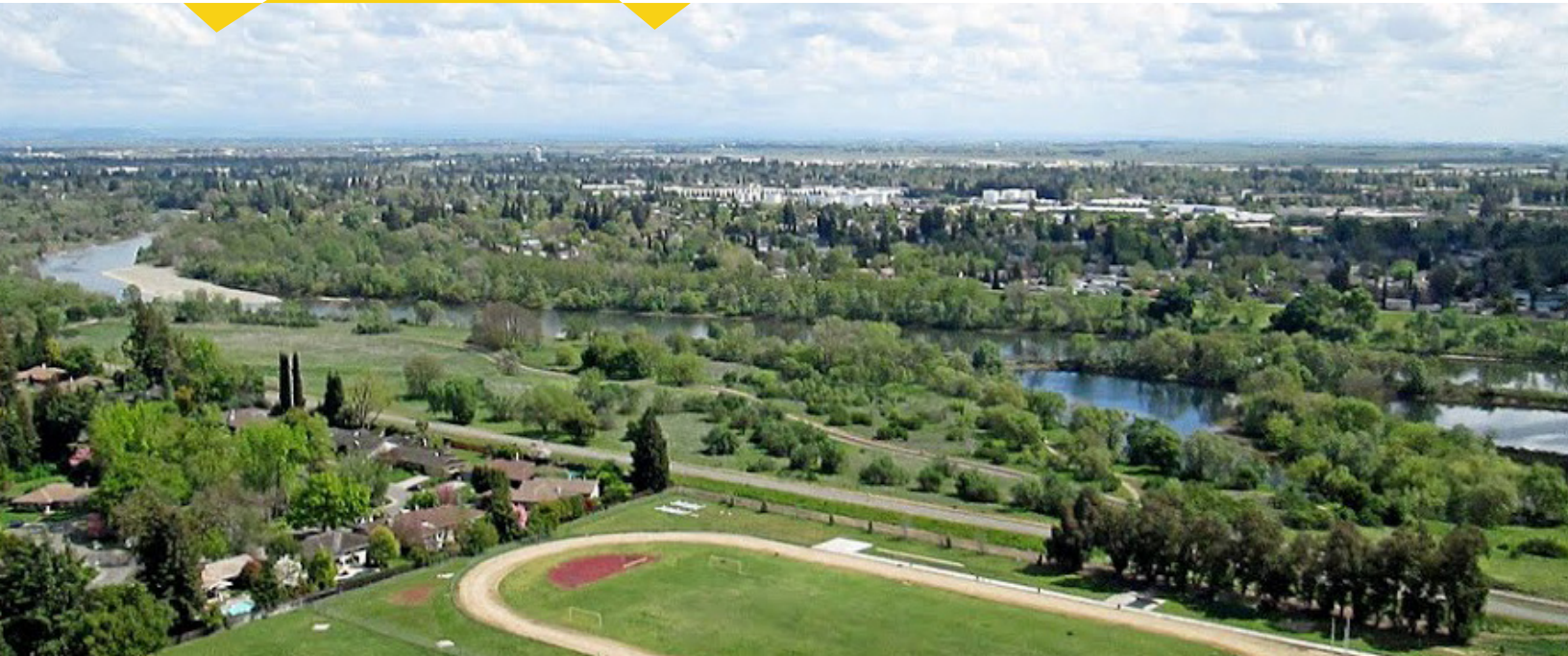




SAN JUAN UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT



SPATIAL INJUSTICE IN EDUCATION

Senior Project

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-Nima Kabirinassab

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Chapter 1

Introduction:

As the country divides in choosing its path to prosperity, school systems play critical roles that do not leave anyone behind, According to the Department of Education (DOE):

“Education can only fulfill its promise as the great equalizer—a force that can overcome differences in privilege and background—when we work to ensure that students are in school every day and receive the supports they need to learn and thrive. At the same time, we know that many students experience tremendous adversity in their lives—including poverty, health challenges, community violence, and difficult family circumstances—that make it difficult for them to take advantage of the opportunity to learn at school” (DOE 2013).

Of course, anything can look good on the outside, but its what is going on the inside that really matters. Because if school systems were as accurate as what the DOE says it is, then everybody would be equal and not experiencing any problems, but its not.

Children who are raised by wealthy parents generally attend more proficient schools than children from low-income families. This trend triggers a chain reaction for future generations: children who are well endowed live a better life, while students who aren’t as fortunate will be lucky enough if they graduate in the future, because wealthier children have better opportunities than impoverished children such as more money, housing, and health factors. According Erik Sherman, writer for Forbes states

“Only 9 percent of U.S. kids whose families are in the bottom income quartile (less than \$34,160 annual income) get a bachelor’s degree by age 24, versus 77 percent of those from a top quartile background (\$108,650 or more). Even middle class (\$63,600 to \$108,650) and lower middle class (\$34,160 to \$63,600) kids are far less likely to graduate” (Sherman, 2015)

This statement furthers the truth of advantages wealthier families have over low-income families, and it triggers the divide between the two classes.

Segregation poses enormous risks to society because it creates an unequal playing field, which is why spatial justice in education may be a resolution in not only societal values, but educational as well. Analysis of high schools in a given school district based on race, household income, graduation rate, and existing conditions of the attending students, sheds light on societal and educational issues. One of the main questions is that if there are problems underlying in school districts, where are they located and why are they like this. If so, will these problems increase or decrease the fairness in our education system, and can these underlying issues be fixed and create equal opportunities for all students?



Chapter 2

2.1 Spatial Injustice In Education:

So what is Spatial (In)justice, and why is it important in education? According to Edward Soja, author of *The City and Spatial Justice*, spatial (in)justice is defined as "...an intentional and focused emphasis on the spatial or geographical aspects of justice and injustice. As a starting point, this involves the fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them" (Soja, 2009). In simpler terms, spatial (in)justice is an area that is built to be disadvantageous to those living within it. For example, public education serves as an equal opportunity system that is geared to prepare all young people with skills to succeed in the adult world. However, when spatial injustice occurs, education can be affected thereby disadvantaging students who attend those schools.

So how does this occur? We know that planning plays a significant role in how communities are organized and how resources are used. According to American Planning Association (APA), "when government officials, business leaders, and citizens come together to build communities that enrich people's lives, that's planning" (APA, 2017). Planning shapes the trajectory and growth of communities.

The discipline of planning was first proposed in the early 1900's. However, cities and communities grow at their own pace. Rapid population growth, migration, the development of the automobile meant that the new discipline had a lot of catching up to do. Today, as planning has caught up with the growth of cities, sustainability has become a common theme among planners. According to UCLA, "sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (UCLA, 2017). Sustainability is what alleviates spatial injustice in communities as it builds for the future in mind. Even though the goal planning is to create spaces that benefit the local populace, spatial injustice persists. This can be due in part to a lack of planning knowledge that existed when communities were first proposed and developed. This effect has significant implications for local schools found in these communities.

How does spatial injustice link to education? According to Rostami, author of “Measurement of Integrated Index of Spatial Justice in the Distribution of Urban Public Services”, “research clarifies an integration index for measuring spatial justice in the distribution of city services based on the distribution of population, accessibility and efficiency indices”(Rostami, 2011). However, communities built with a minimal planning were built with immediate rather than future needs in mind. For example, neighborhoods that were once vibrant liveable communities become run down over time as residents move toward newer areas. New developments in surrounding areas become the new “ideal” areas to live thus creating migrations or flights of residents from one community to another. The land value in the older community decreases drawing lower income residents into the area. This phenomenon thus affects schools in these newly low-income areas as they become less able to equip children from these communities due to lack of resources. For example, Steven Flusty’s study in 1994 suggested an equitable distribution of spatial resources for all to ensure spatial justice given that space is claimed by dominant groups in the society (Dikec, 2001).

In the United States, one can argue that free-market capitalism plays a role in the planning and development of local communities.

“that justice be the primary consideration for policy makers, however, are countered on the left by Marxist admonitions against revisionism—i.e., the impossibility of genuine reform under capitalism, since capitalism necessarily continuously reproduces inequality” (Fainstein, 2009)

Planning communities based on wealth not only creates inequality in social classes, but in education as well. Families and individuals unable to afford to live in newly built areas are forced to live in lower quality neighborhoods where crime and drug use are prevalent. This is not only an immediate problem, but one that has future ramifications as well. According to 2016 Indicators Reports, “higher education opportunity and outcomes are highly inequitable across family income groups” (Penn, 2016). These spatial injustices link to education problems for low-income students that continues a trend for future generations.

2.2 Governance in California and SJUSD:

Network Experts in Social Sciences of Education and Training (NESSE) define governance by stating that it “is concerned with how the funding, provision, ownership and regulation of education and training systems is coordinated, and at what level; local, regional, national and supranational.” (NESSE). California’s governance is an intense and complex system that deals with schools; school districts; and county, state, and federal agencies. California governance also includes a variety of individuals from state legislators and other policymakers to school board members, superintendents, principals, and teachers. The organizational structure is multi-dimensional, characterized by bodies that have overlapping responsibilities across executive, legislative, and judicial jurisdictions (Educational Governance in California).

In the state of California, there are five state education official positions: Governor, Legislature, State board of Education, Superintendent of public instruction, and the state of department of education. The state of department of education’s job is to study educational conditions and the needs of the state (UC Davis). The legislature created the state board of education, and intended the job to ultimately govern and create policies for public education. The board’s mission statement reads, “create strong, effective schools that provide a wholesome learning environment through incentives that cause a high standard of student accomplishment as measured by valid, reliable accountability system” (UC Davis). The superintendent is responsible for implementing board policies to the school districts in his/her own county, while the state of department of education focuses on enforcing policies and laws that deal with education and opening up programs that are critical for education needs.

Figure 1 • Major Institutions in California's Educational Governance System

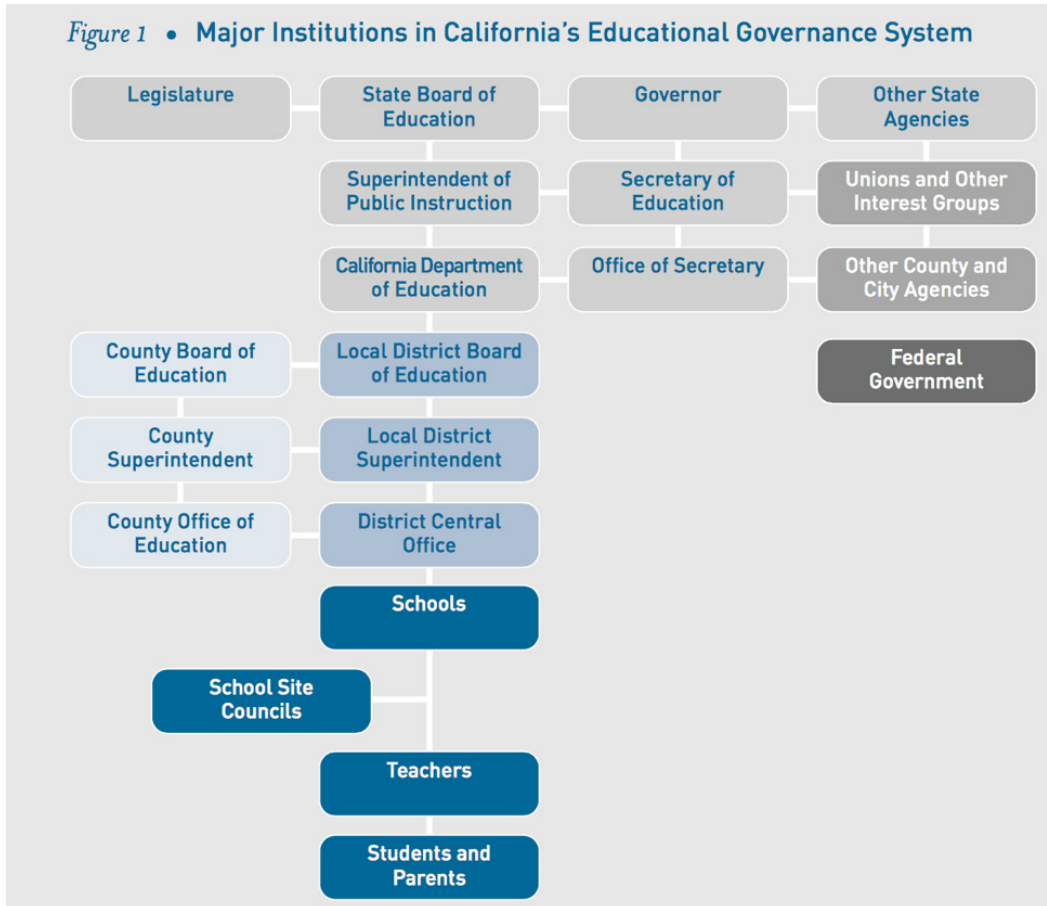


Figure 1: California Educational Governance System
(UC Davis)

School Districts

School districts are the state's official means of operation for education, and local boards are the ones that govern and enforce the state law and regulations. The local superintendent is the chief officer of the board of education (UC Davis). UC Davis's Teachers College Record states:

"Districts were meant to create a system of democratic accountability. Local school districts developed their own budgets, established their own curriculums, identified areas of curricular and extracurricular emphasis, hired and fired staff, and constructed and maintained facilities. They were responsible for balancing and accommodating competing interests in their communities. As long as voters were happy with their schools, elected officials stayed in office and superintendents kept their jobs" (UC Davis). This statement illustrates that the local city Governance plays a role in how students fare in society, rather than the California state Governance.

San Juan Unified School District Overview

San Juan was created in 1960 with the merger of six school districts. The school district covers 75-square mile area of the following six communities: Arden-Arcade, Carmichael, Citrus Heights, Fair Oaks, Gold River and Orangevale. San Juan operates on close to a \$362 million budget, has employed 6,300 individuals, and educates 40,000 students in K-12 and adult education programs (SJUSD Governance Handbook). The district consists of:

- 33 Elementary Schools
- 8 K-8 Schools
- 8 Middle Schools
- 9 Comprehensive High Schools
- 3 Special Education Centers
- 2 Alternative Schools
- 1 Adult Education Center
- 2 Early Childhood Education Centers
- 2 Dependent Charters



The diverse population is broken down as follows: 1% American Indian or Alaskan Native, 21.7% Hispanic/Latino, 7.7% African American, 58.9% White, 5.1% Asian/Asian American, 0.8 Pacific Islander, 1.4% Filipino, and 3.3% multi-race (SJUSD Governance Handbook).

San Juan Unified School District Governance

The role of the school board is to offer each student an education of the maximum possible quality within the limits of financial support provided by the State of California. To accomplish this, board members are responsible for five roles identified by the California School Boards Association ("CSBA"):

1. Setting the direction for the district by involving parents/guardians, community, students and staff while focusing on student learning and achievement.
2. Establishing an effective and efficient structure by employing the superintendent, developing and adopting policies, establishing academic expectations and adopting curriculum and instructional materials, establishing budget priorities and adopting the budget, providing safe and adequate facilities to support student learning, and setting parameters for negotiations with employee organizations and ratifying collective bargaining agreements.
3. Providing support to the superintendent and staff by following standards of responsible governance, making decisions and providing resources that support district priorities and goals, upholding board policies, and being effective spokespersons by being knowledgeable about district programs and goals.
4. Ensuring accountability through evaluation of the superintendent; monitoring and evaluating policies; serving as a judicial and appeals body; monitoring student achievement and program effectiveness; approving, monitoring and adjusting district budgets; and monitoring the collective bargaining process.
5. Providing community leadership and advocacy on behalf of students, the educational program, and public education.

The CSBA categorizes the following principles and roles for superintendents working with the Board of Education:

1. Promotes the success of all students and supports the efforts of the board to focus on student learning and achievement.
2. Values, advocates and supports public education and all stakeholders.
3. Recognizes and respects the different perspectives and styles of board members, staff, students, parents, and community, ensuring the diverse range of views inform board decisions.
4. Acts with dignity, treats everyone with civility and respect, and understands the implications of demeanor and behavior.
5. Serves as a model for the value of lifelong learning and supports the board's continuous professional development.
6. Works with the board as a "governance team" and assures collective responsibility for building a unity of purpose, common vision, and positive organizational culture.
7. Recognizes that the board/superintendent governance relationship is supported by the district's management team.
8. Understands the distinctions between board and staff roles, and respects the roles of the board as the representative of the community.
9. Understands that the authority rests with the board as a whole, provides guidance to the board to assist in decision-making, and provides leadership based on the direction of the board as a whole.
10. Communicates openly with trust and integrity, including providing all board members with equal access to information, and recognizes the importance of both responsive and anticipatory communications.
11. Accepts leadership responsibility and accountability for implementing the vision, goals and policies of the district.



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Chapter 3

Methodology:

Having already discussed the whether or not spatial injustice exists in education, it is now pertinent that I bring forward my collection of evidence of how I will be conducting the rest of my dissertation. I outline the phases of my methodology below.

Phase 1: Analyze and discuss the Governance put forward in California and San Juan Unified School District (SJUSD). This information was obtained through researchers at UC Davis, and the SJUSD governance handbook, by providing an insight as to how policies are placed, and in which order positions in educational governance play a role in importance in school districts in California.

The second part of phase 1 is to determine whether or not there is spatial injustice in education, through analysis of SJUSD. I will provide evidence supporting a clear divide in household income, race, and neighborhood in SJUSD. By using block tracts from American Census Survey and inputting their data to Geographical Information System (GIS), I will create maps that will represent the 9 high school boundaries and their median income, race, and graduation rates. This will provide analysis as to how there is disparity in the school districts between high-income and low-income schools.

Phase 2: This phase will provide analysis on why there is spatial injustice in communities, like SJUSD. The history of a neighborhood that utilizes 4 out of the 9 high schools in SJUSD will be considered to determine any potential trends. In my evidence, I will be using Arden-Arcade's Community Plan from 1980 to explore the history of an area that supports four of the nine high schools in SJUSD, such as Encina HS, Rio Americano HS, Mira Loma HS, and El Camino HS. I will compare my findings to modern happenings. I will also explore funding that is being distributed to SJUSD. Chronic absenteeism may be an explanation as to why funding is distributed differently in SJUSD's case. Schools are provided funding accordingly to the number of children showing up to class. As for my last factor, I wanted to know what locals think of the area, I asked them the

following questions:

1. Do you know any program that used to effect (positive or negative) schools in low-income neighborhoods, and have been cancelled in the past decades?
2. Rate from 1-5 (5 meaning important, 1 meaning least important) Which of these factors do you think have higher impact on Chronic absentee:
3. How do you think we can decrease Chronic absenteeism in lower income neighborhoods?
4. Do you believe ending open enrollment would be a good idea, why?
5. Do you believe community engagement efforts such as food festivals, basketball tournaments etc., will help schools to have a better performance?

The survey provided insight into what is going on in Arden-Arcade and what can be done to improve injustice.

Phase 3: In the final phase, I will provide suggestions for preventing spatial injustice in low-income communities and providing an equal playing field for all students. Peer reviews and other programs that have been done across the country will be explored as possible solutions for reversing the trend of spatial injustice.



Chapter 4

4.1 Education and Household Income:

In this section we will explore the socioeconomic status (SES) in education, how it affects students and, ultimately, the community that surrounds them, and draw up certain actions to mitigate problems for future generations. First, we will classify the SES in given school districts and explore the effect it has on students. The American Psychological Association (APA) defines SES as:

“a combination of education, income and occupation. It is commonly conceptualized as the social standing or class of an individual or group. When viewed through a social class lens, privilege, power, and control are emphasized. Furthermore, an examination of SES as a gradient or continuous variable reveals inequities in access to and distribution of resources” (APA 2016).

This definition draws attention to the abnormalities in our society: A lower class citizen doesn’t have the same advantages as higher class citizen.

In 2015, Sacramento County’s median household income was roughly \$62,813 (U.S. Census). According to the U.S. Census, extremely low income families are earning less than about 30% of the median income, and very low income families are earning about 50% or less (Sacramento General Plan, 2012). Figure 2 below illustrates the housing element in Sacramento County:

Income Categories for the Housing Element are:	
Extremely Low-Income.....	<30% of median
Very Low-Income:.....	31-50% of median
Low-Income.....	51–80% of median
Moderate-Income.....	81–120% of median
Above Moderate-Income.....	>120% of median
In 2009, 48% of Sacramento households had lower incomes	

Figure 2: Income Categories for the Housing Element in Comparison to the Median Income (Sacramento General Plan, 2012)

With this figure and knowing what we know about the Median Income, we can identify what is considered “low-income (LI)”, “very low-income (VLI)”, and “extremely low-income (ELI)”.

Table 1: Sacramento County Median Household Income for Low-Income, Very Low-Income, and Extremely Low-Income

Median Household Income		
Low-Income (LI)	\$32,034.63	\$50,250.40
Very Low-Income (VLI)	\$19,472.03	\$31,406.50
Extremely Low-Income (ELI)	\$18,843.90	\$-----

(Sacramento General Plan, 2012)

Now that we have defined LI, VLI, and ELI, we can determine where LI students are in SJUSD and if location correlates with education from Figure 5. The map uses block tract data from the US Census in 2011, the latest data available. From this illustration, one can see that roughly 60% of incomes in Encina HS range from \$21,000 to \$41,000, which falls directly into LI and VLI. Right next door to Encina HS is Rio Americano, with roughly 40-50% of incomes ranging from \$109,000 to \$192,000. If we compare these income statistics to graduation rates and test scores, one will notice how each high school differs from one another, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Public School Review on SJUSD

High Schools	San Juan Unified School District									Overall
	Mira Loma	Rio Americano	Bella Vista	Casa Roble	Del Campo	El Camino	Encina	San Juan	Mesa Verde	
Total Enrollment	1656	1571	2069	1374	1843	1592	982	725	944	1417.33
College Readiness	44.4	34.6	27.5	17.1	21.7	29.2	4.1	7.4	16.9	22.54
AP Tested	46	40	34	21	31	36	10	18	34	30.00
AP Passed	96	82	74	75	60	74	24	21	34	60.00
Mathematic Proficiency	80	77	79	70	67	60	23	43	49	60.89
English Proficiency	74	74	74	66	57	59	21	32	47	56.00
Graduation Rate	90	95	97	98	96	97	48	59	91	85.67
Economically Challenged	40	20	24	32	41	42	88	69	62	46.44
Minority Enrollment	58	34	26	21	32	40	78	53	40	42.44

(Public School Review, 2017)

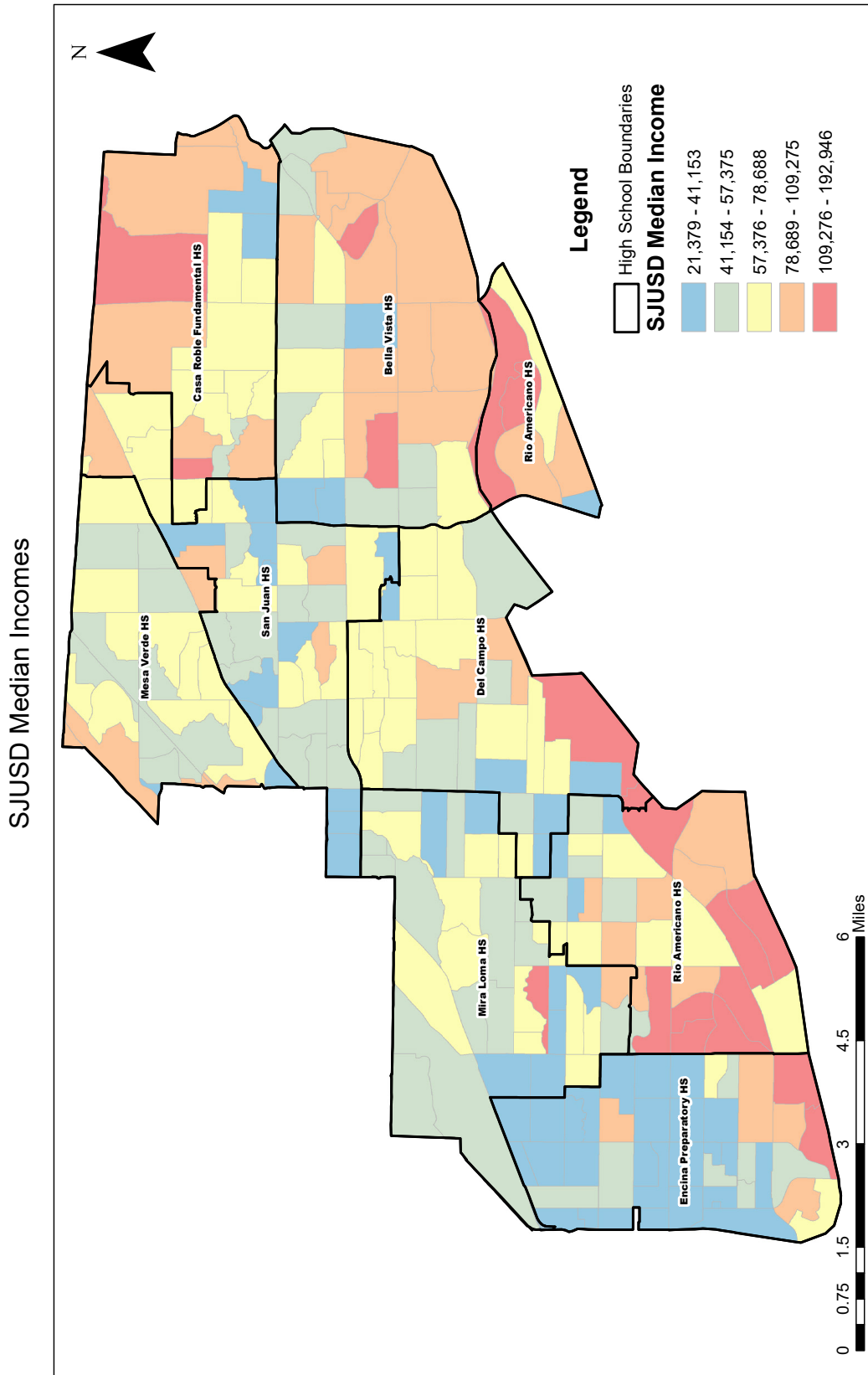


Figure 3: SJUSD High School Boundaries and Their Median Income

SJUSD Median Income Average by HS

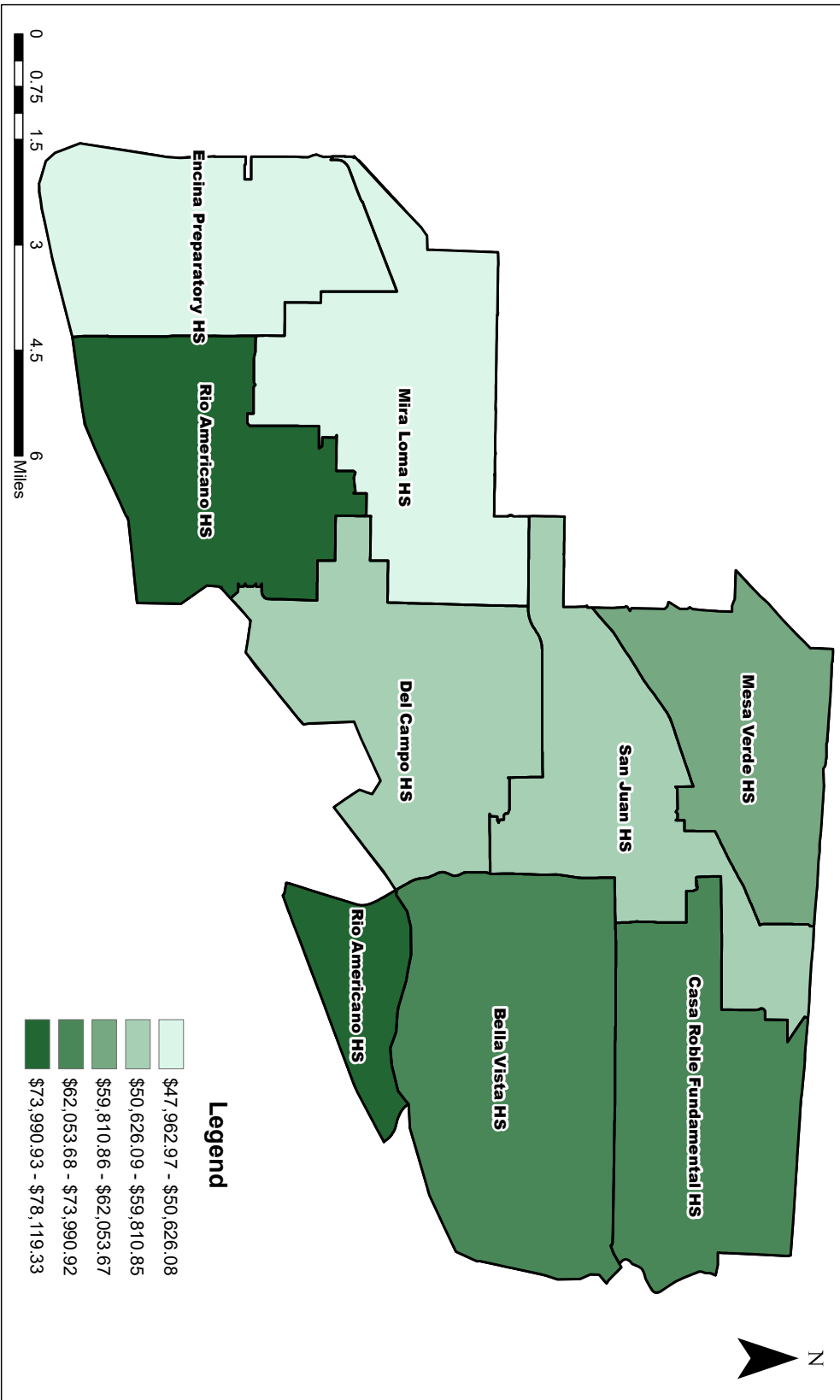


Figure 4: SJUSD High School Boundaries and Their Median Income

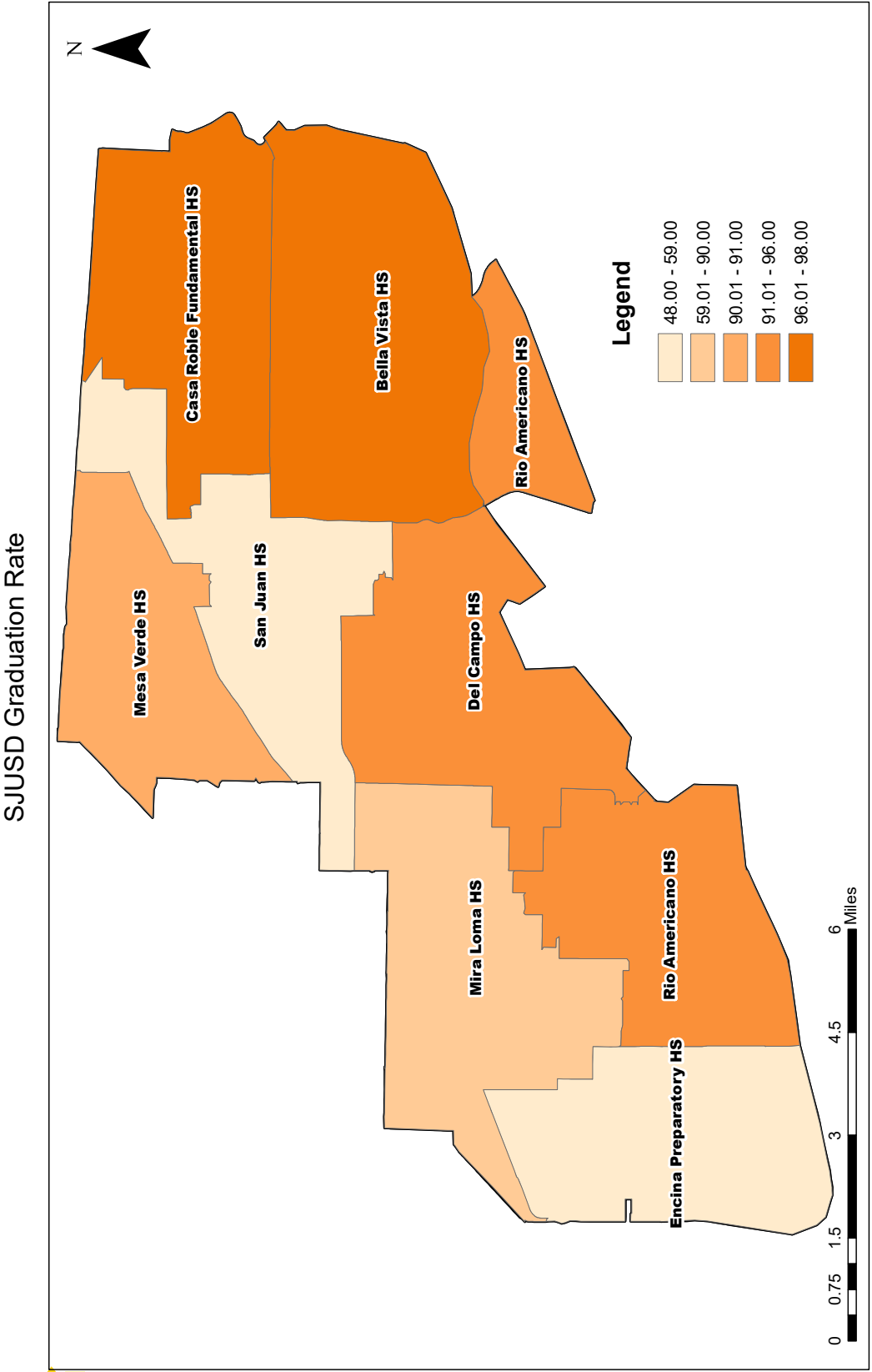


Figure 5: SJUSD High School Boundaries and Their Graduation Rate

4.2 Graduation Rates:

Figure 4 above illustrates how Rio Americano is above the average in every category such as: graduation rates, AP test scores, Mathematic scores, English proficiency, and college readiness. Meanwhile, Encina is below the average in every category and the graduation rate is merely 48%. While roughly 60% of students live in a LI or VLI household in Encina HS, 88% are “economically challenged,” according to US News. How is this possible? One of the more intriguing things about SJUSD is its open enrollment. Open enrollment means students can live in Encina’s boundaries but opt to go to Rio Americano. If you take a closer look at the map in Encina, there is a small portion of wealthy families. When asking a SJUSD staff member (anonymous) whether these families attend Encina, their answer was that they opted to go elsewhere in the school district for a better education.

While some high schools seem to be normal, the issue is the fact there are numerous amount of schools in America that lack diversity. The figures above illustrate that two schools right next door to one another with opposite backgrounds cannot coexist. This inability to coexist is a huge problem for future generations. There maybe a number of other reasons as to why these numbers are skewed. But the real question is, why are they polar opposites of each other when both high schools are parallel to one another. Research shows that students who live in a low SES household or community develop much slower than students with high SES, due to the home environment. American Psychological Association suggests:

“Initial academic skills are correlated with the home environment, where low literacy environments and chronic stress negatively affect a child’s pre academic skills. The school systems in low-SES communities are often under resourced, negatively affecting students’ academic progress. Inadequate education and increased dropout rates affect children’s academic achievement, perpetuating the low-SES status of the community. Improving school systems and early intervention programs may help to reduce these risk factors, and thus increased research on the correlation between SES and education is essential.” (APA 2016).

This leads us to explore different types of neighborhoods in this school district in order to gain a better understanding of why these numbers are so low for Encina and so high for Rio Americano. We will explore why communities split up in categories of median income levels. Various causes may exist such as gentrification and new growth.



4.3 Education and Neighborhoods:

Household incomes and neighborhoods correlate, due to a culture where money plays a vital role in individual achievement. For example, if a family was earning a VLI then the neighborhood the family lived in would correlate with the success of the parents, because their median income determines the housing they can afford. Figure 6 below illustrates this idea, each household income fits the mold of the neighborhood income.

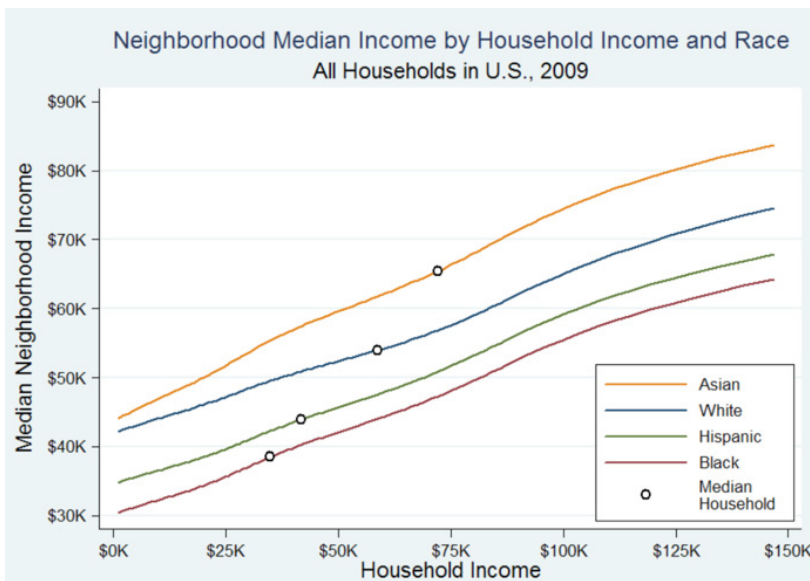


Figure 6: Neighborhood Median by Household Income and Race (Reardon, 2011)

The family would be living in an area where its money would represent its surroundings. The area would most likely lack maintenance, be dangerous around night time, etc. In contrast, high-income areas will have higher standards because of the amount of money provided to live in the area. Though these facts are only about neighborhoods, it does trickle down to affect the people living in these neighborhoods. Quite frankly, it affects the future of our generation-- the adolescents who then follow the footsteps of their relatives. According to Paul A. Jargowsky and

Mohamed El Komi, authors of “Before or After Bell”:

“That many of the negative outcomes observed in high-poverty neighborhoods, including high levels of dropping and low levels of student achievement, can be attributed to ‘concentration effects.’ Children in high-poverty neighborhoods ‘seldom interact on a sustained basis with people who are employed,’ and that causes students to question the value of education. In this social milieu, both students and teachers become discouraged and put in less effort, leading to a vicious downward cycle of low expectations and low achievement.” (Jargowsky, 2009)

There are various reasons as to why certain children are living in impoverished communities, such as being refugees, having uneducated hardworking parents, living with grandparents, etc. The status of the family should not dictate a child’s opportunities in life. Unfortunately, inequality does occur in society today, and the rich get richer while the poor get poorer, according to NY times,

“Even the best performers from disadvantaged backgrounds, who enter kindergarten reading as well as the smartest rich kids, fall behind over the course of their schooling.-- And because they are much poorer, they are less likely to afford private preschool or the many enrichment opportunities — extra lessons, tutors, music and art, elite sports teams — that richer, better-educated parents lavish on their children” (NY Times, 2015).

An indication of that is walkability as well, according to Walk Score, a website that issues scores on areas based on walkability and on transit. Encina High School was issued a score of 67 out of 100. This is a great score compared to Rio Americano which received a 9 out of 100, and is car dependent. This data would help indicate that Rio Americano has difficulty with walkability, but at the same time indicates that the people here can afford cars, and therefore have a higher quality of life, than people in Encina, who might not be so lucky with their median income. Encina and San Juan both have low graduation rates, as shown below in Figure 7, but high walkability scores, while the rest of the schools are more car dependent and have above 90 percentile graduation rate.



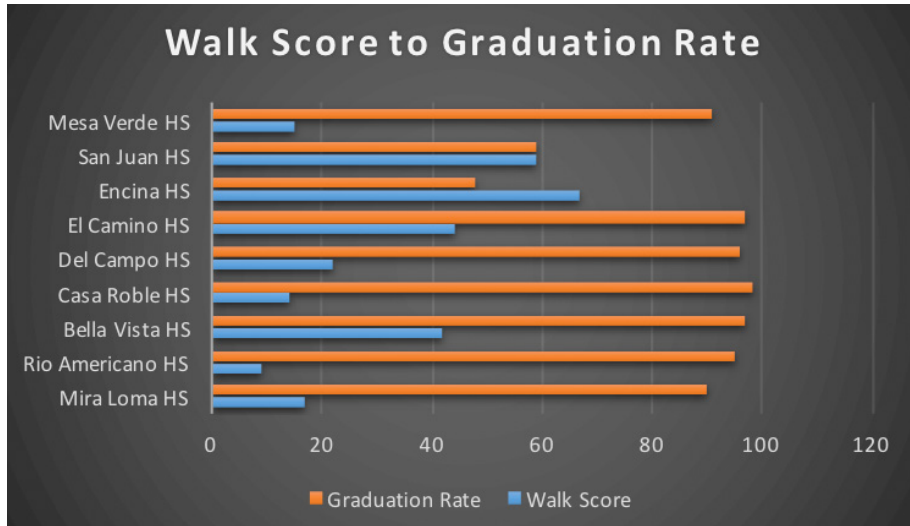


Figure 7: Walk Score/Graduation Rate of Each HS in SJUSD
(Walk Score, 2017)

Not all students who live in poor neighborhoods fail. However, the fear and mental/physical oppression they endure while trying to get an education and survive is something that cannot always overcome when they grow older. In low-income neighborhoods, there are far higher rates of crime. According to The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development:

“Neighborhoods with more concentrated disadvantage tend to experience higher levels of violent crime. Numerous studies, for instance, show that neighborhoods with higher poverty rates tend to have higher rates of violent crime. Greater overall income inequality within a neighborhood is associated with higher rates of crime, especially violent crime. Sampson notes that even though the city of Stockholm has far less violence, segregation, and inequality than the city of Chicago, in both cities a disproportionate number of homicides occur in a very small number of very disadvantaged neighborhoods” (HUD 2016).

Encina high school is just another statistic that is disadvantaged and has high rates of crime. Figure 8 below provides an illustration of the crimes that have occurred in Encina's school boundary. A large discrepancy exists between the amount of crime in the Encina High School boundary versus the Rio Americano boundary.

What does this data all mean in terms of education and neighborhoods? It means that children brought up not only in high school but elementary as well have to fend for themselves. It takes a toll on their mental and physical health and it affects their performance in schools and condones them to be more violent because that's all they know. According to Eric Jensen, author of *Teaching with Poverty in Mind*, he states, "Strong, secure relationships help stabilize children's behavior and provide the core guidance needed to build lifelong social skills. Children who grow up with such relationships learn healthy, appropriate emotional responses to everyday situations. But children raised in poor households often fail to learn these responses, to the detriment of their school performance" (Jensen 2016). Children who live in low-income households start so far behind children who live in wealthy households that they never get a fair shake in life.

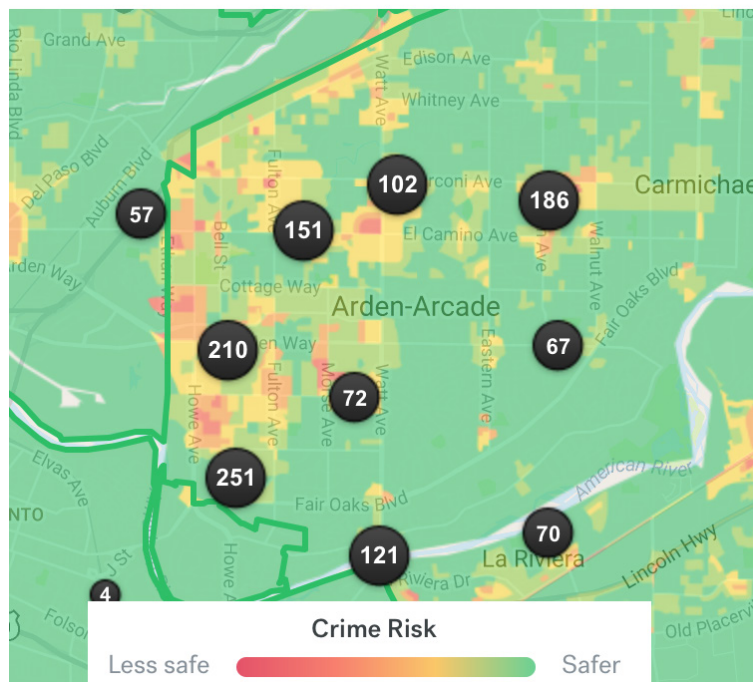


Figure 8: Crime Rates in Encina Boundary
(Trulia, 2017)

4.4 Education and Race:

Racial Segregation in schools is still existent, due to segregated neighborhoods. When it comes to identifying whether or not segregation still exists in neighborhoods there isn't much of an argument. School boundaries are made up so students do not have to travel far from their homes, but when they are already segregated what does that do to students and what signals does it send? How you raise a child is one of the many factors of how the child turns out, but environment, once again, plays a vital role as far as how the child turns out. For example, let's say a child who is Caucasian, lives in a high-income neighborhood attends a high school where 90% of the students are of the same race. All he knows as of now is that things are given to him because his parents are wealthy, his parents wealth and political views are skewed for their benefits so they sub-consciously put that in his mind, and he is not around colored children so his interactions with them are not existent and has a subconscious feeling of being "above" them. Now, consider a colored child living in a low-income neighborhood where 80% of the school he attends is mixed race. Nothing is given to him freely, and his parents work long hours to provide for the family. Less punishment and guidance is available, and the child has to protect himself in a crime infested area. The child most likely experiences issues and school is probably on the bottom of his list of priorities. While these examples may not be 100% true for every high-income and low-income area, they paint an illustration for what goes on in majority of the area.

Now, to bring it all into perspective, we analyze four maps based on four races that seem to make up most of San Juan Unified School District: Caucasian, African-American, Asian, and two or more races.

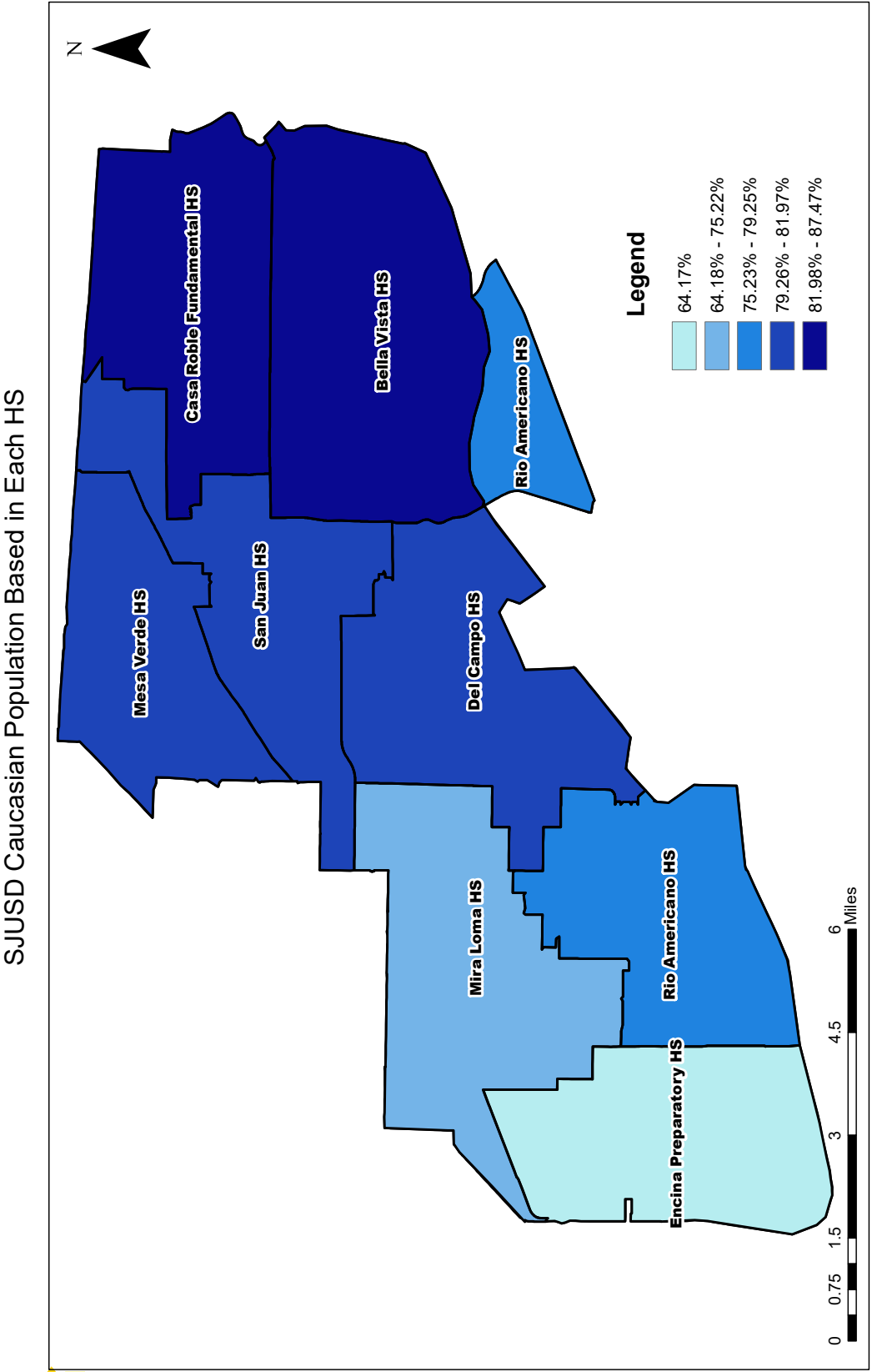


Figure 9: SJUSD Caucasian Based in Each HS

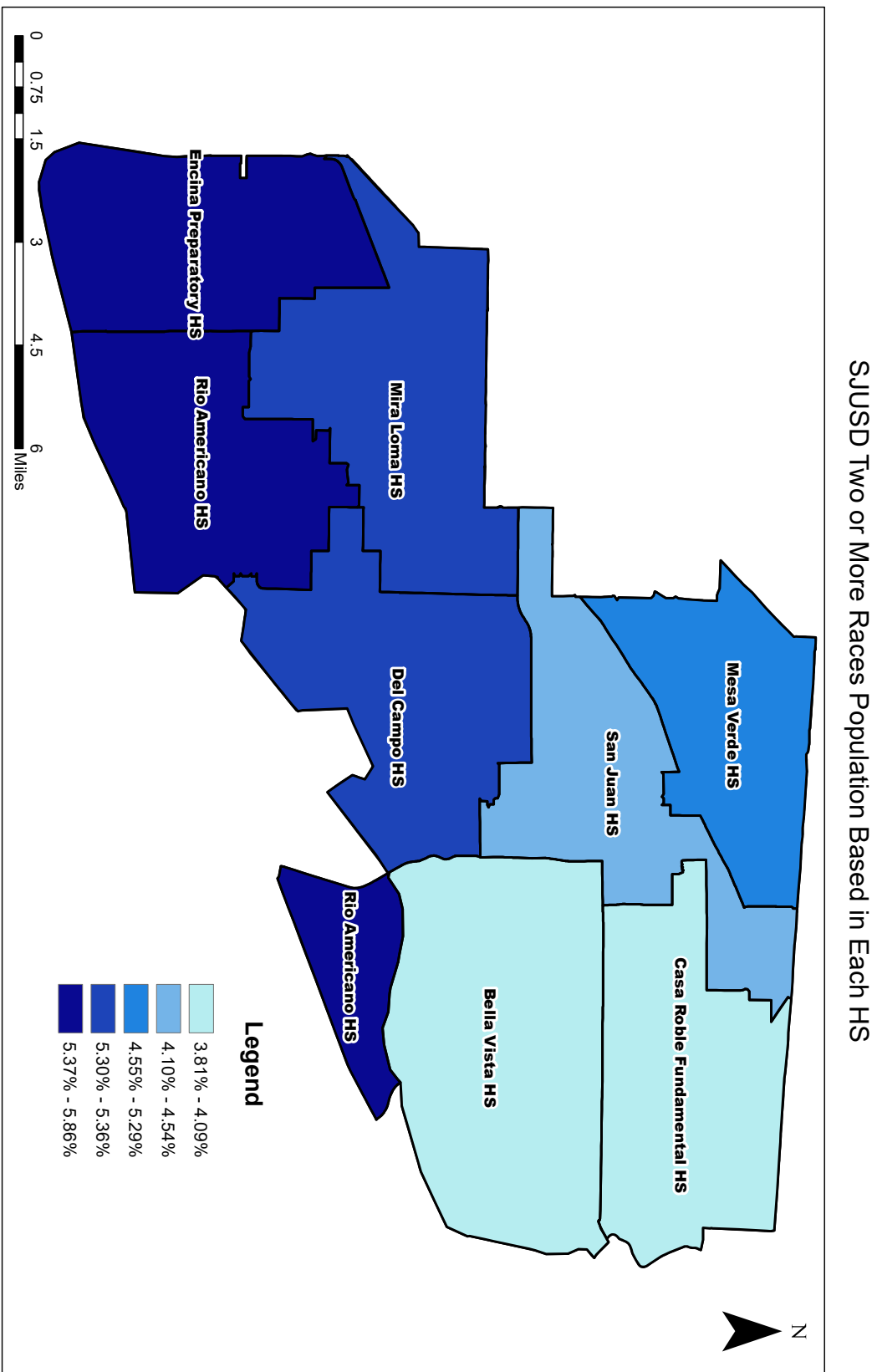


Figure 10: SJUSD Two or More Races Based in Each HS

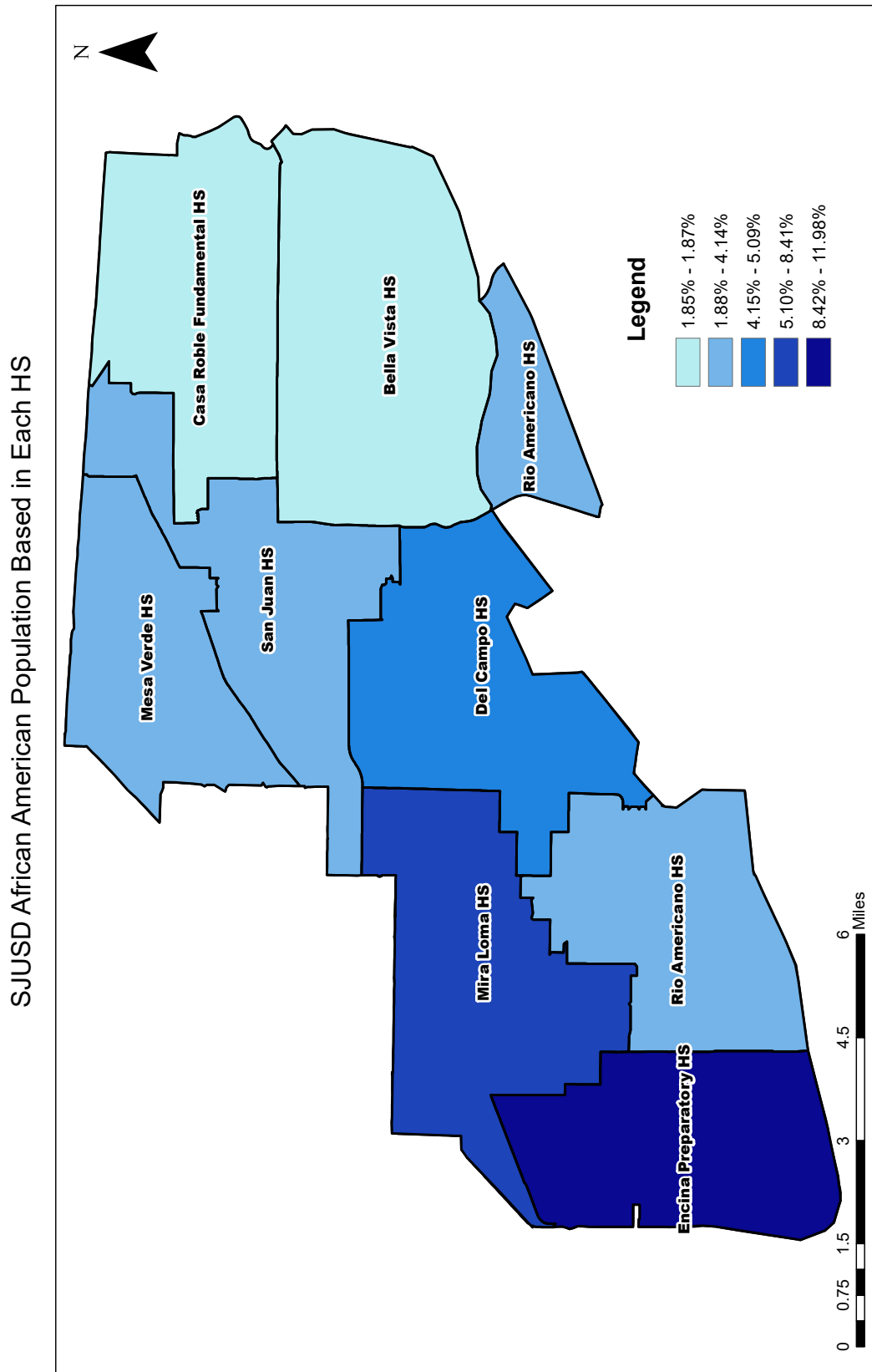


Figure 11: SJUSD African American Population Based in Each HS

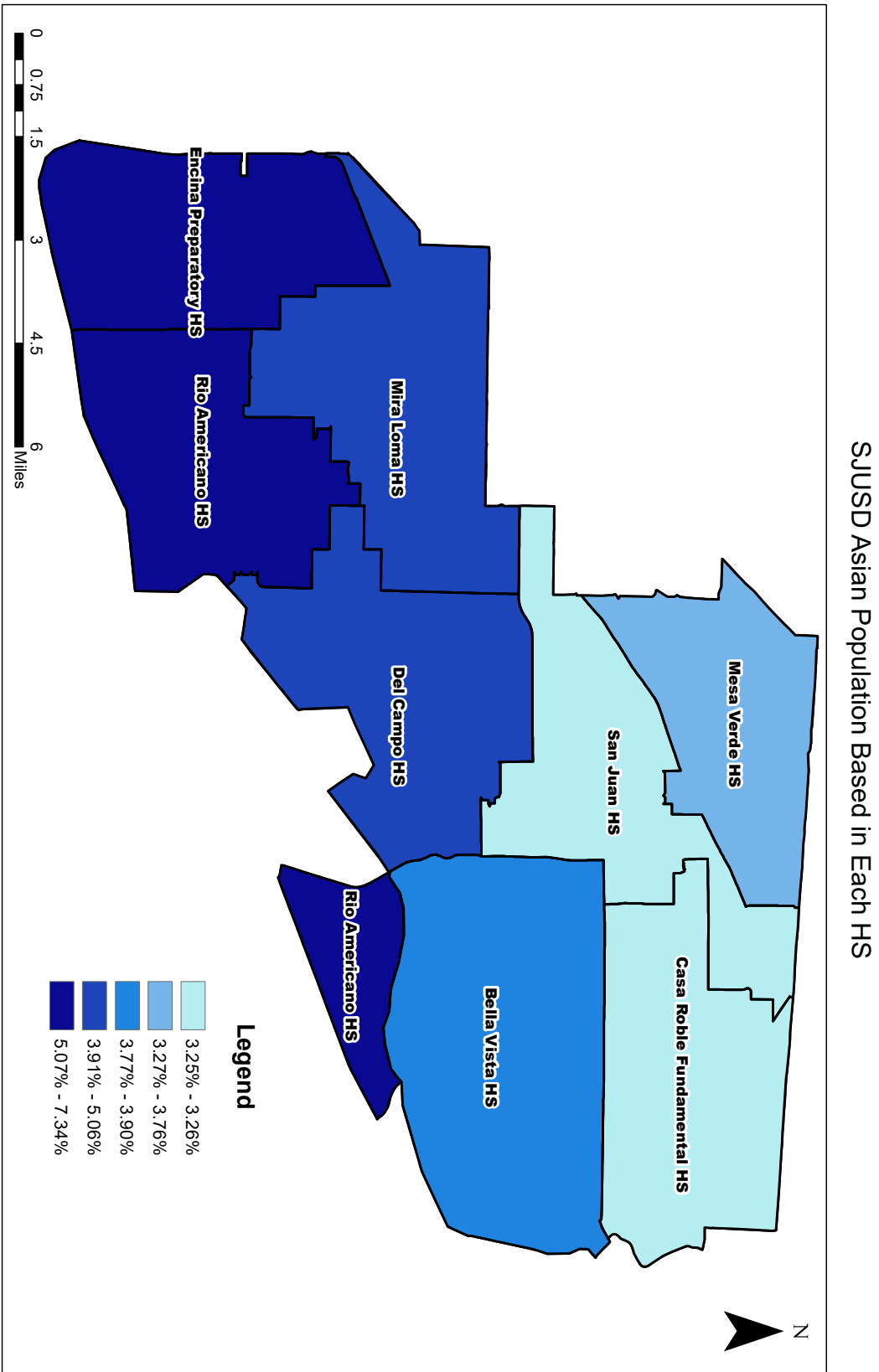


Figure 12: SJUSD Asian Based in Each HS

These maps were created using data from the 2011 Census. At first glance, one would notice that more diversity exists in the west, while more segregation exists in the east. In addition, Rio Americano is not that much different than Encina High School when it comes to Asian and Two or More races, but in reality there is a vast difference. What the map does not show is the fact there is open enrollment in SJUSD, which means parents can opt out of taking their child to the closest school and take them to the better school. Though Encina shows that there is 64% Caucasians in their boundary, they have 78% minorities, so only 22 out of the 64 percent of Caucasians opted to stay, and the rest left. According to Jeff Larsen, author of *School Segregation after Brown*, Encina is made up of 78% of minorities while Rio Americano has only 29% (Larsen 2014). Also, Encina has 23% African-Americans, while Rio Americano has only 5%. From Figure 4, the data is similar from Public School Review, where Rio Americano has 34% minorities and Encina has 78%. The reason why I bring up Table 2 once again is to review how each High School does academically and reference their economic challenges and minority enrollment. San Juan and Encina both have high rates of minority enrollment and also have the worst graduation rates in the district. These results below are an indication of spatial injustice in just one school district.



4.5 Chronic Absentee:

Chronic absenteeism is defined as a student missing 15 or more days--equivalent to 10%-- of school in a year. Chronic absenteeism plays a vital role in spatial injustice because students are not acquiring as much knowledge as they could be, taking away from their futures. According to the Department of Education, the majority of schools that are stricken with the highest rates of absenteeism are low-income communities. According to Marc Cutillo, a teacher who has worked with "at risk" students for 10 years' states,

"chronic absentee occurs at rates three to four times higher in high-poverty areas, six states conducted by Johns Hopkins University in May of last year [2013]. In these low-income communities, it is normal to find a quarter of the class missing every day, with some students missing 30 to 40 days a year—a fact that, as an inner-city English teacher, I regularly witness firsthand" (EW 2013).

There are many reasons as to why students miss school days including distance, caring for another family, bullying, illness etc., but in all cases, students in low-income neighborhoods are not concerned with missing school as they are with survival. It is easy to blame the poor for their own mistakes by not attending school, but this more so generational poverty and it is difficult to break free from a never ending cycle of being born in an impoverished household with a low education. The cycle will continue to exist in the bloodline of families as well as in schools.

When schools lose students to chronic absenteeism it becomes a trickle down effect, where it affects other students, faculty and the condition of the school. According to the National Education Association (NEA), it costs a California school roughly \$8,689 per student, and there are 180 days in a school year, so it costs the school nearly 48 dollars a day for one student, but after proposition 98 it will increase from 8,689 to 9,067 to bring the daily amount for a pupil to 50 dollars a day for one student. When students start to miss days, the school starts losing funds. For example, according to KPBS, "During the 2009-2010 term, traditional public schools in San Diego County lost out on at least \$102 million in state funding because of absences, according to data gathered by KPBS and the Watchdog Institute, an investigative reporting nonprofit

based at San Diego State University. That figure totaled \$624 million over the past five years” (KPBS 2010). These funds are crucial specially to impoverished communities because their funds are already low so when they lose students, there is less money to hire quality teachers, supplies, renovations, security and so on.



4.6 Conclusion:

Overall, this section is solely based on how spatial injustice plays a role in school districts, by going over median income, race, graduation rates, neighborhoods, and chronic absentee. Through my findings it is haunting that these results haven't been noticed. Families that live in Encina boundaries, 60% of them obtain a net worth of \$21,000 to \$40,000, and that's only representing overall in the area. Since open enrollment is a selling point in SJUSD, 88% of students at Encina are considered Economically disadvantaged while Rio Americano has only 20%, meaning majority of parents have chosen to send their children elsewhere in the district.

The results to having a segregated district has shown poorly to the low-income areas. In Encina high school, there is only a 48% graduation rate, while Rio Americano is 95%, and the overall graduation rate in the district is almost two times higher than Encina at 85%. Students living in low SES tend to have less advantages that high SES do such as: extra tutor lessons, lower stress levels, more resources because of funding.

These neighborhoods that low-income families live in differ than high-income families' various ways. Household income and neighborhoods correlate due to the fact that currency plays a role in an individual's achievement. Meaning that a family only worth what they make, and if they are considered VLI or LI their neighborhood will be in the same condition as well. Thus, causing a student to live in a neighborhood that will have higher crime rate than a high-income neighborhood. This will then cause a trickle down effect, because students are fearful of their lives, and this will create higher rates of chronic absentee in low-income schools like Encina high school. This will then have an affect to funding, because California funds through attendance rate, and when less students show up they receive less money, thus, creating a cycle of spatial injustice in low-income areas.



Chapter 5

5.1 History of Urban Development in SJUSD:

To give a history in urban development of Arden-Arcade, a neighborhood that associates with the 4 out of the 9 high schools in case study, one would need to know the background of the county first. Sacramento County is rich history that can be dated back to 1839. John Sutter arrived in the area with a land grant that issued him 50,000 acres. Sutter used this vast land to settle his group building a sawmill for the pioneers who traversed the area. The discovery of gold in 1848 triggered a population boost to the area brought on by the Gold Rush. Primary areas of growth and commercial success centered by the Sacramento and American River. In response to the rise in population, Sutter hired a topographical engineer by the name of William H. Warner, to draft the layout of the city. But due to flooding, the proposed idea was to elevate the city (Old Sacramento, 2016). With the Gold Rush slowly coming to an end, the region continued to experience growth, and the city began to expand outward creating an urban sprawl.

The growth and development of Sacramento was fueled by gold prospecting, however as the city grew, pioneers began to purchase cheap land outside the urban center. This trend led to issues pertaining to growth management in the city. Municipal Research and Service Center (MRSC, 2016) describes growth management as an act to respond to “rapid population growth and concerns with suburban sprawl, environmental protection, quality of life, and related issues.” (MRSC 2016). Since the city of Sacramento is the oldest incorporated County in California, managing the population was not seen as a central priority during its early years. However, as the city grew, it became obvious that this de-prioritization of growth management was not only unsustainable, but detrimental to the local environment.

As late as 1910, Arden-Arcade as we call it now, was still part of “Haggin Grant”, which was 44,000-acre piece of land North of the American River, which was an old Mexican land grant given to John Sutter. After 1910, five residential subdivisions were recorded, however, much of the ownership of Arden-Arcade was held until after WWII. In 1945, the five residential developments: Sierra Oaks Vista, Sierra Oaks Tract, Country Club Estates, Bohemian Village, and Bellview Village were still nominal (Arden-Arcade, 1980).

In 1945, the very first integrated shopping center what is now Town and Country Village (1980) in Northern California was developed on Fulton and Marconi Avenues, which is in the Boundary of Encina high school. It was an immediate success, because it was the only shopping center East of Sacramento, and most of the surrounding land ranch and open space. But, just like the County, rapid growth was spreading in the community as well, and subdivisions were created by dozens, resulting in a community within 10-15 years (Arden-Arcade, 1980)

By 1966, Arden-Arcade had up to 75% of its 21 square-miles covered in new development. Rapid growth was at its highest from 1947-1960, when the average annual population increase was above 15%, though Sacramento County was rapidly growing, Arden-Arcade had doubled the annual population increase of the County.

As far as Arden-Arcade Community Plan of 1980, majority of land uses developed West of Watt Avenue (Encina HS Boundary), are considered multi-family residential and business uses, while the East side of Watt Avenue obtains more Single Family Residential, which is in the boundary of Rio Americano high school. In 1980, Arden-Arcade community had reached its potential development at roughly 79,000, and of 2010 Census its only up 92,000 since 37 years ago (Census, 2010).

Today, Arden-Arcade hasn't seen rapid growth like it saw between 1947 and 1960, but it still continues to experience growth in development of more single-family homes, a rise in automobiles on roadways, job distribution, with limited space. With the limited space, the feasible option is to build within and unintentionally gentrify a community like Fulton and Marconi avenue (Encina HS). According to 2010 Arden-Arcade Community Action Plan, they are authorizing rezoning of Multi-Family homes to Single Family Homes, why is that a problem? Multi-family homes are defined as "a classification of housing where multiple separate housing units for residential inhabitants are contained within one building or several buildings within one complex. A common form is an apartment building" (Department of Housing, 2010). By getting rid of multi-family homes it doesn't allow low-income families to afford low costing housing that is apartments, and affordable housing that are usually sectioned off from apartment complexes.

One might not think it's a sign of gentrification, but all the sign point to it from 1980 to now such as: race, and median income. The figure below represents the demographics in 1980.

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION OF PERSONS RESPONDING					
	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Chicano</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Arden-Arcade	77,438 (88.8%)	1,089 (1.2%)	1,107 (1.3%)	2,213 (2.5%)	5,328 (6.2%)
Unincorporated	121,290 (87.1%)	4,096 (2.9%)	2,890 (2.1%)	4,257 (4.9%)	6,166 (4.4%)
Sacramento County	197,572 (80.5%)	13,076 (5.3%)	9,187 (3.7%)	11,844 (4.8%)	13,012 (5.3%)

Figure 13: Arden-Arcade Ethnic Identification in 1980
(Arden-Arcade, 1980)

Close to 90% of Arden-Arcade was Caucasian, but if you look at the demographics now from the 2010 US Census, 64,688 (70.2%) White, 8,977 (9.7%) African-American, 17,147 (18.6%) Hispanic, 7,420 (8.0%) Other Races. Whites have lost a population of roughly 13,000 in 30 years, and it has been taken notice to encourage code enforcement of the community plan to cause for more single-family homes in the heart of Encina high school boundary, El Camino avenue. Which if you look on a map brought to you by City-Data, unemployment (%) is high in the areas where they'd like to input more single-family homes, and the area has the highest amount of African-Americans. And if one were to reference Figure 5, Median Incomes by block tracts, one would take notice the amount of incomes in Encina high school boundaries are roughly around 20,000 to 40,000.

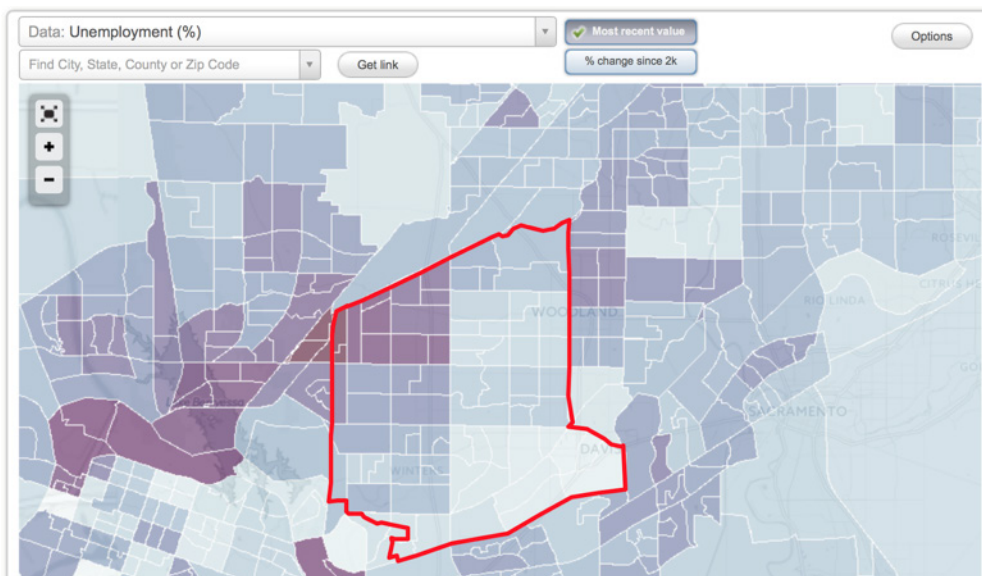


Figure 14: Arden-Arcade Unemployment Rate
(City-Data, 2017)

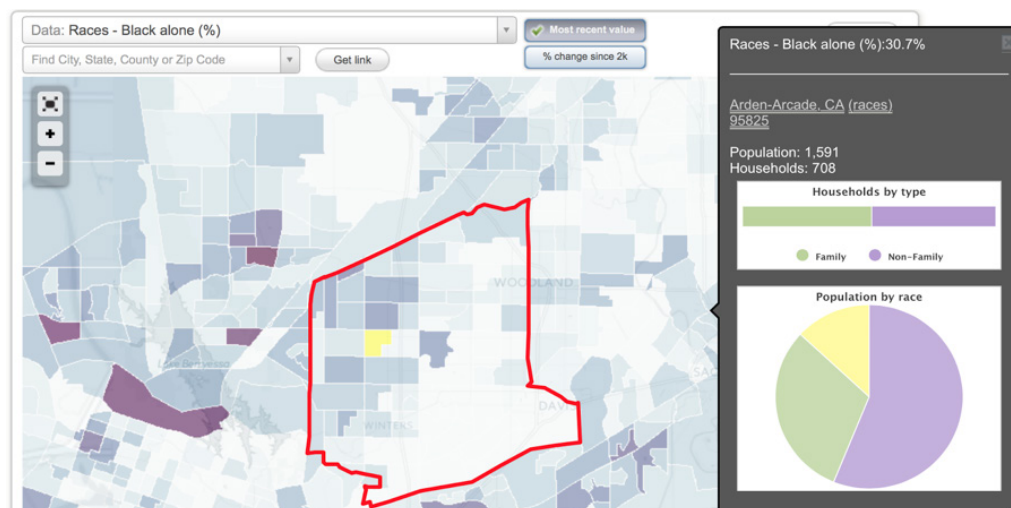


Figure 15: Arden-Arcade Races - Black alone (%)
(City-Data, 2017)

It is difficult to say gentrification was unintended, but given the severity of how its taking shape in the rest of the County, it would make sense that Arden-Arcade is following suit. According to Yuqing Pan, writer for Realtor.com, he suggests that Sacramento is considered to be the 7th fast growing gentrification County in the U.S., he states, "Thanks to decades of urban redevelopment and to its affordable real estate, Sacramento—just a couple of hours east of San Francisco—is seeing an influx of young professionals and well-off empty-nesters" (Pan, 2017). Pan interviewed a local Sacramentian, Patti Miller, she stated that, "It was a ghetto, and rent was really cheap," Miller says, adding that artists, because they often can't afford much, "are usually dealing with the grittier side of a city" (Pan, 2017).

One might ask, what is considered gentrification? According to Pan, "Gentrification is defined as the process of renovating or improving a neighborhood or district to conform to middle and upper-class individuals and families. Many times, this results in the displacement of lower-income families and small businesses" (Pan, 2017). By building a single-family home on average cost, 200,000 to 250,000 in an area that is filled with ELI and VLI, there is no way they'd be able to stay and afford homes and will have to ultimately move to a cheaper area that will be more crime infested.

Overall, the design of this community was to adhere the rapid growth in the county, but with poor growth management, it didn't attend to fragility of social injustice that would occur in the years to come.

5.2 Funding:

In California, public schools are funded by three types of sources: Local, State, and Federal. According to Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC), “California’s public schools receive funding from three sources: the state (57%), property taxes and other local sources (29%), and the federal government (14%). The proportion of funding from each source varies across school districts. The majority of revenue (almost 70%) is unrestricted general purpose funding. The remainder is restricted categorical state and federal funding earmarked for special programs and purposes such as special education, class size reduction, and the National School Lunch Program” (PPIC, 2016). In 1988, the state issued proposition 98 which “is designed to guarantee a minimum level of funding for public schools and community colleges that at least keeps pace with growth in the K–12 student population and the personal income of Californians and at best increases the amount schools receive” (Ed Source, 2009). Proposition 98 affects attendance funds as well, which is stated above, the more students the more money a school makes for having students attend more frequently.

This doesn’t help the fact that high poverty schools are already getting shortchanged by distribution of funds. According to U.S. Department of Education, “The analysis of new data on 2008-09 school-level expenditures shows that many high-poverty schools receive less than their fair share of state and local funding, leaving students in high-poverty schools with fewer resources than schools attended by their wealthier peers. The data reveal that more than 40 percent of schools that receive federal Title I money to serve disadvantaged students spent less state and local money on teachers and other personnel than schools that don’t receive Title I money at the same grade level in the same district” (Department of Education, 2016). Now, Title I, is a source of financial assistance to local schools with high numbers and/or high percentage of poverty to help make sure children in these areas meet academic standards (Department of Education, 2016).

Though, school districts that are qualified for Title I don't rationally disperse the rest of the state and local fund to these impoverished schools, because to them they already being funded by Title I, but in all reality these low-income schools are basically are in the same position they were in before, but now the wealthier schools in the district receive more funding because of it. But, because schools aren't required to send in school-level expenditures, they continue this trend. San Juan Unified School district is one of the many school districts that are qualified for Title I, and by the haunting results of graduation rates, chronic absentee it looks a though a school like Encina has fallen victim to capitalistic greed.



5.3 Other Factors:

Growing up in Sacramento and having family members actually reside in SJUSD boundaries and attend Encina and Rio Americano, I would like to know what present locals think of the area. I developed a survey with the following six questions:

1. What kind of programs does SJUSD provide for schools in low-income neighborhoods, and what is your opinion about it?
2. Do you know any program that used to effect (positive or negative) schools in low-income neighborhoods, and have been cancelled in the past decades?
3. Rate from 1-5 (5 meaning important, 1 meaning least important)
Which of these factors do you think have higher impact on Chronic absentee:

	1	2	3	4	5
Access to free public transit					
Taking care of younger sibling					
Lack of motivation					
Lack of family support					
Lack of safety at school					
Taking care of sick family member					

4. How do you think we can decrease Chronic absenteeism in lower income neighborhoods?
5. Do you believe ending open enrollment would be a good idea, why?
6. Do you believe community engagement efforts such as food festivals, basketball tournaments etc., will help schools to have a better performance?

I asked the following questions to four locals, which provided insight into what is going on in Arden-Arcade and what can be done to improve injustice.

For the first question, I asked if there were any programs in SJUSD for low-income students. The consensus was students reduced lunches and free breakfasts, which is in part of "Title 1" funding. For the second question about whether or not programs have been cut in the past decade that benefit and or negate low-income areas, the majority of people surveyed did not know. This uncertainty is somewhat understandable, but it sheds light on the fact that programs designed to benefit students are not being advertised appropriately if they exist at all. One participant responded "Used to have a clothes closet, but don't know if or where it exists." This response also illustrates that programs designed to benefit disadvantaged children should be more advertised and instilled in the community.

The third question was to rate contributing factors to chronic absenteeism from 1 to 5, with 1 being the least important and 5 being the most important. The figure below shows the end results:

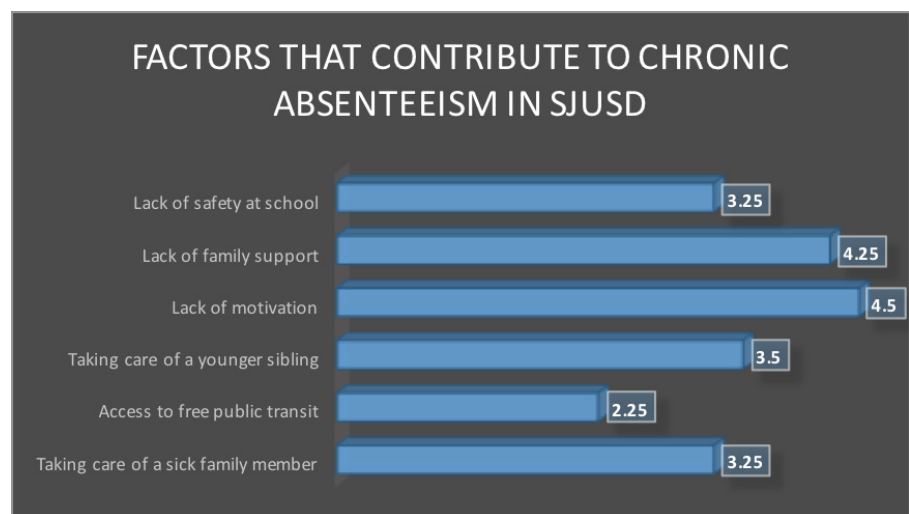


Figure 16: Arden-Arcade Factors That Contribute to Chronic Absenteeism in SJUSD

From these results, “lack of family support” and “lack of safety at school” were rated the highest factors contributing to chronic absenteeism. Which hints that median income, and crimes in these low-income areas play a vital role to the ultimate success of the students. Lack of family support suggests a lack of money and moral support, while lack of safety represents the danger that exists in low-income neighborhoods.

The fourth question asked whether ways exist to fix chronic absenteeism in low-income areas. Answers included providing funding for public transportation, creating a safe place for students after school, increasing staff appreciation to keep students engaged. Difficulties with staying engaged in school occur if a student is constantly bullied or does not feel appreciated due to low economic status.

The fifth question is a conservative question, due to SJUSD’s open enrollment. The question asked whether or not open enrollment should be eliminated, and 100% of the people surveyed answered, “no”. However, those surveyed agree there is some give and take. For example, one participant responded with “No, I think allowing parents some freedom to choose schools is great for developing “specialty school” (STEM, Art, IB, accelerated learning, Theater focused) that everyone has access to, not just those that live nearby. However, I think it could be done to prevent flooding to schools viewed as more wealthy or popular for some other non-programmatic reason.” Parents should have the freedom to choose which school they want to send their kids. The only problem is that schools in the district are so lopsided, that they all want to choose the “better” school, and low-income families don’t have the luxury to drive their child back and forth to a better school because of: multiple jobs, illnesses, and lack of time. Schools are in place to treat students fairly, and when schools are statistically proven as unequal, there is a problem. One participant answered, “no, due to different programs offered at school sites, parents should send their children wherever”, which furthers my point in the advantage some schools have over the low-income schools.

The last question in this survey discusses whether community engagement such as basketball tournaments enhances school performance. The majority of participants agreed that community engagement offers students a reason to be prideful of their community rather than dislike. One participant responded with, “Yes, giving students a reason to attend beyond the classroom is necessary in some cases, also any opportunity to help the student feel connected to their school community would help”. Another participant didn’t see the correlation between community engagement and education. According to Dr. Karen Martin of the University of Western Australia, “increased participation in sport and other forms of physical activity are also thought to lead to enhancement of cognitive functioning (information processing), memory, concentration, behavior and academic achievement for children” (Martin, 2010). Healthier cognitive function such as improved memory and concentration can benefit these children in the classroom as well.

Overall, SJUSD locals realize there are some disparities going on in this community, but justifying these problems is rather difficult. Survey participants realize low-income students do receive Title 1, but do not understand that a lot more than federal funding is offered to half the US, and that the rest of the funding is not distributed equally. Programs in the community are not advertised, which results in a general unawareness about disparities between schools like Encina and Rio Americano.



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Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion:

My decision to choose SJUSD as a case study stems from my family history in the area as well as the experience of specific family members who have attended high schools in the district. Both my mother and cousin attended Encina High School, however both have significantly different experiences. My mother, who graduated Encina in 1979, described her experience as pleasant and calm. However, this experience is opposite to that of my cousin Tania, who graduated from Encina in 2009. She described her experience as very tumultuous and stressful. In a recent conversation, she described once being attacked by a gang member after class, and reported weekly fights between rival gangs. She also described the school as rampant with drug use and promiscuity. In response to Tania's experience, her parents decided on sending her younger brother Faraz to Rio Americano. The polarity between my mother and cousin's individual experiences at the same high school testifies to how the issue in discussion has increased over the years. I also drew inspiration from my experience as a GIS/Planning Intern at the San Juan Unified School District office. The work I performed fostered a curiosity not only with how school district boundaries are formed, but also how they affect the ability of certain populations to enroll in specific schools.

Drawing from this experience helped me ask whether spatial injustice exists within the current education system and whether one's geographical location was a determinant in their access to better schools. In forming my methodology in Phase 1, I first analyzed and discussed a variety of factors that play into the experience of individual students. I found that socioeconomic status (SES) plays a significant role not only in the development of the individual, but in their access to quality education. Keeping factors such as race/ethnicity and income level in mind, block tract data revealed that socioeconomic status correlated directly to access to quality schools. For example, individuals living in communities with a median income of \$21,000 may have more difficulties with travel than those living in higher income communities. The ability to afford transportation affects an individual's ability to travel to areas where the quality of schools are better.

Much of this can be traced back along the historical development of the Arden-Arcade area and how changes in land use affected the local population. For example, the rezoning of multi-family homes to single family homes in certain areas create barriers for certain individuals to gain entry into certain neighborhoods. Individuals who cannot afford to buy or rent single-family homes are forced to live in areas where the quality of housing and education are low.

Along with changes in land usage, funding also plays a significant role in the quality of schools in these impoverished areas.. Data from the Department of education suggested that high poverty schools receive less funding. For example, because high poverty schools already receive Title I funds from the Federal government, local governments may not pay out the regular funding that schools received at the local and state levels, thus leaving these schools no better off than before. Spatial injustice in education stems from issues having to do with how a city or county has developed a community, and, like the domino effect, these issues dwindle down to the school systems. Expulsion of these problems-- which have existed for years-- poses a difficult challenge, but there are ways of alleviating them and moving in the right direction. These ways include affordable housing, transit-oriented development (TOD), and regulations on school district funding.

One solution to help low-income families struggling with money problems is implementation of affordable housing programs. One example of an affordable housing program is the Housing and Community Development (HCD), which is a state organized business that specifically helps low-income people find programs and/or homes. According to HCD they "offer a lot of programs such as transitional homes for the homeless, public facilities for the low income, and of course affordable housing". By implementing affordable housing all around the community, low-income families will have the opportunity to live in the same boundary as a school like Rio Americano and diversify the school and the child can obtain the same knowledge high-income students receive.

In cities, the majority of affordable homes are set in the outskirts of town because of the cheaper land values and the fact that developers who put money down on affordable homes aren't willing to pay higher

prices for developments that won't generate higher profits. Which is what exactly happening when they want to gentrify a community like Arden-Arcade, rather than issuing affordable homes in high-income areas, they prefer to keep them in low-income areas. With more affordable homes being built on the outskirts of town, it gives the town a higher risk of cementing poverty (McKinsey, 2015). By providing more affordable housing within nice communities, low-income families can finally live in a neighborhood without stress and crime levels on the rise.

Another plan that can be implemented in addition to affordable housing is transit-oriented development (TOD). What is TOD, "it is the fast growing trend in creating vibrant, livable, sustainable communities. It's the creation of compact, walkable, pedestrian-oriented, mixed-use communities centered around high quality train systems" (TOD, 2017). By implementing TOD's in the community it will help disadvantage families have cheaper housing with more affordable homes, reduced driving, safer neighborhoods because its compact and have a sense of togetherness in the area. It should reduce chronic absentee, because students will now have a way to get to school, and feel safe on their way taking a transit unit, which from my survey students felt unsafe on the way to schools. This should help boost funding because there is higher rates of attendance.

In addition to implementing TOD's, higher taxes can be issued, prompting inclusionary zoning. With higher taxes, the money can be used to build more apartments and housing in which the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) can be included in these developments. The HCV does better than section 8 because it "provides a subsidy to private landlords to pay the difference between what the tenant can afford with 30 percent of their family income and the fair market rent" (General plan, 2012). By creating more transit oriented developments, not only is a healthier city created by making the city more sustainable and pedestrian friendly, but it also creates a more job opportunities for ELI and VLI because of the housing balance that is occurring in the transit village. In addition, TODs save resident's money by allowing them to take public transit, and provides residents with peace of mind, knowing their kids are safe when traveling to and from school.



Enforcing regulations on school districts to make sure funding is distributed equally is a way of equaling out the playing field. Depending on the size of the school, that money is proportionally equal to the smaller schools, so that it is fair either way. Currently, there are no regulations in California regarding how funding is distributed. Enforcing these codes, can help schools fix these corrupt loopholes that have been going on for years.



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