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Los Angeles County: Housing Policy Effects on the Opportunity Gap for Latinx Students

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Abstract

By examining the residential and student populations in East Los Angeles and SouthEast Los Angeles, it is possible to identify the local housing politics that affect student success. Analysis of high mobility and displacement of students is indicative of the range of students' lack of academic opportunity. High mobility, displacement, safety concerns, and academic failure are attributed to exclusionary zoning, expulsive zoning, mixed-income housing and schooling, and tax increment funding. In addition to examining the effects of each policy on student success and levels of opportunity, it is necessary to examine the recommendations and limitations for amending the state of housing policies in Los Angeles County, and thus, the changes to students' academic trajectories.

Introduction

The predominantly Latinx neighborhoods and schools in East Los Angeles, and SouthEast Los Angeles are examples of the neighborhoods under neoliberal housing constraints that directly affect education. Neoliberal housing policies are "driven by market ideologies" (Lipman, 2013, 4). These same ideologies place an emphasis on product value and actively create housing constraints, and thus, educational constraints.There is a reciprocal causality between housing and education because both are issues of access and advancement. Specifically, displacement and segregation are deleterious to students because they prevent students from securing basic physiological and psychological needs. There are seemingly innumerable barriers that produce an opportunity gap for Latinx students including immigration constraints; language hierarchies; racial bias; generational wealth; and so on, but the focus of this paper is on a few of the neoliberal housing policies in Los Angeles County that alter the educational opportunities of students by creating learning gaps in educational trajectories and creating unsafe learning environments. However, it is important to recognize that while those factors are not the focus, they are the underlying issues of displacement and segregation.

In order to understand the impact of housing on education, it is critical to begin with the role of the Latinx presence in the history of housing policy. Following this discussion, I identify three housing pressures on Latinx communities: expulsive zoning, exclusionary zoning, and tax increment financing. I ground expulsive and exclusionary zoning in two empirical examples of two cities in Los Angeles County. I present mixed income housing, mixed income schools, and high residential mobility as additional factors of influence. Mixed income policies are often presented as a solution to inequity issues, but are instead, drivers of inequity despite some

findings of marginal benefits to students' social capital. High residential mobility refers to the constant movement engendered by housing insecurity, which in turn, leads to issues of access to a continuous educational trajectory. The paper concludes with recommendations for moving forward toward a more equitable reality for students as well as the limitations of these recommendations.

Latinx Urbanism and the Opportunity Gap

The community that exists under the designation Latinx Urbanism is also representative of *el barrio*- "the foundational logic" of Chicanx urbanism (Diaz & Torres, 2012, 22). Furthermore, el barrio is a network of community activists that resists and coexists with oppressive mechanisms. Like the term Latinx, Chicanx designates a population with gender neutral terms to incorporate people of all genders and non-genders; Chicanx is specific to individuals with Mexican heritage and a U.S. upbringing, chiefly located in the United States Southwest. Furthermore, the Chicanx terminology and movement first arose in the twentieth century amidst political turmoil and disenfranchisement. Latinx corresponds to individuals with ancestral ties to Latin America regardless of race.

El barrio is a term that explains the community organization system by which Chicanx and Latinx make sense of resistance and oppression in regards to living spaces. Moreover, it is a system that is sophisticated in its organization and networks: evidence of this organization is represented in empirical examples of housing discrimination and schooling. The barrios in Los Angeles County are systematically excluded from conversations that intersect housing and education, yet many barrios prevail in the representation of their voices to the extent that resource availability allows. Moreover, Latinx urbanism is a historical tool for addressing forces

of removal and currently functions through an informed lens of past activism. The historicity of displacement and segregation is one that presents itself in new iterations. The newest form of displacement and segregation "rivals that of the urban renewal period of the 1950s and 60s, which saw countless communities of color across the nation torn up for redevelopment or highway construction" (Samara, 2017). Followed by this period of redevelopment was the aforementioned wave of activism; not surprisingly, this form of activism coincided with the the second, modern civil rights movement. This wave of activists witnessed attempts at reform, but ultimately saw the efficacy of such reforms falter, and thus championed for their own reforms:

> "In 1967, CA Gov. Ronald Reagan signed the law, which had a simple goal: Cities and counties would have to plan 'for the housing needs of all economic segments of the community.' But just five months after the first plans were due in July 1969, state officials realized local governments were ignoring the law (...) a number of communities had "no intention of facing up to housing responsibilities.(Dillon, 2017, 3)".

This wave continued into the 1970's and 1980's as Latinx and African Americans fought unfair housing policies and discrimination connected to housing segregation. The Housing Discrimination Study (HDS) highlighted one branch of the issues through a 1988 audit in relation to "credit assistance for homebuyers"; "out of every 100 additional opportunities that agents took to discuss fixed-rate mortgage, 89 of the discussions were with whites alone" (Massey & Denton, 1993, 104).

Furthermore, Massey & Denton compiled segregation indices that indicate that race is "a powerful determinant of segregation" (98). They found that in the Los Angeles Metropolitan area in 1980 the indices of segregation were 44.8, 79.0, and 85.1 for white Latinx, Mixed Race Latinx, and Black Latinx, respectively (113). These figures demonstrate another dimension of segregation: black Latinx fare the worst in an already unjust system of segregation (Massey &

Denton, 1993). Studies also reveal that this reality exists within subgroups of Latinx communities thereby confirming the segregation issue. Specifically, within the Mexican immigrant community, an analysis of skin color and positionality revealed the following using a "spectrophotometer to measure skin color among Mexicans (...) showed that complexion lightens as one moves from poor, central city barrios to affluent suburban neighborhoods" (Massey & Denton, 1992, 236). With these issues prevailing in the twentieth century, activists focused on creating pathways for resistance through challenges to federal and state law. Now, the descendants of these activists and descendants of the barrio mechanism have inherited the process since the rise of gentrification in the first decade of the twenty-first century and its prevalence in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

Through activist activity, individuals highlight some pitfalls of the U.S. education system. Latinx students in the U.S. education system are amidst an education "crisis"; housing issues are both driving issues and marginal components of other factors that contribute to how Latinx students experience schools. The response to the crisis will determine how students and the U.S. fare in the future, "By 2025, the U.S. Census Bureau predicts that one of every four students will be Latino" (Gandara & Contreras, 2009, 17). In essence, the Latinx education crisis is a domestic crisis, and housing is one of the contributing factors.

Methods

Maywood, CA and Boyle Heights, CA served as empirical examples for discussing segregation and displacement, respectively. The Maywood example allows for a discussion of how environmental racism creates segregated communities with subpar school sites. These subpar school sites in turn affect basic factors for educational opportunity, namely psychological

and physical student needs. To illustrate the details of this example, I compiled legal documents of a local case, Maywood v.s. LAUSD, as well as documentaries featuring a neighborhood collective and EPA reports. The Boyle Heights example is indicative of a growing trend of displacement due to gentrification forces. Displacement directly affects educational outcomes by creating discontinuity in educational trajectories and a transient label for students who are affected by residential mobility. To build the context behind this example, I collected census data, theses on Boyle Heights, articles from local news source Boyle Heights Beat, LA times articles, and a public statement by Defend Boyle Heights. The scattered and often non-academic sources for these examples allude to issues of access and a lack of priority given to the narratives of these communities.

Displacement

A large portion of students and families facing displacement meet barriers based on decreases in the housing market in one of the following categories: "decreased multi-family units", "decreased rental units", "decreased affordable units", or a decrease in the aggregate supply of housing (Glass, 2014, 22). These all represent gentrification strictly through supply. This is also known as exclusionary zoning. A decrease in multi-family units has serious implications for people of color, especially Latinx families with school-age children because African American and Latinx families comprise the majority of renters of multi-family units and outnumber white renters, overall, by more than double (Lipman, 2013). In terms of affordability and availability, housing demands are stunted by a lack of compliance on behalf of local governments. Resentment against California law has led local governments to find loopholes in development. The resentment stems from the perceived lack of autonomy over the development

layout of communities that would result from compliance with California law. One such loophole was to attempt to circumvent the development of additional low income housing by deciding to, "count prison beds and student dormitories as low-income housing and allow cities that place foster children in their communities to reduce the number of low-income homes they need to plan for" (Dillon, 2017, 3)

According to a 2012-2016 American Community Survey the median household income in Boyle Heights was $29,499 and the percentage of individuals below poverty level was at 37.5%. Furthermore, the racial makeup of the area explicates the growing trend from 2000 to 2010. The white population in Boyle Heights in 2000 was 16,574 and the Latinx population was 45,601; in 2010 the white population in Boyle Heights was 22,458 and the Latinx population was 44, 703. Over the decade the changes in white and Latinx populations were +12.5% and -.8%, respectively (US Census, 2010).

The changes in the community are characterized by three driving forces art galleries, residential "flipping", and "re- tenanting". Art galleries in neighborhoods around the country aim to create a sense of desirability in certain neighborhoods for individuals perusing the housing market. The desirability is an artifact that coincides with the assumption that a neighborhood is becoming financially wealthier and whiter. Individuals that have joined Defend Boyle Heights (DBH) have created a grassroots initiative to express their discontent with the growing presence of art galleries that began at the outskirts of the city and are moving towards the city center. In addition to DBH other groups have joined in demanding change. A specific instance of these demands was made evident when a community meeting with Self Help Graphics and Art (SHG) was determined to be a method for exempting SHG from the ramifications of the art gallery

presence. SGH expressed their belief that developers were solely responsible for any and all displacement. DBH recorded their response to the community meeting:

> "At approximately 4 P.M., DBH led a group of 30-to-40 people, which included several long-time residents of the community and members of Union de Vecinos, Ovarian Psycos, Serve the People - Los Angeles, East Los Angeles Brown Berets and the Backyard Brigade, into the SHG building. We chanted 'El barrio no se vende! Boyle Heights se defiende!'(...) a couple of residents from the Pico Gardens Projects denounced the art galleries moving into the neighborhood irrespective of the rent-increases, evictions and overall redevelopment that accompany them" (Defend Boyle Heights, 2016).

Residential flipping is used as a justification for displacement forces such as gentrification. Residential flipping consists of buying a home and selling when prices have skyrocketed; the profit made from residential flipping is not accessible to most Latinx families for two reasons. The first is that most low-income Latinx families are renters, with a mere 45% rate of homeownership, and therefore, cannot practice residential flipping (Ford, 2017). Secondly, Latinx families who do own homes may not be able to sell because of their ties to the neighborhood, both familial and commercial. These commercial ties are also representative of some of the holdings that are lost in the process of retenanting.

Re-tenanting is similar to residential flipping but it does not bring any benefit to the residents of a unit; it is building owners who profit. Re-tenanting has encouraged illegal and legal hikes in rent in addition to tenant intimidation. However, California eviction law aids landlords' demands over tenants' demands; the advantage that landlords hold over tenants is related to time and money. The process by which evictions are taken to court in CA is skewed to the advantage of landlords. There are two main components that skew court outcomes in favor of landlords. First, is the stark difference between acquiring court dates:

> "Under state law, a landlord who sues his tenant for eviction has the right to go to trial within 20 days after the tenant files an answer. Meanwhile, if a tenant wants to sue his

> landlord for failing to make repairs, or not accommodating a disability, or illegally increasing rent, or even stalking and harassment, the tenant has to wait many times longer — up to a year or more — before getting a day in court." (Grynberg & Anderson, 2018 1).

Second, tenants who are facing re-tenanting often do not have the financial resources to begin litigation and much less to endure several rounds of filing and refiling that landlords use as a tactic: "outcomes for tenants facing exorbitant rent increases who fought eviction without legal help. In 151 randomly sampled cases, the tenants lost every time" (Grynberg & Anderson, 2018, 1).

Marked examples of the aforementioned familial and commercial ties exist as part of the Zavaleta-Barrales, Ramirez, and Gutierrez families' circumstances in Boyle Heights. The Zavaleta-Barrales family, specifically Elvira Barrales, was told "they had too many tenants living in their home of 16 years and that two of her four children would have to go or they would all be evicted" (Rivas, 2016, 1). The Ramirez family holds an investment of time and money in their commercial space. The family has invested 7,000 worth of "refrigerators", "display cases", and "merchandise" along with nine years of commitment (Rivas, 2016). Recently, they witnessed a stark change in their neighborhood as long-time community partners decided to relocate. Furthermore, the Ramirez family witnessed the rent hike firsthand when they were informed their store rent would hike from $1,700 a month to $3,500. Lastly, the Gutierrez family is a typical example of families who commutes to work several hours a week from her family's apartment in Boyle Heights, sacrificing convenience and school quality for housing affordability.

> "Gutierrez, 38, earns less than $15 an hour.She lives in Los Angeles' Boyle Heights neighborhood, crowding into a two-bedroom apartment with her husband, who is a substitute teacher, their 14-year-old son and 5-year-old daughter. Steep housing costs have forced Gutierrez's older sister to move in with them too.Gutierrez would like to live near her job and for her children to attend Torrance's better rated schools. But the $1,600-a-month rent she saw advertised for a one-bedroom apartment in Torrance was more than the $1,500 she pays now for more room across town" (Dillon, 2017, 1).

The relationship between these housing realities and how the children in these three families or the families throughout Boyle heights experience education after encountering exclusionary zoning is most evident in the effects of displacement. Exclusionary zoning engenders displacement and one such effect is high residential mobility.

Educational Gaps

Once families have experienced displacement, students begin to feel the impact of housing insecurity in their school life. "Multiple studies show that student mobility negatively affects children's academic achievement, emotional health, and general well being" (Lipman, 2013, 87). These effects are further compounded by the intersection of race and class. People of color experience higher levels of residential mobility. One contributor to this reality is the high number of Latinx families who are renters and not homeowners. The detrimental nature of residential mobility lies in the uncertainty of severing of social networks and the creation of educational gaps.

Students who experience a residential move six or more times during childhood are considered to be hypermobile (Crowley, 2003, 22). Instances of hypermobility in schools are typically described as "poverty-induced residential mobility"; it receives this designation because although some forms of hypermobility play a role in teacher perception of students and thus of academic success. Teachers tend to interact and intervene less for students who are deemed as transient because teachers perceive a diminished worth in investing time with these students. Similarly, students who are considered transient are provided with less special education services (Crowley, 2003).

The extent to which students are prepared to receive academic input is hindered if their basic behavioral and safety needs are not met. Maslow's hierarchy of needs is an appropriate visual for understanding how housing policy affects the Latinx opportunity gap. Students are on a trajectory through their academic career to acquire the tools for self actualization; this means fostering skills that allow students to achieve their full potential, breed creativity, and possess critical thinking skills that strengthen self-actualization goals. However, these needs cannot be met when schooling becomes a method through which students feel the impact of catering solely to survival motivations. The concept of survival motivation is meant to convey the preoccupation with the oppressive forces that create unsafe housing and schooling realities. These realities are detrimental to students' sense of self and physical existence thus positioning Latinx students several steps behind their white peers (Milner, 2012).

Segregation and Environmental Conditions

Expulsive zoning is a bifurcated concept represented by low-grade expulsive zoning and high-grade zoning. Low grade zoning"consists of land-use regulations that authorize noxious industrial or commercial uses near low-income communities of color", and high-grade zoning "consists of government-initiated gentrification" (Glass, 2014, 31). The focus of this section is solely on low-grade zoning. A case study of environmental racism in Maywood, CA, specifically as it relates to superfund sites and school location is a typical example of low-grade zoning.

At 1.8 square miles the city of Maywood is the ninth most densely packed city in the United States and is home to a predominantly Latinx community in SouthEast Los Angeles. Moreover, Maywood contains the fifth most contaminated superfund site in the United States- a

product of post-war chemical dumping. Residents' accounts include discussion of legal appeals, chemical types, and contaminated water sample collection. Residents belonging to a neighborhood collective, *Union de Vecinos*, share the visible effects of the superfund site on families in the area including high rates of coinciding cancer reports; water contaminated with arsenic, lead, manganese, and other chemicals; and air pollution containing mercury. These reports coincide with the EPA's documentation that identifies this site along the riverbed and adjacent to Maywood Riverfront Park as:

> "A chemical mixing facility on site used chlorinated solvents, aromatic solvents and flammable liquids from the late 1940s to early 1990s. Contaminants of concern include volatile organic compounds (VOCs). Following construction of the site's remedy, groundwater and soil treatment and monitoring are ongoing" (PEMACO).

The contamination of air and water supplies over multiple decades is considered chronic exposure. Research pertaining to chronic exposure to lead and solvents, some of the leading contaminants in Maywood, indicates that individuals experience deterioration of various cognitive abilities through the chronic exposure. For example, relative to control groups, individuals exposed to lead and solvents scored lower on verbal learning and memory, "information processing speeds and latency of response"; and "motor functions and manual dexterity" (Fiedler et. al, 2003, p. 412).

These three categories of skills are central to the success of students; the U.S. education system places high value on the recall of factual information, correlates quick responses in the classroom to comprehension and achievement, and allows for a high regard for sport and thus sports become a key socializing center. All of these are hindered by damages to the three skill categories, respectively. Similarly, low grade expulsive zoning affects students' exposure to green spaces which in turn affect students' academic outcomes. The effects of green spaces on

students' well-being include increases in test scores, behavior management, and higher education enrollment (Glass, 2014).

Furthermore, in between SouthEast Los Angeles and East Los Angeles is the city of Vernon, an industrial city that poses environmental concerns for students north and south of the industrial strip. Vernon contains a few dozen national enterprise factories and distribution centers including Farmer John's meat-processing facility, CRL- US Aluminum, Exxon Mobil, Matheson Gas, and more.

The placement of Matheson Gas facilities was particularly contentious because it led to Maywood v. Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). In 2012, residents filed a multi-part petition for writ of mandate to overturn a final environmental impact report (FEIR) administered by LAUSD because it lacked an in depth analysis of the safety of the school site. Maywood was able to secure portions of the petition and upon closer court-mandated revisions the new LAUSD report found significant, chemical-based, deterrents to the construction of the school site. Maywood v. LAUSD case outcomes are not common for neighborhoods like Maywood. Through the collective action of residents, chiefly, concerned parents, there was remediation in terms of increased monitoring and data collection (City of Maywood, 2016). This case study illustrates two driving factors environmental racism within segregation and segregation itself. The latter is often presented in relation to conversations about diversity and one such concept that is coupled with this discussion is mixed income housing and schooling.

Cultural Deficit Thinking and Assimilation

Mixed income housing is often presented as a solution to the disparate conditions of housing and thus schooling. However, mixed income housing falls under the discourse of

"regeneration" and is as problematic as other proposals of renewal (Lipman, 2013, 24). Mixed income housing has resulted from the belief that income diversification through mixed residencies will lead to mixed racial and school realities that benefit all parties involved. While diverse racial and income makeup in schooling should be a goal for all schools, it should be a consequence of equal opportunity and not superimposed standards. In other words, mixed income housing and schooling should result from the availability of choice for people of color who, in a new system, can incorporate themselves into any neighborhood because it is both welcoming and affordable. The issue with predominant mixed-income housing and mixed income schooling research is that it holds all other factors constant. Therefore, it sustains the hierarchies in mixed income housing and schools rather than work towards a gradual dismantling of inequity. Furthermore, mixed income schools fail students in three regards.

The first is the assumption that incorporating low income students, typically students of color, because of historical disenfranchisement, into more affluent schools and neighborhoods will result in heightened access to resources. The disbursement of these resources does not occur. The financial wealth and resources held by the middle and upper strata of individuals in a school system function in a way that middle class funds remain with middle class families. This is typically seen in the differences in programs and course selection; "there is also evidence that middle-class parents seek to insulate their children from lowering-achieving students and lower-income students of color through school tracking and social programs" (Lipman, 2013, 80). Tracking and social programs maintain the stratification between low income and middle-class families because they maintain the social advantages that come from affluent parents' social capital. For example, stakes in the dominant language and culture of a school and

an understanding of the U.S. schooling system in general are both examples of social capital more readily available to middle-class and affluent groups in the United States chiefly because of race and class intersections.

Second, mixed income housing and schooling corresponds with "cultural deficit thinking" in the classroom (Sharma, 2016, 137; Lipman, 2013, 82). As Sharma discusses, students in urban contexts face interactions in which teachers and administrators are apprehensive of their behaviors. Sharma uses Portelli's (2010, 2013) working definition of cultural deficit thinking to explain that deviations from a perceived norm, in this case the dominant school culture, are received as "negative"or "deprived". Furthermore, cultural deficit thinking can lead to "subtractive assimilation" (Sharma, 2016, 137).

Subtractive assimilation refers to the tension between student identity and the dominant narrative within schools; the tension creates a forcible system through which students are stripped of large portions of their culture. An example of the forcible nature of subtractive schooling is either the lack of use of a student's native language or in more harmful circumstances, the prohibition of the student's native language (Valenzuela, 1999). Furthermore, reinforcement of "neoliberal-based values of self-regulation, initiative, and responsibility replicates 'subtractive schooling'"; these traits compose what is referred to "character education". Character education is harmful for students whose behaviors fall outside the constraints of neoliberal expectations (Sharma, 2016, 144).

Mixed income housing and mixed income schooling are a function of both cultural deficit thinking and subtractive assimilation because they assume that Latinx culture is dependent on the white dominant culture for improvement. Lastly, mixed-income housing

sustains a "color-blind agenda" that hurts low-income students because it denies an open discussion about the plethora of issues that affect students' housing and experiences; this denial is rooted in prioritizing the "mixing" component over discussing the positive elements of difference and the ramifications of implicit and explicit bias (Lipman, 2013, 84).

Private Gain v.s. Educational Gain

Tax increment financing affects whether cities will prioritize funding marketable developments or invest in educational access. The concept of tax increment financing (TIF) began in California in the 1950's and has evolved into a new form and spread across the United States. The popularity of tax increment financing is a result of the neutral impact on taxes.Tax increment financing allows for the development of projects without a direct effect on raising tax rates; thus labeling TIF a "self-sustaining model" (Vaghul, 2016, 1). The process of tax increment financing can be condensed into three broad steps. The first is applying for the identification of a municipal government area as a TIF district,"The city declares an area 'blighted' and unlikely to be developed without government subsidy" (Lipman, 2013, 35). Second, the value of property assets in an area is examined to produce a "site's initial-assessed value". This value is essential for determining future spending.

Lastly, property tax revenue is "frozen" at the initial-assessed value and used as the guide for various spending areas, such as schools, for a set period of years "and growth in revenues above this level is put in a TIF fund for economic development" (Lipman, 2013, 35). In theory, the TIF process could help generate funds for schools, but allocation is highly subjective and private gains are often prioritized over school funding. The allocation is left to politicians and developers; fund transfers from one TIF district to another can be made without

community input. Furthermore, the process of freezing rates creates a diversion of tax revenue from schools and infrastructure to private development.Tax increment financing allows for capital accumulation that directly rivals school funding and public housing. Some of these projects include, "tourist attractions, city beautification projects, housing and gentrification projects, and retail" (Lipman, 2013, 35). Thus, the quality of schools and school resources that contribute to the opportunity are secondary to the private gains to be made from TIF district policies created under the guise of renewal.

Recommendations

The pool of recommendations for ameliorating displacement and segregation coincides with which factions of government should be held responsible for effecting change. These tiers are federal, state, city, and local. Local contains city policy, district policy, pedagogical practices, and family units. Theorists and politicians have proposed various cross sections of policy that would generate change in the intersection of housing and education.

At the federal level, many of the recommendations rest on improving the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. Massey and Denton propose a series of steps to approach the housing and education intersection through federal intervention. One aspect of these improvements is increased funding from the federal government to "local fair housing organizations" for the purpose of investigating unfair practices and housing discrimination. This form of funding existed before the Reagan administration through the "Comprehensive Education and Training Act and the Office of Economic Opportunity"(Massey & Denton, 1993, 230). This form of improvement rests in the power of individual and micro legal assistance such as specific court cases and legal guidance. However, Massey & Denton recognize that

improvements to segregation or the "american apartheid" require other structural changes in the federal government that are guided by past legislation such as the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments and the 1974 Equal Credit Opportunity Act (Massey & Denton, 1993, 230). These changes include increased audits of realtors and "detailed racial data on rental practices." Lastly Massey & Denton recommend both "vigorous desegregation through the affirmative mandate of The Fair Housing Act" (FHA) and "prompt judicial action" to enforce the FHA (Massey & Denton, 1993, 231).

At the state level, California has seen various tactics put forth by gubernatorial policies. Jerry Brown's "15 good bills" signed into law in September 2017 include direct action for various aspects of housing in a short-term period. The benefits of this set of bills are present in the content they address but in the immediacy with which changes are to be made- "all the bond money could be spent in as little as five years"(Dillon, 2017, 1). The overarching themes of the list of the "15 good bills" are prioritizing spending on low income housing, easing development of housing, preserving "more low-income housing", monitoring cities' housing projections and planning, and imposing penalties for restricting housing developments (Dillon, 2017, 3).

The specific assembly and senate bills that coincide with these themes include Senate Bill 3, Assembly Bill 1521, and Assembly Bill 72. Senate Bill 3 is a 4 billion dollar bond that would be directed towards low-income housing; individuals who qualify under this designation are individuals "making 60% or less of the median income" (Dillon, 2017, 2). This particular senate bill is impactful because it directly reaches individuals under the low-income designation and at higher rates than some of the other senate bills including Assembly Bill 73 with a low minimum of 20% of housing set aside for low-income residents. Assembly Bill 1521 addresses the

sustainability of reform because it ensures fair practices through an unending process; for every apartment complex that is purchased the new owners must "pledge to continue to rent the homes to low-income residents" (Dillon, 2017, 3). Lastly, Assembly Bill 72 holds cities accountable through investigations in relation to proposed city plans and projected housing developments; violation of the projections could result in referrals of cases to " California's attorney general for possible legal action" (Dillon, 2017, 3).

School districts and schools in California must also target the housing and education issue through a system that is already in existence and targets students who tend to be most affected by housing inequity; this system is the Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF). The LCFF is constantly renewed before the start of each school year along with district budgets. The LCFF applies to local educational agencies (LEAs) and school districts fall under this category. Recipients of LCFF funding are students on free or reduced lunch, foster students, and English Language Learners (ELLs). These communities of students receive funds through a more targeted system than previous revenue limits that were calculated as the product of a revenue limit and average daily attendance (ADA). Furthermore, the nature of the funds is targeted because funds are disbursed based on "over 50 categorical programs which are designed to provide targeted services based on the demographics and needs of the students in each district" (CA Dept of Education).

The individualized approach of the Local Control Funding Formula allows for more equitable distribution of resources. Even in conservative increments, additional funding towards each individual student creates significant changes for students: "for every additional $1,000 per student that a school district received, 6.1% more students from poor families earned a high

school diploma (the overall graduation rate rose 5.1%)" (Kirp, 2018, 3). The effects of LCFF are not limited to achievement based statistics such as increases in graduation rates and test scores. Increases in LCFF funding also determine future opportunities; for example, one study indicated that increased per-pupil spending in a low-income district through a "court ordered reform" resulted in a 10% increase in both the graduation rate and a 10% "rise in lifetime earnings" (Kirp, 2018, 2). Furthermore, the same study concluded the following "a 22% increase in per-pupil spending is [estimated to be] large enough to eliminate the education gap between children from low-income and nonpoor families" (Kirp, 2018, 2).

It is critical to highlight the difference between these direct infusions of funds and mixed income schooling. Direct infusions such as the Local Control Funding Formula allow students to have resources more readily available than the indirect assumption of funds from mixed income schooling. LCFF is a viable complement to the solution for the housing dilemma because it mitigates the effects of outside factors and distributes some responsibility to various sectors of government by focusing on a few specific grants and resources. This specialization allows other local, state, and federal to create a more streamlined approach to the housing and education crisis.

Limitations

As families, and the students within these families, interact with the pressing nature of segregation and displacement mechanisms it is important for all tiers of government to create collective systems for promoting real change. As Latinx students in Los Angeles County witness the pressures placed on the individuals in their lives who contribute to mortgages or to rent in units with a cost-burden of approximately 60% of total income, it is imperative to offer supports

within and outside school realms (Heck, 2014). The conversation on housing and education necessitates a discussion about ideals that appear to be outside of the realm of possibility. Presently, the issues that exacerbate housing and education inequity are issues with neoliberal and racist actions. In order for the Latinx community and other disenfranchised communities to secure the educational rights of their communities they must also secure the "right to their city" or in the case of the Latinx community, the right to el barrio: "The right to the city necessitates a struggle against racism, ideologically and materially including the right for people of color to determine their own institutions" (Lipman, 2013, 161).

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