools were often racially segregated though without the formal laws of the South. St. Paul

LOVING CITIES INDEX

adopted a desegregation plan in 1964, but many argue the city has still not fully lived up to this plan. Integration litigation has spanned decades and as recently as 2018 efforts continue to spur the district towards more integrated schools.^{186, 187} Asian and Native students in particular experience high levels of racial segregation and many students of color attend high-poverty schools.¹⁸⁸

The St. Paul school district enrolls over 37,000 students and operates 56 schools, making it one of the largest in Minnesota.¹⁸⁹ Asian students are 31% of

the student population, Black students 27%, white students 22%, Latino students 14%, and Native students 1%. A third of the students are English language learners. The city's percentage of low-income children is 29%, while the school district has twice that: 70%. Only 6% of white children live in poverty compared to 47% of Black children and 39% of Asian children. The percent of Latino youth out of school and unemployed is five times that of white youth, and for Asian youth, it is four times as high.

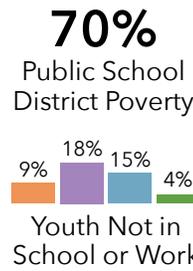
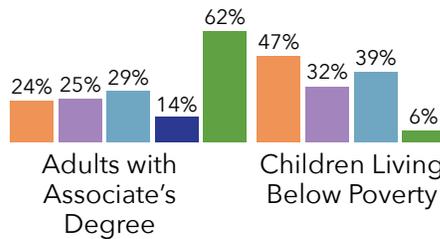
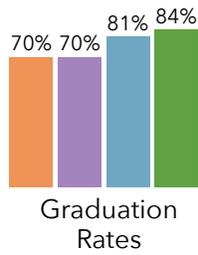


A historical example of a redlining map of St. Paul.

THERMOMETER INDICATORS



Current conditions for childhood success



Black Latino Asian Native White

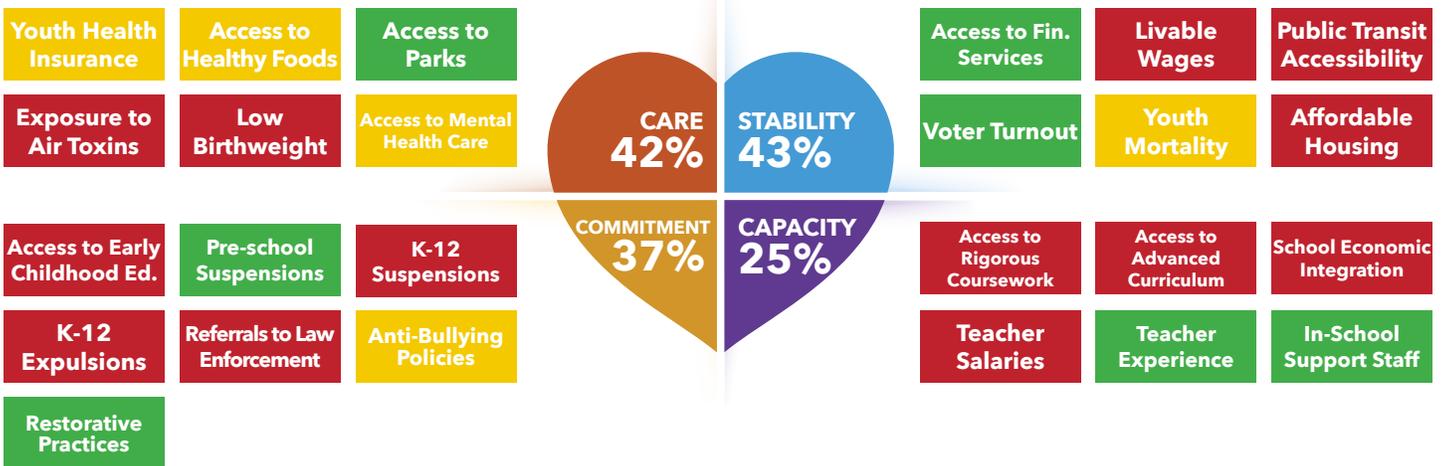
70%
Public School District Poverty

30%
Limited English Proficiency

THERMOSTAT INDICATORS



Access to supports that provide all children the opportunity to learn



Overall, St. Paul has bright and challenging spots across each of the Index domains. When it comes to *Care*, 98% of youth have health insurance coverage, though Latino children have lower coverage than other racial groups (91%). Nearly all residents live near public parks (98%), yet the city also has incredibly high exposure to air toxins (index score of 91 out of 100). For stability, St. Paul had the highest percentage of adults using traditional financial institutions (87%), and one of the highest rates of voter turnout (64%) compared to other cities studied. However, there are wide income disparities, with

only 31% of Black households earning enough to live above subsistence, compared to 86% of white households; as well as racial gaps in access to affordable housing, with Native families facing the largest obstacles to affordable rent.

St. Paul had the lowest percentage of 3-4-year-olds enrolled in pre-school (only 32%), with a 20% difference in enrollment between Black and Latino students compared to white students. There seems to be a strong culture of over-policing students of color, with a shocking one-third of all Black and Native students receiving at least one in- or out-of-school

suspension in the 2015-16 school year. Similarly, there are extremely high rates of referrals to law enforcement in the district, with 8% of Native students and 4% of Black students being referred. There are also major racial discrepancies in students enrolled in gifted and advanced curricula, with white students twice as likely to be enrolled in gifted courses and around three times as likely to be enrolled in Advanced Placement classes in high school, compared to students of color. Still, there are bright spots, with a higher experienced teaching force than many other cities (95% of teachers have more than two years of experience), and a high ratio of in-school support staff to students, including guidance counselors, instructional aides, and student support services.

St. Paul has seven full-service Community Schools through the Achievement Plus partnership with the Wilder Foundation.¹⁹⁰ Community Schools are “public schools that partner with families and community organizations to provide well-rounded educational opportunities and supports for students’ school success.”¹⁹¹ Well-implemented Community Schools are an evidenced-based approach for supporting student success in academics and beyond, and building on this model can ensure the school system continues to transform to center love and equity, in a way that is driven by the community of students and parents.¹⁹²

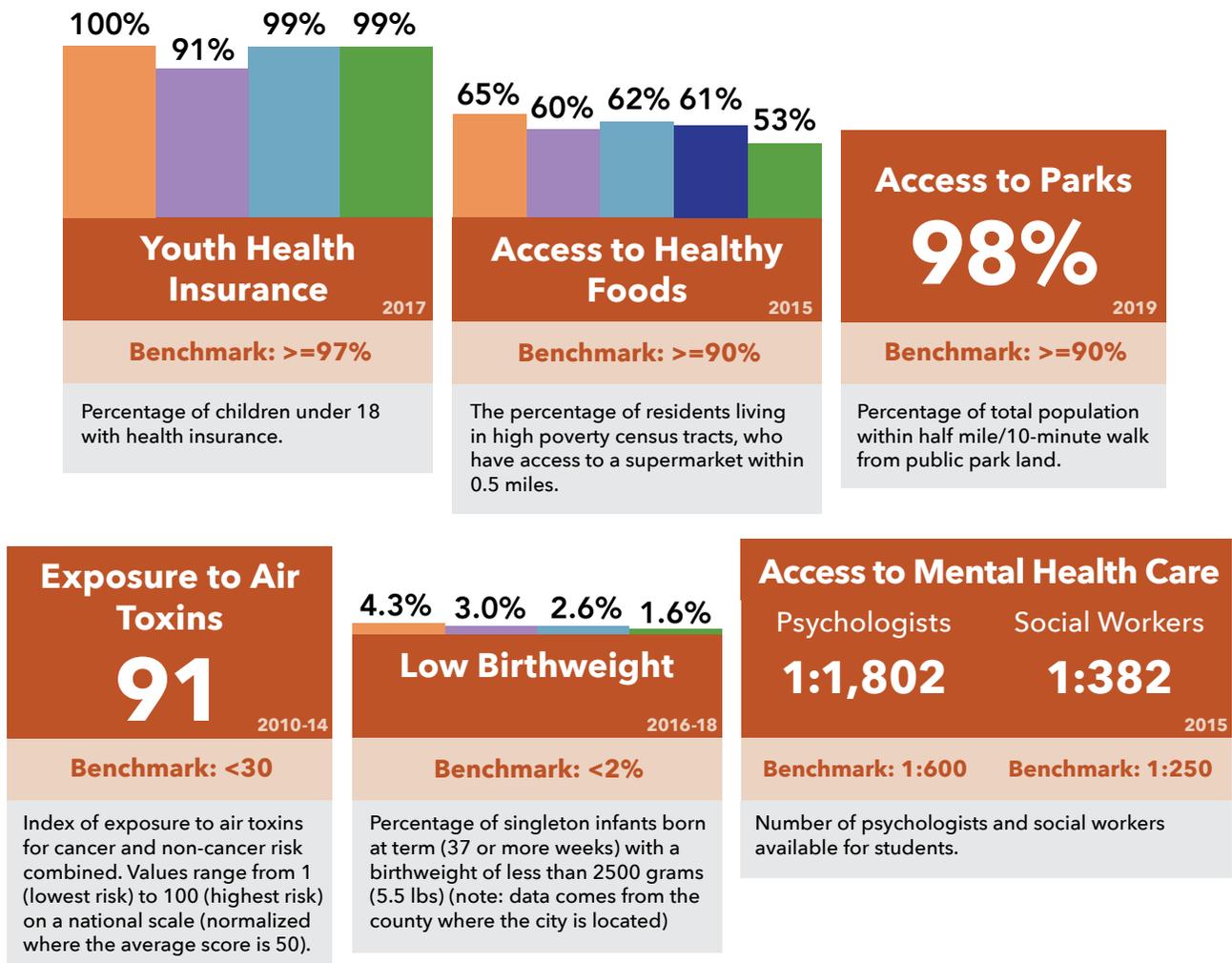
Juneteenth rally in St. Paul at the Minnesota State House.



CARE

St. Paul has 42% of the supports needed for *Care*. Nearly 100% of all youth in St. Paul have health insurance coverage, though there are gaps in coverage among Latino youth (91% covered). Still, there are racial gaps in low birth weights among infants, with Black infants nearly three times as likely to be born below weight compared to white infants. This highlights racial inequity in adequate care information and services and discriminatory attitudes that often affect outcomes based on race that also appear to affect Latino and Asian mothers. Within schools, St. Paul investment in social workers and psychologists is still well below the recommended level of provider to student ratio, highlighting a need for increased access to ensure all students have mental healthcare and support in accessing other resources they may need to thrive.

When it comes to other health resources in the community, a majority (59%) of low-income residents live near supermarkets, and the rate of access is fairly equitable across racial/ethnic groups. And, the vast majority of residents (98%) live near a public park. Overall, exposure to air toxins was one of the highest of cities studied (index of 91 out of 100), rates that were equally high across neighborhoods regardless of demographics. This is well above the national average of 50, and more must be done at the local and state levels to address the health risks from exposure to cancer-causing and other toxins.



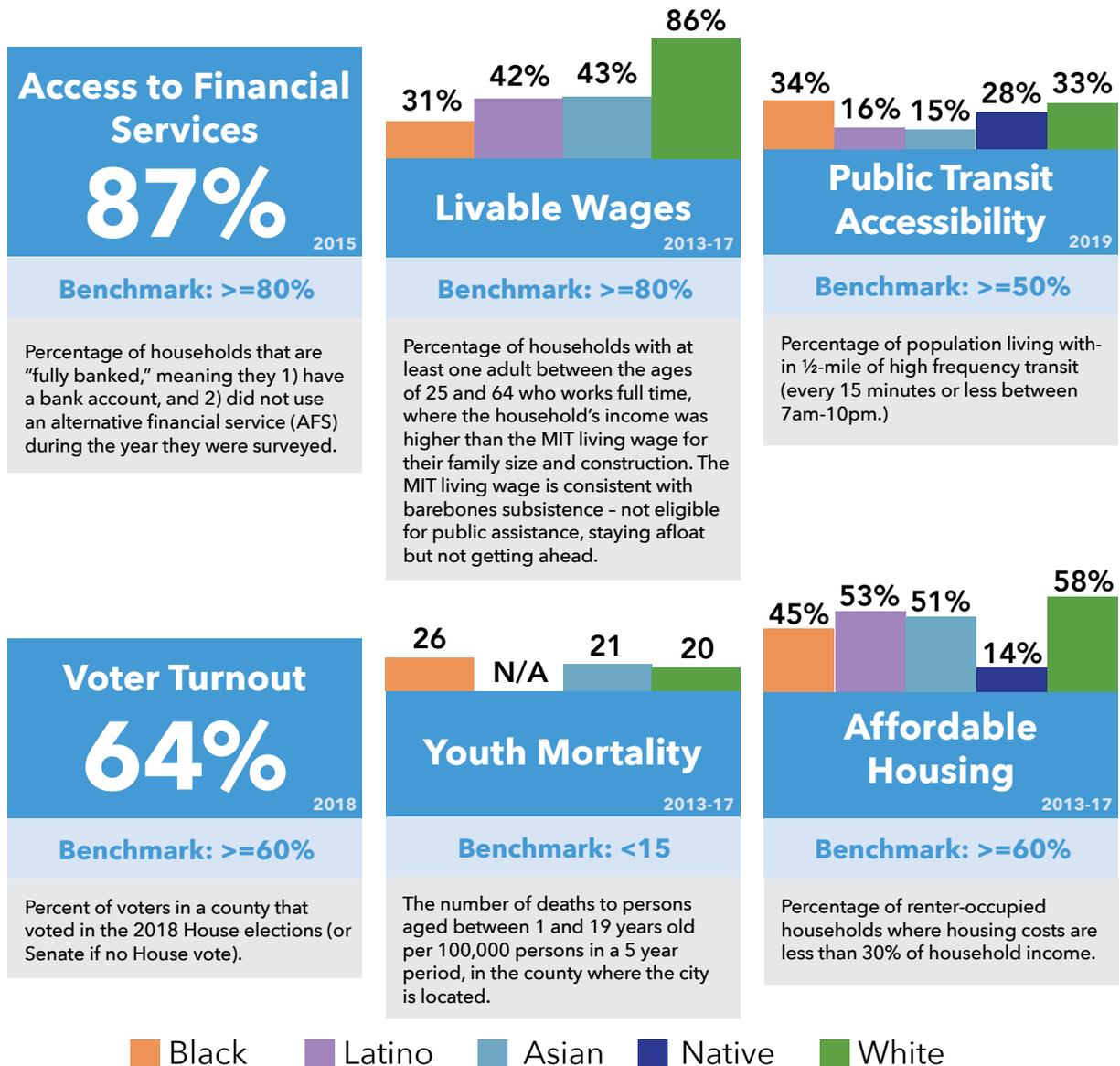
■ Black
 ■ Latino
 ■ Asian
 ■ Native*
 ■ White

*Sample size for Native was often too small for reporting, but where available it has been included.

STABILITY

St. Paul has 43% of the supports needed for neighborhood *Stability*. One of the largest barriers to opportunity facing families of color in St. Paul, as well as across the country, is economic inequality. Only 31% of Black, 42% of Latino, and 43% of Asian households earned enough for their labor to live above subsistence, compared to 86% of white households. About half of renters in St. Paul struggle to access affordable housing, with Native renters, in particular, deeply affected (only 14% of Native renters pay affordable rent costs). When renters pay more than 30% of their income towards rent, they are considered “housing cost-burdened” and their ability to cover other critical living expenditures

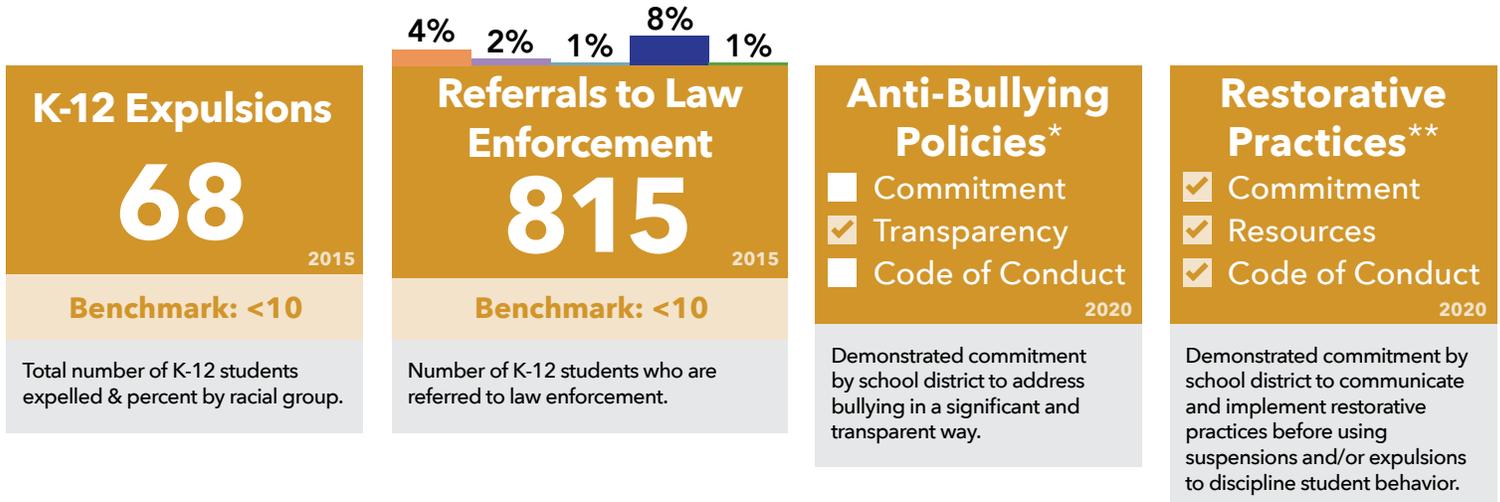
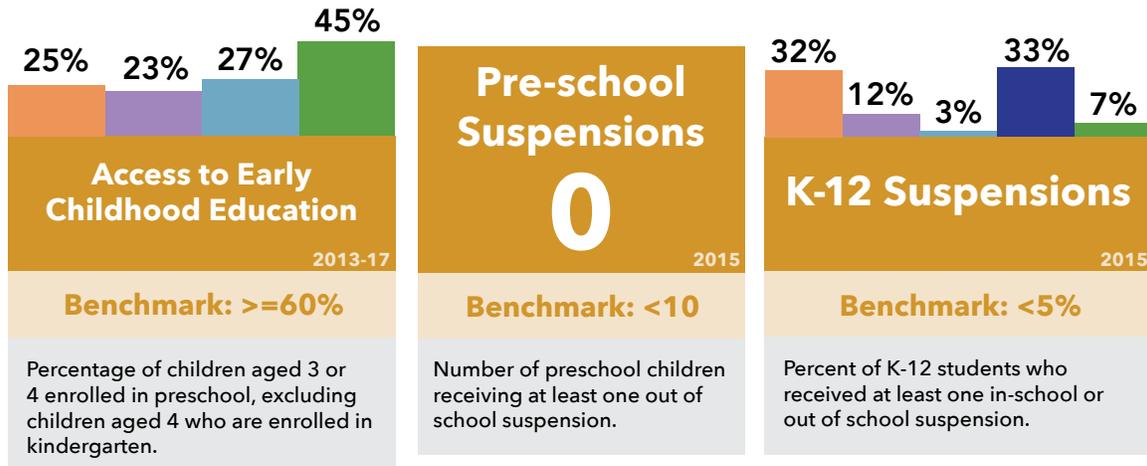
is put at risk. Public transit is also only accessible to less than a third of the residents, with lower access for Latino (16%) and Asian (15%) populations compared to Native, Black, and White populations. A bright spot was that a high percentage of residents (87%) used traditional financial institutions, and voter turnout in the last mid-term election was 64% (compared to the national average of 50%). While major transformational changes are needed to systems in St. Paul and across the country, this demonstrates that people are civically engaged, a key ingredient for demanding that change.



COMMITMENT

St. Paul has 37% of the supports needed for *Commitment* to each child's success. Two-thirds of the city's 3-4-year-olds were enrolled in pre-school, through racial inequities exist: 45% of white children were enrolled, compared to a quarter of Black, Latino or Asian children. St. Paul reported zero pre-school suspensions, but at the K-12 level a disturbingly high proportion of students experienced at least one in- or out-of-school suspensions in the 2015-16 school year, including 32% of Black students, 33% of Native students, 12% of Latino students, and 7% of white students. The district also expelled 68 students, the majority of whom were Black (71%). St. Paul Public Schools made a shocking 815 referrals to law enforcement in that same school year, with 8% of all Native students and 4% of all Black students being referred to law enforcement. In a district with one psychologist for every 1802 students and one social worker for

every 382 students, approximately 10% of schools have a sworn law enforcement officer on-premise. All of these factors suggest a systemic culture of over-policing students, especially students of color, which must be dismantled and replaced with resources and supports for students and educators, including greater resources for implementing restorative justice practices. There does appear to be some level of commitment and resourcing for restorative justice practices, but more must be done to transform school cultures to be humanizing and address the trauma caused by the history of utilizing these punitive discipline approaches. Similarly, it seems more commitment and efforts can be made to address bullying and ensure school cultures respect the inherent humanity of each child, regardless of race, gender, or sexuality.



Black Latino Asian Native White

* **Commitment:** Is there a clear continual commitment to activities to reduce bullying incidences?
Transparency: Are there clearly accessible dates to bullying incidents or a clear point of contact /department on bullying?
Code of Conduct: Is bullying clearly addressed in student code of conduct with instructions on how to report incidences?

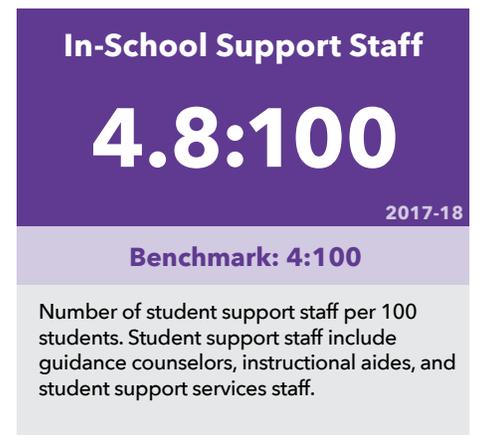
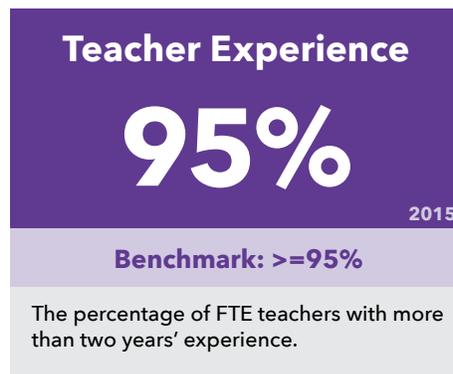
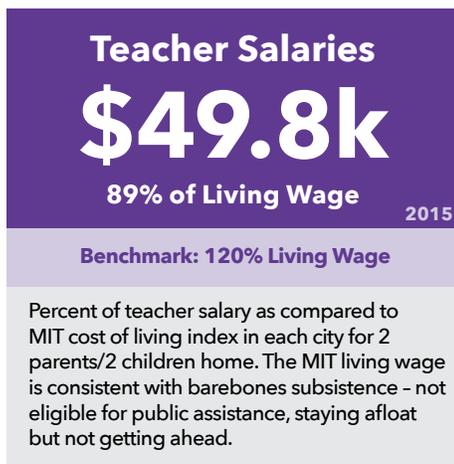
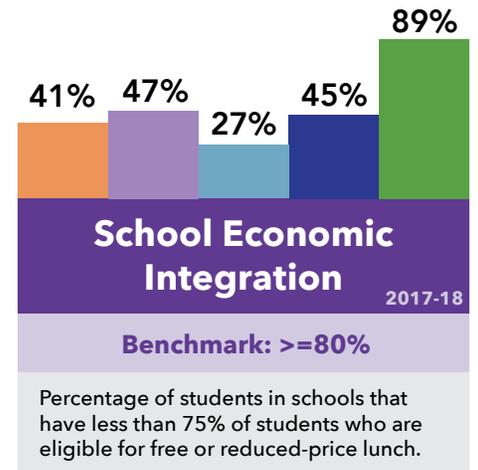
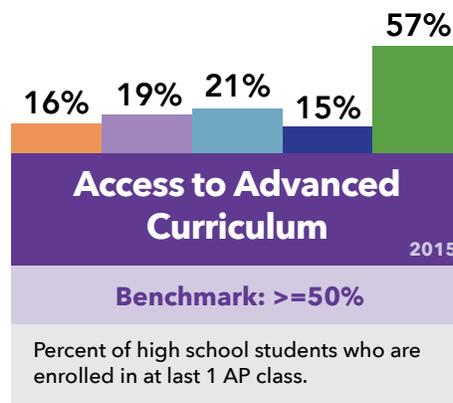
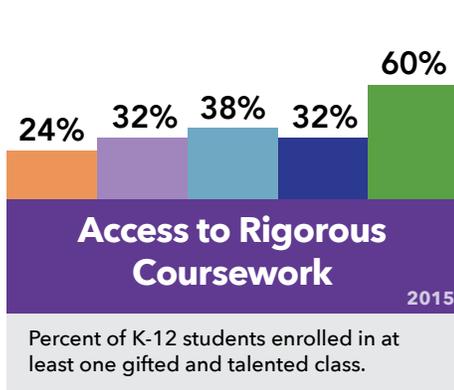
** **Commitment:** Is there a clear commitment by school system to use restorative practices?
Resources: Are there clear and easily accessible resources?
Code of Conduct: Are Restorative Practices addressed in the student code of conduct?

CAPACITY

St. Paul has 25% of the supports needed for *Capacity* to ensure school environments are adequately resourced and provide students a high-quality education. When it comes to ensuring all students have access to rigorous coursework that prepares them for college and career readiness, there are significant racial gaps that are often attributed to interpersonal racial bias where educators “track” students to particular classes based on race, discouraging students of color from more challenging courses even when there’s evidence they would excel in those courses. In St. Paul, the rate of white students enrolled in gifted and talented courses for K-12 was about three times that of Black and two times that of Latino students. By high school, 57% of white students were enrolled in at least one Advanced Placement class compared to only 16% of Black, 15% of Native, 19% of Latino, and 21% of Asian students.

Teacher salaries are also an important indicator for the capacity of schools, recognizing that when teacher salaries are lower than the cost of living, as they are in St. Paul (89% of minimum cost of living), those teachers can’t afford to live where they work and often have to do additional work to make ends meet. Often, with low salaries it can be hard to retain experienced teachers, though St. Paul is somewhat of an anomaly, with 95% of teachers having more than two years of experience despite the low salary levels. While national data was not available to measure teacher diversity

and culturally responsive education in this Index, both of these are major issues in St. Paul, which activists are working to address. As in many cities, school enrollment policies in the district have led to the majority of Black and Latino students being enrolled in schools where over 75% of the student body is experiencing poverty, while almost 90% of white students attend schools with far lower rates of students in poverty. School districts must investigate how their policies, especially when it comes to charter school enrollment, contribute to racial and economic segregation of schools, and determine ways to reduce the number of high poverty schools. Schools with high rates of students living in poverty typically have lower resourcing compared to schools serving more affluent families, who can cover the costs of extracurricular activities and often fundraise for additional resources and supports for their children’s schools. Equitable state funding and school districts must adequately compensate for that by fully resourcing schools serving students of color and students living in poverty. Fully-resourced Community Schools offer a promising approach to ensuring schools are designed in collaboration with communities and in ways that are culturally responsive and resource-full. The St. Paul school district does have some of the highest levels of in-school support staff compared to other cities studied, including guidance counselors, instructional aides, and student support services, and can build on this by expanding the Community School model to more students in the district.





HOW YOU CAN JOIN THE MOVEMENT TO CREATE LOVING SYSTEMS

All communities can use the Loving Cities Framework to look holistically at the level of supports in place and determine a local agenda for delivering a system of love and support to help all children thrive. We have intentionally focused on “thermostat” indicators, meaning things that can be readily changed through policies and practices to provide access to those resources and supports children need. And, every one of the thermostat indicators in the Loving Cities Index can be impacted at a local level.

In each city and locality, we know there are community organizers and activists that have been leading campaigns for transforming school and community systems to support racial justice and more equitable outcomes across the various indicators highlighted here. We encourage elected officials, public sector decision-makers, and local philanthropy to come to the table with these community-based leaders to discuss this data, understand their agendas, and establish and resource a shared plan to rebuild systems to be grounded in love, rather than inequity, and ensure all children are accessing supports for care, stability, commitment, and capacity.

This is more important than ever, given the academic, health, economic and humanity crisis brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic and the public awareness brought on by the senseless murder of George Floyd and scores of other Blacks whose lives matter. Students will be starting the next school year with new trauma and needs from being out of school and isolated from friends for such a prolonged time – especially with changing economic and health situations at home due to unprecedented loss of jobs of parents and experiencing family members getting

sick or possibly dying. The need for social-emotional supports, mental and physical healthcare supports, case management, and individualized learning approaches were critical before, and now must be seen as essential. Similarly, the protests across the country around racial profiling and police violence against Black communities, as well as other communities of color, have begun to galvanize greatly increased support for the ongoing efforts in the education justice movement to remove police from schools, dismantle the school-to-prison pipeline, and ensure we are rebuilding school cultures to be humanizing and grounded in youth development and support. The time is now to take bold actions to address these injustices against Black and brown children that have persisted in schools for far too long.

Across the country, we see powerful examples of organizations and community members taking steps to rebuild systems in ways that give all children an opportunity to learn and thrive. While each city may identify their own priorities, there are four key things that all cities can do to strengthen their system of supports. These are outlined below along with promising models and approaches to learn and build from.

 **ACTION STEP 1:**

Adopt the Community School Model for Delivering a System of **CARE** to all Children and Families

To address childhood trauma and other mental and physical needs, cities need to equip each and every public school to be a hub for assessing and meeting healthcare and other resource needs. As an essential component of efforts to improve student learning, especially for low-income students and students of color, learning environments need to be integrated with healthcare delivery, as well as social services, and youth and community development. The **Community Schools Model** is an approach that treats schools as a hub for children and families to access a range of supports, including healthcare. This model is critical to addressing the childhood trauma that children living in poverty experience, especially children of color who face racialized violence and criminalization.

There are currently over 5,000 community schools and the number is growing, with cities like Cincinnati, New York, Baltimore, Chicago, and others making significant commitments to transforming their entire public school network into family-centered resource hubs that meet the full needs of children and their families.

Models like **Communities in Schools** and **City Connects** equip schools with staff and tools to provide a system for addressing individual student and family needs at scale. Communities in Schools has affiliates in 25 states and the District of Columbia, serving 1.5 million students in 2,300 schools. “CIS places a school support staff in each school who identifies challenges students face in class or at home and coordinates with community partners to bring outside resources inside schools – from immediate needs like food or clothing to more complex ones like counseling or emotional support.” The results of providing integrated student supports are dramatic: 91% of CIS-served seniors graduated or received

a GED and 99% of students stayed in school. For more information on CIS’s model [click here](#).

City Connects has a similar approach being implemented across 79 sites in Boston, Springfield, and Brockton, MA; New York City; Dayton and Springfield, OH; Hartford, CT; and Minneapolis, MN. In addition to individual assessments and referrals to community providers, City Connects uses an advanced tracking system so they can continue to track student utilization of providers and individual progress. Longitudinal studies have shown that students are 50% less likely to drop out with City Connects support and demonstrate higher school readiness, standardized test scores, and higher grades on report cards. For more information on the City Connects model [click here](#).

In addition to school models that refer students to providers, [School-Based Health Alliance](#) is a network of local, state and national nonprofits working to “complement the work of school nurses by providing a readily accessible referral site for students who are without a medical home or in need of more comprehensive services such as primary, mental, oral, or vision health care. SBHA understands that healthcare for young people, no matter their zip code, is critical to giving them an equal opportunity to learn and grow and that school-based health care is a powerful tool for reaching children who unjustly experience disparities in access and outcomes. As of 2013-14, there were “2,315 school-based health centers that served students and communities in 49 of 50 states and the District of Columbia, 20% growth since 2010-11.” SBHA and its state affiliates help schools establish and effectively run school-based health centers. For more information on SBHA affiliates, [click here](#).

♥ ACTION STEP 2:

Address Segregation and the Effect of Gentrification on Neighborhoods and Schools to Increase Community **STABILITY** and Equitable Allocation of Capital

To address community and school segregation, we need to build a mainstream understanding of the history of policies in the U.S. that created segregation and wealth inequity and come to terms with the damage those policies continue to have on communities today. In his book *The Color of Law*, Richard Rothstein recognizes that we as a society have largely “forgotten the history of how our government segregated America,” and schools widely teach curricula that have been white-washed, failing to educate the public on our history of oppression and racial segregation. The lack of a broad understanding of how we created opportunity gaps affects the ability to build political will around solutions that meet these root causes of inequity in outcomes. So, shifting the narrative to raise consciousness is critical to addressing inequality in income, homeownership, inter-generational wealth, and political power, all of which are created intentionally by the system of policy and practice rooted in racism and racial and economic inequality.

The Color of Law outlines several examples of affirming policies that could be adopted if there were a greater political will to reverse the damage of past policies and supports rooted in racism. One key policy change community can adopt is inclusionary zoning policy, which can “require housing developers to set aside a portion of the homes they build at below-market rates, and reserve the right

for the public housing commission to purchase one-third of those units to operate as subsidized public housing.” Montgomery County, Maryland is a local example that has such policies in place, and the connection to improved educational outcomes is clear. “The program’s success is evidenced by the measurably higher achievement of low-income African American students who live and attend school in the county’s wealthiest suburbs.”

Reforming the federal Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher program can also lead to greater community integration. Section 8 is by far the nation’s largest low-income housing program with 2.2 million vouchers authorized to date to help extremely low-income families live in lower-poverty neighborhoods. Because of practices in place for calculating the maximum subsidy and rules that allow discrimination against renters using vouchers, families generally only have the ability to move to incrementally higher-income neighborhoods, and as a result, this program has contributed to the maintenance of economic and racial segregation. Increasing subsidies to be on par with housing costs in more affluent neighborhoods and increasing the number of vouchers allocated to serve all families that have been harmed by historically racist policies would be a large step in beginning to heal and restore justice to communities.

♥ ACTION STEP 3:

Make a **COMMITMENT** to Student Success, with Learning Environments Designed for Humanity, Democracy, Education, and Opportunity, not Injustice

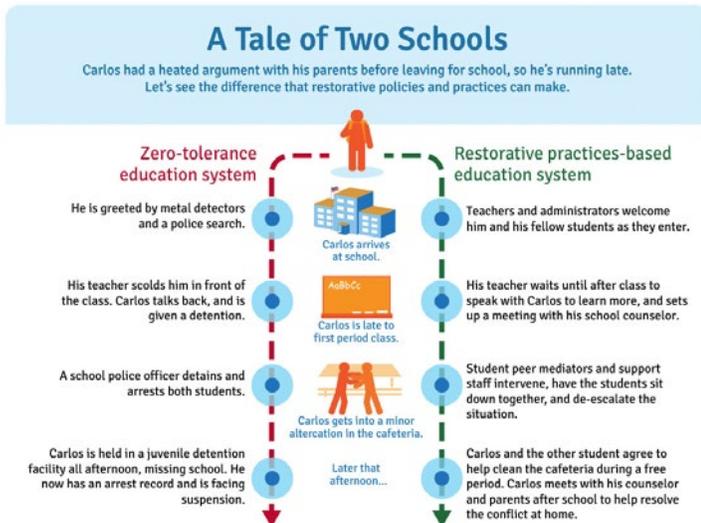
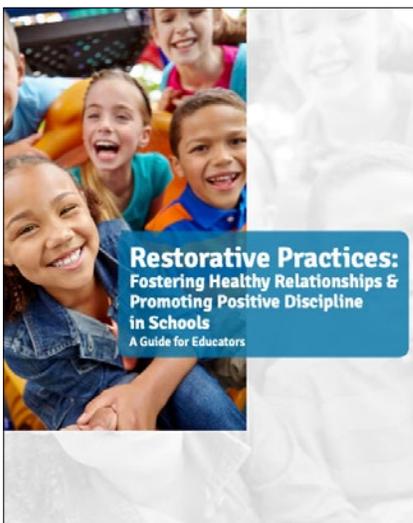
American public schools, as our nation’s only mandatory network of institutions for children and families, are a lifeline to opportunity in every urban, suburban, and rural community. That’s why we believe the public education system is also the lifeline for advancing our democracy.

For young people, our public schools are where they often experience their first engagement with society or initial feelings of being pushed out. It’s also where they are first protected or overpoliced, learn about justice, or experience injustice. And it’s where parents and everyone else in the community have the best opportunity to advance efforts to create a more just society, whether that is by putting pressure on local school boards or dealing with local control of state funding.

At the top of the list of practices to create a humane, constructive, positive climate for students is to remove police from schools and end zero-tolerance policies. Restorative justice and police-free schools has been a key demand of community-based organizations and national alliances that Schott is proud to support, such as Journey for Justice (J4J) and Dignity in Schools Campaign—and the groundwork they have laid is

the foundation for the accelerated movement by cities such as Minneapolis, Portland (Oregon), and Denver to end police contracts following the police murder of George Floyd. The policy guide produced by Schott in partnership with the Advancement Project, NEA and AFT, [Restorative Practices: Fostering Healthy Relationships & Promoting Positive Discipline in School](#), is a helpful tool for educators and communities to design alternatives to police intervention that have proven effective in providing safety and healthy learning environments.

Racial differences in rates of suspension and expulsion and data on levels of harassment that students are confronted with at school can give us some indication of the discrimination that students face from peers and adults. These “invisible forces” are hard to measure, but are becoming clearer through research from groups like GLSEN and Georgetown Law Center that put data to the implicit biases and harassment that students, teachers, administrators and other adults within the system inflict against girls and boys of color. For recommendations on practices for increasing inclusion and reducing bullying in schools see GLSEN’s report [click here](#).



The [Alliance for Quality Education's \(AQE\) report](#) outlines one step in developing a comprehensive restorative justice program: creating an effective in-school suspension program that entails discipline in school and offers appropriate services for the student to overcome the reasons for misbehaving and gain the supports they need to succeed in school.

Cities like Baltimore have made strides in adopting policies and practices that create a culture of inclusion within schools and end the cycle of push-out. In 2016, Baltimore had a nearly 20% drop in the number of suspensions, a reflection of the increased focus on positive behavioral interventions in city schools, and of recognizing the need to understand

what's going on in a child's life that may be manifesting as behavioral issues and providing students with supports rather than removal. Building on these efforts to shift school culture, Open Society Institute-Baltimore, in collaboration with Baltimore City Public Schools, Family League of Baltimore, and the Baltimore School Climate Collaborative, adopted a plan in 2017 to implement restorative justice practices in all Baltimore City Schools within five years. "The use of restorative practices in schools has been shown to support effective leadership and engaging classrooms; develop positive relationships among all stakeholders; and create engaging classrooms and welcoming and safe school communities."



ACTION STEP 4:

Increase public and private financial investment to build the **CAPACITY** of public schools

Educating a young person requires active engagement, and our federal, state and local resources must show up in a major way to assist educators in addressing and removing from our education systems centuries of inequities. If we do not provide our money, our voice, our advocacy, and other resources during the critical years of educating our children, we will find that our silence and lack of investment will be far more costly than the alternative.

For children to succeed, capacity must include the ability to provide high-quality early childhood education. However, despite the overwhelming evidence of its positive impact on academic success and other long-term outcomes, access to early childhood education continues to be out of reach for roughly 40% of children nationally, Federal programs that provide access to early childhood education need increased funding to meet the scale of need that exists. For the early childhood programs that do exist, they are in

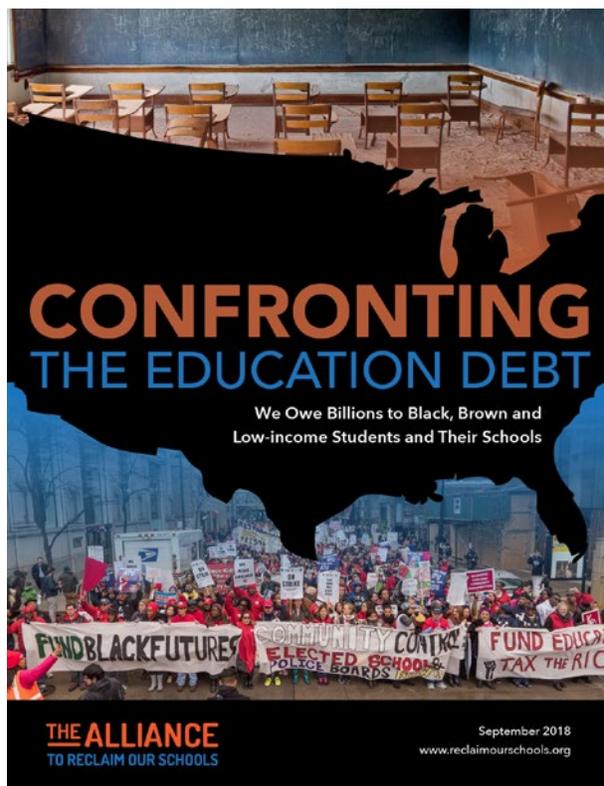
many ways further along than K-12 in adopting a holistic, whole-child approach to development. The BUILD Initiative is one of the leaders helping states build systems to support early childhood development. Their approach emphasizes building systems that provide access to quality early care and education as well as primary and preventative healthcare and early interventions. BUILD provides tools, resources, and data to help families and communities build coordinated, systemic responses for each of these early childhood development needs to ensure all children are on a path for a lifetime of learning. For more resources [click here](#).

We need to invest resources equitably in schools to ensure that all schools can provide a system of supports for all children, particularly those living in poverty. In the report [Is School Funding Fair? A National Report Card \(NRC\)](#), research shows that "the majority of states have unfair funding systems with "flat"

or “regressive” funding distribution patterns that ignore the need for additional funding in high-poverty districts.” Seventeen states have a “regressive” school funding policy, where less funding is provided to school districts with higher levels of student poverty, fueling deeper opportunity gaps in access to educational supports and failing to correct for the opportunity gaps in living environments. The NRC also labels many states like California, Utah, North Carolina, and Tennessee as “low effort” states, because they invest a low percentage of their economic capacity to support their public education systems. For data and resources to advocate for fair school funding, [click here](#).

In the report *Confronting the Education Debt*, the Alliance to Reclaim Our Schools (AROS) documents the severe underfunding of Title 1 and IDEA, highlighting that since the inception of those federal laws Congress has failed to appropriate the funds that low-income students and their schools are legally entitled to. As a result, the country owes billions of dollars to Black, brown, and low-income students and their schools, contributing to the inequity in financially resourcing schools to provide high-quality education.

Addressing school financing needs and ensuring public education is adequately resourced at federal, state, and local levels, requires supporting community organizing capacity for education justice. Unfortunately, philanthropy dramatically under-resources community organizing and activism, especially when it comes to education justice work, and that lack of resources for the base-building, advocacy, and organizing work means that the voices and wishes of parents, students, and educators of color get overpowered by special interests, with education spending often being the first to get cut. In Massachusetts, the Schott Foundation has worked with Nellie Mae Education Foundation, Hyams Foundations and other funders to resource a coalition of organizations leading the charge to bring local communities together under a single, statewide umbrella



la for education equity. This resourcing supported the launch and ongoing collaborative organizing by the Massachusetts Education Justice Alliance (MEJA), the only statewide community and labor alliance in the country with local chapters in several “Gateway Cities” and regions singularly focused on education justice. MEJA was a critical force in passing the landmark Student Opportunity Act in Massachusetts in November 2019, that guaranteed an additional \$1.5 billion in funding for K-12 public schools, and is working to pass the Fair Share Amendment to address formula adjustments to increase the proportion of dollars going to schools serving low-income students. This same work is needed in states all across the country and will require investment from philanthropic organizations to seed the organizing and advocacy work across communities of color that is needed to create major wins in public funding changes.

Methodology

Selecting Indicators

To identify an approach to measuring the level of love in cities, particularly for children of color, in 2018, The Schott Foundation and our research partners at the time, Mesu Strategies (MS), created a list of known social, economic, and environmental influences on academic success and student wellbeing. This list drew primarily from experiences and expertise from grantees, partners and community members in Schott’s network, and previous research and ideas compiled by the Kirwan Institute. Mesu Strategies reviewed literature related to these factors to identify those with greater weight of research evidence (findings outlined in the “Literature Review” section of the 2018 Loving Cities Report).

MS reviewed data sources to determine:

- availability of data for multiple cities (including but not limited to the ten initial cities)
- geographic specificity of the data (e.g., state, county, city, census tract, other)
- frequency of data collection (e.g., annual, decennial, etc.)
- availability of data disaggregated by race, ethnicity, and gender
- type and rigor of methodology (e.g., sample, census, or model; validity and reliability of approach)
- data accessibility (e.g., publicly available vs. private, available by purchase only)
- likelihood of continued data availability (e.g., possibility of future data collection)

MS provided this information to Community Wealth Partners and the Schott Foundation, and together we identified factors to include in the Loving Cities Index based upon a combination of criteria, including:

- the availability and quality of relevant data for each factor
- the availability and quality of disaggregated data for each factor

- the strength of the research evidence linking the factor with academic success and student wellbeing,
- the opportunities to create change related to each factor
- public access/availability to data sets

Factors were also selected to achieve balance across categories.

In 2019, we collected data on 10 additional cities using the most recent data source available (for example, we used IPUMS 2013-2017 rather than 2011-2013, CDRC Survey year 2015 rather than 2013, etc.). We also reviewed and revised several of the indicators and/or scores based on feedback from our partners and our new research partner, IMPAQ International. Based on this review, we made changes related to measure names, definitions, sources, and/or benchmarks for scoring (For scoring benchmark changes, see section on Scoring Strategy). These changes are as follows:

New Indicator Names

- **Clean Air Environments** changed to **Exposure to Air Toxins**
- **Healthy Birthweight** changed to **Low Birthweight**
- **Youth Safety** changed to **Youth Mortality**
- **Housing Cost Burden** changed to **Access to Affordable Housing**
- **Suspension Alternatives** changed to **K-12 In and Out of School Suspensions**
- **Expulsion Alternatives** changed to **K-12 Expulsions**
- **Anti-Bullying** changed to **Anti-Bullying Policies**
- **K-8 Gifted Curriculum** changed to **Access to Rigorous Coursework**
- **High School Advanced Curriculum** changed to **Access to Advanced Curriculum**
- **Well Resourced Schools** changed to **Teacher Salaries**

New Indicator Definitions and/or Sources

- **Access to Healthy Food:** Percentage of residents living in high poverty census tracts who have access to a supermarket within 0.5 miles (same source)
- **Access to Mental Health:** The number of psychologists and social workers available to K-12 students in the public school district. Data source is from Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year 2015.
- **Access to Financial Services:** Percentage of households that are ‘fully banked,’ meaning they (1) have a bank account, and (2) did not use an alternative financial service during the year they were surveyed. Data source was 2017 FDIC National Survey of Unbanked and Underbanked Household.
- **Livable Wages:** Percentage of households with at least one adult between the ages of 25 and 64 who works full time, where the household’s income was higher than the MIT living wage for their family size and construction. (same source)
- **Transit Accessibility:** Percentage of the population residing within a half mile of high frequency transit (every 15 minutes or less) between 7am-10pm. (same source)
- **Voter Turnout:** Percent of voters in a county that voted in the 2018 House elections (or Senate if no House vote). Data source was The Washington Post, 2018.
- **Access to Affordable housing:** Percentage of renter-occupied households where housing costs are less than 30% of household income (Same source)
- **Anti-bullying Policies:** Demonstrated commitment by school district to address bullying in a significant and transparent way. Source is School District Website
- **Restorative Practices:** Demonstrated commitment by school district to communicate and implement restorative practices before using suspensions and/or expulsions to discipline student behavior. Data source was School District websites
- **Access to Rigorous Classwork:** Percent of K-12 Students enrolled in at least one gifted and talented class (same source)
- **School Economic Integration:** Percentage of students in schools that have less than 75% of stu-

dents who are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch (same source)

- **Teacher Salaries:** Percent of teacher salary as compared to MIT cost of living index in each city for 2 parents/2 children home (same source)

Selecting Cities

The Schott Foundation aimed to profile a diversity of cities by size and geography, and include communities that we know are further along on their journey to adopt loving systems of supports. Our goal is for the report and findings to be valuable to communities in localities across the country, so we aimed to include cities that reflect different types of characteristics that define the living and learning environments in local places, and include those with significant political importance to the national dialogue and policies.

Data Collection and Preparation

For each factor, we gathered and organized data, to the extent possible, from matching time periods and consistent geographies across all ten cities studied, striving for consistency across factors wherever possible. This required that we use data related to the largest or primary public-school district in each city for which multiple school districts were present. It also required utilizing consistent population-weighted averages when aggregating block-group level data to the city level for certain indicators. For factors with data available by race and ethnicity, IMPAQ assembled data into four to seven ethnic and racial groupings for each city, depending on source availability: American Indian/ Alaska Native, Asian, Black, Hispanic, Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific, Two or more races, and White. Where there were inconsistencies across data sources, we made adjustments to align the data as closely as possible for comparison. For information on data sources see Table 1 below. For more detailed information on steps taken to prepare data, please contact the Schott Foundation directly.

Results, Scoring and Analysis **Scoring Strategy**

IMPAQ calculated results for the indicators for each city. IMPAQ then scored the results for each indicator in each city based upon threshold targets and targets for racial equity determined by the Schott Foundation staff and consultants based generally on national averages (detailed in Table 1 below). Building upon the data and scores, IMPAQ developed profiles of each city in the Loving Cities Index, drawing from an expanded literature search and local and national resources (as cited). Schott Foundation consulting staff drew from these profiles and the complementary research and policy agendas from partners in the field to develop the local profiles of the status of institutionalized love in localities across the country and the call to action.

Ongoing Development

The Loving Cities Index offers a novel representation of the holistic community factors that contribute to academic success and student wellbeing. However, like any static, quantitative tool, the Loving Cities Index provides only a limited window into the realities of the community experience. The Loving Cities Index measures 25 community and school climate factors as selected variables among many political, economic, and social forces that contribute to complex student outcomes. The thresholds and targets set in the Index are offered as a means for comparison and measurement, and not as a definitive declaration of where community conditions should be. The Loving Cities Index was created remotely by researchers and program managers outside of the cities in the Loving Cities Index initial cohort; they strived to reflect priorities of partners locally but this may not directly represent the full set of priorities of community residents. We are committed to meaningfully engaging communities and technical advisors as we continue to develop this Index. We invite constructive dialogue on all content and methodologies to improve this tool.

Cities could earn a maximum total score of 114 points for 25 indicators across four domains: Care (33 points), Stability (30 points), Commitment (27 points), and Capacity (24 points). The table below lists each indicator with a description of the metric used, the source, and the scoring benchmark.

In general, scoring was aligned with national averages, when available. Generally, cities received 3 points for well exceeding the national average; 2 points for being at or slightly above national average and above; 1 point for approaching national average, and 0 points for being well below average.

For equity scoring, if cities' performance numbers were more than 10 percentage points from the 0 benchmark, then they automatically received 0 points for equity. For cities that did not automatically receive 0 for equity, cities generally received 3 points when there were fewer than 5 percentage points between the race doing the best on the metric and the race doing the worst. Low sample sizes in many cities meant that in practicality, the equity scores were often between Black, Hispanic, and Whites. In a few cases, Asians, Native, or People of Two or More Races had a large enough population to be included in the equity score.

Summary	Source	Measure Definition	Performance Benchmark	Equity Benchmark	Rationale
Youth Health Insurance	Census American Factfinder 2017	Percentage of children under age 18 with health insurance	3 points for $\geq 97\%$. 2 points 95-96.9% 1 point 92-94.9% 0 points $< 92.0\%$	3 points for ≤ 2 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 points 3-4 ppt 1 point 5-6 ppt 0 points > 7 ppt	National average for youth health insurance coverage is 95%, and it is possible for cities to get to nearly 100% coverage
Access to Healthy Foods (Low Income Tracts Only)	U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Food Access Research Atlas; (source data: U.S. Census Bureau, 2015 5-7year American Community Survey (census tract level data)) 2011-2015	The percentage of residents living in high poverty census tracts, who have access to a supermarket within 0.5 miles.	3 points $\geq 65\%$ 2 points 55-64% 1 point 45-54% 0 points $< 45\%$	0 if performance score $< 35\%$, Otherwise 3 points for ≤ 5 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 points 6-10 ppt 1 point 11-15 ppt 0 points > 15 ppt	Research suggests that 85.6% of Americans in high poverty census tract lived within 1 mile of a supermarket, but only 53% lived within half mile.
Access to Parks	The Trust for Public Land, Park-Score 2019	Percentage of total population within half mile/10-minute walk from public parkland.	3 points for $\geq 80\%$ 2 points 70-79% 1 point 60-69% 0 points $< 60\%$	<i>Equity data not available</i>	70% of residents in the 100 largest U.S. cities live within half a mile of public parkland.
Exposure to Air Toxins	PolicyLink/PERE National Equity Atlas, (source data: U.S. EPA 2011 National-Scale Air Toxics Assessment and U.S. Census Bureau, 2014 5-year American Community Survey) 2010-2014	Exposure to Air Toxins: Index of exposure to air toxins for cancer and non-cancer risk combined. Values range from 1 (lowest risk) to 100 (highest risk) on a national scale (normalized where the average score is 50).	3 points for < 40 2 points 40-49 1 point 50-59 0 points ≥ 60	0 if performance is ≥ 70 3 points for ≤ 5 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 points 6-10 ppt 1 point 11-15 ppt 0 points > 15 ppt	This average risk for cities is 50 as cities can score from 1 (lowest risk) to 100 (Highest risk).
Low Birth-weight	Centers for Disease Control WONDER Natality Information 2016-2018	Percentage of singleton infants born at term (37 or more weeks) with a birthweight of less than 2500 grams (5.5 lbs) (note: data comes from the county where the city is located).	3 points for $< 2\%$ low birthweight 2 points 2-3% 1 point 3-4% 0 points $> 4\%$	0 if performance is $> 3.0\%$, then 3 points for $< .5$ percentage points (pps) 2 points 0.5-1.5 ppts 1 point 1.5-2.5 ppts 0 points > 2.5 ppts	From 2016-18, the national average for low birthweight was 2.8%, and 2% for white infants. Despite the numbers seemingly relatively low, this represents a major healthy equity issue that is often discussed as a local and national need. Benchmarks for performance and equity have been set based on an expectation that highest performing cities should exceed the national averages.
Access to Mental Health Care	Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year: 2015	The number of psychologists and social workers available for students	3 pts: 1 psychologist to fewer than 600 students 2 pts: 1 psychologist to 601-1200 1 pt: 1 psychologist to 1201-1800 0 pt: 1 psychologist to more than 1800 students	3 pts: 1 social worker to fewer than 250 students 2 pts: 1 social worker to 250-499 1 pt: 1 social worker to 500-749 0 pts: 1 social worker to 750 or more	The professional organizations for psychologists and social workers have recommended that school systems should have 1 psychologist for every 600 students and 1 social worker for every 250 students, so any district meeting or exceeding that recommendation will receive full points.

Stability

Summary	Source	Measure Definition	Performance Benchmark	Equity Benchmark	Rationale
Access to Financial Services	2017 FDIC National Survey of Unbanked and Underbanked Households	Percentage of households that are “fully banked,” meaning they 1) have a bank account, and 2) did not use an alternative financial service (AFS) during the year they were surveyed.	3 points for $\geq 80\%$ 2 points 70-79% 1 point 60-69% 0 points $< 60\%$	<i>Equity data not available</i>	73% of households in America have access to financial services based on this definition. Cities that meet the average receive 2 points and cities that exceed this average, receive full points.
Livable Wages	IPUMS 2014-2018 ACS	Percentage of households with at least one adult between the ages of 25 and 64 who works full time, where the household’s income was higher than the MIT living wage for their family size and construction. The MIT living wage is consistent with barebones subsistence – not eligible for public assistance, staying afloat but not getting ahead.	3 points for $\geq 80\%$ working households with livable wages 2 points 70-79% 1 point 60-69% 0 points $< 60\%$	0 if performance $< 50\%$; Otherwise 3 points for ≤ 5 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 points 6-10 ppt 1 point 11-15 ppt 0 points > 15 ppt	Instead of using a flat 200% multiplier of the poverty line, we use the MIT living wage for each city and household type, which is almost always higher than 200% of poverty as costs of living vary locally.
Transit Accessibility	Center for Neighborhood Technology, AllTransit 2019	Percentage of the population residing within a half mile of high frequency transit (every 15 minutes or less) between 7am-10pm.	3 points for $\geq 50\%$ 2 points 40-49% 1 point 30-39% 0 points $< 30\%$	0 if performance $< 20\%$; Otherwise 3 pts ≤ 5 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 pts 6-10 ppt 1 pt 11-15 ppt 0 pts $> 15\%$ ppt	Based on a random sample of cities with pop of 100,000 or more, we identified an average of 36.8%. This should not be mistaken for a national average, but provides a proxy for determining reasonable scoring benchmarks.
Voter Turnout	The Washington Post, How did voter turnout in your county compare to the 2016 presidential election? (source data: Population data from U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey and voting data from the Associated Press, 2018)	Percent of voters in a county that voted in the 2018 House elections (or Senate if no House vote).	3 points for $\geq 60\%$ 2 points 50%-59% 1 points 40%-49% 0 points $< 40\%$	<i>Equity data not available</i>	The national turnout for the 2018 midterms was 50.3%, which was the highest since 1914. Given that the 2018 midterms of 50% is already, unfortunately, an outlier, we are giving 2 points to cities who can achieve that turnout again, and 3 points for those cities that surpass it. Reaching at least 60% indicates strong efforts to encourage voter participation.
Youth Mortality	Centers for Disease Control WONDER, Multiple Cause of Death Data 2013-2017	The number of deaths to persons aged between 1 and 19 years old per 100,000 persons in a 5 year period, in the county where the city is located.	3 points for ≤ 15 2 points 16-25 1 point 26-35 0 points > 35	0 if performance > 45 ; Otherwise 3 points for ≤ 5 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 points 6-10 ppt 1 point 11-15 ppt 0 points > 15 ppt	The national youth mortality rate is 25 per 100,000.
Access to Affordable Housing	IPUMS 2014-2018 ACS	Percentage of renter-occupied households where housing costs are less than 30% of household income	3 points for $\geq 60\%$ have access to affordable housing 2 points 50-59% 1 point 40-49% 0 points $< 40\%$	0 if performance score is $< 30\%$; Otherwise 3 points for ≤ 5 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 points 6-10 ppt 1 point 11-15 ppt 0 points > 15 ppt	Only 50% of US renter-occupied households pay less than 30% of income on rent, meaning half of Americans are experiencing housing cost burdens. No major city in the U.S. exceeds 65% on this metric.

Commitment

Summary	Source	Measure Definition	Performance Benchmark	Equity Benchmark	Rationale
Access to Early Childhood Education	IPUMS 2014-2018 ACS	Percentage of children aged 3 or 4 enrolled in pre-school, excluding children aged 4 who are enrolled in Kindergarten	3 pts for >=60% enrolled 2 pts 50-59% 1 pt 40-49% 0 pts < 40%	0 pts if performance < 30%, Otherwise 3 pts for <=5 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 pts 6-10 ppt 1 pt 11-15 ppt 0 pts >15 ppt	The national average of 18% enrollment in early childhood education is a disturbingly low rate of enrollment, given the link of early schooling to success in later years. The benchmark has been set based on the belief that cities should make free pre-school available to all children. Washington, D.C. passed such a law in 2008, and had 79% enrollment as of 2018. We used that benchmark to guide scoring benchmarks for performance.
Pre-school Suspension	Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year: 2015	Number of preschool children receiving at least one out of school suspension	Incorporated into equity score	3 points if less than 10 pre-school suspensions If more than 10 pre-school suspensions, 2 points if <=0.10 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 1 point if 0.11-0.20 ppt 0 points if > 0.20 pts	Overall, preschool students should almost never be suspended. While many cities do still practice pre-schooler suspension, the numbers are generally low. If less than 10 cases, we assume that it is only being used in one-off extreme cases. When the numbers are more than 10, we look to the racial equity in how that practice is being utilized to determine if the city should receive partial points or not.
K-12 In and Out of School Suspensions	Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year: 2015	Percent of K-12 students who received at least one in-school or out of school suspension	3 pts if <=5% suspension rates 2 pts if 6-10% suspension rates 1 pt if 11-15% suspension rates 0 pts if more than 15% suspension rates	0 points if performance suspension rates are over 25% 3 points if <= 5 percentage point (ppt) gap 2 point if 6-10 ppt 1 points if 11-15 ppt 0 points if over 15 ppt	Nationally, 11% of students received an in or out of school suspension in 2013, though major disparities exist by race.
K-12 Expulsions	Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year: 2015	The percentage of K-12 students expelled from public school	Incorporated into equity score	3 points if less than 10 expulsions If more than 10 expulsions, 2 points if <=0.20 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 1 point if 0.21-0.40 ppt 0 points if > 0.40 pts	If less than 10 cases for an entire city, then we assume that the practice is only being used in one-off extreme cases. When the numbers are more than 10, we look to the racial equity in how that practice is being utilized to determine if the city should receive partial points.
Referrals to Law Enforcement	Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year: 2015	Percent of K-12 students who are referred to law enforcement	Incorporated into equity score	3 points if less than 10 expulsions If more than 10 referrals, 2 points if <=0.40 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 1 point if 0.40-0.60 ppt 0 points if > 0.60 pts	In 2013, the national average of referrals to law enforcement was 0.44%. If less than 10 cases, we assume that it is only being used in one-off extreme cases. When the numbers are more than 10, we look to the racial equity in how that practice is being utilized to determine if the city should receive partial points or not.

Commitment (cont'd)

Summary	Source	Measure Definition	Performance Benchmark	Equity Benchmark	Rationale
Anti-bullying Policies	School District websites and Student Code of conduct; January 2020	Demonstrated commitment by school district to address bullying in a significant and transparent way	One point for each: 1. Demonstrated continual commitment on website (beyond information, eg. curriculum, special workshops that are well advertised, special web presence, etc.) for anti-bullying activities. 2. Clear and accessible resources to teachers, parents, and/or students and/or publicly available and updated data on bullying incidences and resolutions that is easily accessible; Clear point of contact in school district on bullying policies. 3. Student code substantially addresses topic beyond definition. For bullying, describes clear steps to address and/or how to report incidences		Students and parents should be alerted to policies and opportunities without having to look for them because, in fact, they may not be aware of them. Information should be transparent and easy to find in a public forum.
Restorative Practices	School District websites and Student Code of Conduct; January 2020	Demonstrated commitment by school district to communicate and implement restorative practices before using suspensions and/or expulsions to discipline student behavior	One point for each: 1. Demonstrated continual commitment on website (beyond information, eg. curriculum, special workshops that are well advertised, special web presence, etc.) by school system to use restorative practices. 2. Clear and accessible resources to teachers, parents, and/or students that describe restorative practices and provides information on how to advocate for it; and/or updated publicly available data on use of restorative practices; and/or clear point of contact for restorative practices; 3. Student code substantially addresses topic. Restorative practice is well defined and clearly used as a step before more disciplinary actions. Does not get a point if restorative practice is listed within a group of other options.		Students and parents should be alerted to policies and opportunities without having to look for them because, in fact, they may not be aware of them. Information should be transparent and easy to find in a public forum.

Capacity

Source	Measure Definition	Performance Benchmark	Equity Benchmark	Rationale	Source
Access to Rigorous Coursework	Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year: 2015	Percent of K-12 students enrolled in a gifted and talented program	No performance score	3 pts for <=5 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 pts 6-10 ppt gap 1 pt 11-15% ppt gap 0 pts >15% ppt	Gifted and Talented programs are often used to “track” students, and ultimately segregate students by race within a school building. The practice often involves placing White students into more rigorous coursework and students of color in less rigorous classes, and results in classrooms that are segregated based on race. Some school districts have decided not to offer gifted and talented and have all students work towards the same rigorous courses, and in those cases cities will get full points. For districts that have gifted and talented, rather than scoring overall performance, we are only looking at the equity of enrollment in the courses to ensure cities are not receiving points for “tracking.” National average of students in gifted and talented classes in 2013 was 6 percent.
Access to Advanced Curriculum	Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year: 2015	Percent of high school students who are enrolled in at last 1 AP class	3 points for >=50% 2 points for 40-49% 1 point for 30-39% 0 points for <30%	0 points if performance <20%; Otherwise, 3 points for <=5 percentage point (ppt) disparity gap 2 points 6-10 ppt 1 point 11-15 ppt 0 points >15 ppt	The national average in 2018 was 38.9% of high school graduates took at least one AP class. AP/IB classes are a clear pathway to college. Cities are awarded 2 points for hitting just above average.
School Economic Integration	Institute for Education Science, National Center for Education Statistics; ELSI Table Generator 2017-2018 School Year	Percentage of students in schools that have less than 75% of students who are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch	3 pts for >=80% students in economically integrated schools 2 pts 70-79% 1 pt 60-69% 0 pts <60%	0 if performance is < 50%; Otherwise, 3 points for <=5 percentage point disparity gap 2 points 6-10 ppt 1 point 11-15 ppt 0 points >15 ppt	Nationally, 88% of students attend schools where less than 75% of the population are eligible for free or reduced lunch. However, this number looks far more positive on a national scale than within cities because of how socioeconomically segregated our school districts can be. Major cities have historically experienced a trend of wealthier neighborhoods seceding from their larger school districts and creating their own school districts to retain their wealth in their own neighborhood schools. Students and teachers perform better when they are in economically integrated schools.
Teacher Salaries	Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year: 2015	Percent of teacher salary as compared to MIT cost of living index in each city for 2 parents/2 children home.	3 pts for 20% plus above the cost of living 2 pts for 10% - 19% above 1 pt for being at or up to 9% above the cost of living 0 pts for less than the cost of living.	<i>Equity data not available</i>	At minimum, teachers should be making equivalent to the cost of living to support a family of four, which will earn cities 1 point. Providing teachers more than the cost of living ensures that cities are adequately attracting and retaining top candidates in the profession.

Capacity (cont'd)

Source	Measure Definition	Performance Benchmark	Equity Benchmark	Rationale	Source
Teacher Experience	Civil Rights Data Collection, Survey year: 2015	The percentage of FTE teachers with more than two years' experience	3 pts for $\geq 95\%$ 2 pts for 86-94% 1 pt for 75-85 0 pts for $< 75\%$	<i>Equity data not available</i>	Research demonstrates that teachers are least effective if they have less than 2-3 years of experience. The national average of % teachers with more than 3 years experience is 88%.
In-School Support Staff	Institute for Education Science, National Center for Education Statistics, ELSI Table Generator 2017-2018 School Year	Number of student support staff per 100 students. Student support staff include guidance counselors, instructional aides, and student support services staff.	4.0 FTE staff/100 = 3 pts 3.0 FTE staff/100 = 2 pts 2.0 FTE staff/100 = 1 pt	<i>Equity data not available</i>	According to Brookings Institute, on average there is about one non-teaching staff for approximately every 27 students (about 3 for every 100 students), a number that has been fairly consistent since the 1990s, though some districts have far more support staff than others.

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