



Housing and Educational Inequality: The Case of Long Island

JUNE 1, 2023 – RICHARD D. KAHLENBERG

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Many policymakers agree that housing and land use reform is a top priority, particularly in New York State, in order to moderate housing prices. But an often-overlooked point is that such reform is also important in order to promote equal educational opportunity.

Because most public school students are assigned to schools in the neighborhoods where they live, housing reform is also education reform—a point that a series of Century Foundation reports on different communities in New York State is seeking to emphasize. In early April, TCF published a case study showing how restrictive zoning policies inhibit educational opportunity in Queens.¹ And now this report focuses on how exclusionary housing policies (such as bans on multifamily housing and minimum lot size requirements) reduce educational opportunities on Long Island. Two subsequent reports in this series will address the connection between housing and schooling in other areas in the state.

A critical observation running through all the reports is that exclusionary zoning thwarts the opportunity of children from low wage and working-class families to attend high-performing schools. A 2016 study examining ninety-five big metropolitan areas found that those with more restrictive

zoning and land use regulation were associated with higher levels of income segregation. The researchers, Michael C. Lens and Paavo Monkkonen, found that greater “density restrictions” (such as minimum lot sizes) increased income segregation by segregating the wealthy from the middle class. In addition, the authors found that “the complexity of the municipal review process, measured by the number of approvals that local governments require for new housing developments, is strongly related to the segregation of low-income households.”²

An additional body of research finds that providing low-income students a chance to attend more economically integrated schools can be one of the most powerful engines for improving academic achievement. Economically mixed schools are far more likely to have experienced teachers, and a community of parents who have the time and resources to volunteer in classrooms and support the education of all students.³ The one-two punch of exclusionary zoning that segregates families, and residency requirements for attending local public schools, drives separate and unequal schooling in America.

This report proceeds in five parts. The first part takes a

<https://tcf.org/content/report/housing-and-educational-inequality-the-case-of-long-island/>

deep dive into how two Long Island communities located in Nassau County—Flower Hill and Hempstead—vary dramatically in their demographic makeups, the prices of their homes, and in the educational opportunities that their school systems provide. The second part examines how it came to be that Flower Hill and the Village of Hempstead, located just nine miles apart, ended up so profoundly separate and unequal. That section of the report looks at the role of location, choice, racial engineering, and exclusionary zoning in driving economic and racial inequality between the two communities. The third part transitions to how the Long Island findings fit into the ongoing housing debate in New York State: what Governor Kathy Hochul has proposed, and how the political opposition from New York City suburbs kept the plan from making it into the state budget. The fourth part outlines reasons why the failure to produce a robust housing plan to date is deeply troubling. The fifth part charts a path for a better future.

Comparing Two Nearby Long Island Communities: Flower Hill and the Village of Hempstead

This report examines zoning restrictions and educational opportunity in two communities in Nassau County on Long Island. Nassau County, which is nestled between Queens and Suffolk County, is associated with some of the greatest wealth in the entire country. In F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, the opulent East Egg and West Egg are modeled, one reporter notes, after "Cow Neck and Great Neck, respectively, two peninsulas of Nassau County that border Manhasset Bay." This area of Long Island is known as the Gold Coast.⁴ Nassau County is also home to Theodore Roosevelt's famous Sagamore Hill estate, located in Oyster Bay.⁵ Long Island's Suffolk County, meanwhile, is home to the Hamptons, with its glittering summer estates.

But the enormous wealth that resides on Long Island is just one part of the story, as the region also has considerable economic and racial diversity. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, of Nassau County's 1.38 million residents in 2022, 57 percent were non-Hispanic whites, 18 percent Hispanic, 13 percent Black, and 12 percent Asian. The median household

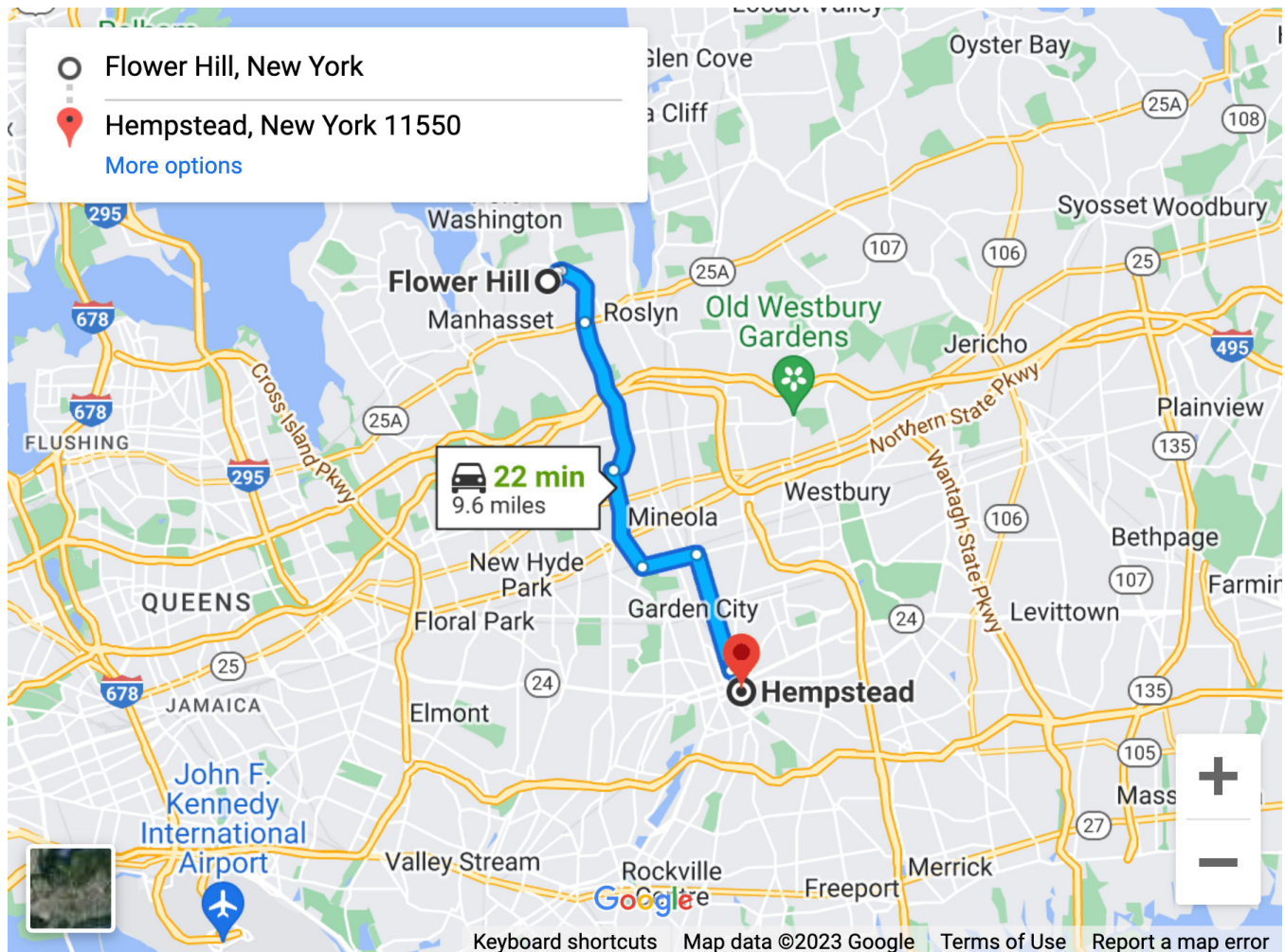
income was \$127,000.⁶ But median income fluctuates a great deal. In Inwood, for example, median household income was \$65,298 for 2017 to 2021, while in Sands Point, the median household income exceeded \$250,000.⁷ Suffolk County, with a population of 1.53 million in 2022, was 66 percent non-Hispanic white, 21 percent Hispanic, 9 percent Black, and 4 percent Asian. The median household income was \$112,000.⁸ In recent years, median household income varied a great deal. Riverside had a median income of just \$39,571 in 2017, while more recently, Lloyd Harbor had a median household income in excess of \$250,000.⁹

Long Island's diverse residents are highly segregated by race and income.¹⁰ The civil rights group ERASE Racism reports that Long Island is "one of the 10 most racially segregated regions in the nation."¹¹ A recent ERASE Racism report found that Nassau County has the largest number of school districts with students of color who are intensely segregated of any county in the state.¹² Consider the communities that are located near Long Island's Meadowbrook Parkway. On one side of the parkway is mostly white Merrick, North Merrick, and East Meadow, while on the other is mostly minority Freeport, Roosevelt, and Uniondale. Some communities on one side of the parkway are as little as 1 percent white, and others on the other side are as little as 2 percent Black. Out of 291 Long Island communities, most Black residents are concentrated in just eleven of them.¹³

To examine the connection between zoning and educational opportunities, The Century Foundation worked with Vicki Been, a former deputy mayor for housing and economic development in New York City, and a faculty director of the Furman Center at New York University, and Been's Furman colleagues Hayley Raetz, Jiaqi Dong, and Matthew Murphy, to identify two Long Island communities near one another that have different zoning regimes: Flower Hill and the Village of Hempstead. The communities are located just nine miles from one another, but in terms of zoning, racial and economic demographics, and the performance of the public schools, the two municipalities are a world apart.

Flower Hill, a small community of 4,794 residents, had a population that is 74.4 percent non-Hispanic white, 12.3

FIGURE 1



percent Asian, 8.3 percent Hispanic, and just 1.7 percent Black in 2021. Eighty percent of the adult population had a bachelor's degree or more. The median household income was a staggering \$246,533.

The Village of Hempstead, a community with 59,169 residents, had a population that is 46.3 percent Black, 45.1 percent Hispanic, and just 4.8 percent non-Hispanic white and 1.7 percent Asian in 2021. Just 17 percent of adults had a bachelor's degree or more—a gaping 63-point gap in college attainment compared with Flower Hill. The median household income in Hempstead was \$74,680, less than one third the income in Flower Hill. (See Table 1 and Appendix 1.)

The local public school student populations in Flower Hill and

the Village of Hempstead reflect the different demographics of the two communities. Flower Hill does not have its own school system and is instead served by three public school districts—Roslyn Union Free School District, Manhasset Union Free School District, and Port Washington Union Free School District.¹⁴ In Flower Hill—serving schools, 14.1 percent of students were eligible for free or reduced price lunch in 2021 at the elementary school level (meaning they come from families at or below 185 percent of the poverty line). In Hempstead, where almost all students are served by the Hempstead Union Free School District, the comparable proportion of public school students eligible for subsidized lunch was 65.1 percent. (See Figure 2.)

Researchers have concluded that in order to provide equal opportunity, schools with higher concentrations of poverty

TABLE 1

FLOWER HILL AND THE VILLAGE OF HEMPSTEAD DEMOGRAPHICS, 2021		
	Flower Hill	Village of Hempstead
Median household income	\$246,533	\$74,680
Percentage of adults with a bachelor's degree or higher	80.1%	17.3%
White	74.4%	4.8%
Black	1.7%	46.3%
Hispanic	8.3%	45.1%
Asian	12.3%	1.7%
Source: NYU Furman Center. For more details, see Appendix 1.		

like those in the Village of Hempstead should spend more money per pupil in order to provide genuine equal opportunity. In fact, however, the per pupil expenditure in 2020 was \$16,443 in Hempstead, or about \$4,000 less per pupil than in Flower Hill, where the expenditure was \$20,457. That extra money in Flower Hill was able to purchase important educational benefits, such as lower student-teacher ratios. In 2021, for example, there were 9.6 students for every teacher in Flower Hill at the elementary school level, compared with 17.6 students for every teacher in Hempstead.

Teacher experience can improve academic achievement for children, yet in Hempstead, 15.2 percent of teachers were in their first or second year of teaching in 2017, six times the rate of Flower Hill, where just 2.5 percent of teachers were in their first or second year.

Finally, access to College Board Advanced Placement (AP) classes can be a sign of a rich and rigorous curriculum. At Flower Hill, those courses are abundant. Roslyn High School offers twenty-four types of AP classes, and Paul D. Schrieber Senior High School offers thirty-seven types of AP classes. Data were not available for AP offerings in Hempstead through the same source as those found for Flower Hill. (See Appendix 3.) But local data suggest that Hempstead High

School offered seventeen AP courses.¹⁵

In 2019, 31 percent of Hempstead students were performing at grade level in English, compared with 74 percent of students in Flower Hill—a staggering 43-percentage-point gap. In math, 31 percent of Hempstead students performed at grade level, compared with 77 percent of Flower Hills students, an even larger 46-point gap. In 2021, only 75 percent of Hempstead public high school students graduated in four years, compared with 95 percent of Flower Hill public high school students.

Some might attribute the different level of student performance entirely to the fact that wealthier parents can provide, on average, more opportunities to children, but that would be an overstatement. It is true that the socioeconomic status of a child's family has a powerful relationship to opportunity, and therefore student achievement. A student who has good nutrition, health care, a quiet place to study, and access to the Internet, can be expected, on average, to perform better academically than a student deprived of these supports.¹⁶ So the higher levels of student economic need found in Hempstead compared to Flower Hill would be expected, by itself, to translate into somewhat lower levels of achievement for the student body as a whole.

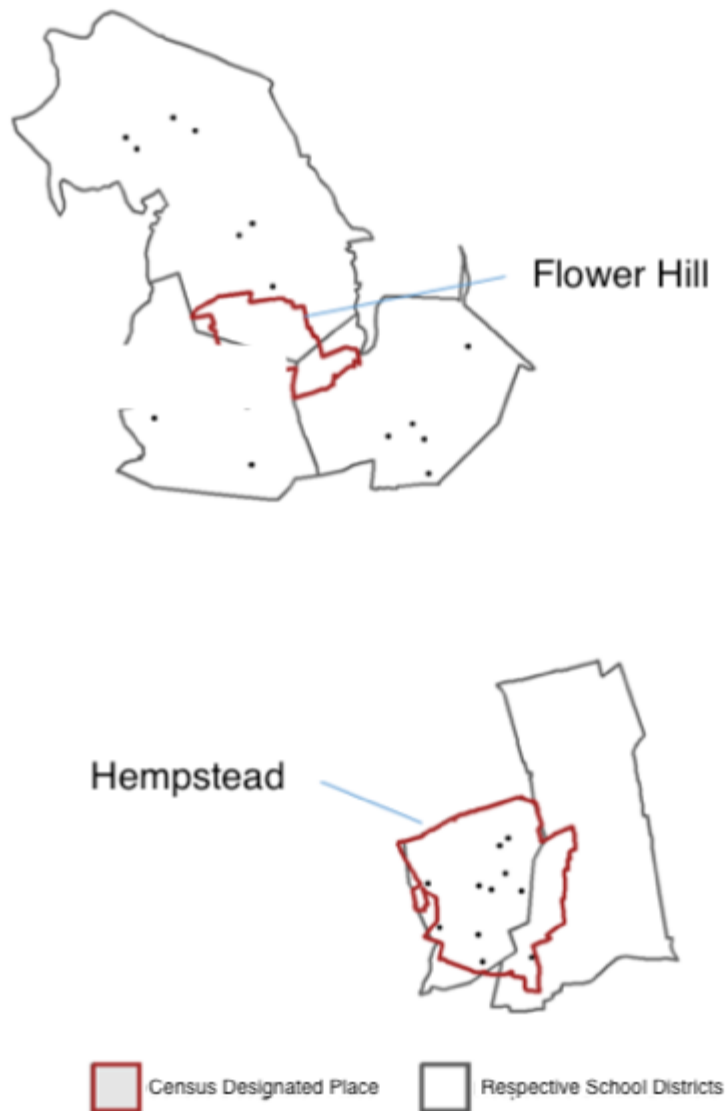
But separate and unequal schooling itself plays a well-documented role in exacerbating inequalities. Lower levels of school expenditure, lower levels of teacher experience, and the well-documented harmful effects of concentrated poverty all take an additional toll on student achievement

at the national level. Student performance in Hempstead suggests it is no exception.

FIGURE 2

Public Schools in Flower Hill and Hempstead

Nassau County, NY



Sources: New York State Education Department, NYU Furman Center

TABLE 2

FLOWER HILL AND THE VILLAGE OF HEMPSTEAD: SCHOOL FACTORS AND OUTCOMES		
	Flower Hill	Village of Hempstead
Percent of students qualifying for free and reduced-price lunch, elementary level, 2021–22	14.1%	65.1%
Per-pupil expenditure, 2020	\$20,457	\$16,443
Student–teacher ratio, elementary level, 2021	9.6	17.6
Share of teachers in their first or second year of teaching, 2017	2.5%	15.2%
Percentage of students performing at grade level in English, 2019	73.8%	30.9%
Percentage of students performing at grade level in Math, 2019	76.7%	30.8%
Percentage of high school students who graduated in four years, 2019	94.6%	75.0%
Source: NYU Furman Center. For more details, see Appendix 1.		

How Did Flower Hill and the Village of Hempstead Become Separate and Unequal?

How did Flower Hill and the Village Hempstead—and other communities on Long Island—end up so economically and racially segregated? And how did their schools end up so unequal?

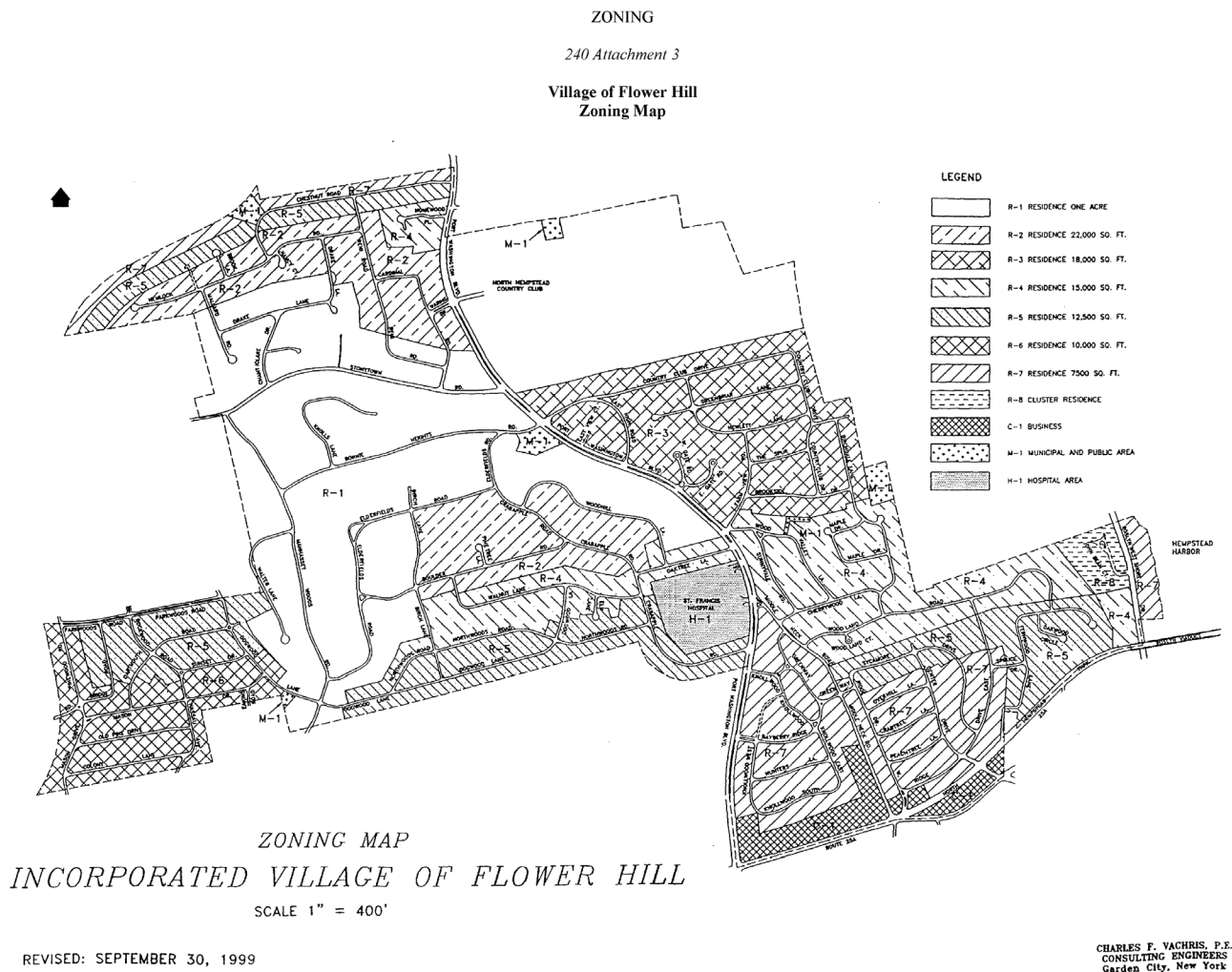
There are three broad theories advanced by researchers: (1) segregation reflects the family choices and the working of the marketplace; (2) segregation reflects past and present racial discrimination (which is illegal today); and (3) segregation reflects income discrimination through zoning (which remains totally legal).¹⁷ There is some truth in each of these theories, and we examine the strength of the evidence to support each below.

Choice and the Marketplace

The most benign interpretation of the staggering inequalities between Flower Hill and the Village of Hempstead is that the racial and socioeconomic differences represent individual choices, as well as the reality that in a market-based economy, communities that offer stronger amenities—such as well-run public schools, or large homes—will command higher housing prices that tend to exclude working class families, a disproportionate share of whom are people of color.

There is some truth to this analysis, but it is at best an incomplete truth. There is, for example, some reason to believe that Black and Hispanic Americans, who can face discrimination in the workplace and schooling, may seek a residential area where they can avoid such indignities. And it is true that higher-income Americans will pay extra for a strong public school system, or for a home in a North Shore

FIGURE 3



Long Island community such as Great Neck that affords picturesque views of the bays associated with the Long Island Sound.

But there are also limits to this explanation. A poll of Long Island Black residents found that 69 percent preferred integrated neighborhoods, while just 1 percent wanted to live in all-Black neighborhoods.¹⁸ The preferences of Black families clearly does not explain the very high levels of segregation found in parts of Long Island. And in the cases of Flower Hill and Hempstead, both provide roughly similar commutes to work in Manhattan and neither is located on the water. Choice and the marketplace both matter (Flower Hill's higher performing schools can explain higher housing

prices); but the evidence outlined below suggests there is more to the story.

Past and Present Racial Discrimination

Racial discrimination—past and present—also helps explain why Long Island communities such as the Village of Hempstead and Flower Hill and others became and remain highly segregated. While Hempstead has a long history of being open to African Americans, many other Long Island communities were strictly off limits.¹⁹ One tool of exclusion was the use of racially restrictive covenants, which forbade homeowners from reselling a property to Black people. Richard Rothstein's monumental history of racial

discrimination in housing, *The Color of Law*, notes that a survey of 300 developments built between 1935 and 1947 in Nassau County (and other Manhattan suburbs such as Queens and Westchester County) found that “56 percent had racially restrictive covenants. Of the larger subdivisions (those with seventy-five or more units) 85 percent had them.”²⁰

Emblematic of the exclusion was Nassau County’s famous Levittown, a massive development of 17,500 homes, popular among returning World War II veterans, and located just six miles from Hempstead. As Rothstein notes, some returning Black veterans literally helped build Levittown, but they were not permitted to live there.²¹ The creator of Levittown, William Levitt, was a bigot, Rothstein says, but even if he had not been, the Federal Housing Administration and Veteran’s Administration—which helped provide the necessary financial guarantees to make Levittown possible—would not have provided public support for Levittown had the development allowed Black people to live there. Having racially restrictive covenants was a key condition of federal approval.²² (Another Levittown was subsequently built in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, with the same set of racially exclusionary requirements.)²³ The effect of the federal policies was to establish starkly segregated communities—on Long Island, in Bucks County, and throughout the country. In 2022, Levittown, New York was just 2 percent Black.²⁴

Racially restrictive covenants were struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1948 in the case of *Shelley v. Kraemer*, but the effects linger.²⁵ The policies in towns like Levittown robbed Black families of the wealth they might have accumulated—an important factor in perpetuating segregation today. Because many white families won’t buy in predominantly Black communities, houses in Black communities appreciate at slower rates than in white communities. Rothstein estimates that families buying in a predominantly Black community on Long Island saw home appreciation of about \$45,000 over three generations, compared with more than \$200,000 in appreciation for the white families in Levittown.²⁶ The lingering wealth gap between Black and white people—which is enormous—continues to make it difficult for Black people to purchase

homes in higher-opportunity communities such as Flower Hill today. While Black families make about 58 percent of what white families make in annual income in the United States, median Black family wealth was just 12.5 percent of median white family wealth in 2019.²⁷

Moreover, although the 1968 Fair Housing Act made it illegal to discriminate based on race in the sale or rental of housing, undercover testers continue to expose such discrimination in various parts of the country—including Long Island. In November 2019, *Newsday* revealed the stunning results of a three-year-long investigation of racial discrimination by Long Island real estate agents.²⁸

Newsday hired 25 undercover testers—potential homebuyers showing the same financial strength and seeking similar types of homes, but coming from different racial and ethnic communities—to investigate 93 real estate agents on Long Island. The newspaper conducted 39 tests pairing Black and white homeseekers; 31 comparing Hispanics and whites, and 16 comparing Asians and whites. They also used hidden cameras to record encounters with agents. All in all, *Newsday* found that Asian Americans suffered unequal treatment 19 percent of the time, Hispanics 39 percent of the time, and Black people 49 percent of the time.

The discrimination took various forms. Real estate agents tended to steer white testers to more heavily white communities, and Black testers to areas with lower white representation. One Black tester, Johnnie Mae Alston, told *Newsday*, “They’re putting you in a place that they think you belong. They’re telling you that you don’t belong on this side of town because of your race or whatever and it’s not right.” Alston continued: “Just because you think I would rather be here or because I’m a certain race you think that I should be over here. But what about my choices of where I want to live?”

The *Newsday* series did not feature Flower Hill in particular, but it did discuss the way brokers treated housing properties in Hempstead. *Newsday*’s investigation found that “agents directed all but a small share of testers to communities with larger proportions of white residents” than those

of Hempstead and other heavily minority communities. Interestingly, even minority testers were steered away from places like Hempstead.²⁹

Some might read the steering of minority residents away from Hempstead as evidence of an absence of discrimination, but experts say that instead it can be seen as a different form of discrimination based not on the race of the home seeker but on the race of entire neighborhoods. “You could argue that this does not show discrimination against the home seekers because everybody was steered away from these neighborhoods,” Gregory Squires of George Washington University told *Newsday*. “If in fact that’s the case, what it suggests is discrimination against certain neighborhoods because of the racial composition of those neighborhoods.”³⁰

Newsday also interviewed Lenora W. Long, a longtime Hempstead broker, who said that when white agents from big firms do contact her about Hempstead properties for their clients, “It’s usually black or Hispanics shuttled into Hempstead.” She said in her eighteen years in real estate, “I’ve never had the experience of an agent from the North Shore or South Shore bringing a Caucasian looking for a home in Hempstead.”³¹

In 2021, following the *Newsday* reporting, Governor Andrew Cuomo created New York’s Fair Housing Testing program to provide state resources to nonprofits to detect and expose unlawful racial discrimination in housing by agents, landlords and sellers. (Nonprofits such as the Fair Housing Justice Center have long been engaged in this type of work.)³² In 2023, Governor Hochul allocated a modest \$2.2 million in additional funding for the program.³³

Income Discrimination through Zoning

Research suggests that there is a third powerful explanation for economic and racial segregation of the type found in places such as Flower Hill and the Village of Hempstead: the role of government zoning in producing income discrimination. Unlike racial discrimination, government-sponsored income discrimination is perfectly legal.

Government-sponsored zoning restrictions that make it illegal to build multifamily housing, or require that homes not be built unless they are on very large plots of land, systematically exclude low-income and working-class people, a disproportionate share of whom are people of color. Princeton researcher Douglas Massey and his colleagues concluded in a 2013 analysis that “Density zoning is now the most important mechanism promoting class and racial segregation” in the United States.³⁴

After racial zoning laws were struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1917, many communities switched to economic zoning as another way to achieve racial (and economic) exclusion.³⁵ In the Long Island community of Huntington, New York, for example, an urban renewal effort in the 1960s allowed multifamily homes to be built in a heavily minority community, but an attempt to build similar homes in a 98-percent-white area zoned for single-family homes exclusively was rejected.³⁶ Four decades later—in 2022—Huntington was 76 percent white, 12 percent Hispanic, 5 percent Asian, and 4 percent Black.³⁷

Data from NYU’s Furman Center show that Flower Hill employs a number of key zoning restrictions that differ dramatically from those in the Village of Hempstead. The two most important differences have to do with the degree to which multifamily housing is allowed; and the requirements around minimum lot sizes for homes.

In Flower Hill, as Vicki Been notes in Appendix 2, multifamily housing is essentially banned, and as a result, “its housing stock is all single family homes.” In Flower Hill, 74.8 percent of the lot area in 2021 was occupied by existing structures classified as single-family, year-round residences, and most of the rest of the land was occupied by a country club and a hospital. (See Figure 3.) Multifamily housing is banned throughout, unless the Village Board of Trustees makes an exception. A paltry 0.4 percent of the lot area consisted of two- or three-family housing or apartment buildings in 2021.

The Village of Hempstead, by contrast, Been notes, has “a fairly dense, mixed-use land use system” that allows multifamily homes in much of the village’s land. A little more

FIGURE 4

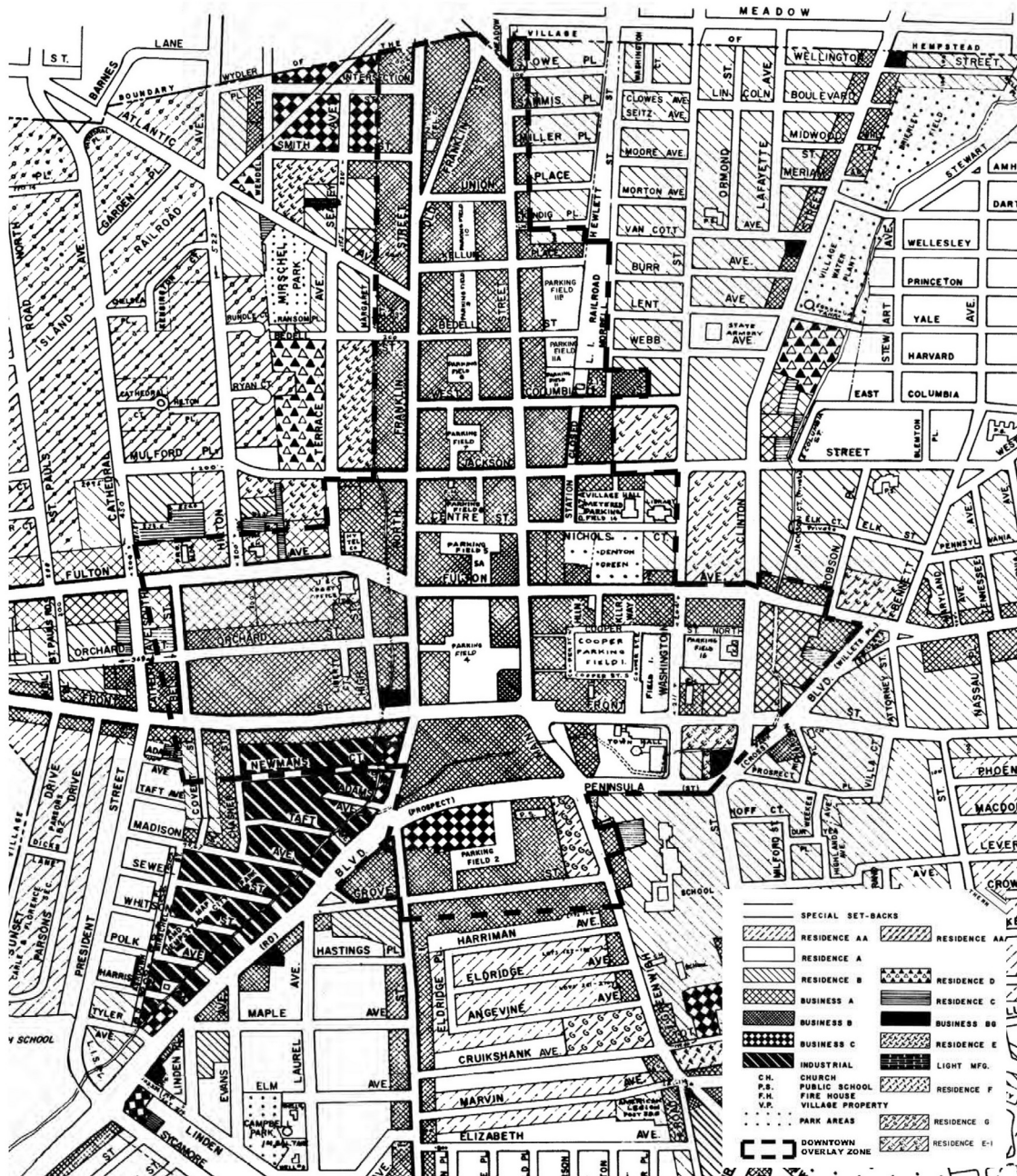
ZONING

139 Attachment 3

Village of Hempstead

FIGURE 205-1, OFFICIAL MAP OF THE VILLAGE OF HEMPSTEAD, NASSAU COUNTY, NY ZONING

This figure is an excerpt of the Official Map of the Village of Hempstead designating the location of the Downtown Overlay Zones.



than half (55.1 percent) of lot area in 2021 was occupied by single family year round residences. Been concludes, “Hempstead’s system has produced a higher-density community with a variety of housing choices for both renters and homeowners and different levels of income.”

The different zoning regimes have yielded different types of growth in recent years. In Hempstead, 33 percent of units (16 of 49) authorized to be built between 2014 and 2021 were for multifamily housing. In Flower Hill, the comparable figure was 0 percent (0 of 85 units). Every single unit authorized in Flower Hill was for a single-family home. Real estate developers can often make more money on multifamily homes, because they can divide the cost of the land between several units. In places like Long Island, where demand for housing is high, it would be profitable for developers to build multifamily housing.³⁸ But Flower Hill didn’t authorize any.

Moreover, Flower Hill doubles down on exclusion by requiring that single-family homes be built on large lots of land, driving up the prices of those homes. Been notes that “the vast majority” of Flower Hill is zoned to require one-third of an acre (14,520 square feet), and often much more.

In contrast, Been says, Hempstead allows lots for single family homes as small as 4,000 square feet (less than one tenth of an acre) and its largest minimum lot size is 7,500 square feet (0.17 of an acre).³⁹

To its credit, Flower Hill approves units with less delay than Hempstead (three months on average, compared with about ten for Hempstead). And Flower Hill has other attributes that in some ways are considered as less restrictive by the Wharton Land Use Index.⁴⁰ (See Appendix 1.)

The speed of approval is of little value, however, to working-class families, who cannot afford a single-family home, especially in Flower Hill. In 2020, the median single-family housing price in Flower Hill was an extraordinary \$1.62 million, almost four times the \$415,000 median price in Hempstead. And renting is rarely an option. In Flower Hill, just 11 percent of occupied housing units were occupied by renters in 2021, compared with 56 percent of such units in Hempstead.

The overall result is that Flower Hill is both enormously expensive, and lightly populated. Flower Hill had only one-fifth the density of Hempstead in 2020, with just 3,000 people per square mile, compared with 16,000 people per square

TABLE 3

FLOWER HILL AND HEMPSTEAD HOUSING POLICIES AND OUTCOMES		
	Flower Hill	Village of Hempstead
Share of lot area, existing structures classified as single-family year-round residences, 2021	74.8%	55.1%
Share of new units authorized that are single-family housing, 2014 to 2021	100% (85 of 85)	67% (33 of 49)
Median single-family housing price, 2020	\$1,623,469	\$415,608
Share of occupied housing, occupied by renters, 2021	11.1%	55.7%
Population density per square mile, 2020	3,000	16,000
Growth of population, 2010 to 2020	2.8%	9.8%
Source: NYU Furman Center. For more details, see Appendix 1.		

mile in Hempstead. And overall growth of the population was just 2.8 percent in Flower Hill between 2010 and 2020, compared with a 9.8 percent growth rate in Hempstead.

A Setback for Governor Hochul's Housing Compact

In the spring of 2023, New York State policymakers were embroiled in a major fight over housing as part of the state budget negotiations. In the end, the Democratically controlled New York State Senate and Assembly both rejected Hochul's proposal to include in the state budget a New York Housing Compact to build 800,000 new homes over the next decade.⁴¹ The plan was shelved in budget negotiations.

Under the Compact, downstate municipalities would have been given the goal of increasing their housing supply by 3 percent every three years. (Upstate communities would have been asked to seek to increase housing supply by 1 percent every three years.) Under the proposal, if communities failed to reach those goals, the state would require municipalities to provide applicants for housing permits with a fast track approval process. In addition, downstate areas would need to rezone for greater housing within a half mile of commuter railway and subway stations.⁴²

Opposition from the suburbs, including Nassau and Suffolk Counties on Long Island and Westchester County in the lower Hudson Valley, was fierce. Significantly, a key figure, Westchester County's Andrea Stewart-Cousins, the Democratic leader of the State Senate, rejected Hochul's plan and called instead for financial incentives to encourage communities to voluntarily permit more housing.⁴³

Long Island proved a bastion of opposition. Nassau County executive Bruce Blakeman told Politico: "You will see a suburban uprising, the likes of which you've never seen before, if the state tried to impose land-use regulation on communities that had had local control for over 100 years."⁴⁴ Long Island State Assemblyman Edward Flood (erroneously) claimed, "Governor Hochul's housing proposals would be a disaster for our community. Her goal is to turn Brookhaven

into the Bronx."⁴⁵ Suffolk County officials also voiced opposition.⁴⁶

Hochul's plan would have heavily impacted Long Island. Because it is a downstate municipality, Long Island communities would have been subject to the more ambitious 3 percent growth goal every three years. In the previous three years, Long Island housing stock increased just 0.6 percent.⁴⁷ Long Island would also have been heavily affected by Hochul's proposal that downstate areas would need to rezone for greater housing within a half mile of commuter railway and subway stations. The tentacles of the Long Island Railroad reach out to dozens of Long Island's communities.⁴⁸ The railroad is known nationally because it "carries more commuters than any other railroad in the country."⁴⁹

Notably, some Long Island voices strongly supported reform. A regional civil rights group, ERASE Racism, which supports school and housing integration, has been a vocal supporter of Hochul's Housing Compact. The group, which has done pioneering work lifting the voices of students in school integration debates, sees the Housing Compact as a civil rights issue that will make housing and schools more equitable.⁵⁰ Likewise, Assemblyman Phil Ramos from Suffolk County supported Hochul's plan and rejected the voluntary approach to reform offered by others. He bluntly told people at one housing rally, "It doesn't matter what kind of incentive you give them—a wealthy community, before they allow Black and brown people in, they'll walk away from any amount of money."⁵¹

But Ramos's argument did not win the day, as a bipartisan coalition of suburban Democratic and Republican voices blocked reform in the state budget. Because Democrats have unified control over both houses of the state legislature and the governor's mansion, they could have enacted reform over Republican opposition. But that did not happen.

The political dynamics were fascinating, as the housing debate upended the traditional political alignments in New York State. The New York State Senate and Assembly are often considered to be to the political left of the moderate Democratic Governor. On issues such as how to combat crime and whether to raise taxes on the wealthy, both

houses of the legislature are considered more progressive than Hochul. But when it came to housing, enough liberal suburban Democratic voices in the legislature allied with conservative Republicans to kill a moderate Democratic governor’s reforms. It appeared to be a story of class interests trumping professed ideology, as upper-middle-class white people who vote reliably Democratic drew the line at policies that would moderate housing price increases and open up their communities to more economic and racial integration.⁵²

Governor Hochul was pushing housing reform in the state budget as a tactic, because the budget is a must-pass item, but there is still a possibility of reform in the general legislative session, which runs through June.

Why the Housing Compact Matters

The defeat of housing reform in the budget in New York State was not inevitable, and the experience in other states gives reason for cautious optimism around reform during the legislatures’ general session. In other progressive states—such as California and Washington—bipartisan coalitions have come together to enact reform over the opposition of wealthy suburban interests in the last few years.⁵³ More recently, in 2023, Arlington, Virginia, an affluent suburb of Washington, D.C., enacted important housing reforms that legalized multifamily housing of up to four or six units in what had been exclusively single-family housing.⁵⁴

New York needs to enact robust housing reform—rather than just providing financial lures—as Governor Hochul argued, because “merely providing incentives will not make the meaningful change that New Yorkers deserve.” Currently, zoning laws that artificially constrain the supply of housing have been driving up prices to intolerable levels. In New York State, more than half of residents spend at least 30 percent of their income on housing.⁵⁵ Between 2010 and 2018, New York City suburbs issued less than half of the number of building permits of Boston suburbs, and one-third of Washington, D.C. suburbs, even though the populations in Boston and D.C. suburbs are considerably smaller.⁵⁶ Moreover, closer to home, more housing was built

in suburban Northern New Jersey—which has a relatively small but dense geographic footprint—than on Long Island and the Hudson Valley put together.⁵⁷

Moreover, as the evidence in this report suggests, housing reform is a critical strategy for improving educational opportunity. Failing to act means that New York will not be able to tap into the full potential of all of its students.

Imagining a Better Future

The inequities documented in this report between Flower Hill and Hempstead are part of a larger challenge on Long Island (and the nation). The civil rights group ERASE Racism finds that throughout Long Island, housing policies create residential segregation, which in turns feeds school segregation, and inequitable school resources. In a 2022 report, for example, ERASE Racism compared eleven intensely segregated school districts on Long Island (those with 90–100 percent non-white populations) with forty predominantly white Long Island school districts (those with more than 70 percent white populations). They found that “intensely segregated districts have, on average, nearly \$10,000 less in annual revenue per student than predominantly White districts.”⁵⁸

There are many policy options for addressing these inequities. Public school districts should use public school choice programs that are consciously designed to promote school integration. School finance reform would help level the playing field. In the housing arena, more funding should be allocated to hiring testers to ferret out racial discrimination on the part of landlords and real estate agents. In addition to those important initiatives, the best near-term vehicle for reform in New York State is Governor Hochul’s Housing Compact. It would begin to address the root problem—that exclusive communities won’t tear down the walls they have erected to keep low-wage families from living in those neighborhoods and attending their high-opportunity public schools.

As ERASE Racism notes, about 16 percent of new housing statewide under the Housing Compact would be built on Long Island. In supporting the compact, the group noted,

“Far too often, affordable housing has been placed in already overburdened Black and Latino communities. It is time for localities everywhere to provide the range of housing, including affordable housing, needed.”⁵⁹

A wide body of research suggests students of modest means would benefit enormously from having the chance to attend high-opportunity schools, and that students in places like Flower Hill would benefit as well, because they would be enriched by interacting with students who have a different set of life experiences.⁶⁰ Cities and towns on Long Island—and across the nation—have pursued the separate-and-unequal approach to housing and schooling for far too long. It is time to try something better.

Authors

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Housing and Educational Inequality: The Case of Long Island (Appendix 1)

JUNE 1, 2023 – THIS APPENDIX WAS PREPARED BY VICKI BEEN AND COLLEAGUES AT THE NYU FURMAN CENTER.

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Appendix 1. Comparison of Flower Hill to Village of Hempstead: Key Indicators

Indicator	Flower Hill	Village of Hempstead
Land Use:		
Population density, 1,000 people/square mile, 2020	3.0	16.0
Share of lot area, existing structure of residential use, 2021	76.1%	66.4%
Share of lot area, existing structure classified as single-family, year-round residence, 2021	74.8%	55.1%
Share of lot area, existing structure classified as two to three families or apartments, 2021	0.4%	11.0%
Housing units authorized by new building permits, 2014–2021 ¹	85	49
Single-family housing units authorized by new building permits, 2014–2021 ²	85	33
Share of total number of units authorized that are single-family housing, 2014–2021	100%	67%
Wharton Density Restriction Index	3 (minimum lot size with largest between 1 and 2 acres)	1 (minimum lot size <0.5 acre)
Wharton Approval Delay Index (average months)	3	9.875
Wharton Land Use Index Composite	–1.061 (near 10 th percentile—lightly regulated)	0.975 (between 75 th & 90 th percentile—highly regulated)
Demographics:		
Population size, 2020	4,794	59,169
Growth of population, 2010–2020	2.8%	9.8%
Share of population Hispanic, 2021	8.3%	45.1%
Share of population non-Hispanic Black, 2021	1.7%	46.3%
Share of population non-Hispanic Asian, 2021	12.3%	1.7%
Share of population non-Hispanic white, 2021	74.4%	4.8%
Share of population aged 65 years old or above, 2021	16.0%	11.9%
Share of population foreign born, 2021	15.1%	38.7%
Median household income, 2021	\$246,533	\$74,680
Poverty rate, 2021	4.1%	17.2%
Unemployment rate, 2021	4.5%	8.2%

¹ Flower Hill permitted no housing other than single-family housing; but Hempstead permitted only three units other than single-family.

² Flower Hill permitted no housing other than single-family housing; but Hempstead permitted only three units other than single-family.

Population aged 25 years old or above without a high school diploma, 2021	3.7%	25.7%
Population aged 25 years old or above with a Bachelor's degree or above, 2021	80.1%	17.3%
Share of occupied housing units, occupied by renter, 2021	11.1 %	55.7 %
Median single-family housing price, 2020	\$1,623,469	\$415,608
School Characteristics:		
Share of students performing at grade level in English, 2019 ³	73.8%	30.9%
Share of students performing at grade level in Math, 2019 ⁴	76.7%	30.8%
Four-year high school graduation rates, 2021	94.6%	75.0%
Share of students qualifying for FRPL, elementary schools, 2021	14.1%	65.1%
Share of students qualifying for FRPL, middle schools, 2021	15.9%	68.0%
Share of students qualifying for FRPL, high schools, 2021	15.2%	71.7%
Student–teacher ratio, elementary schools, 2021	9.6	17.6
Student–teacher ratio, middle schools, 2021	9.2	12.5
Student–teacher ratio, high schools, 2021	10.1	17.9
Teacher turnover rate, 2021	8.6%	10.1%
Per pupil expenditure, 2020	\$20,457	\$16,443
Share of students who are Asian, elementary schools, 2022	19.1%	0.8%
Share of students who are Black, elementary schools, 2022	2.2%	20.5%
Share of students who are Hispanic, elementary schools, 2022	15.6%	75.6%
Share of students who are White, elementary schools, 2022	58.9%	0.8%
Share of students who are Asian, middle schools, 2022	17.5%	0.9%
Share of students who are Black, middle schools, 2022	1.8%	28.2%
Share of students who are Hispanic, middle schools, 2022	14.6%	68.7%
Share of students who are White, middle schools, 2022	63.1%	1.7%
Share of students who are Asian, high schools, 2022	17.3%	0.9%
Share of students who are Black, high schools, 2022	2.5%	20.2%

³ Data for 2021 is available, but comprises a much smaller data set, as the test was optional during the pandemic.

⁴ Data for 2021 is available, but comprises a much smaller data set, as the test was optional during the pandemic.

Share of students who are Hispanic, high schools, 2022	13.4%	74.1%
Share of students who are White, high schools, 2022	64.2%	2.9%
Share of teachers in their first or second year of teaching, 2017	2.5%	15.2%

Indicator	Methodology
Land Use:	
Population density, 1,000 people/square mile, 2020	Population density is calculated by dividing a geographic area’s population by its land area and is reported in thousands of people per square mile. The U.S. Census Bureau advises that American Community Survey (ACS) population estimates should be compared with caution across years.
Share of lot area, existing structure of residential use, 2021	Percent of lot area of parcels with residential structure.
Share of lot area, existing structure classified as single-family year-round residence, 2021	Percent of lot area of parcels with one family dwellings constructed for year-round occupancy (adequate insulation, heating, etc.)
Share of lot area, existing structure classified as two to three families or apartments, 2021	Percent of lot area of parcels with two or three family dwellings constructed for year-round occupancy, or apartments.
Wharton Density Restriction Index	<p>The Density Restriction Index (DRI) measures if there is a minimum lot size regulation in the jurisdiction, and if so, what range the minimum lot size requirement falls in.</p> <p>More specifically:</p> <p>DRI = 0 if there is no minimum lot size regulation anywhere in the jurisdiction</p> <p>= 1 if there is a minimum, but it is no larger than 0.5 acres</p> <p>= 2 if there is a minimum, and the largest one is from 0.5–1.0 acres</p> <p>= 3 if there is a minimum, and the largest one is from 1.0–2.0 acres</p> <p>= 4, if there is a minimum, and the largest one is for more than 2 acres.</p> <p>For more details for the survey methodology, please review Gyourko et al., 2019.⁵</p>
Wharton Approval Delay Index (average months)	The Approval Delay Index (ADI) is a metric that combines the average review months for residential projects, rezoning requests involving multiple unit types

⁵ Joseph Gyourko, Jonathan Hartley, and Jacob Krimmel, “The Local Residential Land Use Regulatory Environment Across U.S. Housing Markets: Evidence from a New Wharton Index,” National Bureau of Economic Research, working paper no. 26573, December 2019, https://real-faculty.wharton.upenn.edu/wp-content/uploads/~gyourko/WRLURI/GyourkoHartleyKrimmel_NBERw26573.pdf.

	and subdivision requests. For more details for the weighting methodology, please review Gyourko et al., 2019 . ⁶
Wharton Land Use Index Composite	The Wharton Land Use Index is aggregated from the sub-indices, including Local Political Pressure Index, State Political Involvement Index, Court Involvement Index, Local Project Approval Index, Local Zoning Approval Index, Local Assembly Index, Supply Restrictions Index, Density Restriction Index, Open Space Index, Exactions Index, Affordable Housing Index and Approval Delay Index. For more details for the index construction methodology, please review Gyourko et al., 2019 . ⁷
Demographics:	<i>Most of the demographics in indicators used 2017–2021 ACS 5-year estimates because the localities have a small population size, and 1-year estimates are not available or have large margin of errors. However, the population size used Decennial Census 2020 data because the information is available.</i>
Share of population Hispanic, 2021	This indicator measures the percentage of the total population made up of each of the following racial/ethnic groups: Asian (non-Hispanic), Black (non-Hispanic), Hispanic (of any race), and white (non-Hispanic). The percentages of the four groups may not add up to 100 because people of other races or two or more races are not displayed.
Share of population non-Hispanic Asian, 2021	(Same as above)
Share of population non-Hispanic Black, 2021	(Same as above)
Share of population non-Hispanic White, 2021	(Same as above)
Share of population aged 65 years old or above, 2021	This indicator measures residents aged 65 years or older as a percentage of the entire population in a given geographic area.
Share of population foreign-born, 2021	This indicator measures the share of the population that is foreign-born. Foreign-born includes all those born outside the United States or Puerto Rico, regardless of whether they currently are United States citizens. Children born abroad to parents who are U.S. citizens are not counted as foreign-born.
Median household income, 2021	Household income is the total income of all members of a household aged 15 years or older. The U.S. Census Bureau advises against comparing income data between the Decennial Census and the ACS due to differences in question construction and sampling, so we urge caution when comparing this indicator over time, particularly at the neighborhood level. Scarsdale median household income is top coded in the ACS data.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Poverty rate, 2021	This indicator measures the number of people below the poverty threshold divided by the number of people for whom poverty status was determined. Poverty status is determined by the U.S. Census Bureau based on household size, composition, the number of children under 18 years of age, and individual or family income. The U.S. Census Bureau advises that ACS poverty data should be compared with caution across years.
Unemployment rate, 2021	This indicator measures the number of people aged 16 years and older in the civilian labor force who are unemployed, divided by the total number of people aged 16 years and older in the civilian labor force. People are considered to be unemployed if they meet the following criteria: they have not worked during the week of the survey; they have been looking for a job during the previous four weeks; and they were available to begin work. The U.S. Census Bureau advises using caution when comparing the 2000 Census unemployment rate to the ACS figures because of differences in question construction and sampling.
Population aged 25 years old or above without a high school diploma, 2021	This indicator measures the population aged 25 years old or above who have not graduated from high school and have not received a GED, as a percentage of the entire population in a given geographic area.
Population aged 25 years old or above with a Bachelor's degree or above, 2021	This indicator measures the population aged 25 years old or above who have a Bachelor's degree or above, as a percentage of the entire population in a given geographic area.
Median single-family housing sale price, 2020	The median sales price for single-family properties, in 2021 dollars. Price adjusted using the Consumer Price Index from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.
School Characteristics:	
Share of students performing at grade level in English, 2019	These indicators report the percentage of fourth-grade students performing at or above grade level (termed “proficient”) in English language arts and math. For each locality, we aggregate the proficiency rates from each school that students in the locality could attend. For this indicator, school years are labeled according to the calendar year in which the school year ends. For example, 2019 corresponds to the 2018–2019 school year.
Share of students performing at grade level in math, 2019	(Same above)
Share of students qualifying for FRPL, 2021–22	Percent of students with families who have qualified for free or reduced-price lunch.
Four-year high school graduation rates, 2021	Percent of Class of 2021 students entering the ninth grade in the 2017–2018 school year who graduated within four years.
Teacher turnover rate, 2021	The rate at which teachers exit schools in school year 2020–2021.

Per pupil expenditure, 2020

The aggregate current expenditures of all local educational agencies divided by the total number of children in average daily attendance for whom such agencies provided free public education. Converted to 2021 dollars.



Housing and Educational Inequality: The Case of Long Island (Appendix 2)

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Appendix 2. Comparing the Land Use Systems of Flower Hill and the Village of Hempstead

Flower Hill, a village on Long Island, [describes itself](#) as “the best Village in New York State with access to North and South Shore beaches, easy access to New York City, and a community that truly cares for one another.”¹ It claims “wonderful businesses and restaurants you can take advantage of, as well as a world class hospital . . . a strong financial record and . . . high quality vital services and infrastructure.” Its housing stock is all single family homes. The [zoning ordinance](#)² divides the village into eight residential districts. R-1 requires a one-acre lot, a single-family detached house that cannot cover more than 15 percent of that lot, is thirty-five feet or less in height, and includes a garage for two to four cars. The vast majority of the Village is zoned for R-1 through R-4, which requires lots of at least one-third of an acre. The smallest lots allowed are in the R-7 district, which requires at least 7,500 square feet, with a single family detached house and a one to two car garage covering no more than 30 percent of the lot and no more than thirty feet in height.

The zoning code references an R-8 cluster district, which is shown on the [zoning map](#)³ covering a small area on the village’s border, but the zoning text includes no details about that district. Inspection of the area mapped for R-8 shows a cul-de-sac with about thirty detached single-family condo units, with those listed for sale asking between about \$600,000 to more than \$932,000. The only mention of multifamily housing in the zoning code is a note that in the commercial district (a very small and shallow area on the edge of the Village), “a multiple dwelling or apartment house or residential construction of any kind” is a prohibited use, but can be permitted by the Village’s Board of Trustees after public hearings (but on a lot of at least 15,000 square feet, with the building covering no more than 40 percent of the lot and no more than two stories, or thirty feet, high, and with one off-street parking space for each 250 square feet in the building).

The Village of Hempstead was founded in 1643; in the late 1700s, George Washington and other prominent leaders of the Revolution often stayed in the village; in the 1800s, the village served as an important trading center for Long Island. It became a [center of Long Island society](#), and “many prominent families such as the Vanderbilts and the Belmonts built large homes here.”⁴ After World War I, it began to attract commuters from Manhattan. Today, it is “a full service community with a population in excess of 53,000 people encompassing an area

¹ Village of Flower Hill website, accessed May 2023, <https://villageflowerhill.org/>.

² Flower Hill’s zoning ordinance is available at its legislation website, <https://ecode360.com/10591351>.

³ Flower Hill’s zoning map is available at its legislation website, ecode360.com/attachment/FL0568/FL0568-240c%20Zoning%20Map.pdf.

⁴ Village of Hempstead website, accessed May 2023, <https://www.villageofhempstead.org/189/About-the-Village>.

of 3.7 square miles.” The village today has a fairly dense, mixed-use land use system.⁵ It allows lots as small as 4,000 square feet for a two-story, single-family detached house with a garage (one car is allowed for each 2,000 square feet of lot area, to a maximum of three cars) or a one-car carport. The maximum lot area required for a single-family home is 7,500 square feet. Much of the village’s land is zoned Residence B, which allows either single-family detached housing or multifamily buildings (broadly defined to include apartment houses and attached row houses, as long as the occupancy is permanent rather than a hotel or other transitory use) at a density of up to thirty-five homes per acre. Several blocks are zoned to allow only multifamily use, at a density of up to forty-five homes per acre. Six different areas are zoned to allow only apartment buildings of up to six stories, for a maximum density of 105 apartments per acre. Two additional areas are zoned for apartment buildings especially designed for seniors or people with disabilities, which are allowed to reach seven stories high, and have a maximum density of 100 apartments per acre.

In 2012, the Village of Hempstead adopted a downtown overlay zone to cover a significant portion of the village’s land.⁶ The overlay zone is a form-based code incorporating transit-oriented design principles and allowing a live/work mix of homes, retail, office, and other uses. Multifamily housing of up to eight stories is allowed in much of the zone.

While the Wharton Land Use Regulatory Index⁷ gives Flower Hill a composite score that qualifies as “lightly regulated” and considers Hempstead to be “highly regulated,”⁸ a hard look at the components reveals significant limitations on the score’s usefulness. First, the score is based upon a survey completed by each jurisdiction. A comparison of Flower Hill’s responses to Hempstead’s shows the difficulty of relying on surveys: on questions about the degree to which the state and the courts are involved in local land use, for example, Flower Hills’s answers are recorded as being half of what Hempstead reported, even though the two villages fall under the same state and court system.

Second, the score is based, in part, upon whether the jurisdiction requires developers to provide open space or affordable housing, which Flower Hill does not. But such requirements are typically imposed on multifamily housing or subdivisions with multiple single-family homes. Flower Hill does not impose any requirements on such

⁵ The Village of Hempstead zoning code is available at its legislation website, <https://ecode360.com/7218812>. The Village of Hempstead zoning map is available at its legislation website, ecode360.com/attachment/HE0909/HE0909-139c%20Fig%20205-1.pdf.

⁶ The Village of Hempstead downtown overlay zone map is available at its legislation website, <https://ecode360.com/16220421>.

⁷ For a description of the survey upon which the index is based, and an explanation of how the index is constructed, see Joseph Gyourko, Albert Saiz, and Anita Summers, “A New Measure of the Local Regulatory Environment for Housing Markets: The Wharton Residential Land Use Regulatory Index,” *Urban Studies* 45, no. 3 (March 2008): 693–729, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098007087341>.

⁸ See Joseph Gyourko, Jonathan S. Hartley, and Jacob Krimmel, “The local residential land use regulatory environment across U.S. housing markets: Evidence from a new Wharton index,” 124 *Journal of Urban Economics* 124 (July 2021), <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S009411902100019X>.

developments because it has no multifamily housing, and the one small cluster attached housing development appears to have resulted from a remapping in which whatever requirements were imposed were negotiated just for that development. That makes Flower Hill *more*, rather than less restrictive than jurisdictions that allow, but impose some constraints on, denser housing. Hempstead requires that new development in its downtown overlay zone include 10 percent of the units as restricted to families making moderate to middle incomes. That modest attempt to ensure that housing is available for households at a range of incomes signals that Hempstead is less, not more exclusionary than Flower Hill. The index is focused on the extent to which a local government constrains development, but doesn't (and wasn't intended to) focus on how the land use system acts to perpetuate or create patterns of racial or economic segregation.

Third, Flower Hill scores well on the length of time it takes to review applications for rezonings or subdivisions for projects of different sizes. But it has an as-of-right single family detached housing scheme, with few if any rezoning or subdivision applications, which are for projects much smaller than those in the survey's hypotheticals. Flower Hills' answer is really just saying it takes a few months to get a building permit, but that is being compared to land use schemes in which rezonings and subdivisions are both more common and more complex. In sum, the index reflects the fact that Flower Hill has a largely as-of-right, rather than discretionary, land use system, but fails to reflect just how much that very restrictive but as-of-right system makes the housing built unaffordable to most households.

Flower Hill's land use scheme has produced and maintained a very low-density, expensive, exclusively single-family housing stock. Hempstead's system has produced a higher-density community with a variety of housing choices for both renters and homeowners at different levels of income and in different stages of life, and has adapted its land use scheme to provide an even greater range of live/work opportunities.



Housing and Educational Inequality: The Case of Long Island (Appendix 3)

JUNE 1, 2023 – THIS APPENDIX WAS PREPARED BY VICKI BEEN AND COLLEAGUES
AT THE NYU FURMAN CENTER

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Appendix 3. Comparison of Flower Hill to Village of Hempstead

Table 1: School-level Indicators

Entity CD	School Name	School Grades	Place	Share of Teachers in Their First or Second Year of Teaching	Share of Teachers in 2017 Who Were Also Teaching at the School in the Prior Year	Number of Types of AP Courses
280403030004	East Hills Elementary School	Elementary	Flower Hill	4.65%	95.35%	(not applicable)
280403030006	Roslyn Heights Elementary School	Elementary	Flower Hill	0.00%	96.88%	(not applicable)
280403030007	Harbor Hill School	Elementary	Flower Hill	4.35%	91.30%	(not applicable)
280403030008	Roslyn High School	High	Flower Hill	3.63%	92.16%	24
280403030009	Roslyn Middle School	Middle	Flower Hill	2.47%	88.31%	(not applicable)
280404030002	Guggenheim Elementary School	Elementary	Flower Hill	0.00%	100.00%	(not applicable)
280404030004	Manorhaven Elementary School	Elementary	Flower Hill	0.00%	100.00%	(not applicable)
280404030005	John J. Daly Elementary School	Elementary	Flower Hill	11.36%	100.00%	(not applicable)
280404030006	South Salem Elementary School	Elementary	Flower Hill	0.00%	100.00%	(not applicable)
280404030007	John Philip Sousa Elementary School	Elementary	Flower Hill	4.08%	100.00%	(not applicable)
280404030008	Carrie Palmer Weber Middle School	Middle	Flower Hill	3.67%	100.00%	(not applicable)
280404030009	Paul D. Schreiber Senior High School	High	Flower Hill	3.01%	100.00%	37
280406030002	Manhasset Secondary School	Secondary	Flower Hill	0.00%	100.00%	28
280406030003	Munsey Park Elementary School	Elementary	Flower Hill	0.00%	89.55%	(not applicable)
280406030004	Shelter Rock Elementary School	Elementary	Flower Hill	0.00%	95.45%	(not applicable)
280406030005	Manhasset Middle School	Middle	Flower Hill	0.00%	100.00%	(not applicable)
280201030001	Joseph McNeil School	Elementary	Village of Hempstead	10.64%	80.85%	(not applicable)

280201030002	David Paterson School	Elementary	Village of Hempstead	21.05%	78.95%	(not applicable)
280201030003	Jackson Main Elementary School	Elementary	Village of Hempstead	19.35%	80.65%	(not applicable)
280201030004	Barack Obama Elementary School	Elementary	Village of Hempstead	26.67%	90.00%	(not applicable)
280201030007	Hempstead High School	High	Village of Hempstead	17.89%	87.80%	17
280201030008	Marshall School	Elementary	Village of Hempstead	0.00%	100.00%	(not applicable)
280201030009	Jackson Annex School	Elementary	Village of Hempstead	26.09%	86.96%	(not applicable)
280201030010	Alverta B. Gray Schultz Middle School	Middle	Village of Hempstead	10.24%	74.80%	(not applicable)
280201030011	Front Street Elementary School	Elementary	Village of Hempstead	20.00%	80.00%	(not applicable)
280201030016	Prospect Elementary School	Elementary	Village of Hempstead	20.00%	94.29%	(not applicable)
280202030008	Lawrence Road Middle School	Middle	Village of Hempstead	6.85%	100.00%	(not applicable)

Table 2: Place-level Aggregated Teacher Experience Indicators

Place	Share of Teachers in Their First or Second Year of Teaching	Share of Teachers in 2017 Who Were Also Teaching at the School in the Prior Year
Flower Hill	2.52%	96.52%
Village of Hempstead	15.18%	85.18%

Indicators	Methodology
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Share of Teachers in Their First or Second Year of Teaching	Number of classroom teachers in their first or second year of teaching divided by total number of teachers employed in the school year of 2017.
Share of Teachers in 2017 Who Were Also Teaching at the School in the Prior Year	Number of teachers employed during both 2016 and 2017 school year at the school divided by total number of teachers employed the school year of 2017 at the school.
Number of Types of AP Courses	Number of types of AP courses offered at the school.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) 2017. For Hempstead High School AP courses, Hempstead Public Schools, "Hempstead High School: 2022-2023 Course Catalog," 97, <https://www.hempsteadschools.org/cms/lib/NY01920790/Centricity/Domain/206/Final%20Final%20HHS%20COURSE%20CATALOG%2022-23.pdf>. For Manhasset Secondary School AP courses, Manhasset Secondary School, "Manhasset High School: Course Catalog 2022–2023," <https://www.manhassetsschools.org/site/handlers/filedownload.ashx?moduleinstanceid=25518&dataid=58168&FileName=22.23%20MHS%20COURSE%20CATALOG%20Final%20Edition.docx.pdf>.