On a warm, summer day in August 2014, a police officer killed Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. The media captured the ensuing civil unrest and televised it across the globe. Prior to this tragedy, Ferguson existed as an anonymous community, operating much like many other communities in the St. Louis region with no CNN, MSNBC, Fox News, or other media coverage. In the aftermath of Michael Brown’s death, the nation learned that Ferguson’s municipal leaders generated revenue by increasing municipal fines and fees annually. Moreover, this system that encouraged police and court officials to secure these revenue increases and to monitor the attainment of their gains had created an unjust police state for Blacks (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). In Ferguson, two-thirds of the population is Black, yet Blacks account for 85% of automobile stops, 90% of tickets and citations, and 93% of arrests. The U.S. Department of Justice found that the disparate effect of policing and related revenue-generating enforcement practices on Blacks increased by 48% when based on officers’ judgment, rather than technology, including radar or laser. The Department of Justice concluded that these practices of the segregation regime fostered a community divide and a lack of confidence in local public officials.

In 2014, Ferguson was not alone in its abusive use of tickets and fines to supply revenue to the respective municipality’s general fund. Other St. Louis County municipalities, including Pine Lawn, Bella Vista, Vinita Terrace, Cool Valley, and Beverly Hills, derived more than 50% of their general fund revenue from court and fine revenue. Many other municipalities in the St. Louis metro region generated upward of 30% of their general fund revenue in a similar fashion. State law banned this insidious practice, with St. Louis County municipalities mandated to cap court and fine revenue at 12.5% of their annual general operating revenue (Mack’s Creek Law, 2015). In Ferguson, a community divided by race and socioeconomic status, the fiscal system reinforced existing inequalities.

Keywords: child development; demography; descriptive analysis; desegregation; disparities; geography of opportunity; health; policy analysis; secondary data analysis; social stratification; urban education
These racialized practices constitute part of the local political economy and the behavior offers insight into a community’s economic status and correlated social resources across its metropolitan region (O’Flaherty, 2005). Anonymous to most of the nation, these towns and small communities embedded in a larger metropolitan region represent a unique case focused on the geography of opportunity in education and the human condition more broadly. In 1961, the late Jane Jacobs (1992), a renowned urbanist, stated,

> The qualities, necessities, advantages and behavior of great cities have been utterly confused with the qualities, necessities, advantages and behavior of other and more inert settlements. There is nothing economically or socially inevitable about either the decay of old cities or the fresh-minted decadence of the new unurban urbanization. On the contrary, no other aspect of our economy and society has been more purposefully manipulated for a full quarter century to achieve precisely what we are getting. (pp. 6–7)

In this remark, Jacobs made two important points. First, she noted that cities and communities are not the same. Second, Jacobs reminded us that urban living conditions are designed, developed, and even manipulated. Ferguson and the greater St. Louis metropolitan region are not an accident of random chance; rather, the region represents a product of intentional political acts and economic directives, including discriminatory practices and segregation-related policies and folkways (Cummings, 2004; Rothstein, 2014; Tate, 2008). Segregation in a metro region is associated with its fragmentation into many local governments (Cutler & Glaeser, 1997). The Justice Department report linked political fragmentation in the St. Louis region to social separation and fiscal disparities (Ferguson Commission, 2015). A common measure of metropolitan fragmentation is the number of government units per 100,000 residents. Orfield (2002) reported that the St. Louis metro region ranks third among the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the United States in terms of political fragmentation at 12.2 local governments per 100,000 residents. Political fragmentation creates interregional winners and losers in the areas of education and tax capacity to support education. Political fragmentation and its antecedent, segregation, place a region at risk for slow growth in terms of opportunity and economic mobility (Chetty, Hendren, Kline, & Saez, 2014).

Too often, residents and leaders residing in metropolitan America ignore geopolitical interdependence (Orfield, 2002; Walters, 2012). Without intervention, the communities with high poverty rates are less likely to attract wealthy residents, employment opportunities, and other opportunity accelerants (Galster, 2012). In turn, decreased in-migration of social and economic resources in high-poverty communities contributes to depressed property values. Furthermore, the in-migration of families experiencing poverty to high-poverty communities becomes a stable trait that increases concentrated poverty and disadvantage (Sampson, 2012). Multiple social challenges, including racial segregation, limited economic resources, poor health and developmental outcomes, and disparate education-related outcomes, tend to concentrate together geographically. Thus, well-being can be illustrated as a geographic construct. In this article, the authors aim to illustrate the nature and extent of well-being as a geographic construct in metropolitan St. Louis. More specific, the authors seek to determine if racial segregation, economic opportunity, health and developmental outcomes, and education-related outcomes are spatially arranged. If these metrics of well-being are spatially arranged and concentrated, it raises the important question: How does a politically fragmented region intervene to disrupt concentrated disadvantage?

The first section of this article provides a brief contextualization of the St. Louis segregation regime as a frame to interpret the current state of affairs. We view Ferguson as an archetype of structural inequality and segregation. What is the current state of affairs for Black youth in the region? The second section examines this question using social epidemiology and geospatial analysis, with the aim of seeing our neighbors in Ferguson and its surrounding areas with a specific focus on factors contributing to opportunity or regional decay. For too long, this community and others like it have been anonymous. The final section offers several recommendations for durable, intergenerational social policy and practice.

### Segregation and Fragmentation

Incorporated by the state of Missouri in 1894, Ferguson’s location 13 miles northwest of downtown St. Louis reflects the early western migration in the metropolitan region. Isolating Ferguson as the unit of study is tempting; however, the history of segregation and political fragmentation in the region suggests that the suburb is intertwined with the broader metropolitan area (Cummings, 2004; Gordon, 2008; Jones, 2000; Wells & Crain, 1997). Ferguson serves as a window into past practices and the current state of affairs. The city of Ferguson is located in one of the most segregated metropolitan regions in the United States. Logan and Stults (2011) reported that the St. Louis metropolitan area ranked in the top 10 of the most segregated regions, with a Black–White segregation dissimilarity index of 70.6. The index indicates that 70.6% of either group must change census tract to attain a balanced racial distribution.

Gordon’s (2008) geospatial history project described the region and its segregation regime’s practices. It documented how federal policy and policymakers; local government officials; and private sector organizations, such as realtors, churches, banks, and neighborhood associations, worked collaboratively to manipulate Black families’ access to quality housing. These policies and practices removed Black families from communities viewed as more appropriate for White families and directed many of them to segregated public housing and segregated neighborhoods. Consequently, the segregation regime regulated Blacks’ opportunities to secure residential housing and to benefit from the related services, such as education and health care in the region.

Officials used annexation to secure unincorporated, predominantly Black communities regarded as too close to White communities, subjecting the annexed properties to the taxing authority of the new municipality (Rothstein, 2014). Exposure to new financial burdens created by higher taxes placed many Black residents in financial distress and left them with
alternatives limited to segregated neighborhoods. Alternatives included neighborhoods designed based on racially explicit zoning regulations or segregated public housing. Throughout the St. Louis region, predominantly Black and segregated communities experienced denial or limited delivery of municipal services, such as trash collection, street lighting, and emergency response. Unfair and disparately distributed, these unhealthy conditions reinforced racial stereotypes about Black neighborhoods and fueled White flight.

White flight and the depopulation of St. Louis City accelerated after 1970. The city population decreased by almost 170,000 by the 1980 census and by more than an additional 100,000 by 2000 (Gordon, 2008). With each new census, the city’s population decreased from a post-World War II peak in 1950 at slightly more than 850,000 to an estimated 317,000 in 2014 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Fleeing the city and the city’s population decreased from a post-World War II peak in 1950 at slightly more than 850,000 to an estimated 317,000 in 2014 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Fleeing the city and the inner-ring suburbs as well, White residents moved further west and created a new color line that stretched west of the city to encompass large portions of nearby northeast St. Louis County, including Ferguson. Over time, many of the once majority White North County suburban communities experienced a new round of White flight. Leaving Ferguson and other northern suburbs with Black majorities, former residents moved further west, and in the case of Ferguson, a predominant White-elected governing structure and police department remained. The population shifts created a large void in the tax base of Ferguson and of other small, at-risk suburban communities experiencing depopulation and increasing racial segregation. These communities needing revenue used tickets, fines, and the courts to generate funding. These practices cost these municipalities the trust of local residents and more.

Other costly patterns and conditions associated with the northern corridor of St. Louis County and Ferguson stand out. Racial discrimination in housing and disinvestment in majority Black neighborhoods combined to limit the ability of Black families to pass housing equity across generations. In economic terms, these practices helped to sustain and to widen the Black–White wealth gap (Shapiro, 2004). This wealth gap represents a product of gaps in the rate of homeownership, period of homeownership, and terms of the ownership agreement. In Ferguson and across the metro region, now-outlawed racial discriminatory practices survive in the form of the Black–White wealth gap. Shapiro (2004) described this wealth advantage as a transformative asset able to lift families beyond their own achievements. In education terms, he reported that White families, including St. Louis metro residents, used their wealth advantage to advance their children’s education by moving to communities with quality schools, rather than by improving schools for all children. Education advancement reflects an intergenerational process where education-related family resources represent school resources accumulated across generations (Miller, 1995). Throughout the St. Louis region, this pattern influences academic achievement, as variations in education-relevant family resources are a function of the variations in the historical opportunity structures experienced by generations of racial/ethnic groups (Jargowsky & El Komi, 2009).

In Ferguson and other at-risk St. Louis County suburbs, Black residents subsidize economic development disparities due to political fragmentation and segregation by paying disproportional fines and court costs and then face wealth disadvantage as a result of discriminatory housing practices. The toll of these practices on education achievement and attainment is measured in generations. Miller (1995) argued that the ability to accelerate intergenerational education advancement for Blacks depends on the capacity to engineer more favorable opportunity structures as well as to supplement family and school resources. Decades ago, Gordon (1970) remarked that “educators are just beginning to realize that they confront tremendously complex problems when they seek to reverse the negative impacts of educational deprivation, social insulation, ethnic discrimination, and economic deprivation” (p. 1). Gordon and other scholars posited that to proactively intervene on education embedded in segregated communities warrants a better understanding of broader social conditions, such as economic structures, health, and youth development (e.g., Galster, 2012; Jargowsky & El Komi, 2009).

Data Sources and Methodology

Some scholars have argued that epidemiology and education research have for too long operated in a disjointed and disconnected fashion (Tate & Striley, 2010). The findings presented in this article are part of a larger social epidemiological case study of the St. Louis metropolitan region (Jones, Harris, & Tate, 2015; Tate, Jones, Thorne-Willington, & Hogrebe, 2012). Social epidemiology focuses particularly on the influences of social-structural factors on states of health and well-being (Honjo, 2004). Whereas many branches of epidemiology begin analysis at the biological level, social epidemiology assumes that the distribution of advantages and disadvantages in society reflects the distribution of health, development, and well-being. Sound evidence supports this assumption in the distribution of education-related outcomes (Duncan & Murnane, 2011; Tierney, 2015). An important risk factor in education and health is residential segregation and the associated geographic concentration of poverty (Kramer & Hogue, 2009; Williams & Collins, 2001).

Figure 1 illustrates a sequence through which racial segregation develops and influences life-course factors, including education and health outcomes. A sequence model implies causality and is, therefore, time-based. In this article, we intend neither to confirm nor to disconfirm causality, but rather to depict how processes operate with one another and to provide a very general sense of distribution and concentration. The processes in this model are consistent with other conceptual frames of urban segregation patterns (e.g., Galster, 2012; Johnson, 2012; Massey & Denton, 1993). The model is used also as a conceptual and organizational frame for the geospatial analysis of residential segregation, education, and health in metropolitan St. Louis.

In this social epidemiological case study, the sequence model in Figure 1 guides variable selection. The study uses Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mapping as an analytical strategy to interpret information from multiple data sources, including the U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey and ZIP Code Business Patterns, Missouri Department of Elementary &
Secondary Education Missouri Comprehensive Data System, and the Missouri Department of Health & Senior Services Missouri Information for Community Assessment. Table 1 provides a summary of constructs and a brief description of the relevance of each construct to this social epidemiological case study.

A limitation of our approach is the use of geographic units based on ZIP codes. ZIP codes reflect U.S. postal mailing zones, as opposed to polygons organized to understand economic, health, and education-related concentrations. State health and business data organized by ZIP code offered an opportunity to examine the model. Grubesic and Matisziw (2006) noted that using ZIP codes in geospatial studies introduced fewer problems or errors if confined to local regions, as opposed to statewide or national ones. In this investigation, we conducted a local analysis.
Louis County and in neighboring St. Charles County. Racially concentrated communities with relatively low business payroll suggest a lack of economic opportunity and capacity to support social mobility.

Poverty

The map in Figure 4 illustrates the geospatial distribution of the population living in poverty by census tract across the St. Louis area. Several census tracts along the Missouri–Illinois line in eastern St. Louis City had poverty rates between 40.7% and 63.2%. In contrast, the majority of census tracts in St. Charles County and in southern and western St. Louis County had poverty concentrations below 14.8%. From 2009 to 2013, a cluster of census tracts in northern St. Louis City and nearby northern suburbs had some of the highest poverty rates. Recall the comparatively high Black population in most of these areas, whereas home values, number of businesses, and annual business payroll remained relatively low. The study does not attempt to demonstrate causation between economic investment distributions and poverty distributions. Instead, the findings of the analysis...
demonstrate that these factors exist in concentrated and aligned fashion. The alignment of these distributions represents a policy opportunity for regional reform.

Health and Developmental Outcomes

Preterm birth and low birth weight (LBW) rates constitute two important indicators of maternal education attainment and of children's future cognitive ability and education outcomes (Berliner, 2009; Hernandez & Napierala, 2014). Research suggests that low maternal education attainment is associated with poor health and that women with poor health have an increased risk of delivering preterm and LBW babies (Williams et al., 2013). Preterm birth and LBW, in turn, may increase children's risk of impaired cognitive development, learning ability, and future academic achievement. Across the St. Louis metropolitan region, the preterm birth rate ranged from 0% to 34.5% in 2013 (see Figure 5a). Several ZIP codes in northern St. Louis City and in nearby northern suburbs, including Ferguson, had relatively high preterm birth rates. Preterm birth rates were lowest in St. Charles County and in southern and western St. Louis County.

As Figure 5b indicates, LBW rates were also highest in ZIP codes throughout St. Louis City and in several nearby northern suburbs. In one of these ZIP codes, the LBW rate was approximately 20%. In the city of Ferguson, the rate was 15.5% in 2013. Similar to the proportion of preterm births, that of LBW was relatively low throughout St. Charles County and the majority of St. Louis County. Throughout the St. Louis region,
preterm birth and LBW rates cluster. The effects of concentrated high preterm birth and LBW rates are not well understood in terms of regional outcomes. However, it is clear that some communities will experience significantly greater needs related to maternal education, early interventions, and health supports.

Asthma poses a risk to opportunity to learn, as students miss school, and many experience cognitive challenges that affect learning. According to Blackman and Gurka (2007), behavioral problems and learning disabilities represent comorbid conditions for many students with asthma. More acute child asthma cases corresponded to higher incidence of the comorbid conditions. Harris (2014) examined asthma prevalence rates across metropolitan St. Louis. Consistent with prior research, she found clusters of high asthma rates in the northern sector of the metropolitan region and, in contrast, clusters of low asthma rates in the southern and western regions. High asthma hotspots differed sociodemographically from those regions with low asthma rates. Regions expressing high asthma rates consisted largely of Black populations living in concentrated poverty with more public housing, poorer housing stock, and relatively higher levels of violence. In addition, these areas offered limited physical access to health care.

As Figure 6a illustrates, the percentage of emergency room (ER) visits attributable to asthma among children differed distinctly across the St. Louis metropolitan region in 2013. Excluding a low-population outlier in northeastern St. Charles County, the majority of ZIP codes with the highest percentages of asthma-related, child ER visits was located in northernmost St. Louis City and St. Louis County. This group included ZIP codes in Ferguson. A cluster of ZIP codes along Interstate 64 in western St. Louis County and in central St. Charles County had the lowest proportions of asthma-related ER visits among children. Among all children in the United States, asthma represents the most commonly diagnosed chronic disease and the main reason for absences among school-age children (Basch, 2011a, 2011b). In addition, the disease disproportionately affects children of color in poor, urban areas (Claudio et al., 2006; Eggleston et al., 1999). The high proportions of asthma-attributable ER visits among children in predominantly Black and poor St. Louis communities align with this evidence.

Research suggests that health insurance coverage may improve various education outcomes (Berliner, 2009; Cohodes et al., 2014; Levine & Schanzenbach, 2009). The Institute of Medicine (2002) reported that uninsured children have less access to health care, are less likely to have a regular source of primary care, and use medical care less often than do children with insurance coverage. Figure 6b demonstrates that health insurance coverage varied considerably across the St. Louis metropolitan area. From 2009 to 2013, ZIP codes in central and western St. Louis County had the lowest percentages of children without health insurance. In contrast, several ZIP codes throughout St. Louis City and in northern St. Louis County had comparatively high percentages of uninsured children. These conditions serve as an important indicator for educators, given that uninsured children may experience adverse outcomes on academic tasks and in social relations and, ultimately, in education attainment (Institute of Medicine, 2002).

Education Attainment

Purnell et al. (2014) associated failure to complete a high school education with economic distress, poor health outcomes, and premature death during adulthood. Each year in the region, thousands of Black 9th- through 12th-grade students drop out during the academic year. In most area school districts, less than 4% of students dropped out of high school during the 2013 academic year (see Figure 7a). In the Ferguson-Florissant district, the dropout rate was 5%. Nearly 10% of students dropped out of high school in the St. Louis City school district. As in previous years, the dropout rate in neighboring Normandy school district was greater than 20%. Each of these school districts serves majority-Black communities in the St. Louis area. Thus, the pattern of comparatively high dropout rates in these districts aligns with the trend of regional racial disparities.

As Figure 7b indicates, the geospatial distribution of high education attainment across the St. Louis area reflects that of previously examined indicators. From 2009 to 2013, less than approximately 25% of adults had obtained a bachelor's or higher degree in most ZIP codes in northern St. Louis City and in most nearby north suburbs, including Ferguson. In one of these ZIP codes, only 1.8% of the adult population had obtained a
bachelor’s or higher degree. In stark contrast, 57.4% to 77.3% of adults in ZIP codes in central and western St. Louis County had obtained at least a bachelor’s degree. Such a pattern points to potential future disparities related to education attainment in the St. Louis metro region.

Recommendations for Economic and Social Reform

The evidence presented in this article suggests that building an opportunity-rich St. Louis region will require reversing the effects of segregation. In brief detail below, we describe a few recommendations that have implications for social scientists and leaders in the fields of education and child development.

Innovation, Diversity, and Housing

Although industry is dispersed in the region, the annual payroll by ZIP code is dissimilar, with high payrolls in the central corridor of St. Louis City and western St. Louis County and relatively low payrolls in northern St. Louis County (e.g., Ferguson) and north St. Louis City. This economic development disparity aligns with the poverty trends in the region. The region needs multiple innovation districts in the northern sector of the metropolitan area. Biotechnology is a regional strength with the Cortex Innovation Community integrated into a historic, central corridor St. Louis City neighborhood and surrounded by nationally ranked biology, biomedical, and public health academic departments and medical centers. Characterized as part of a new geography of innovation in America, the Cortex Innovation Community seeks to grow firms, networks, and trade sectors as a means of helping the metropolis improve its standing as a global competitor (Katz & Wagner, 2014). Unlike a previous generation of isolated research parks, the Cortex design emphasizes an interdependent built environment that seeks to improve business integration and knowledge spillovers. The design represents a purposeful plan to discover new products, technologies, and market solutions by bringing together different sectors and fields (e.g., data science, biomedical, education, or energy). Cortex is unique in a region that has employed customary urban
revitalization efforts that have emphasized the commercial aspects of development, such as retail and sports stadiums. This type of commercial development is important, although limited as a tool of mobility, as seen in the region’s disparities in payroll by ZIP code.

The city of St. Louis has secured an agreement to serve as home to a major location of the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency. This agreement represents more than just a commercial development opportunity where a few new government buildings and a bound number of jobs should serve as the aim. Instead, this agreement provides a catalytic opportunity to develop an innovation community focused on location intelligence involving smart devices, sensors, cloud storage, machine learning, remote imagery, GIS integration, and other technologies. Higher education leaders play an important role in this process. Universities serve as anchor institutions that provide human capital, research infrastructure, organizational capacity, and other strategically important factors needed to realize the development of an innovation community.

The point is to move beyond traditional urban development toward a sustainable, vibrant community in which economic mobility is feasible. Part of this opportunity regime should include a greater presence of African American businesses. Parker (2015) found that the presence of African American businesses contributed to the decline in Black youth violence in the 1990s, whereas the rate of paid employees in Black firms was unrelated to Black youth violence. She argued that beyond increasing Blacks on the payroll, Black firms provided role models, value changes, and social buffers. Cortex Innovation Community and other innovation hubs represent important places to incubate greater diversity on the leadership front.

As with the Cortex Innovation Community, to accomplish the recommendation of a location intelligence innovation community requires ongoing cooperation between local universities and colleges, city government, and private capital. With the model now in place, we need to expand the model to other areas, while attending to housing policy. Housing represents a staple in urban revitalization. In the Cortex Innovation Community or in any community targeted for a new innovation opportunity, the risk for gentrification remains very high. To ensure indigenous citizens’ opportunity to experience the benefits of the new community, we need inclusionary zoning policy to secure affordable housing.

**Health Insurance**

Expanding access to health insurance represents one response to disparities related to distributions involving preterm births and LBWs, ER visits attributable to asthma, and school dropout. Children with health insurance perform better in school. Cohodes et al. (2014) reported that the expansion of public health care in the form of Medicaid reduced high school dropout rates, increased college attendance, and improved the rate of college degree attainment. Their evidence suggests that financing health insurance coverage is education policy reform (Tate, 2016). To date, Missouri has not expanded Medicaid (MO HealthNet) under the Affordable Care Act. Nondisabled adults without children remain ineligible for Medicaid regardless of their income status. Moreover, eligibility status for parents with dependent children necessitates an income that does not surpass 18% of the poverty level. Capped at 15%, only the state of Texas established a lower Medicaid eligibility level. It is fortunate that Missouri categorizes children eligible for Medicaid or the Children’s Health Insurance Program if they reside in households with incomes up to 300% of the federal poverty level. This benefit establishes support for children living in challenging financial conditions; however, research has found that the enrollment of eligible children improves with parental coverage in public health insurance programs. In short, children benefit when their parents have coverage. Garfield and Damico (2016) stated that nearly a quarter of a million people nationally in the coverage gap comprise poor parents with incomes above Medicaid eligibility levels. This coverage gap problem exists for children living in Missouri and other states without Medicaid expansion. In light of extant evidence, these children are at risk for falling into a coverage gap.

Medicaid expansion in Missouri constitutes an important education policy target for metropolitan St. Louis. Medicaid expansion addresses the region’s challenges with maternal care and the associated preterm and LBW distribution, ER visits for asthma, and the dropout problem. The spillover effects on the regional economy prove significant. Estimates suggest that increasing high school completion for African American students by 1,000 per year would provide these graduates $11 million more in annual income, increase spending on homes by $21 million, increase gross regional product by $15 million, and add $1.1 million to local and state revenues annually through increased spending and investments (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2011). This estimate increases at scale for each increase of 1,000 students moved from school dropout status to high school completion. Health insurance coverage has the potential to, across generations, reduce social ills associated with the St. Louis region’s segregation regime and related to education, health, housing, and economic mobility.

**Opportunity Regime**

Intergenerational economic and social investments influence attainment in education and foster positive developmental outcomes for youth. In the St. Louis region, the Cortex Innovation Community and the emerging geospatial hub created new public–private alliances that add value to scientific and technological advancement, while forming a network of organizations with the institutional capacity to change the nature of opportunity in the region. We propose that these alliances evolve into an opportunity regime where evidence-based efforts to improve the life course of the entire community inform the development process. In addition, we recommend statewide Medicaid expansion. Both recommendations face the same obstacle—the commitment of political and business elites.

In their study of civic capacity, race, and education, Henig, Hula, Orr, and Pedescleaux (1999) stated,

> Much empirical research on regime formation supports the view that economic elites have a privileged position in the policy process. . . . This privileged position follows from both a control over significant social resources and the central interests of economic elites in such efforts. (p. 291)

It remains unclear if regional economic and political elites will pledge the type of long-term dedication required to implement and to reap the benefits of a broader set of human capital development goals, including health insurance investments. Should
moral arguments fail to motivate support, the business case for these investments includes safer and healthier communities where enterprise and a better educated workforce prosper.

NOTES

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1Inner-ring suburbs refer to suburban communities that are close to the central city.

2The results of the geospatial analysis are presented and discussed in the same section. Whereas many education research articles separate the presentation of the results and the discussion, it is common in social science where mapping is used to provide a more integrated approach (e.g., Wilson & Renner, 2015).

3The Black alone-in-combination population reflects the maximum number of people reporting Black on the U.S. Census, as it combines respondents reporting Black alone and those who reported Black in combination with other races. In the remainder of the article, if we use the term Black in a geospatial analysis, it reflects Black alone.

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