Disparities in Access to Opportunity

Key Findings
For such a small county, Washtenaw maintains a striking geographic disparity in race, income, educational attainment, employment and overall opportunity. Whether it’s disparity and segregation in schools districts or racial and economic disparity related to income and education, the same pattern repeats.

Education: Choice and Charter school options magnify racially and economically concentrated areas of poverty within Ypsilanti Community Schools (YCS) and related geographies. Districts, such as YCS, with more students of color and more students in poverty also have less resources, less funding, and as a result, are continually in crisis. The result is that east side communities of color are most negatively impacted (including the two R/ECAPs), with no new ideas on the horizon for structural change.

Employment: Employers and residents speak to a job skills mismatch resulting from broader economic shifts over the last 10-20 years. With fewer good-paying jobs for individuals with less than a college degree, jobs either fall into the service/retail category, or the advanced manufacturing/IT category. The former suffers from low wages and limited upward mobility. The latter is considered desirable, but education and experience requirements make many of these positions unobtainable for residents without college degrees or advanced training. This is clearly illustrated by the higher unemployment and less educational-attainment on the east side, in primarily African American neighborhoods.

Racial discrimination, lower-education levels and related issues are ongoing problems with the unemployment in the African American community in the City of Ypsilanti and Ypsilanti Township as well as portions of Superior Township.

Transportation: Recent improved transit options through the Ann Arbor Area Transportation Authority (AAATA, also branded as The Ride) expansion have provided additional relief (note expansion is too recent to be included in HUD in this chapter). The AAATA changes are being reviewed to determine the impact of transit expansion and route change on service. Additional transportation options are needed, especially as the lack of access to a car is more of an issue for maintaining employment than education, as reported in a 2016 survey of Michigan Works! job seekers.

Poverty: Tied in closely to race, and racial segregation patterns, high poverty areas most negatively impact communities of color, primarily African American, Native American and Hispanic.
Educational Opportunities

School Proficiency by Race and Poverty
The most proficient school districts based on the School Proficiency map (Map 22) and corresponding districts would be Ann Arbor Public Schools (AAPS), Chelsea Public Schools and Saline Public Schools. Using the same school proficiency data below, the lower performing school districts are Ypsilanti Community Schools (YCS), Whitmore Lake and Lincoln Consolidated School districts.

MAP 22_SCHOOL PROFICIENCY
As shown in Map 23, the majority of the census tracts in the YCS district show high percentages of children living in poverty, with a few in Lincoln Consolidated School District, AAPS and Chelsea Community Schools. The concentration of students living in poverty in a given school district puts more pressure on the schools to meet a host of needs for those students.

**MAP 23_SCHOOL DISTRICTS BY CHILDREN LIVING IN POVERTY**

As mentioned previously, the current racial distribution in Washtenaw County finds that the eastern portion of the county includes the a combination of the highest concentration of African American households in census tracts that are lower income, and lower educational attainment. As evidenced by Map 22, the east side census tracts also broadly show lower proficiency in schools that are predominantly attended by African Americans. These areas correspond with the YCS District shown above (Map 23).

Outside of specific school district performance, analysis of local data released in 2015 reveals that there was a 35 point gap on 3rd grade reading tests between African American and white students and a 42 point gap in 8th grade math proficiency. That's telling, as 3rd grade reading scores are highly predictive of high school graduation, and 8th grade math scores often indicate the likelihood that a student will attend college.
School Proficiency by Nation Origin and Limited English Proficiency (LEP)

Washtenaw County includes two large universities, the University of Michigan (U of M) and Eastern Michigan University (EMU). U of M draws faculty, staff and students from around the world. One result has been a growth in the Asian population in and around Ann Arbor, showing up in Map 25 (below) with in the pockets of Limited English Proficiency (LEP) for Chinese, Korean and Indian households (referenced to Map 26).

These households vary from those of Latino or African American in the county as they are often highly-educated and/or middle to higher income. The LEP status is mainly related to immigration due to the university, which has the ability to provide some support to non-native speakers. However, City of Ann Arbor officials in particular note that there is minimal outreach to these communities, and have indicated that they would like to improve outreach and engagement with the larger communities (Chinese, Korean) in the near future.

Spanish speakers, however, are located mainly in areas with a larger number of multi-family apartment units and are centered in Pittsfield and Ypsilanti Township. Depending on location that could be either AAPS or YCS.
Map 25_SCHOOL PROFICIENCY BY NATIONAL ORIGIN

MAP 26_LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY
Charter and School of Choice Programs
Additional challenges to east-side school districts include the prevalence of Charter Schools and School Choice. For example, YCS opened in 2013 due to the merger of the former Willow Run and Ypsilanti School Districts. Over the past 5 years, more and more Ypsilanti City and Township residents have used School of Choice Programs to attend schools in other districts in the region (“Choosing out” of YCS).

Prior to the merger, and continuing after, the Ann Arbor School District has increased the number of seats available for choice students who opt out of their local district and instead enroll in an Ann Arbor Schools. While students from other districts can “choice in” to YCS, this number is fairly small and has leveled off as shown below (Figure 18).

FIGURE 18_SCHOOL CHOICE, YPSILANTI COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

In the academic year 2016-2017, 4,336 Ypsilanti resident students “choiced out” of YCS. The largest attractor of those students was AAPS, in which 1 in 5 of all students who choiced out of YCS enrolled. Five local schools accounted for more than half (55%) of all Ypsilanti students who choiced out of YCS in 2017 (Figure 19).

**FIGURE 19** _DESINATION OF YPSILANTI STUDENTS WHO “CHOICED OUT”, 2016-2017_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School District</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln Consolidated School District</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Pointe Scholars Charter Academy</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Academy</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis Academy</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann Arbor Public Schools</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


While some students do “choice” into YCS, in particular for the international baccalaureate school program, that total is relatively low at 304 students in 2016-2017 school year.

The charter and choice programs have resulted in dramatic changes to the racial makeup of YCS. School funding has also decreased dramatically due to declining enrollment. The chart below (Figure 20) shows the racial makeup of school-aged children in the Ypsilanti school district boundary. Due to choice, charter, and private school utilization, YCS is now almost two-thirds African American, where the population in the district is less than one-third African American.
In contrast, the changes within the AAPS are less dramatic, and in some ways could provide an argument for increasing diversity within that district (Figure 21). However, the segregation of African American students in YCS is so dramatic, it is now a concern raised with the Michigan Civil Rights Division by local activists.
**Employment Opportunities**

Massive market changes in the past 30-40 years have dramatically impacted the region. The east-side communities previously hosted numerous automotive, or automotive industry manufacturing plants that relied on a steady stream of workers, often without technical or advanced degrees. These were good paying, often union, jobs that provided financial security and access to opportunity for the middle class. With the broader shift to factory automation, and overall decline in manufacturing, several larger manufacturing facilities have closed in the last 10 to 20 years, solidifying Ann Arbor as the center of the job market in Washtenaw County.

As Map 25 below indicates, about 10,000 jobs losses have occurred on the east side in the past 10 years. A similar addition of jobs has occurred in the Ann Arbor area, due to both the strength of the University of Michigan and University of Michigan Hospital, as well as related retail, restaurant and service jobs. The jobs created in Ann Arbor represent a shift - either requiring advanced degrees (even in manufacturing) and/or have become lower-paying service level jobs that, while not requiring advanced education, have limited potential for advancement or income growth.

**MAP 25_NUMBER OF JOBS LOST AND GAINED IN 2003 VS. 2013**

![Map 25_NUMBER OF JOBS LOST AND GAINED IN 2003 VS. 2013](image)


This has provided added challenges to the African American community, still primarily concentrated on the east side of Washtenaw County, which experiences higher unemployment rates, lower educational-attainment and lower incomes.
Currently, the primary job center is located in the Ann Arbor and Pittsfield Township area, as well as other urbanized areas of the county. Those living in rural areas will have less access through transit to jobs.

Developed by the Southeast Michigan Council of Governments (SEMCOG), Map 28 shows that while there is a moderate employment center in Ypsilanti due to the presence of EMU, the overall employment centers are in Ann Arbor, or further east in the Detroit area.

MAP 28 _ EMPLOYMENT DENSITY

Source: SEMCOG Employment Density Map
The labor market (Map 29) shows a lower index in predominantly African American neighborhoods on the east side of the county. Additionally, the census tracts with low values are the areas with the U of M (downtown and North Ann Arbor), EMU (north side of City of Ypsilanti), and two prisons in Ypsilanti/Pittsfield/York Township and in Milan. Excluding these four areas, lower scores match up with predominantly African American neighborhoods almost exactly, including the two R/ECAPs.

**MAP 29_LABOR MARKET BY RACE & ETHNICITY**

**Transportation Opportunities**

As noted previously, the major employment sectors are in the City of Ann Arbor and Pittsfield Township, and the broader Detroit region. Those in rural areas and in larger population centers on the eastern side of the county have less access to employment, due to distance, and in the case with some areas on the east side of the county, less consistent access to a working automobile.

Prior to 2013, the former Ann Arbor Area Transportation Authority provided fixed route transit service through a fee for service with adjacent communities including Pittsfield, the City of Ypsilanti, and Ypsilanti Township. In 2013, the Authority officially expanded to include Ypsilanti City and Ypsilanti Township, changing it’s name to the Ann Arbor Area Transportation Authority...
(AAATA) and adding two seats to the board, one for each community. This change was on the heels of millage decisions in both communities that provided, similar to Ann Arbor, dedicated funding for transit. As an expanded authority, the newly formed AAATA expanded and revised its service to improve timeliness and overall service by adding or changing routes throughout the system, but significantly in Ypsilanti, in 2015 and 2016. Increased weekend service has been provided, particularly on routes between Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor, to provide improved access to those who rely on transit for weekend work schedules. These recent improvements are not reflected in Map 30.

MAP 30_TRANSIT TRIPS INDEX

The two hubs of the AAATA transit system are stationed in downtown Ann Arbor and downtown Ypsilanti (city). Additionally, express service is available between Chelsea and Ann Arbor. Map 30 reflects higher usage near both transit hubs, as well as in Chelsea. A gap of service and usage is shown south of the City of Ypsilanti, due mainly in part to the location of Ford Lake - transit routes effectively operate to the east and west of the lake.
Access to transportation and jobs was a concern many focus groups participants shared, especially in areas in Ypsilanti (city and township). This is notable as these areas have more people of color residing in the east-side of the county (Map 31).

MAP 31_TRANSIT TRIPS INDEX BY RACE & ETHNICITY
AAATA provides ride guides and schedules in English, Spanish, Chinese and Korean, representing the four most commonly spoken languages in the region. As noted previously, the University of Michigan draws international students, faculty and staff, in particular with Asian backgrounds (Map 32) and some with Limited English Proficiency (LEP). In coordination with AAATA, all U of M students and faculty have transit passes, further emphasising the need for transit information in multiple languages.

MAP 32_TRANSIT TRIPS INDEX BY NATIONAL ORIGIN
Areas with a concentration of households with families with children are also areas with high usage of transit trip. This reflects the general urbanized areas in population demographics and access to transportation (Map 33).

MAP 33_TRANSIT TRIPS INDEX BY FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN
Overall, the county appears to fare well with the low-cost transportation index (Map 34). The expansion of the AAATA allows for more fixed and dial-a-ride service. The urbanized area has higher scores than the rural parts of the county, as would be expected.
Map 35 is a variation on the Center for Neighborhood Technology’s map of housing and transportation costs. The premise is that housing and transportation costs should not exceed 45% of gross income, or the household is unduly burdened, and will not have funds available for medical, insurance, food, clothing, education, childcare and other basic needs. The CNT index applies median household income to all census tracts. In Map 35, the variation creates an index based on the median household income of each census tract, along with transportation cost. This shows the impact on the lower-incomes on the east side and elsewhere in the county when looking at the housing and transportation cost burden in the county as a whole. Furthermore, this illustrates the following issues:

- Higher incomes and higher rents in Ann Arbor, but less transportation/access to transportation needs
- Lower rents and significantly lower incomes in Ypsilanti (city and township)
- Fewer jobs opportunity/access to job opportunity in Ypsilanti, thus increasing transportation costs

MAP 35_HOUSING & TRANSPORTATION COSTS AS A PERCENT OF INCOME

While downtown Ann Arbor appears to be extremely burdened, the caveat is that many U of M students on Main and North Campus do not report family income, therefore spending more than 100% of student income on housing and transportation when this may be subsidized by family members. This is also applicable to the census tract in Ypsilanti that includes and are near the EMU Campus.
Low Poverty Exposure

Of the five census tracts with the highest poverty levels (excluding university census tracts), here are the demographic breakdowns by race:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood, City, Census Tract</th>
<th>% Families in Poverty</th>
<th>% White</th>
<th>% African American</th>
<th>% Hispanic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southside R/ECAP City of Ypsilanti (4106)</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecorse Ypsilanti &amp; Ypsilanti Township (4108)</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golfside Ypsilanti Township (4101)</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West of Southside R/ECAP Ypsilanti Township (4105)</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leforge R/ECAP Ypsilanti city and Township (4112)</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), ACS 2015 (5-Year Estimates), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau

The tracts above are all located in the City of Ypsilanti and/or Ypsilanti Township. As noted above (Table 30), these also coincide with areas of a high concentration of African American residents, including the two R/ECAPs for the county, highlighting a long-standing pattern of low opportunity areas for African Americans in Washtenaw County.
Outside of the east-side communities, other areas of concern are portions of Scio Township, which include a large trailer park and a number of low-income residents, the Whitmore Lake/Northfield Township area, Superior Township, and Chelsea, where there are a number of nursing homes (Map 36).

MAP 36_LOW POVERTY INDEX
As discussed, the majority high poverty areas are on the eastern side of the county, in areas with higher concentration of African American households. Additionally, Hispanic and Asian populations reside in several census tracts with high poverty, including near Golfside in Pittsfield/Ypsilanti Township and west of the Southside R/ECAP, also in Ypsilanti Township.

MAP 37_LOW POVERTY INDEX BY RACE & ETHNICITY
The top 5 National Origins for the county are Chinese, Indian, Korea, Canada and Japan. Most of this population is centered in and around Ann Arbor, and dispersed throughout. There does appear to be more of a concentration near the U of M downtown and north campuses (Map 38).
Families with children are located throughout the county, and make up generally 40-60% of the population in high poverty census tracts.

MAP 39_POVERTY INDEX BY FAMILY STATUS

Environmentally Healthy Neighborhoods

The general urbanized area has a lower environmental health score than the rest of the county and local communities have voiced concerns.

The West Willow neighborhood is located near the former Willow Run Bomber Plant, the Willow Run Airport and a landfill that allows hazardous materials. In reviewing the recent information on the landfill, there haven't been any recent reports of concerns, spills, leaks, and so on; however, the neighborhood residents express concern regarding the introduction of radioactive materials into the landfill. This additional substance has been approved by the Michigan Department of Environmental Quality (MDEQ). Note the West Willow neighborhood is 70% African American.

Another known issue, located in the City of Ann Arbor and Scio Township, is a Dioxin plume. The majority of homes in the area are not using wells for water; however, there are homes in the area of the plume with wells that may be using them. Those specific wells tested below state
criteria. All the remaining homes in the plume were already on, or have been switched to, a municipal water supply. The area is being closely monitored by the MDEQ and Washtenaw County Environmental Health, among others, to ensure there aren’t any related issues including ambient air.

In reviewing Map 40, there are several areas within Washtenaw County with elevated airborne pollutants outside denser urban areas. While some of these areas are related to larger manufacturing facilities, others are not as clearly explained. The data displayed is from 2005, and overall levels of manufacturing in the region have decreased since that time. Further, Washtenaw County has a robust brownfield redevelopment program, established in 2002 under Public Act 381 of the State of Michigan, that has successfully supported demolition, cleanup and redevelopment of over 1,000 acres of previously blighted and/or contaminated commercial and industrial properties. Many of these projects are within urban areas where at risk populations are located, and elevated airborne pollution risks exist.

MAP 40_ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH INDEX
Patterns in Disparities in Access to Opportunity

Education
Long-term racial and socioeconomic segregation is reinforced through local school districts. Uneven funding is a result of segregation and ongoing concentration of lower-income families on the east side. The middle and upper class families that do live with in the YCS District frequently utilize charter and the choice schools program to have their children attend other schools. This adds additional pressure to YCS which is left with more lower income students and students of color, often with additional resource needs.

While this issue has been identified frequently, state school funding formulas encourage more successful (and better resourced) school districts to cherry-pick middle and upper middle-class predominantly white students. This ongoing competition for funding exacerbates the disparity. While a countywide merger has often been cited as a means to rectify this problem, experts note that long-term debt and racial and economic prejudices make this unlikely.

The result is that east side communities of color are most negatively impacted (including the two R/ECAPs), with no new ideas on the horizon for structural change.

Employment
Employers and residents speak to a job skills mismatch resulting from broader economic shifts over the last 10-20 years. With fewer good-paying jobs for individuals with less than a college degree, jobs either fall into the service/retail category, or the advanced manufacturing/IT category. The former suffers from low wages and limited upward mobility. The latter is considered desirable, but education and experience requirements make many of these positions unobtainable for residents without college degrees or advanced training. This is clearly illustrated by the higher unemployment and less educational-attainment on the east side, in primarily African American neighborhoods.

Racial discrimination, lower-education levels and related issues are ongoing problems with the unemployment in the African American community in the City of Ypsilanti and Ypsilanti Township as well as portions of Superior Township.

Transportation
Recent improved transit options through the Ann Arbor Area Transportation Authority (AAATA, also branded as The Ride) expansion have provided additional relief (note expansion is too recent to be included in HUD in this chapter). The AAATA changes are being reviewed to determine the impact of transit expansion and route change on service. Additional transportation options are needed, especially as the lack of access to a car is more of an issue for maintaining employment than education, as reported in a 2016 survey of Michigan Works! job seekers.
Poverty
Tied in closely to race, and racial segregation patterns, high poverty areas most negatively impact communities of color, primarily African American, Native American and Hispanic.

Additional Information

Washtenaw County Opportunity Index
In 2015, Washtenaw County worked with local partners to develop a broad Opportunity Index to score each census tract for access to opportunity based on 5 categories: Health, Education & Training, Job Access, Neighborhood Safety and Stability and Economic well-being.
In Map 41, the blue areas have high opportunity, whereas the dark red areas have lower opportunity.

As expected, this matches closely with the HUD-provided data and shows a pattern of lower opportunity on the east side of the county which has the majority of African American populations and neighborhoods (like in Ypsilanti City, Ypsilanti Township, and portions of Superior and Augusta Township. Whitmore Lake also shows up as well). More information on the index and the County’s work toward racial equity can be found at [www.opportunitywashtenaw.org](http://www.opportunitywashtenaw.org).

**MAP 41_OPPORTUNITY INDEX OVERVIEW**

The high opportunity areas are centered around Ann Arbor, Pittsfield Township and portions of Scio and Ypsilanti Townships (Map 41). There is concern within some neighborhoods of Ann Arbor, that lower-income households may be priced out due increased cost of housing. Neighborhood profiles (in Demographic Summary Chapter) are in response to requests from the AFFH Subcommittee to “deep dive” into the change happening within neighborhoods.
Contributing Factors of Disparities in Access to Opportunity

Each chapter discusses contributing factors that continue, worsen, or otherwise prevent resolution to the fair housing issue discussed in the chapter. These contributing factors help direct the development of goals and strategies to counter the issue.

Access to financial services
Recently, the United Way of Washtenaw County convened a working group on financial services and financial literacy related to low income Washtenaw County residents. As part of this, Map 42 was developed, showing check cashing locations. As you can see from the map below, the number of check cashing locations (red pins) are clustered around the east side of the county, in lower income areas. In Ann Arbor, the jurisdiction with the largest population, there are only two locations.

MAP 42_CHECK CASHING LOCATIONS
The availability, type, frequency, and reliability of public transportation

As mentioned previously, the AAATA largely expanded transit services in 2016. As a result, wait times were reduced from 1 hour to 30 minutes, and in regard to routes in Ypsilanti and Ypsilanti Township, most routes now travel in both directions rather than a one-way loop. While greatly improved, travel times from the following locations to U of M Hospital (for example) usually hover about 1 hour one way:

- West Willow Neighborhood - minimum of one hour, one way
- Southside R/ECAP - between 55 and 60 minutes one way
- Leforge R/ECAP - 47-57 minutes depending on route

Two hours of travel time, at minimum, puts a burden on residents with other needs such as running errands, getting to and from childcare and schools, spending time with family, and so on.

As to reliability and on-time performance, FY 2016 data provided by The Ride indicates that 90% of trips were on-time at route endpoints. That number decreased to 84% for on-time performance at all timepoints along the route. Currently on fixed-routes, 43% of bus stops have accessibility enhancements, but 100% of the bus fleet contain accessibility features.

The A-Ride service from Ann Arbor Area Transportation Authority also provides shared-ride transportation service for persons with disabilities. This service is available for individuals within ¾ mile of fixed route service and available. Additionally, A-Ride is available for ADA eligible residents of Ypsilanti, Pittsfield and Superior Townships who reside beyond the Base Service Area. These riders may request trips to locations within their township on weekdays between 6:30 a.m. and 6:30 p.m. Additional funding permits:

- Eligible Pittsfield Township riders to travel within the Ann Arbor City limits
- Eligible Ypsilanti Township riders to travel within the Ypsilanti City limits.

Outside of AAATA’s service area, People’s Express serves residents of Saline; Dial a ride is available to residents of Manchester (including accessible transportation); Western-Washtenaw Area Value Express (WAVE), provides affordable transportation to older adults, persons with disabilities and other transit-dependent individuals. The WAVE’s service area includes Chelsea, Dexter and provides an inter-urban express route along Jackson Road. With that said, many rural areas are not covered by dial-a-ride or other paratransit services.

As mentioned previously there are no connections east of Washtenaw County to Dearborn, Canton, and the Detroit Area. A four-county Regional Transit Authority (RTA) has been formed, but a 2016 millage effort to fund service to link all four counties (including the links from Washtenaw east to other employment opportunities) failed. Another attempt is expected, although not yet announced.
Lack of private investments in specific neighborhoods

The City of Ypsilanti has not seen any new residential housing construction (outside of rehabilitation and RAD conversion) in more than 10 years. However, there has been great improvements in existing single and multi-family commercial stock, including the RAD conversion of Ypsilanti Housing Commission properties and investment in rehabilitation of a variety of properties post foreclosure. There are several new residential developments in the planning stages, but still limit investment, particularly in the southside and southeast neighborhoods.

Private investment in Ypsilanti Township increased post-recession as several subdivisions that had previously stalled, restarted development and boosted new homeownership. Additionally there is interest in investment along several corridors, including Whittaker Road. However, the Gault Village shopping area, previously a neighborhood center with a grocery and related convenience shopping, is still in transition and experiencing a high degree of vacancy.

Lack of public investments in specific neighborhoods, including services or amenities

Within the City of Ypsilanti, there are a number of amenities including parks, a fairly complete sidewalk network, streetlights, community centers, and similar. Due to it’s age and funding constraints, the City of Ypsilanti has deferred maintenance on several of its amenities, such as the sidewalk network, downtown pedestrian improvements, parks, and other infrastructure.

The City of Ypsilanti eliminated recreation programming around 2004, and has reduced many maintenance services due to budget constraints over the past 15 years. However, an active community has taken over several roles including the operation and physical replacement of the Rutherford City Pool, the operation of the Senior Center, and a partnership with Washtenaw Community College that provides programming and education at Parkridge Community Center. Ongoing facility maintenance is limited to the availability of grant funding and charitable support rather than general fund. Investments in Parkridge Park and Peninsula Park (both R/ECAPs) has been minimal and focused on maintenance and replacement of existing equipment.

Ypsilanti Township has maintained its recreational programming and expanded its park and park facilities. In the case of the West Willow neighborhood, a partnership between the Township and Habitat for Humanity of Huron Valley has resulted in improvements to the neighborhood center, the addition of a pavilion as well as some park maintenance.

Superior Township has identified the need for additional facilities in and around the MacArthur Drive neighborhood. A small branch of the Ypsilanti District Library is located in the area as well as the Superior Township Community Park, but there are limited facilities to provide recreational and/or educational services to youth.
Lack of regional cooperation
Positive regional cooperation include the Urban County, the Continuum of Care for homelessness services, and the expansion of the Ann Arbor Transportation Authority to the Ann Arbor Area Transportation Authority, now including the City of Ypsilanti and Ypsilanti Township. While five jurisdictions have adopted the 2015 Housing Affordability and Economic Equity Analysis, there is some tension around implementation of regional goals for the effort. In some cases that includes some communities interest in gentrification more than revitalization, and in other cases, limited investment and engagement in removing exclusionary policies.

Areas where regional cooperation could benefit are efforts involving a countywide public education district, coordinated hiring efforts from anchor institutions, and ongoing coordination on affordable housing for the urbanized area. The 2016 failure of the RTA Millage presents some broader regional coordination needs. The effort looks to connect 4 counties with transit services that will expand employment opportunities and improve access overall.

Land use and zoning laws
Land use and zoning laws generally allow for multi-family housing. However, in the City of Ann Arbor, connection fees and development review processes increase the costs of all development, including affordable housing development. Despite this, the City of Ann Arbor also has a payment in lieu of taxes (PILOT) ordinance requiring that all units maintained at 60% AMI pay $1 per unit a year in taxes. The State of Michigan Rent Control Act limits the tools that local units can utilize to incentivize affordable housing developments.

Single-family zoning districts make up the bulk of zoning districts in communities throughout the county. This limits the housing choices, price points and availability of housing for populations most in need. There have been efforts to limit the number of affordable units or use of housing choice vouchers through the use of Planned Unit Development (PUD) zoning. In other communities, PUDs have been utilized to encourage affordable housing. In Washtenaw County, similar to the nation, lower-income populations often includes communities of color.

Lending Discrimination
The recent history of mortgage lending in Washtenaw County as reported through Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA). African Americans are denied mortgages for single family, duplex, triplex and quad buildings at a rate often 2-3 times that of whites or Asians. Hispanics are also denied at a much higher rate, than whites or Asians. The smaller number of loan originations does show more fluctuation in the information for Hispanics/Latinos.

Anecdotally, there have been numerous stories of EMU professors looking for housing that are immediately directed to the Ann Arbor Housing market by realtors and others, rather than neighborhoods with quality and affordable housing stock within walking or shorter commuting distances in the City of Ypsilanti and Ypsilanti Township. Anecdotal reports from realtors
indicate that steering occurs related to school districts, with school district boundaries serving as the modern era “redline” districts.

**Location of employers**
Previously noted, the majority of employers in the county are located in the Ann Arbor and Pittsfield area. The University of Michigan and University of Michigan Hospital employ more people than almost all the other top 20 employers in the county combined. Transit service does link much of the urbanized area to these major employers; however, in several cases in eastside neighborhoods, the commute is one hour one way.

The other large job center is in the City of Detroit and its metropolitan region. There is no transit access from Washtenaw County east. Plans for those connections as part of the RTA are on hold until the RTA determines how to move forward after the failed 2016 millage effort.

**Location of environmental health hazards**
The MDEQ and Washtenaw County Department of Environmental Health is monitoring the Dioxin plume in the City of Ann Arbor. The new West Willow Neighborhood Association is seeking advocacy support from Congresswoman Dingell to encourage limited use of the nearby hazardous waste landfill. The Washtenaw County Brownfield Authority continues to support local units with cleanup and redevelopment of brownfield sites.

**Location of proficient schools and school assignment policies**
The less proficient school systems on the eastern side of the county (YCS and Lincoln Schools) are a frequent deterrent for homebuyers with the income and flexibility to purchase or even rent throughout the region. The AAPS are the primary draw, and further contribute to the high cost of housing in Ann Arbor and surrounding areas. School district lines have become a modern equivalent of redlining, with more African American and students of color attending YCS and Lincoln Schools than other county school districts. The result is a vicious cycle of individuals with higher incomes and education adding to the expense and exclusivity of Ann Arbor, while households with lower incomes find themselves in an underperforming and underfunded school district.

**Location and type of affordable housing**
As the map in the Publicly-Supported Housing Analysis section shows, the City of Ypsilanti and Ypsilanti township host the vast majority of committed affordable housing units for the county, creating areas of disproportionate housing needs and areas of concentrated poverty. For example, in the City of Ypsilanti, more than 95% of the committed affordable units in the city are located South of Michigan Avenue - this includes the 632 units located in the Southside R/ECAP.
**Occupancy codes and restrictions**
Most local units use the state building code to define occupancy limits. In reviewing the definition of a family, there is variation among jurisdictions related to the number of unrelated individuals that can live together under the definition of family. Most of the out-county townships limit this number to 1 or 2 individuals. However, state case law has broadened the definition of functional family in a number of cases, even if local zoning ordinances haven’t reflected the latest case law.

**Private discrimination**
Through both surveys and focus groups, it was affirmed that discrimination is still an issue in particular for people of color and persons with disabilities. In the Ypsilanti Renters focus group, it was posited that one reason for this ongoing discrimination is a lack of diversity among property managers and landlords. This could minimize cultural misunderstandings that can lead to applications being denied and, in some cases, eviction.