

# LEGACY OF REDLINING

Evidence Of Lead Exposure In  
Drinking Water Samples From California  
Public Schools

University of California, Riverside



Photo Credit:  
Sam Ward/Reveal

# THE TEAM



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# AGENDA

Presentation Overview



**INTRODUCTION**



**BACKGROUND AND EVIDENCE**



**METHODS AND OUTCOMES**



**FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**



**CONCLUSION**



# INTRODUCTION

## CURRENT POLICY

Assembly Bill 746  
Effective Date 2017

Mandated Lead Testing of Potable Water  
System for Schools Built Prior to 2010.

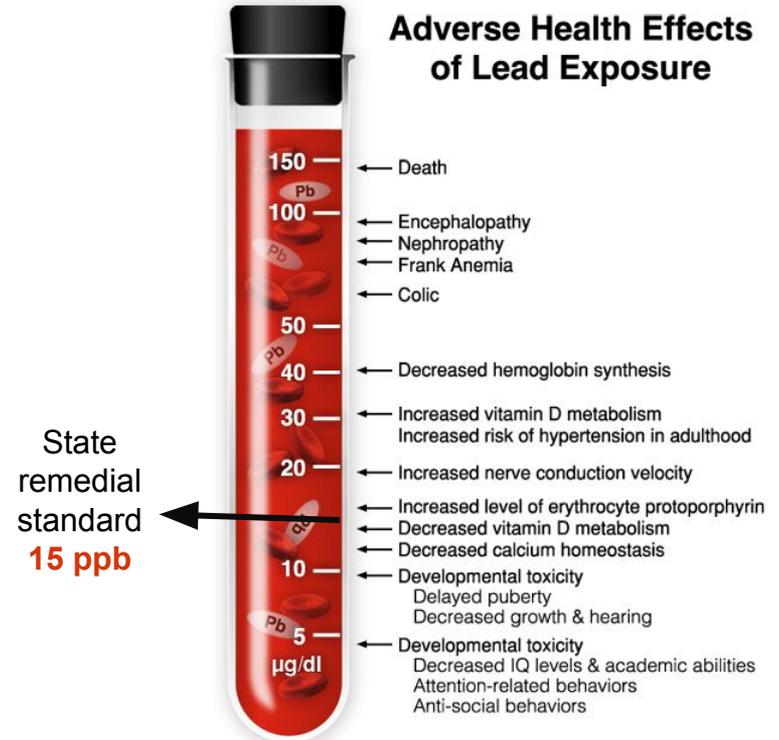
# INTRODUCTION

## The Issue

Lead is detectable throughout California's public school system.

Lead is a known **neurotoxin**.

Children absorb **4x** more lead and the harmful health effects of lead poisoning are **irreversible**.



Source: Bellinger, D. C., & Bellinger, A. M. (2006).

# INTRODUCTION

## **Objective: Legacy of Redlining**

Explore the association between the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) 1930s discriminatory housing maps and the present day occurrence of lead exposure in California's public school system.



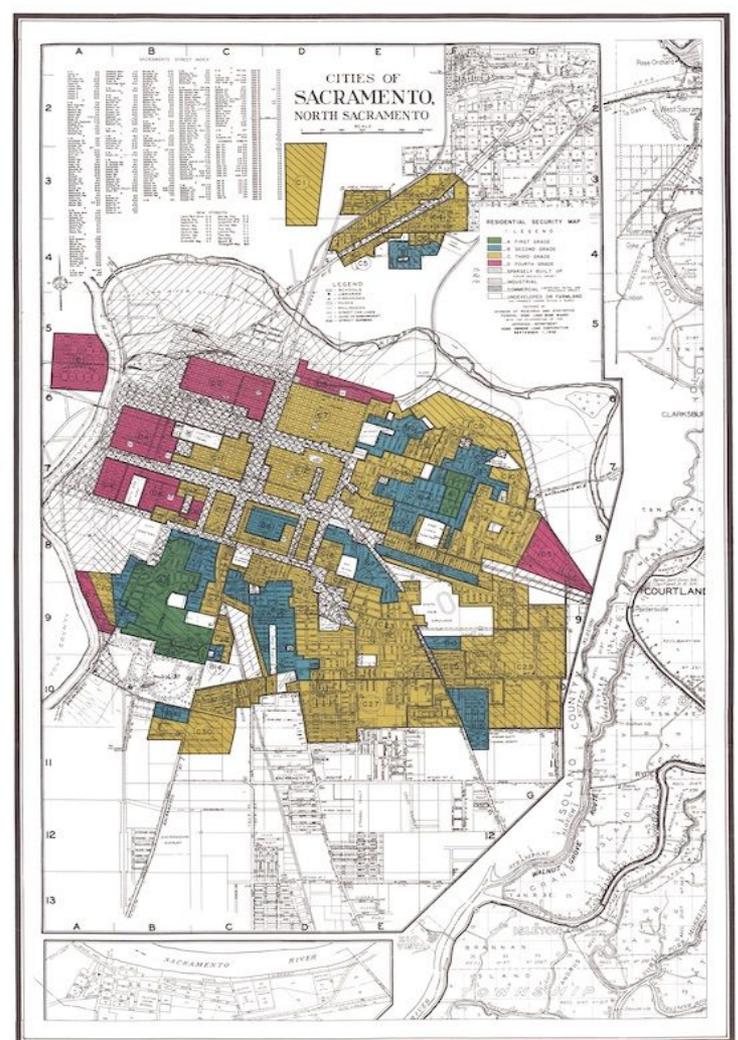
# BACKGROUND

## What is Redlining?

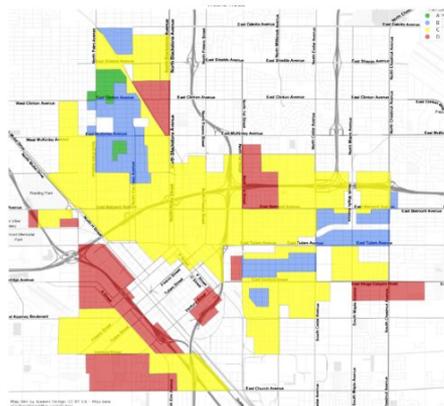
A discriminatory lending practice that denied loans to individuals based on the racial composition of the applicant's neighborhoods.

This practice primarily affected communities of color.

Lenders would “redline” the neighborhoods that were deemed hazardous to investment.



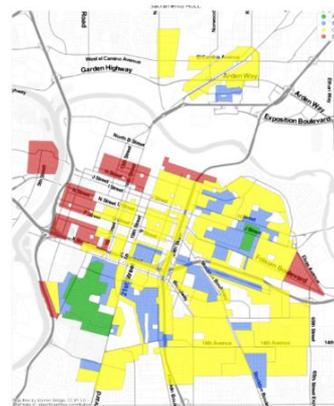
The original 1930s map of Sacramento showing 'Residential Security Grades.'



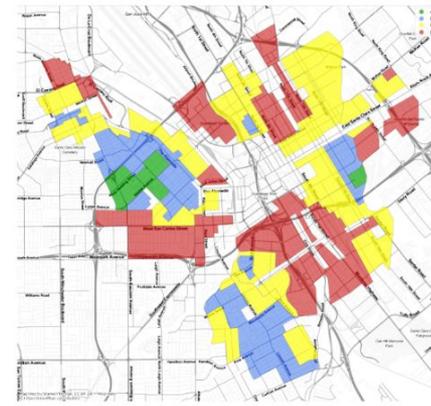
(a) Fresno



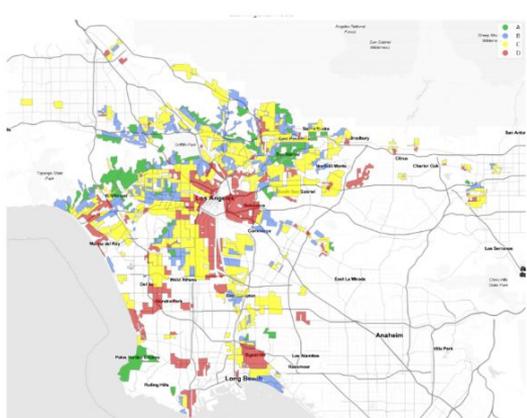
(b) Stockton



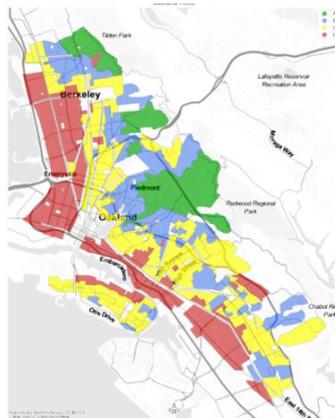
(c) Sacramento



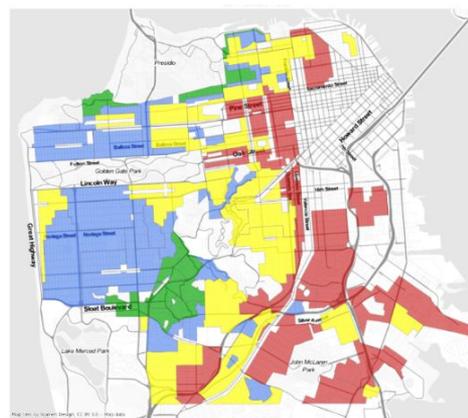
(d) San Jose



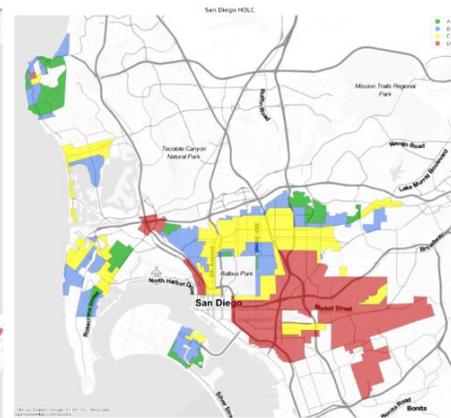
(e) Los Angeles



(f) Oakland



(g) San Francisco



(h) San Diego

# Digitized Maps of 8 Historically Redlined Cities in California



# BACKGROUND

## Past Literature on Redlining



Redlining resulted in housing segregation



Neighborhood disinvestment and a widening wealth gap were consequences of discriminatory lending practices



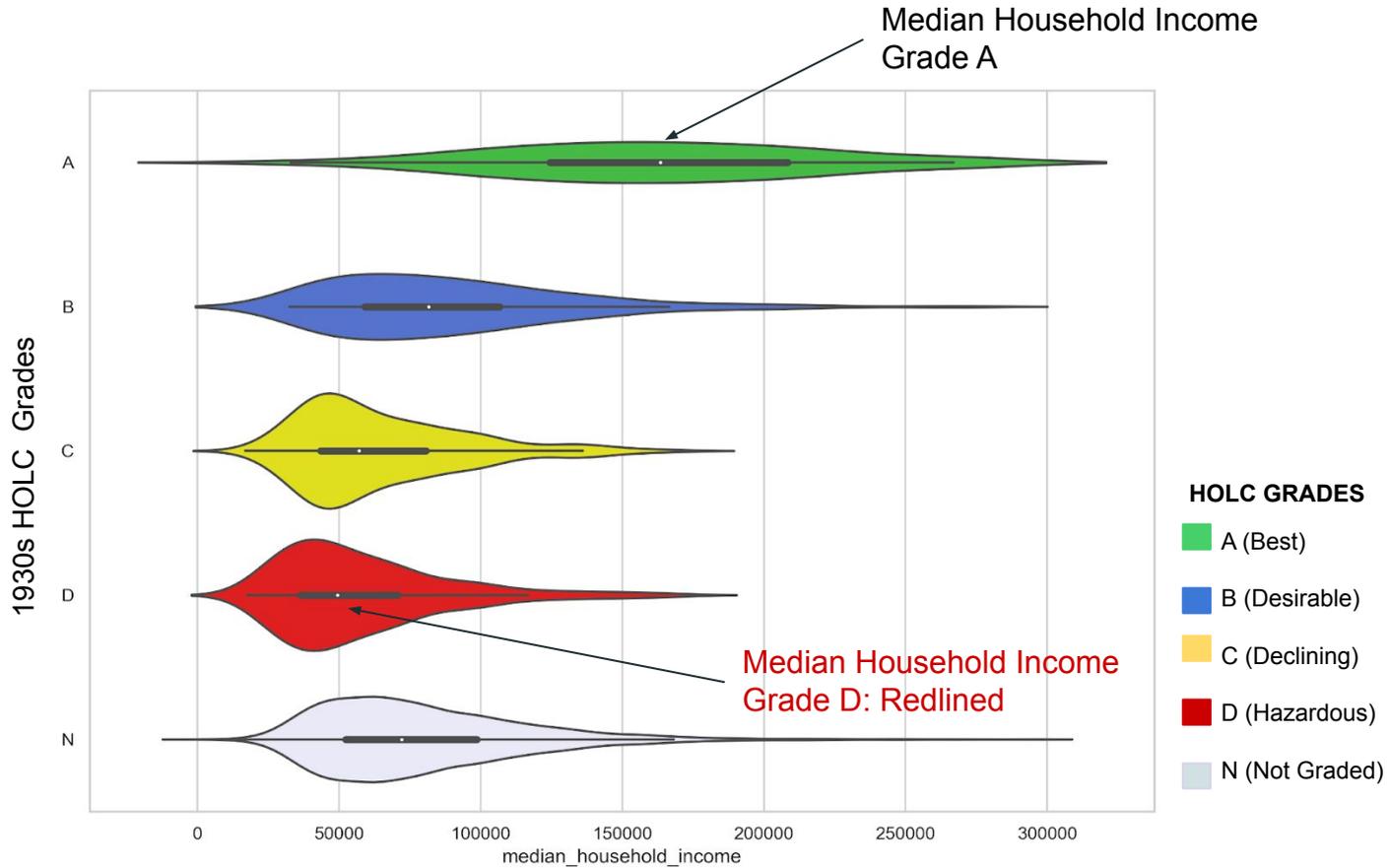
Educational disparities observed across redlined areas



Evidence of present day health disparities and environmental injustices

# EVIDENCE

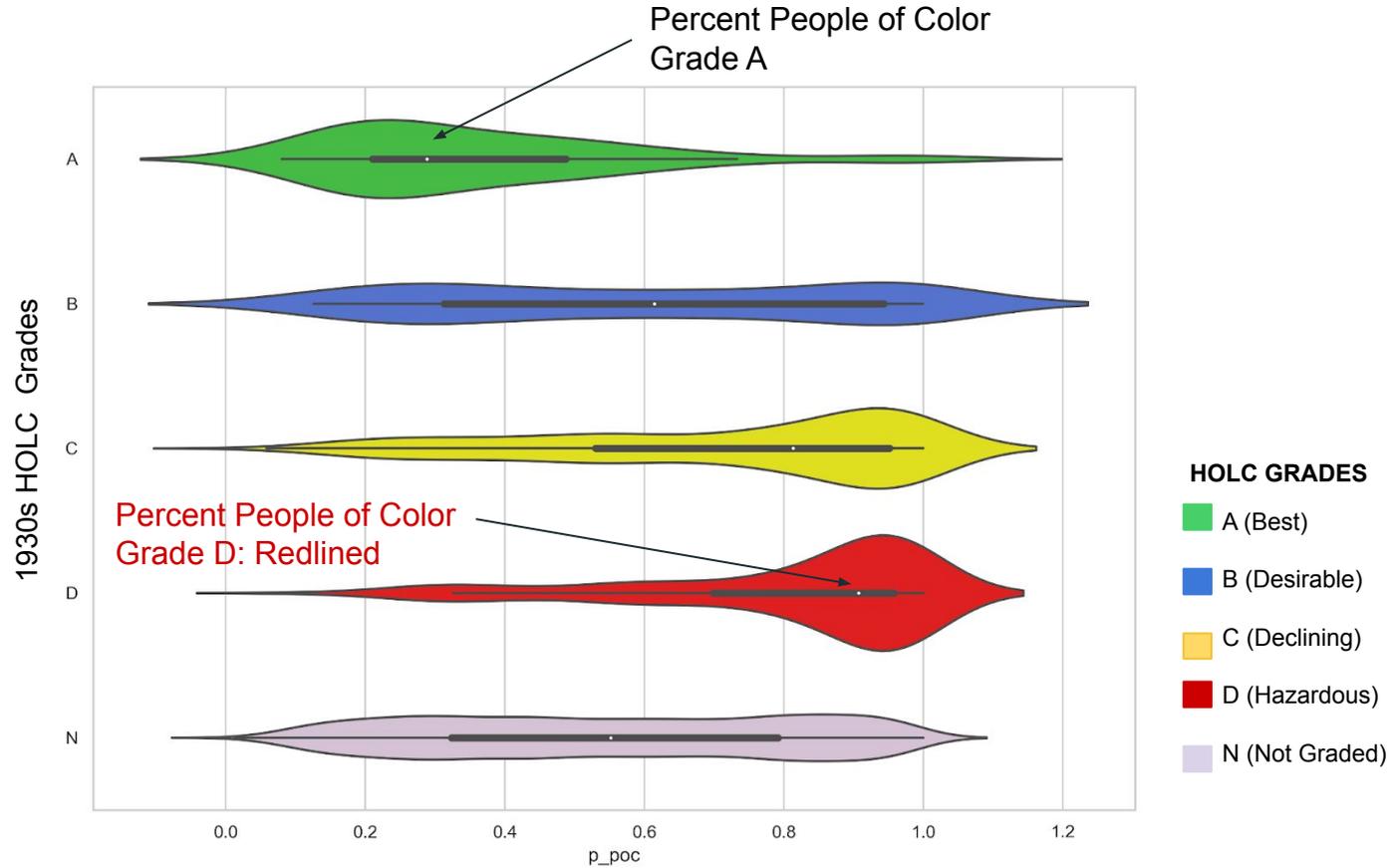
Income Disparities



Violin Plot A : Distribution of Median Household Income in 2010

# EVIDENCE

## Racial Disparities



Violin Plot B: Distribution of Percent People of Color in 2010

## Research Question 1

Are lead levels higher in schools belonging to historically redlined neighborhoods versus non-redlined neighborhoods?



## Research Question 2

Are lead outcomes spatially clustered or randomly distributed throughout historically graded regions of redlined cities?

# METHODS

Data Sources



State Water  
Resources Control  
Board

Lead Sample Results

**7,555 Public Schools  
in California**

Collected from  
2017-2019



Mapping Inequality  
University of Richmond

1930's Digital HOLC  
Maps

**8 Historically  
Redlined Cities in  
California**



Census Bureau

**2010 Census Tract  
Data for California**

For Median Household  
Income and Racial  
Composition indicators

# METHODS

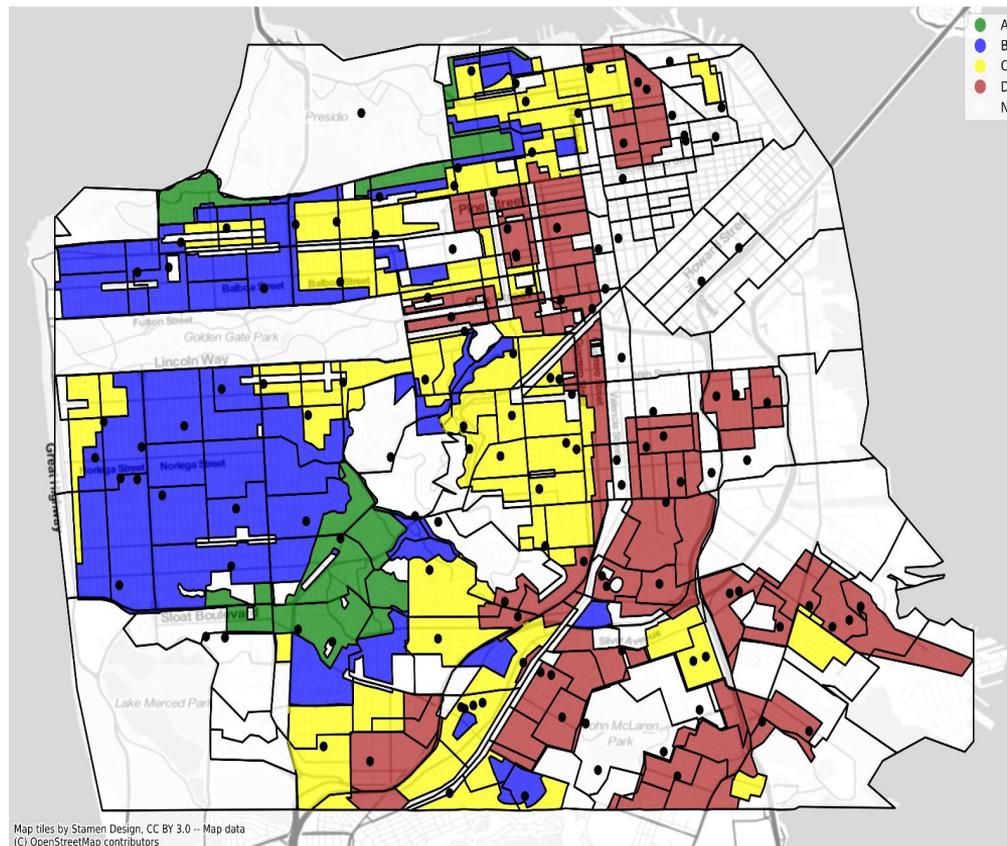
## Data Analysis

### Research Question 1

Regression Modeling

### Research Question 2

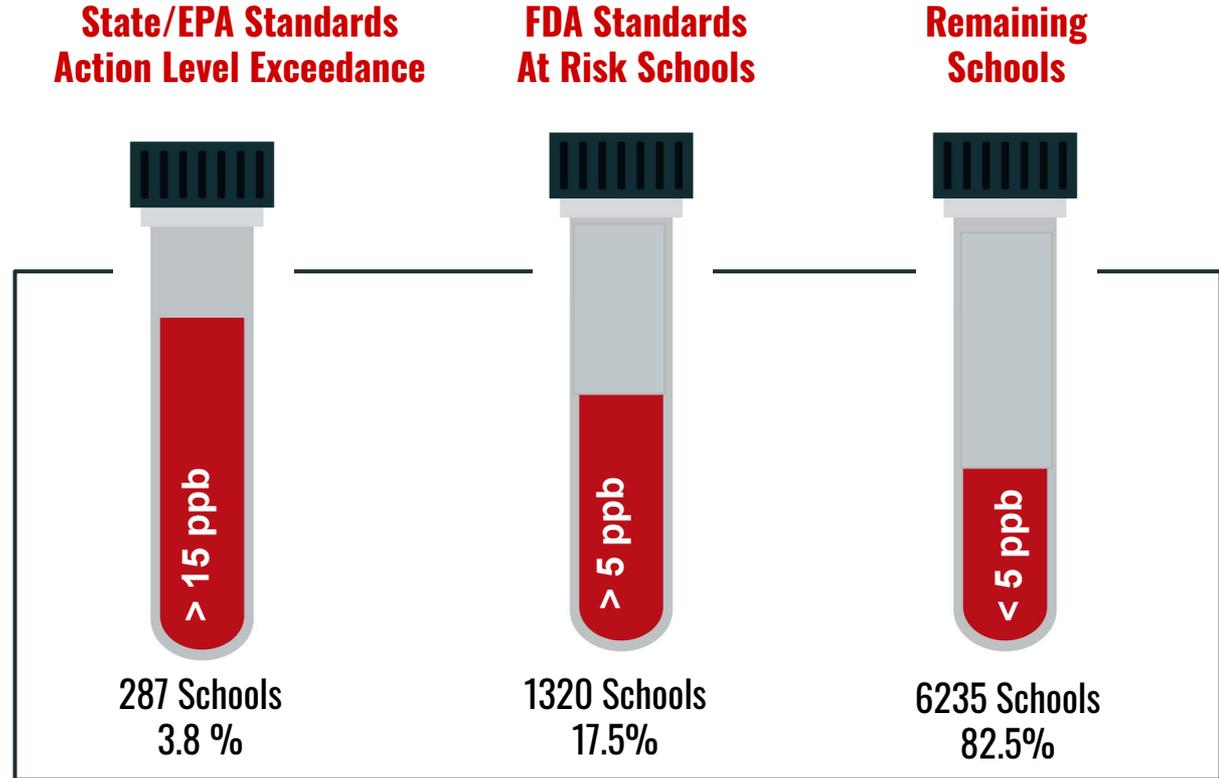
Local and Global Measures of Spatial Autocorrelation



Schools Locations in San Francisco, California

# STUDY OUTCOMES

Lead Exposure



Highest reported lead concentration in parts per billion (ppb) at a school site, sample size 7,555 public schools in California

# FINDINGS

## Regression Results

Outcome: Lead Concentration (ppb)

Sample Size (N) = 7,555

Subsample at Risk (N)= 1,320

**No statistically significant** relationship between redlined areas and lead concentrations in schools.

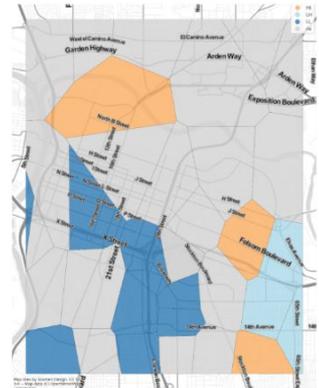
## Ordinary Least Square Estimation

	Outcome Variable: Lead Concentration			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Observations	1,320	7,552	1,319	7,551
A	-2.018 (30.028)	0.783 (6.270)	-8.946 (30.734)	0.480 (6.382)
B	-11.958 (17.483)	-1.566 (3.732)	-8.256 (17.791)	-0.846 (3.778)
C	-2.005 (11.634)	0.022 (2.173)	4.462 (12.155)	1.016 (2.264)
D	-7.324 (15.585)	-1.558 (2.525)	-0.229 (16.074)	-0.545 (2.620)
HOLC City Status			-9.511 (5.870)	-1.595 (1.024)
Median Household Income			0.000** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
People of Color			8.611 (11.042)	1.140 (1.965)

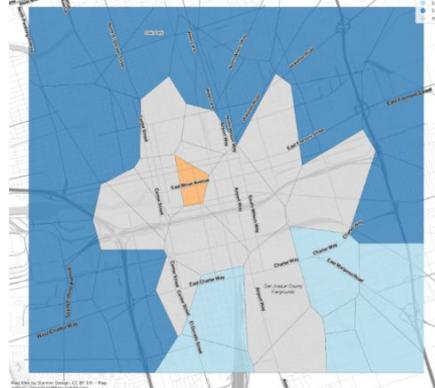
Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01



1. Fresno



2. Stockton



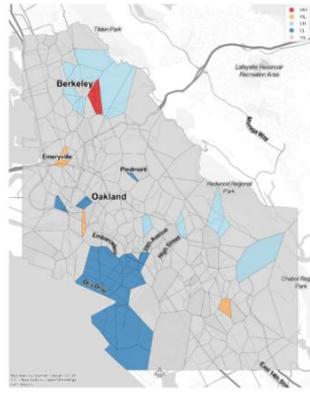
3. Sacramento



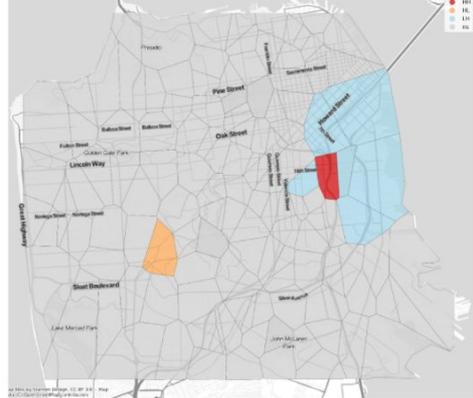
4. San Jose



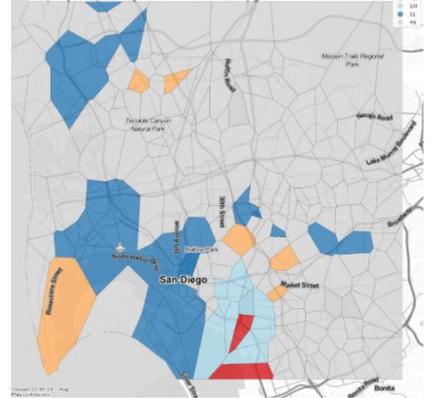
5. Los Angeles



6. Oakland

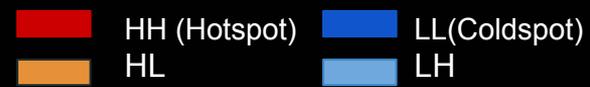


7. San Francisco



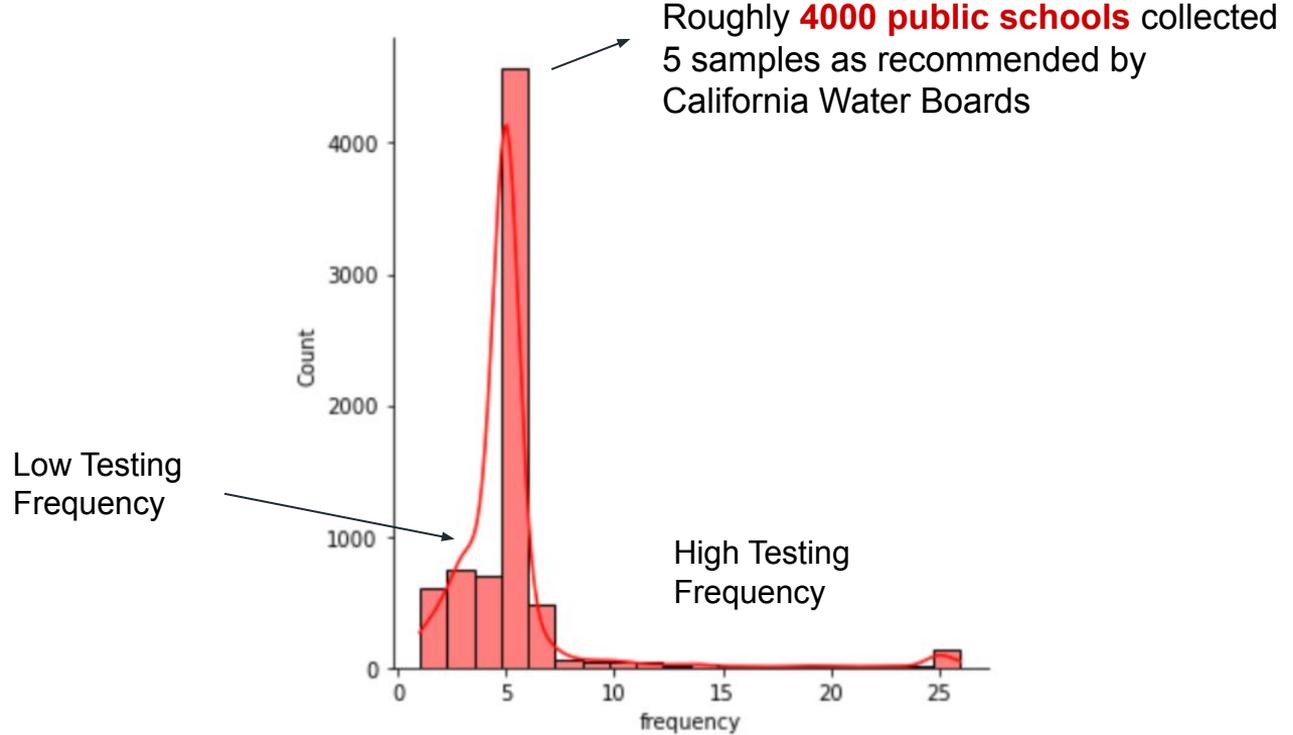
8. San Diego

# Identifying Clustering of Schools Based on Lead Exposure



# STUDY OUTCOMES

## Frequency of Testing



Bar Graph: Testing Frequency Counts From 7,555 Public Schools in California

# FINDINGS

## Regression Results

Outcome: Frequency of Testing

Sample Size (N) = 7,555

Subsample at Risk (N) = 1,320

Testing frequency was **significantly associated** with all HOLC grades and median household income.

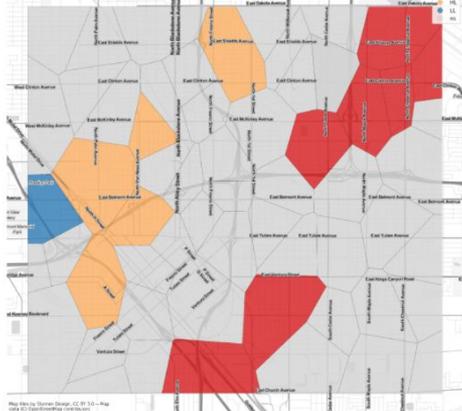
## Negative Binomial Estimation

### Outcome Variable: Frequency of Testing

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Observations	1,320	7,552	1,319	7,551
A	0.667** (0.331)	0.455*** (0.166)	0.421 (0.339)	0.325* (0.169)
B	0.408** (0.195)	0.457*** (0.099)	0.309 (0.199)	0.424*** (0.100)
C	0.570*** (0.129)	0.291*** (0.058)	0.538*** (0.135)	0.299*** (0.061)
D	0.528*** (0.173)	0.295*** (0.068)	0.524*** (0.179)	0.312*** (0.070)
HOLC City Status			0.101 (0.067)	0.011 (0.028)
Median Household Income			0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)
People of Color			0.075 (0.126)	0.073 (0.054)

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01



1. Fresno



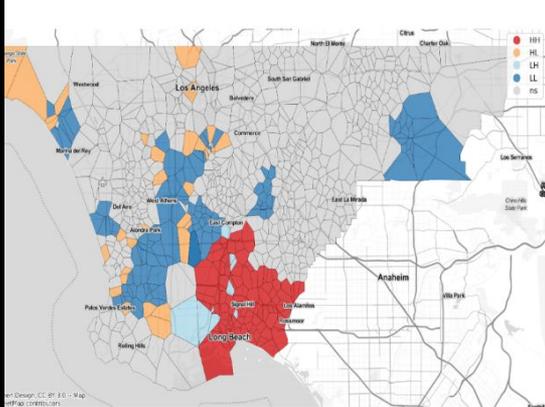
2. Stockton



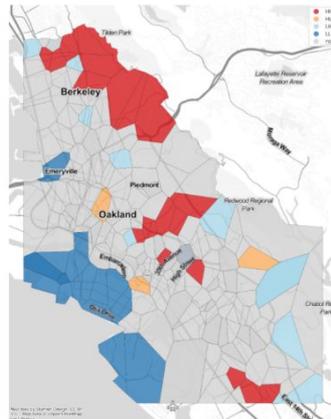
3. Sacramento



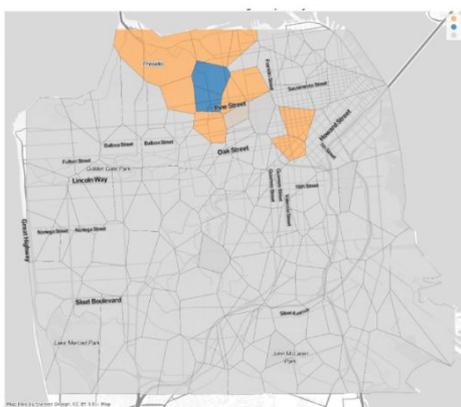
4. San Jose



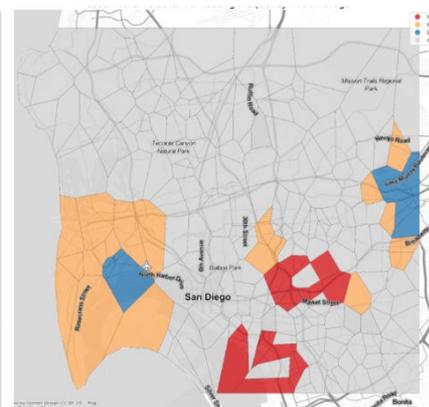
5. Los Angeles



6. Oakland

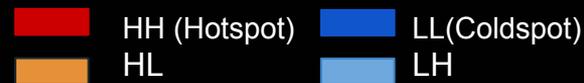


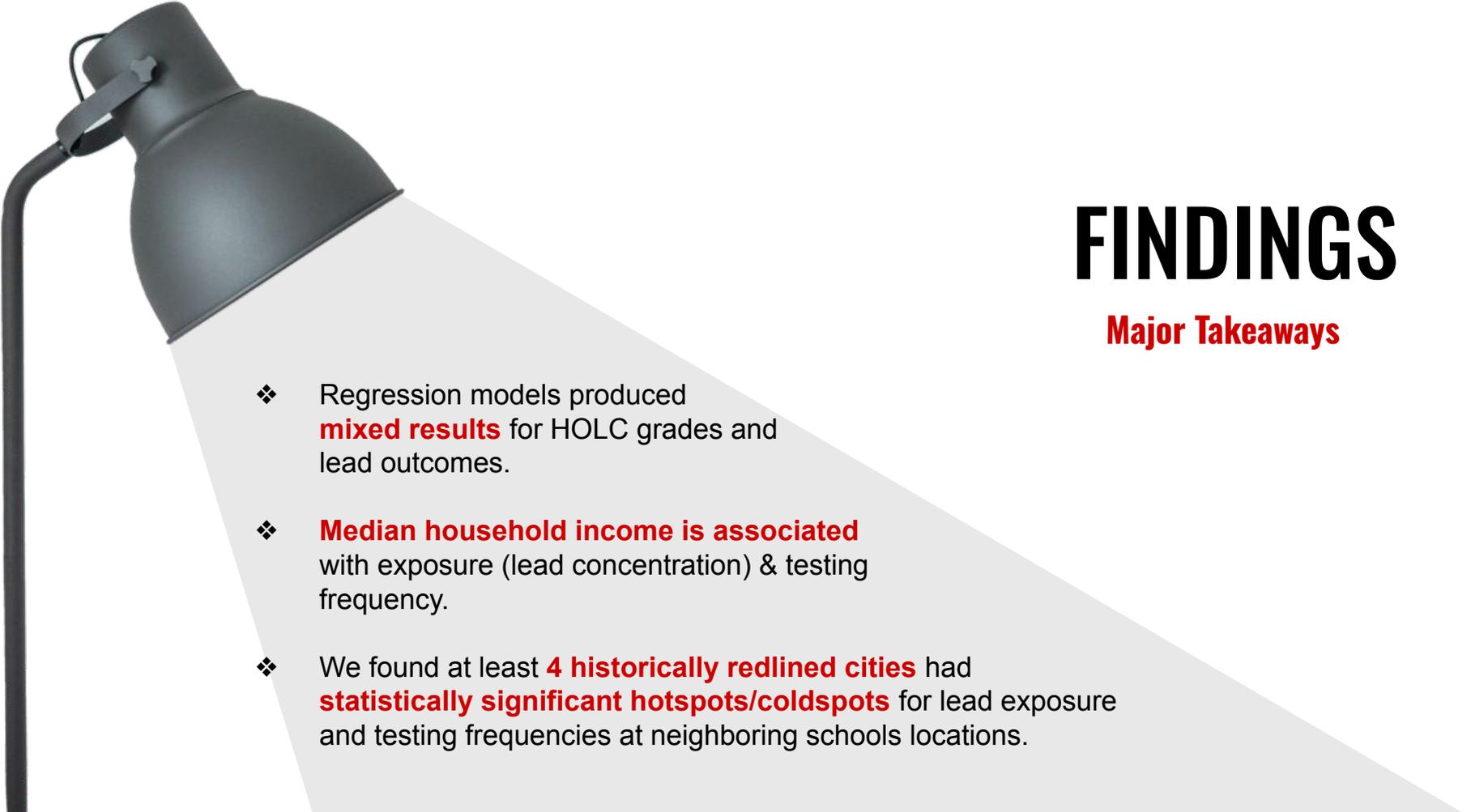
7. San Francisco



8. San Diego

# Identifying Clustering of Schools Based on Testing Frequency





# FINDINGS

## Major Takeaways

- ❖ Regression models produced **mixed results** for HOLC grades and lead outcomes.
- ❖ **Median household income is associated** with exposure (lead concentration) & testing frequency.
- ❖ We found at least **4 historically redlined cities** had **statistically significant hotspots/coldspots** for lead exposure and testing frequencies at neighboring schools locations.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

## Policy Alternatives

Revise remedial standards from 15 to 5 ppb

Estimated at-risk schools with action level exceedance **increase from 3% to 20%**

Point-of-use filtration units in schools

Ensure safe drinking water for **1300 at-risk schools**

Consistent sampling and reporting

Lead sample testing frequency **ranges from (1 to 26)** Standardize and increase the number of tests per site

**3.8%**

Current Policy Impacts:  
287 Schools

**17%**

Policy Alternative Impacts:  
1320 Schools



# RECOMMENDATIONS

**Effectiveness, Feasibility, and Efficiency**

**Benefits:** Parents, Children and Society

**Costs:** School Districts and Water Service Providers

**Funding Sources:**

California SAFER program  
Voter-approved bond measures  
Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act

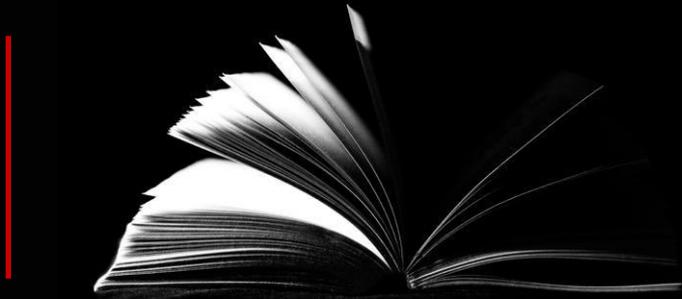


# LIMITATIONS

- **Scope:** Our spatial analysis was limited to HOLC graded regions within the redlined cities.
- **Unique Local Variables:** Our analysis excluded school and water service provider's characteristics.



# CONCLUSION



- High levels of lead (**up to 2000 ppb**) were found in California public school system.
- Our research shows at least **13.7% additional schools** require preventive action to avert unhealthy exposure to lead.
- Despite absence of causal relation with lead concentration, **socioeconomic and racial disparities persist** within neighborhoods that were historically redlined.

# THANK YOU



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Presentation slides, additional maps, and final report will be posted on Github

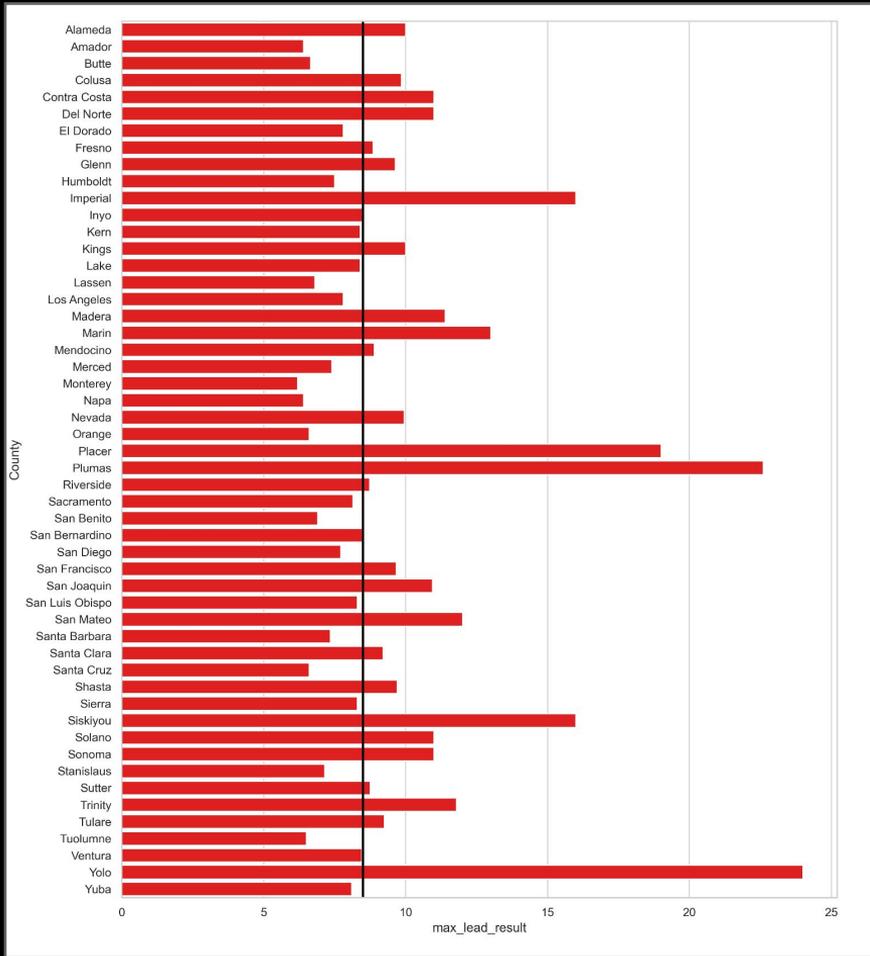
# LEGACY OF REDLINING

QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS

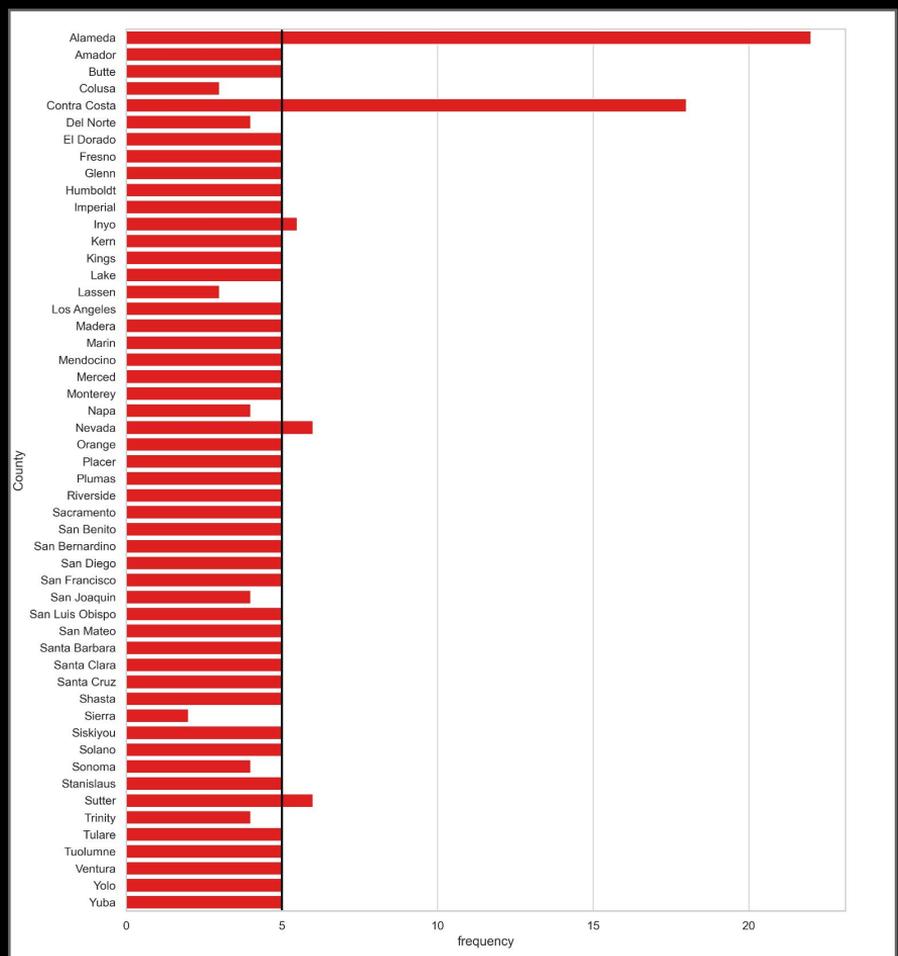


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<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/26/fact-sheet-a-year-advancing-environmental-justice/>

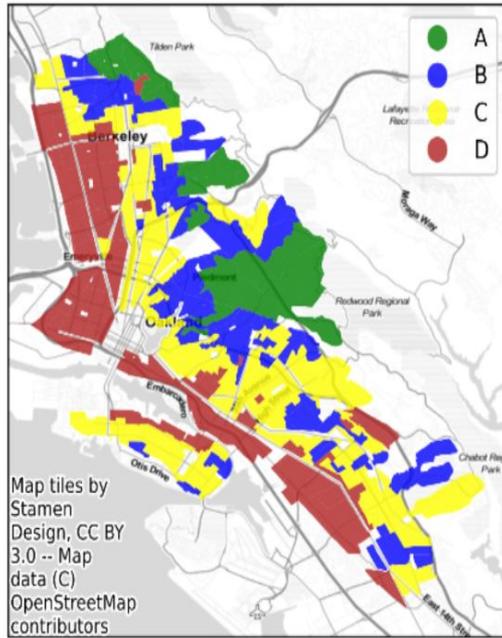


**Fig 1: Median Lead Concentration in At Risk Schools by County**

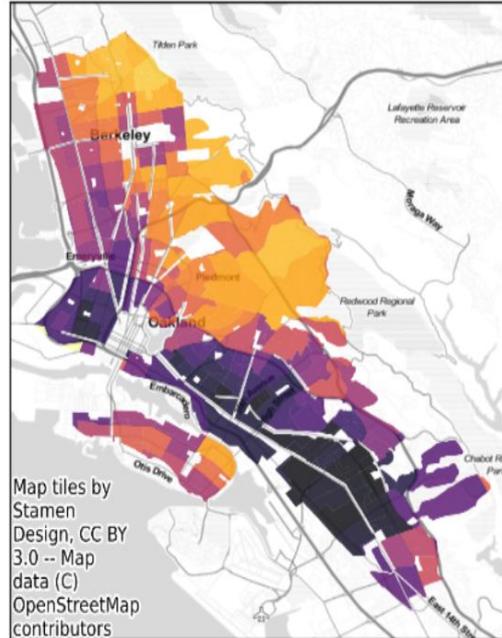


**Fig 2: Median Testing Frequency in At Risk Schools by County**

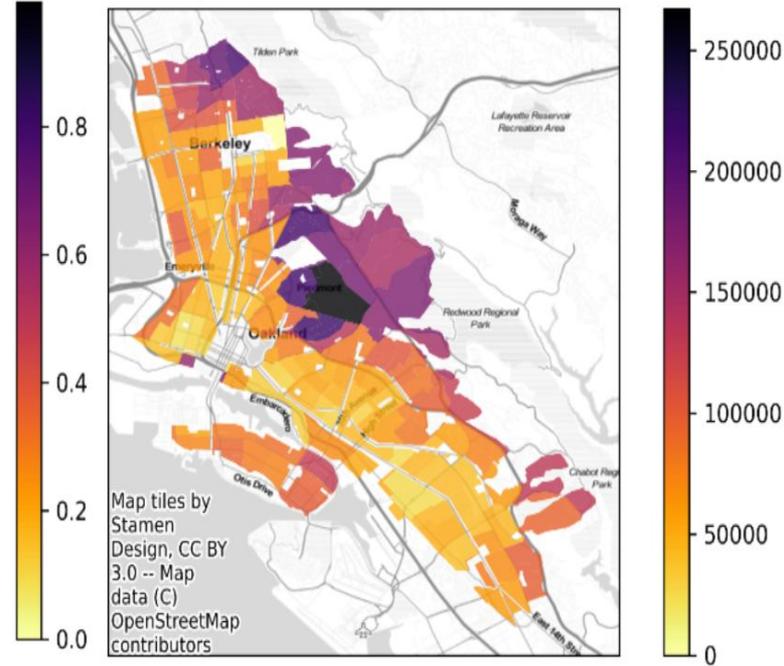
a) 1930 HOLC Grades



b) People of Color



c) Median Household Income

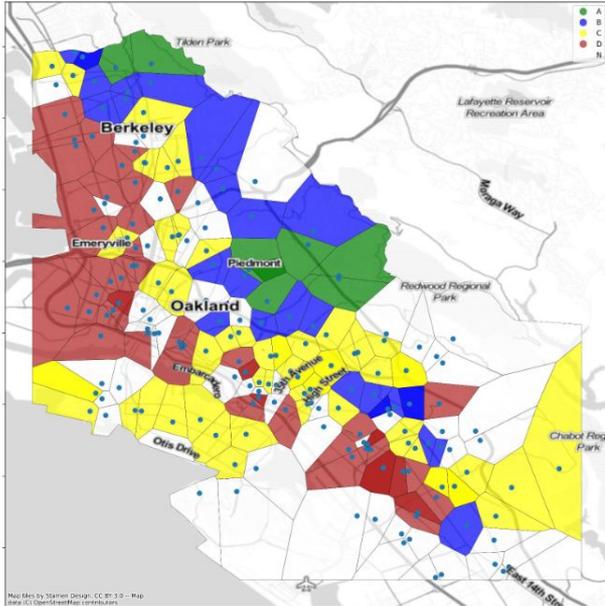


### Map of Oakland, California

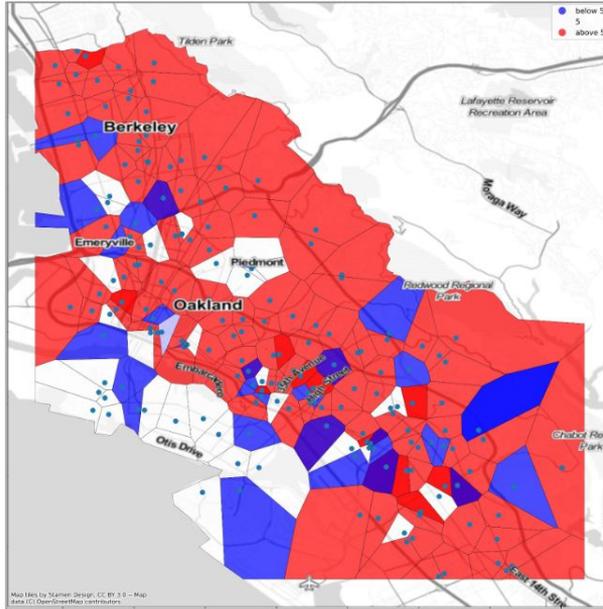
Map (a) shows the reconciled 1930's HOLC grades with modern 2010 census tracts. Census tracts belonging to 1930s HOLC grade A are shaded in green whereas grade D are colored red. Maps (b) show the percent of people of color and map (c) represent median household income in 2010. On the choropleth maps (b) and (c) the highest values of the people of color and median household income are represented in deep purple whereas the lowest values are shown in yellow.

# VORONOI MAPS FOR OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

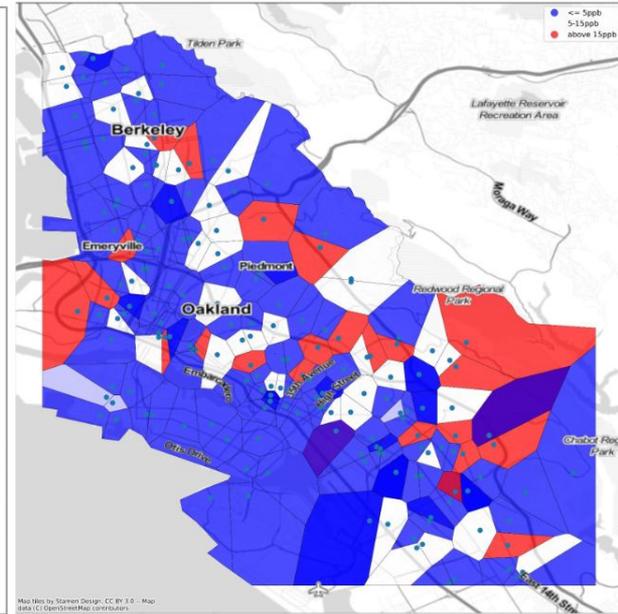
d) HOLC Grades



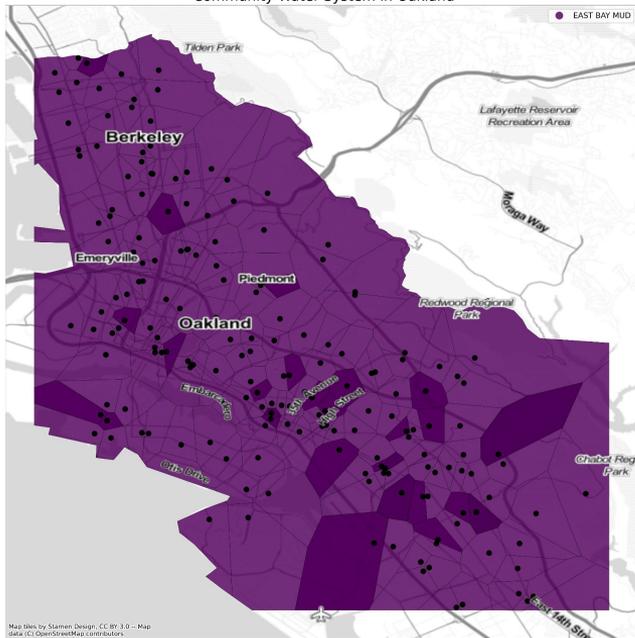
e) Testing Frequency



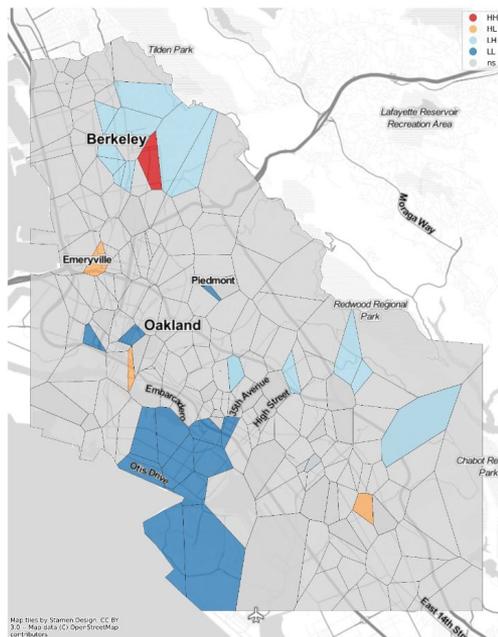
f) Lead Results



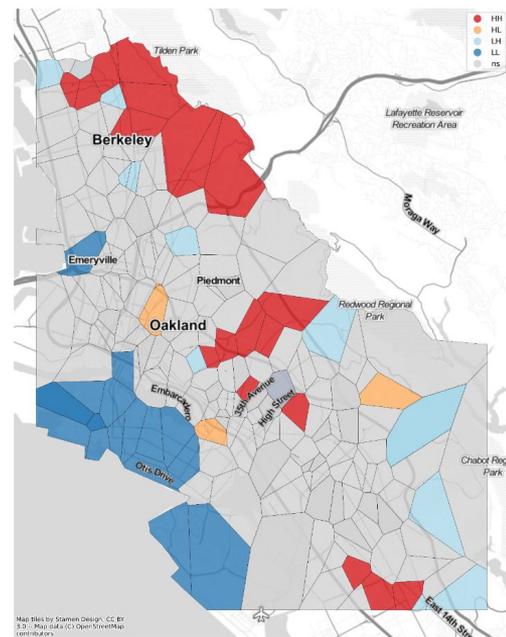
Community Water System in Oakland



## LISA FOR OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA



Map A Local Moran Cluster for Lead Results



Map B Local Moran Cluster for Testing Frequency

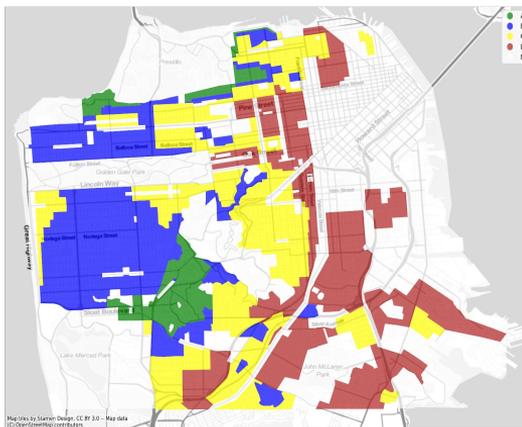
# STEPS

## Data Wrangling

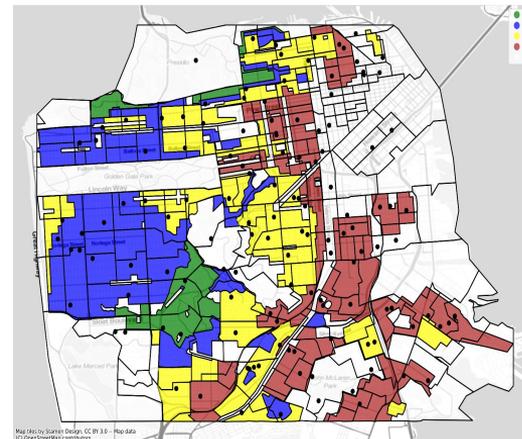
Reconcile 1930's map to  
modern census tracts data

Spatial join of school  
outcomes with new boundaries

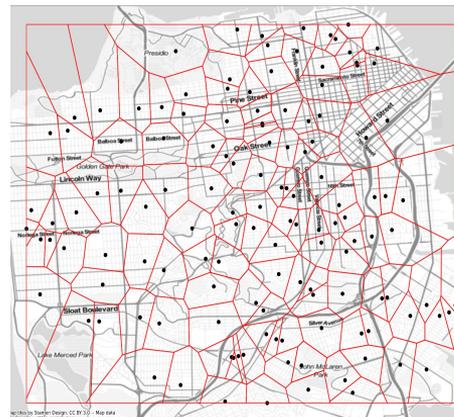
Voronoi polygons for schools points



Step 1: Reconcile HOLC maps



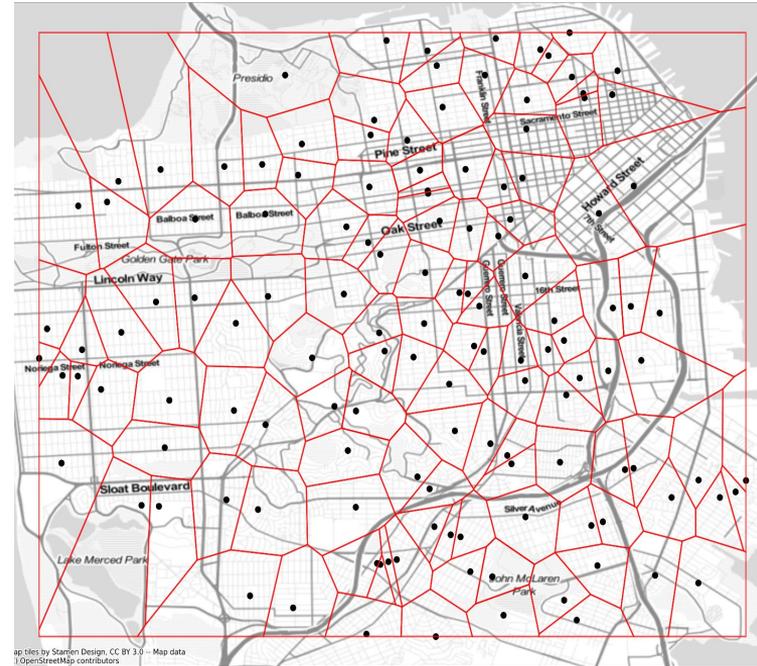
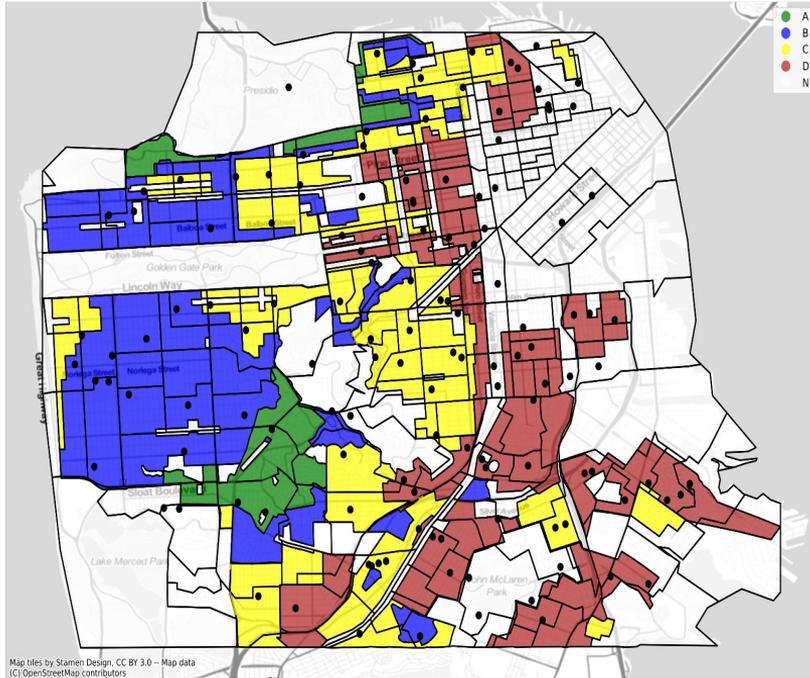
Step 2: Spatial join with school points



Step 3: Voronoi polygons from school point

Map of San Francisco, California

## Map of San Francisco, California



## WHAT IS VORONOI DIAGRAM

On the Voronoi diagram, each polygon contains exactly one initiation point (in this case the school) and every point in a given Voronoi polygon is closer to its generating points than others (Burrough et al. 2015). In most geospatial analyses, this technique is used to illustrate distance within a polygon to its centroid and accessibility to school locations