International Journal of
Education Policy & Leadership

IJEPL
Volume 21(2)
2025

The Critical Policy Geography of School Choice: Spatial Inequity and Segregation in Montréal

Ee-Seul Yoon, *University of Manitoba*
Corinne Barrett DeWiele, *Université de Saint-Boniface*

Abstract

This study examines the impact of school choice policy on spatial inequity and the segregation of secondary schools in Montréal, Canada's second-largest city. A critical policy geography perspective is applied to understand the significance of spatial locations of secondary schools and their programs of choice. This study utilizes Canadian census data, student enrolment data, and information about schools and school choice from government, district, and school websites. These various data sets are used primarily to generate layers on maps that facilitate critical geospatial analysis of school choice patterns. Our analysis illuminates the inequitable distribution of school choice programs in spatial terms. We also illustrate how spatial inequity reinforces segregation, as those with greater resources are more likely to enroll in schools in high-status neighbourhoods.

Résumé

Cette étude examine l'impact de la politique du choix d'école sur l'inégalité spatiale et la ségrégation d'écoles secondaires à Montréal, la deuxième ville du Canada en population. L'étude applique une géographie critique des politiques pour comprendre l'importance de l'emplacement des écoles secondaires et de leurs programmes de choix. Cette étude utilise des données du recensement canadien, des données sur les inscriptions des élèves et des informations sur les écoles et les choix d'école provenant de sites web du gouvernement, des districts et des écoles. Ces di-

Ee-Seul Yoon & Corinne Barrett DeWiele. (2024). The Critical Policy Geography of School Choice: Spatial Inequity and Segregation in Montréal. *International Journal of Education Policy & Leadership 21*(2). doi:10.22230/ijepl.2025v21n2a1475

SFU
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
PDK
PHI DELTA KAPPA International

verses données sont utilisées principalement pour générer des tracés sur des cartes permettant une analyse géospatiale critique du choix d'école. Cette analyse met en lumière la distribution inéquitable des programmes de choix d'école. Nous montrons en outre comment l'inégalité spatiale renforce la ségrégation, puisque les personnes disposant de ressources plus importantes sont plus susceptibles d'inscrire leurs enfants dans les écoles de quartiers prestigieux.

Keywords / Mots clés : spatial inequity, socio-spatial reproduction, school segregation, school choice, Montréal / inégalité spatiale, reproduction socio-spatiale, ségrégation scolaire, choix d'école, Montréal

Introduction

This study explores the spatial dynamics of segregation and inequity in high schools in the context of school choice policy in Montréal, the second-largest city in Canada, with 1.76 million residents (Moreau, 2023). The city's main language is French, one of Canada's two official languages (the other is English). Montréal also has a unique spatial configuration of secondary schools (high schools). Thus, this article focuses on the city's spatial context to illuminate how the spatial arrangements of (dis)advantage shape students' choice of high schools, especially students from families who experience economic insecurity (poverty), social stigma, and racial/ethnic exclusion.

This study builds on the existing research on school choice and school markets in Montréal and more broadly in the province of Québec, focusing on the impact of choice, marketization, and privatization on the school system (Castonguay-Payant, 2017; Grenier, 2022; Hurteau & Duclos, 2017; Laplante, Doray, Tremblay, Kamanzi, Pilote, & Lafontaine, 2018). Current research indicates that segregation has increased across schools since the expansion of marketization and privatization of schools in Québec, including in Montréal (Kamanzi, 2021; Vigneault, 2022). The Québec school system is called the *three-speed system* (système à trois vitesses), meaning it has a three-track system of private schools, public schools with specialties, and regular public schools (Plourde, 2022). Chmielewski and Maharaj (2022) note that Québec has the most segregated school system in Canada, a topic increasingly at the forefront in Québec and one that some school boards and government-appointed board directors have recently considered changing to stop the "magasinage" (shopping around to choose a school) (Morasse, 2023a, 2023b; Scali, 2024). Yet, previous studies have tended to be sociological in focus, primarily investigating the social segregation or mixing of students from diverse and hierarchical backgrounds. They under-examine *where* school inequity and segregation are happening and how spatial contexts, including neighbourhood characteristics and status, matter in understanding school choice patterns. This study aims to shed light on these under-examined areas, which are pivotal to rectifying the policy.

Specifically, this study seeks to illuminate how school choice occurs in the existing spatial relationships based on the city's social and racial/ethnic classifications, which have created systemic inequities in students' learning opportunities and outcomes because students reside in heterogeneous and hierarchical neighbourhoods.

Not all students (with the support of their parents and guardians) can choose any school they wish because of existing spatial inequality, even though the official school choice policy ignores this reality and states that students (guided by their parents and guardians) can choose to attend any school they desire (e.g., Centre de services scolaire de Montréal, 2022). Montréal's neighbourhoods have been divided along economic, social, racial, and ethnic lines throughout the city's history, especially once settler-colonialism began in the eighteenth century. Understanding this spatiality is important in assessing school choice inequity and segregation. This study's focus on space was informed further by emerging research in the field, which indicates that urban spatial arrangements and associated (dis)advantages exacerbate school segregation (Bell, 2007, 2009; Nguyen, Cohen, & Huff, 2017; Waitoller & Lubienski, 2019; Yoon, Grima, Barrett DeWiele, & Skelton, 2023). Hence, this study's objective is to examine how space, specifically spatial inequities and segregation, underpin school choice and student mobility in Montréal.

This article begins by discussing the context of school choice policy and scholarship, focusing on Montréal in the province of Québec. We then discuss the theoretical framework of critical policy geography and the methodological approach for this study. The ensuing analytical sections provide a detailed discussion of systematic spatial inequity and segregation in school choice. This study thus aims to inform policymakers and the public about the seemingly concealed systematic inequity in the current school choice policy so that they can correct the assumption that all students and their guardians have *equal* and *free* choice of schools.

Background: The Francophone School District and school choice policy

The city of Montréal has both a public and a private school sector; each has Francophone and Anglophone schools. The public sector has two Anglophone public school boards and three Francophone public board-like structures, which are referred to as school service centres, and have government-appointed board directors (McGill University, 2024). School choice in Montréal has evolved since the 1960s, when the Québec government allowed parents to choose whether to place their children in a private or public school and/or to choose between Anglophone and Francophone schools, as per their linguistic and minority religious rights (Castonguay-Payant, 2017). In 1998, the government adopted a school choice policy for public schools offering elective programs, which may or may not be offered at all high schools. Parents were allowed to participate in their children's school activities and committee work to have some power over local school governance (Castonguay-Payant, 2017; LeVasseur, 2006).

This study focuses on the province's (and city's) largest Francophone school district, the Centre de services scolaire de Montréal (CSSDM). Following the provincial-level changes, the CSSDM was prompted to adopt a school choice policy (libre-choix) for students and their parents (Grenier, 2022). We focus on the city's largest school district because, of the three school service centres on the island of Montréal, 46 percent of the students attending a secondary public school attend a CCSDM school (Comité de gestion de la taxe scolaire de l'île de Montréal, 2023).

Further, as a public school district, the CCSDM aims to promote inclusive, high-quality public education from preschool to the secondary level (Gouvernement du Québec, 2022a, 2022b). It also serves a large number of students from social and racial/ethnic groups who have experienced poverty, social marginalization, and racial discrimination in Canada's second-largest city. The CSSDM has 121 elementary schools with approximately 48,000 students as of 2022 (Comité de gestion de la taxe scolaire de l'île de Montréal, 2023), and 24 secondary schools (high schools) with approximately 25,000 students as of 2024 (Gouvernement du Québec, 2024). The district also offers numerous programs that focus on students with particular needs such as students with disabilities or learning difficulties, as well as adult education (Gouvernement du Québec, 2022a). For the most part, there is a standard (regular) curriculum of French, English, math, science and technology, history, geography, arts (visual art, drama, dance, and music), physical education, and québécois culture and citizenship (known as ethics and religious culture, until 2022).

The schools that offer enriched content for certain subjects provide localized pedagogical enhancements of the official, regular school program and select their students based on criteria such as their performance at the elementary school level and/or admission exams (Grenier, 2022; Hurteau & Duclos, 2017). With the autonomy to offer localized adaptations, schools wanting an enrolment advantage can differentiate themselves from other schools (LeVasseur, 2006). These programs can be divided into two categories. The first includes Vocational and Adapted Programs (acronyms include CPF, FMS, FPT, PAE, TRANSIT, etc.). Some of the adapted programs for secondary school completion are offered to adults up to age 21. The second category includes specialized Academic, Enrichment, and Arts Programs, some referred to as PPPs (projets pédagogiques particuliers, in science, language, sport studies, drama, music, dance, which may not require ministerial approval as they are created by local schools), and some international programs (acronyms include DÉFI, EAU, F.A.C.E., IB, etc.), offered within the secondary system. To register for specialized schools (Specialized Academic, Enrichment, and Arts Programs), students submit an application package to the school they wish to attend during the registration period in October. The package includes the application form and the student's Grade 5 marks, as students transition from elementary to secondary school after Grade 6, so the Grade 5 marks are the last full set of grades before the transition period. Some schools require reference letters, auditions, and/or entrance exams. In principle, schools prioritize the students in their catchment areas when making their admission decisions; the applications of those who apply from out-of-catchment, those who have siblings attending the same school, and any other applicants are weighted according to the school's admission criteria (Centre de services scolaire de Montréal, 2022). No transportation is provided to students who choose to attend a school of choice, nor is there financial aid for public transport (Centre de services scolaire de Montréal, 2022).

Recent literature on school choice and the school market in Montréal, Québec

The current literature on school choice and markets in Montréal echoes a growing body of international research that school choice increases inequity and the segrega-

tion of students from diverse and stratified backgrounds (see Yoon, 2020; Perry, Rowe, & Lubienski, 2022). When parents and guardians are given a choice of schools, middle-class parents develop strategies as consumers of schools, looking for elite spaces where students with difficult behaviours are absent (LeVasseur, 2006; Payet, 1995). Parents select a school that enhances their children's returns on investment by seeking to boost their upward social mobility (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2021; Grenier, 2022). LeVasseur (2006) echoes the finding that middle-class parents avoid enrolling their children in "poorly-rated" schools, contributing to the segregation of students based on class composition and teaching practices. Also, immigrant parents who arrive in Québec with greater capital (i.e., university education) tend to use school choice to ensure their children's success in their new country (Grenier, 2022). Immigrant parents tend to seek enrichment with advanced lessons, International Baccalaureate (IB) programs, or experiences that will help their children when applying for higher education (Grenier, 2022; Hurteau & Duclos, 2017; Kanouté, 2007; Laplante et al., 2018). Approximately 33 percent of the students/parents in Montréal chose private schools, while 25 percent of the students with immigrant backgrounds in Québec chose private schools (Grenier, 2022).

The number of students enrolled in enriched academic and arts programs of choice in Québec's public school system rose substantially, from 84,909 to 98,712—an increase of 16.3 percent—from the 2001–2002 school year to the 2013–2014 school year (Hurteau & Duclos, 2017). International Baccalaureate programs offered in different schools increased by 110 percent between 1997 and 2003 (LeVasseur, 2006). The growing number of options/electives has come to constitute a hierarchical school market in Montréal (Grenier, 2022). Secondary schools no longer focus solely on the quality of education offered; instead, they seek out a particular type of *clientele*, developing specific programs, not as a means to meet the needs of the neighbourhood community but rather as a response to the need to stand out in the school market (Hurteau & Duclos, 2017). School choice policy has thus been critiqued as a neoliberalist approach to education, responding to global market desires and inspired by the market mechanisms associated with consumerism, resulting in pressure to compete, where parents shop around, leading to the commodification (merchandising) of the secondary schools (Castonguay-Payant, 2017; Gohier, 2015; Hurteau & Duclos, 2017; LeVasseur, 2006; Marcotte-Fournier, Bourdon, Lessard, & Dionne, 2016).

Furthermore, Castonguay-Payant (2017) notes how particular choice programs lead to higher enrolment in some schools. Given that more than one-third of the students in Québec attend either a private school or a school with enriched programming, the process of *skimming off the cream of the crop* based on some selection criteria (i.e., good behaviour, high marks, extra costs, entrance tests) reduces a school's social mix and diversity (Hurteau & Duclos, 2017). Meanwhile, low-income parents tend to lack the economic resources to select schools outside of the area close to home (Grenier, 2022). As noted earlier, the existing literature in Québec and Montréal largely focuses on the sociological aspects of school choice: who chooses what programs and why. The spatial aspect of school choice inequity and segregation, meanwhile, is lacking.

Theoretical framework: Critical policy geography

We applied critical policy geography as a lens to spatially examine the differentiated contexts of school choice. This framework builds on critical educational policy scholarship (Yoon, 2023), critical geography (Massey, 2009), and the critical geography of education (Nguyen et al., 2017). It guides us in a focused investigation of unequal geographies underpinning school choice opportunities, experiences, and outcomes relating to power relations of social class and racial/ethnic inequality, resulting in continuous spatial (re)productions. For space and spatiality, we draw on the work of Massey (2004, 2005, 2009), who theorized that space is the product and process of social relations. Formed and classified in multiple and stratified ways, social relations are spatially formed and maintained. Massey's (2004) work stresses that space is grounded in social relations that are formed every day and in particular local contexts. We concur with Massey's (2004) critique of "the space/place dichotomy" (p. 10), and view space and place as being inseparable as local specificities are intricately linked to wider and broader relations and imaginations. We also draw on Massey's (2004) concept of power-geometry to consider the linkage between power and space, which results in some locations and regions having more resources and greater influence than others. This concept is applied to this research to better understand the school choice dynamics in our study site.

In linking Massey's (2004, 2005, 2009) ideas of spatial (re)production with education, we also draw on Bourdieu's (1986) theories of inequality and reproduction, which elucidate that different forms of capital are convertible to maintain one's social status in particular spatial locations (or *sites*) (Yoon, 2020; Yoon et al., 2023). Indeed, in a settler-colonial society that is maintained by racial capitalism, we view one's social status as inseparable from one's racial and ethnic background (Gerrard, Sriprakash, & Rudolph, 2002; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lipman, 2002). We use these critical theories to understand the geographically differentiated contexts of school choice. Our focus on space allows an investigation into spatial (dis)advantage, which is reflective of historical, social, racial, ethnic, and economic exclusion, segregation, and stratification, which shape school choice inequity and segregation. By moving beyond the space/place duality (Massey, 2004), we apply the concept of space to illuminate the importance of perceived or conceived notions of schools and neighbourhoods that shape the decisions of where students (and their guardians) decide to enroll given the choice of schools in the city.

We theorize spatial (dis)advantage as follows. Disadvantaged groups experience geographical limitations on their access to high-status neighbourhoods as well as the amenities, facilities, institutions, and/or businesses in those neighbourhoods. This limitation is multi-faceted. Such groups may experience these limitations because spatial disadvantage comes in multiple forms due to the historical process of shaping social and racial relations and enclaves. The disadvantaged groups may lack the economic resources necessary to reach those neighbourhoods, as well as the status, which is a socially recognized attribute of having the respect of those who live and belong in advantaged neighbourhoods. Spatial (dis)advantages are further linked to the greater geographical distances that individuals must travel compared with those who reside in high-status neighbourhoods. *Spatial segregation* in school

choice can thus be examined through this lens, illuminating the neighbourhood backgrounds of the students who attend the same schools.

The concept of *spatial mobility* is considered through spatial distance and its associated costs. The costs associated with spatial mobility are higher among individuals who live farther away from desired facilities or institutions. The spatial costs do not always correspond directly to the geographical distance. They can be higher, for example, amongst individuals with few economic means and amongst those who experience social and racial exclusion in settler-colonial societies such as Canada, including in Montréal. In a stratified and settler-colonial society, where whiteness is compounded with wealth (e.g., home prices), high spatial costs are more likely to be experienced by racially excluded groups such as Indigenous, Black, and racialized residents (Barthon & Monfroy, 2010; Yoon & Daniels, 2021; Yoon & Lubienski, 2018). Racial hierarchy is further entrenched in school divisions and stratification (Gerrad et al., 2002; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Indeed, some of the most popular or highly subscribed schools of choice and enriched choice programs, especially academically advanced, gifted, and arts specialty programs, tend to be located in affluent neighbourhoods where most residents identify as having white and/or European origins (Dickson, Perry, & Ledger, 2017; Lee & Lubienski, 2017; Phillippo & Griffin, 2016; Yoon et al., 2018). Consequently, students who live in areas where housing prices are lower due to lower household incomes have limited school choice options and are more likely to enroll in their neighbourhood schools (Lee & Lubienski, 2017; Phillippo & Griffin, 2016; Yoon et al., 2023; Yoon et al., 2018). Hence, spatial (im)mobility among low-income students and families reinforces spatially based school segregation and associated *positional suffering* (Bourdieu, 1999). Through this critical policy geography lens, this study aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the systematic spatial inequity that underpins school choice opportunities and outcomes.

Methodology: Critical space analysis

Guided by the aforementioned critical policy geography framework, we began our research by collecting administrative data during the 2018–2019 academic year. Our team of Francophone and Anglophone speakers translated data and documents into English to conduct a comprehensive analysis in 2021–2022. Student enrollment data (N = 24,499) was requested from the CCSDM. The administrative data included 37 secondary or high school names. Twenty-three of the schools offered comprehensive programs with various academically enriched choice programs, while the rest offered remedial programs to meet student needs and/or vocational training. Web-based information from each school and each policy document was collected and analyzed. We took a Geographic Information Systems approach to map the schools and the students to analyze the spatial patterns of school choice inequity. The methodological approach followed a critical space analysis, which enables a multi-methods examination of school choice inequity and segregation (see Yoon, 2023). The analyses are described below.

Spatial equity analysis of school choice

Our main research question was: are choice programs being distributed equitably

from a spatial perspective? We began by mapping the neighbourhood characteristics of the city, its schools, and its choice programs. First, the existing inequalities in the city were identified and mapped using Canadian census data, including occupational categories, median after-tax family income, average values of housing, prevalence (%) of low-income cut-off, percentage of university or higher degree holders, and percentage of members from a visible minority. These data are available at the neighbourhood level, known as the dissemination area, which includes about 400 to 700 people on average (Statistics Canada, 2024). The schools and programs of choice were then mapped to identify and compare the socioeconomic status characteristics of each school. Out of 37 schools, nine were alternative schools for students with difficulties in achieving "success" in the mainstream school system, including one that offered an access program, a superregional school for many districts, with an accessible building for wheelchairs. Two schools provided adult education (for students aged 16–21), and two offered vocational programs. In contrast, two other schools selected students based on their academic exams, six offered academically enriched programs, such as the International Baccalaureate program, and two offered specialty arts programs. We discuss how, for students who lived in geographically marginalized neighbourhoods, especially on the city's periphery (see Figures 1 and 2), space availability functioned as a systemic barrier to accessing enriched (academic and arts) programs in advantaged areas.

Spatial segregation analysis of school choice

The second research question was: does the existence of school choice make it more likely that students from different economic backgrounds will attend the same school? For this analysis, a simple regression analysis was used, based on the aforementioned theoretical framework, and drew from the authors' previous research on other Canadian cities to ensure consistency in comparing the results of the present study (Yoon et al., 2020, 2023). This analysis examined the effect of the independent variable—a school's wealth characteristics (based on the neighbourhoods within a 2 km radius of the school)—on the dependent variable—the neighbourhood characteristics of the students who enrolled in the school. If there is a statistically significant positive relationship, students from advantaged backgrounds will likely choose schools in wealthier areas, creating a homogenous student population. If the relationship is either negative or (close to) zero, then school choice is unlikely to influence student enrollment based on the neighbourhood's background in terms of wealth. Also, to determine who is more likely to be spatially mobile, we compared the neighbourhood housing values of students who left their nearest school to attend another school with the housing values of students who enrolled in their nearest school.

The urban geography of secondary schools: Spatial stratification of schools

An education policy of school choice tends to assume that all students have equal choice, as illustrated above in the school choice policy in Centre de services scolaire de Montréal (2022). In part, policymakers may perceive school choice as taking place in an *abstract space*, that is, all schools are located in more or less the same spaces with more or less equal individuals. However, schools are located across het-

erogeneous neighbourhoods and strikingly unequal neighbourhoods, defying the theoretical approach of *abstract space* prevalent in the theories on private organizations (Massey, 2009; Peck, Werner, Lave, & Christophers, 2018). We thus examined the schools for their social class and race/ethnic characteristics in the spatial context of Montréal.

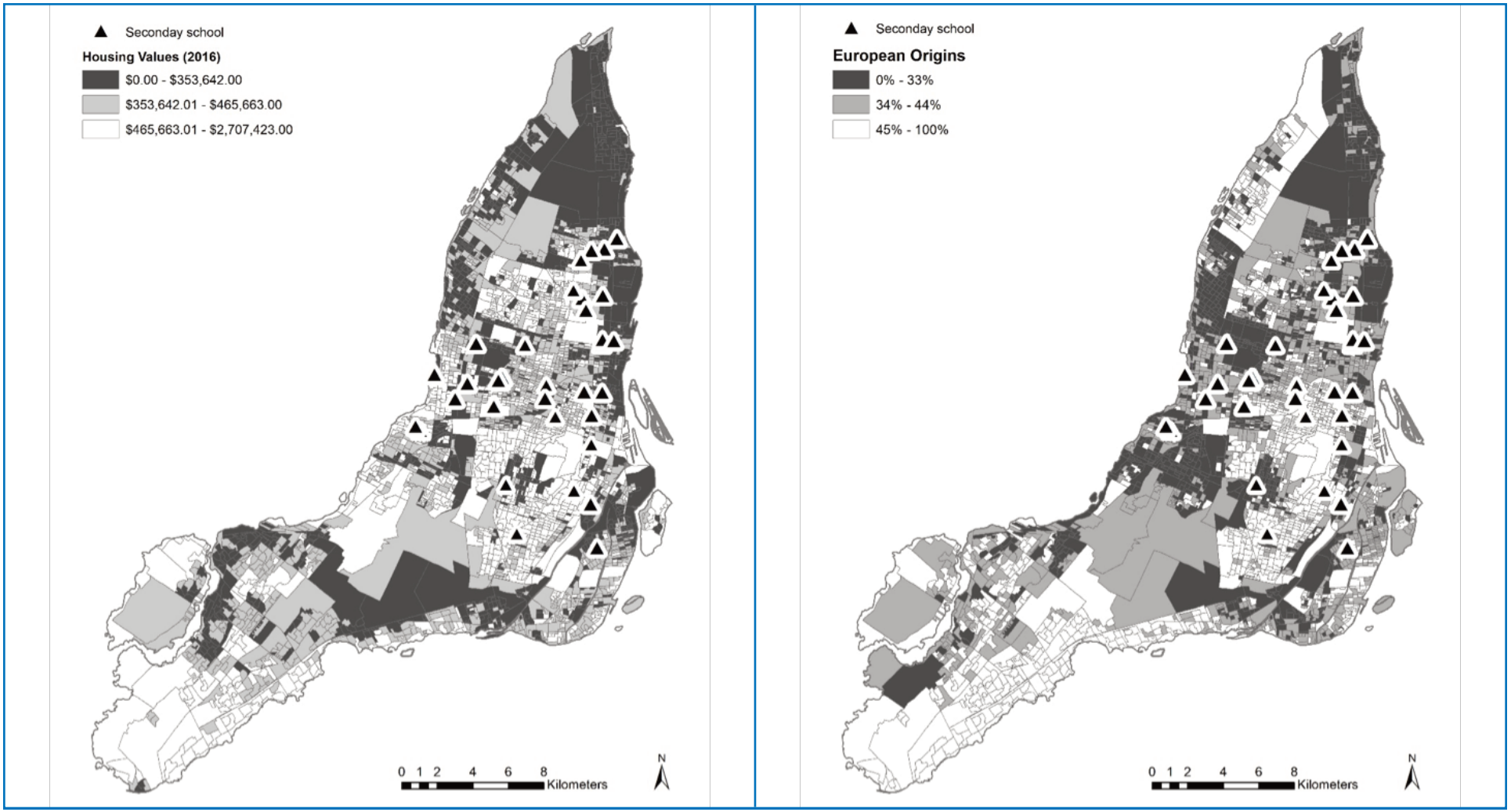
This analysis indicates that Montréal has racially diverse neighbourhoods similar to many other Canadian cities; on average, about 32 percent of residents in each neighbourhood identify as belonging to a visible minority. Yet, the neighbourhood with the highest minority groups had 100 percent of their residents with a visible minority status, compared with 0 percent (that is, the neighbourhoods have no visible minority residents). On average, 39 percent of residents reported having a university education (bachelor's degree or higher). The neighbourhood with the highest proportion of residents with a university education was 96 percent, in contrast with a neighbourhood where no residents had a university education (i.e., 0% of the neighbourhood residents with a university education). In other words, there are some significant differences in neighbourhood clustering by university education. Regarding occupational characteristics, the most pronounced was among those with management occupations, ranging from 43 percent to 0 percent, while a typical neighbourhood had about 10 percent of its residents working in management. Further, the neighbourhoods looked dissimilar in trade occupations. On average, 9 percent of residents worked in trades, but the neighbourhood with the highest proportion of residents in the trades was 31 percent, compared with none (0%) in some other neighbourhoods.

Economically speaking, the average neighbourhood annual income of all schools was C$67,980. However, the highest reported income was C$302,080, with the lowest being C$25,536. Based on the low-income cut-offs (LICO), after tax, the percentage of residents who were low-income on average was shown to be 16 percent across the city, with some neighbourhoods reporting having a LICO of 100 percent, while in other neighbourhoods it was 0 percent. Housing values differed strikingly between the neighbourhoods. The highest housing values (C$2,707,423) and lowest housing values (C$105,770) ranged widely, although the reported average across the city's neighbourhoods was C$463,443. These patterns indicate that some schools were more likely than others to have students from wealthier families. These census-based neighbourhood characteristics shed light on the vertical variations across neighbourhoods in Montréal.

While average neighbourhood characteristics can provide an overview of a school district, school neighbourhoods vary significantly, as noted in Figure 1. Figure 1 provides two thematic maps of the average housing values of the neighbourhoods and the percentage of residents of European origins (which is the case for a majority of the city's white residents). While not identical, the two maps show some resemblances, indicating that housing values tend to be higher where the percentage of people of European origins is also higher, especially in the central, southern, and eastern parts of the city.

The locations of the schools, symbolized as triangles on the map, indicate their varied locations across a range of housing values. Housing values may indicate that

Figure 1. Montréal, CSSDM schools, housing values, and percentage of residents with European origins



Note: This figure visualizes housing values and the percentage of residents with European origins because they lucidly indicate the social class and race relations of Montréal while complying with the space limits on publishing in this journal.

parents who cannot afford to live in wealthier neighbourhoods may participate in school choice if those neighbourhoods have a school in an area that their children would prefer. Figure 1 also illustrates that the CSSDM, the largest Francophone public school district, covers only part of the city, unlike other major Canadian cities (Toronto and Vancouver), where major public-school districts have schools city-wide (Yoon, 2024; Yoon et al., 2018; Yoon et al., 2020). Figure 1 thus further indicates that the CSSDM is only part of the city's complex school choice system.

Spatial equity analysis: School choice

Not all programs of choice are equal or equally desired by parents seeking to boost their children's social mobility. In fact, as noted earlier, two of the schools offer academically selective programs based on admission tests, five offer academically enriched comprehensive programs with International Baccalaureate, and two others offer specialty arts programs. Previous research indicates that these programs are highly desired by middle-class parents (Barrett DeWiele & Edgerton, 2021; Smala, Paz, & Lingard, 2013; Yoon, 2020). While existing school choice indicates that middle-class parents in Montréal tend to choose schools with highly popular programs of choice (Kamanzi, 2021), little is known about the spatial patterns of choice. Our findings in this section illustrate that the academically selective and enriched programs in Montréal are more likely to be located in spatially advantaged neighbourhoods.

In Figure 2, the map on the left shows all the schools with different programs. This map indicates that various programs are offered across the CSSDM. This *abstract* map thus is reflective of a common assumption underpinning school choice; that is, anyone should be able to choose any of the available programs.

However, the map on the right in Figure 2 illustrates a strikingly different picture. When the different programs of choice are mapped on the layer of unequal geography, based on a neighbourhood's housing values, it becomes apparent that a majority of the *enriched schools* with academic programs or specialty arts programs (symbolized as circles on the map) are located in what are largely considered to be the highest and high-middle-wealth neighbourhoods, and these are more concentrated at the central and southern parts of the city. Three IB schools and one school with specialty arts are located in the highest-income group. Two other IB schools and another with a specialty arts program are in the highest to middle group. One school with IB and another with an entrance exam are located in the middle group. Neither the IB nor specialty arts programs are located in the lowest or lowest-middle groups, although we note that there are some low neighbourhoods with low housing prices included in the neighbourhoods where the schools with the enriched programs are located. These findings are significant in that systemic inequity in choice exists at the spatial level. Students who live in the areas with predominantly the lowest housing prices, especially in the northern and eastern parts of the city, are less likely to be able to access programs of choice that are considered internationally recognized and/or academically enriching. In contrast, alternative schools (symbolized by the stars), designed for academically low-achieving students and those who have difficulties in the mainstream school system, including two adult education schools with older youths and adults (16–21), tend to be located in underprivileged neighbourhoods.

Figure 2. CCSDM secondary schools by program type and housing values

These patterns of different programs are thus reflective of the *power-geometry* of social class and race (Massey, 2005). As noted in Figure 1, higher housing values are associated with racial and ethnic privilege maintained through the accumulation of wealth by residents of European (or other white) origins in a segregated settler-colonial society (Gerrard et al., 2002; Yoon et al., 2023). The uneven spatial distribution of enriched choice programs appears to contribute to the reproduction of inequity. These spatial inequities thus worsen what has been described by sociological research as the inequity of programs of choice that are believed to stratify learning opportunities, experiences, and outcomes (Castonguay-Payant, 2017; Gohier, 2015; Hurteau & Duclos, 2017; LeVasseur, 2006; Marcotte-Fournier et al., 2016).

The spatial patterns are concerning because parents with lower socioeconomic status may not have an equal chance to choose. Further, given that there are entrance tests and other structural requirements for access to some school programs, a child's performance may result in having fewer choices (Ben Ayed, 2011; Grenier, 2022). Hurteau and Duclos (2017) add that the possibility of choosing a school narrows the mixture of social classes within the public system, leading to a greater degree of homogenization of the students in any given establishment. One outcome is that the *best* students are enrolled in the *best* establishments and taking the *best* classes. Given this unequal and inequitable distribution of choice programs, we examined who tends to choose the programs to better understand the accessibility of these programs.

Spatial segregation and mobility: Who chooses and where?

The critical policy geography perspective, as discussed in the theory section, sheds light on how cities, regions, and countries continuously reconstruct geographies of power. Montréal's urban geography of secondary schools and school choice, as discussed thus far, indicates that the city's power relations have shaped the locations of particular schools and their respective programs of choice. In other words, "[s]egregation in schools is the product of a variety of forces, perhaps the most important being residential patterns" (Schneider, Marschall, Teske, & Roch, 1998, p. 499). With this understanding, we examined whether students from different socioeconomic backgrounds, using neighbourhood housing values as reflective of social and racial/ethnic privilege, were more likely to mix or segregate as a result of school choice.

Based on the results of a regression analysis of the effect of school neighbourhood housing values on the characteristics of students who choose to attend the schools, we found that the schools in the wealthier areas were more likely to attract students from neighbourhoods with higher housing values. There is a statistically positive relationship between the school's neighbourhood housing values and the enrolled student's neighbourhood housing values (*p-value* = $P<.001$, R square = 0.0537). On average, when the neighbourhood housing level of a school goes up by C$100,000, the neighbourhood housing value of the students who come from outside the 2 km distance range from the school increases by C$43,651. In other words, school choice results in more homogenous mixes of students, resulting in those from wealthier backgrounds being more likely to attend schools with those of similar backgrounds.

Students who are mobile (i.e., who choose schools other than the school geographically closest to where they live) are more likely to need *resources* and *disposi-*

Table 1. Housing values of neighbourhood students vs. outbound students

School ID	Neighbour-hood housing value ($)	Neighbourhoods student (attending the school) housing value ($)	Outgoing student (neighbourhoods student not attending the school) housing value ($)	Difference between neighbourhood and outgoing students housing value ($)	Housing value quartile average	Program	Total enrolment	Percentage of the neighbourhood students enrolled
1	671,957	557,095	449,158	107,937	Highest 9,007	Academic-IB	545	14.5
2	553,565	381,034	447,774	- 66,740		Comprehensive	1,094	55.1
3	542,560	422,159	458,362	- 36,203		Comprehensive-IB	1,983	54.7
4	528,894	478,702	439,311	39,391		Specialty Arts	479	37.2
5	461,079	276,848	310,395	- 33,548		Comprehensive-IB	1,040	91.3
6	453,214	444,894	401,686	43,207		Comprehensive-IB	1,358	55.4
7	451,205	393,672	368,594	25,077	High-middle - 12,854	Specialty Arts	425	22.6
8	436,626	384,759	404,516	- 19,756		Comprehensive	1,268	74.6
9	433,489	414,258	432,325	- 18,066		Comprehensive-IB	1,350	58.6
10	429,953	492,898	489,254	3,644		Comprehensive	1,659	49.1
11	419,466	385,369	405,779	- 20,410		Academic	582	31.8
12	418,409	368414	416,027	- 47,613		Comprehensive	1,042	51.7
13	405074	353,077	350,881	2,196	Low-middle - 9,654	Comprehensive-IB	1,503	63.3
14	399,805	406,837	397,500	9,338		Comprehensive	773	60.8
15	399,675	385,255	404,381	- 19,126		Comprehensive	725	48.0
16	391,833	392,981	376,582	16,399		Comprehensive	676	24.3
17	388,612	303,687	363,402	- 59,715		Comprehensive	296	69.9
18	386,181	388,150	395,164	- 7,014		Comprehensive	575	66.4
19	380,180	323,458	382,002	- 58,544	Low - 22,225	Comprehensive	1,221	73.5
20	369,261	317,349	362,618	- 45,269		Comprehensive	1,266	29.8
21	356,202	332,004	352,278	- 20,274		Comprehensive	396	94.2
22	346,684	360,206	330,604	29,601		Comprehensive	551	84.4
23	311,450	259,561	276,201	- 16,640		Comprehensive	522	80.8

tions; thus, the wealth characteristics (i.e., housing values) were examined when comparing the two student groups. As noted in Table 1, the outbound students (i.e., those who are mobile) from 23 comprehensive schools with academic programs, IB, and specialty arts programs were more likely to come from wealthier backgrounds than those who stayed in their neighbourhood schools. Except for outbound students from the highest wealth group, who come from slightly less wealthy (yet still high-income) backgrounds, the difference between those who remain in their neighbourhood schools and outbound students is especially notable amongst those in the lowest wealth group. Those who left their neighbourhood school came from families with a neighbourhood housing value that is about C$20,000 higher than those who stayed.

Furthermore, the results indicate that there are some interesting patterns with respect to the percentage of the neighbourhood students attending the school. In general, the percentage of neighbourhood students attending their neighbourhood school is much higher in the neighbourhoods with low housing values. On average, 72 percent of students from neighbourhoods with low housing values attend their neighbourhood school, compared with the overall average of 56 percent in the CSSDM. Interestingly, School 5 in Table 1 is located in a top quartile neighbourhood in terms of housing values, but the neighbourhood students who attend the school are from neighbourhoods with low housing values and a low percentage of residents of European origins. The percentage of neighbourhood students attending the school is quite high, around 91 percent, which is similar to the high proportion of neighbourhood students attending their neighbourhood schools in the low housing value areas.

This analysis of spatial (im)mobility suggests that those who lived in the neighbourhoods with the lowest wealth levels appeared to be marginalized in a city with a high rate of school choice. Some exceptions are notable, such as the case of some areas of low housing values being surrounded by areas of high housing values, and we suggest that future studies examine this phenomenon more closely. Overall, the findings resonate with what Bourdieu (1999) theorized as the *positional suffering* of disadvantaged groups, meaning that one's social background and available resources limit and aggravate the challenges one faces due to one's social class position. We extend this concept to refer to *spatial suffering* in a settler-colonial city; students' spatial locations reflect their social class backgrounds, which are compounded by racial and ethnic classification and create variances in their comfort levels about which school to attend (Yoon & Lubienski, 2017).

Discussion

The CSSDM states on its website, in policy documents, and on various secondary schools' websites that the district school service centre strives for inclusion. Some schools state outright that they are inclusive. However, our analysis indicates that some schools segregate students based on their characteristics (e.g., schools for students who are hearing impaired). The division also introduced vocational programs in 2007, further separating students into academic versus non-academic programs. Indeed, in a recent announcement, Bourdon, former president of the CSSDM, noted that while the district believed in the principle of inclusion, it was also important to

offer a wide range of services, which include regular classes, support for integration into regular classes, specialized classes, and specialized schools (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017). These statements and the CSSDM's current choice programs suggest that there is an incongruency. In some cases, the principle of inclusion guides what happens in the schools; in other cases, it is the principle of segregation.

Furthermore, Hurteau and Duclos (2017) argue that the development of PPP (projets pédagogiques particuliers, i.e., enriched programs) has had a homogenizing and segregating effect. Felouzis and Charmillot (2013) also note that curricular differentiation negatively influences the academic performance of regular students as it may be deemed a type of school segregation. Marcotte-Fournier et al. (2016) conclude that the streaming of students at the grade 10 level (i.e., segregation) and the selection of students for particular programs affect students' ability to succeed; specialized programs, in other words, generate segregation. Indeed, through social segregation, schools in richer neighbourhoods that draw students from advantaged backgrounds can adopt policies based largely on the students' characteristics. For instance, school uniforms can be costly, so schools in low-income areas or that serve largely low-income students are less likely to require uniforms. Parents (especially those who wish to participate in school choice) may also be deterred from applying because uniforms can be expensive. These observations in Montréal and elsewhere in Québec thus echo a well-established body of scholarship on choice, streaming, segregation, and tracking of disadvantaged students from historically, socially, and economically underprivileged backgrounds (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lipman, 2002; Oakes, 1985). More importantly, selective programs of choice fragment the education system, undermining social inclusion and increasing teachers' workloads, especially those with a greater complexity of diverse and challenging classroom needs (Vigneault, 2022).

Compared with other major Canadian cities, such as Vancouver and Toronto (Yoon, 2024; Yoon et al., 2018, 2020), Montréal's inequality is somewhat less stark. However, the city's neighbourhoods vary by notable economic and racial/ethnic differences between the north and the wealthier and whiter south. This unequal geography means that families may be unable to live in the neighbourhood of their choice. The places where families reside can be determined primarily by what they can afford. In situations of long-term residence, families are likely to stay where they feel they belong, especially in a settler-colonial society that has experienced racial and ethnic discrimination and segregation, as notable in racially/ethnically divided neighbourhoods. In Figures 1 and 2, it is evident that neighbourhoods experience vertical variations, and their school choice programs are inequitably distributed. Hence, families make choices of schools, but their choices are also constrained by their resources and dispositions, which are shaped by, and simultaneously shape, the unequal geography of the city, or its *power-geometry*, to use Massey's (2009) concept. The city's power geometry operates to stratify and segregate schools and students. The city's power relations, manifesting spatially, appear to shape school choice patterns and outcomes.

Conclusion

This article provides a critical understanding of the systemic spatial inequities that

undermine school choice by demonstrating that school choice policy is inherently inequitable because of spatial segregation and barriers. This study sheds light on the ongoing production of power relations across different school locations as school choice reconfigures the inequality and inequity of the existing education system spatially in Montréal. Enriched programs of choice contribute to creating greater stratification in compulsory education. They do so by enabling schools in privileged areas to elevate themselves and increase their resources by attracting more students, especially advantaged students. Further, the school system reproduces privilege in the schools in the wealthier areas because the schools that attract more students can contribute to raising property values and/or increasing commercial activities due to increased numbers of commuters. This study thus highlights the under-examined spatial dimension of unequal treatment that helps maintain and reproduce the privileges of those who already possess advantages.

One of this study's limitations is its under-exploration of the lived experiences of spatial (dis)advantage and segregation. Lived experiences and meanings are important; however, this study focused largely on administrative data and postal code-based spatial analysis. Future studies could examine the qualitative dimensions of school choice inequity and segregation. Another of its limitations is the lack of student data. The various student backgrounds are drawn from neighbourhood-based data sets rather than data collected directly from individuals. While our approach is widely used in the current studies on schools and education in Québec and elsewhere (Kamanzi, 2021), we recommend that schools and ministries collect individual-level student data to better inform future studies. Further, due to the inherent challenges of accessing data from both private schools and other public-school boards, our study was limited to one school district. We hope future researchers are able to gain access to data from different public and private schools to enable a more comprehensive analysis of school marketization. Such data could also help to conduct multivariate regression analysis.

In brief, this study recommends a radical reconsideration of school choice policy. According to a report by the Superior Council of Education (Gouvernement du Québec, 2016), in Québec, whose education system is the most unequal in Canada, the school choice policy only exacerbates the equity issues and intensifies repercussions based on the capital and socioeconomic status of parents across an unequal urban geography. We concur with Hurteau and Duclos (2017) that school choice policy intensifies educational inequalities, which are directly linked to social inequalities, contributing to an increase in violence and criminality, drug use, adolescent pregnancy, stress, and poor health among certain adolescents and that a more egalitarian approach to schooling would reduce gaps and systematic spatial inequities in society. Indeed, the segregation of students has led to further issues in the school system: increased school competition, resource polarization, growing workloads, and polarization of students by behaviours and aptitudes (LeVasseur, 2006; Vigneault, 2022). These increasing and connected concerns raise serious questions about school choice and suggest it is time to rethink it.

References

Barrett DeWiele, C.E., & Edgerton, J.D. (2021). Opportunity or inequality? The paradox of French immersion education in Canada. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *45*(2), 114–128. doi:10.1080/01434632.2020.1865988

Barthon, C., & Monfroy, B. (2010). Sociospatial schooling practices: A spatial capital approach. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, *16*(2), 177–196.

Bell, C.A. (2007). Space and place: Urban parents' geographical preferences for schools. *The Urban Review*, *39*(4), 375–404.

Bell, C.A. (2009). Geography in parental choice. *American Journal of Education*, *115*(4), 493–521.

Ben Ayed, C. (2011). À qui profite le choix de l'école ? Changements d'établissement et destins scolaires des élèves de milieux populaires. *Revue française de pédagogie* (175), 39–58. doi:10.4000/rfp.3038

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1999). *The weight of the world*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Castonguay-Payant, J. (2017). Le choix de l'école lors de la transition primaire-secondaire par les parents non-migrants à Montréal : Esquisses théoriques et conceptuelles. *Sens public — Revue internationale WEB.* doi:10.7202/1048828ar

Centre de services scolaire de Montréal (CSSDM). (2022). Comment s'inscrire — Cas particuliers : Libre choix. https://www.cssdm.gouv.qc.ca/admission-inscription/procedure-inscription/ [June 22, 2023].

Chmielewski, A.K., & Maharaj, S. (2022). *Socio-economic segregation between schools in Canada.* FutureSkills Research Lab. http://futureskillscanada.com [June 24, 2024].

Comité de gestion de la taxe scolaire de l'île de Montréal. (2023). Classification des écoles primaires et classification des écoles secondaires selon leur indice de défavorisation — Inscriptions au 4 novembre 2022. https://www.cgtsim.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/2022_EMD_Classification-des-ecoles-1.pdf [October 10, 2024].

Dickson, A., Perry, L.B., & Ledger, S. (2017). How accessible is IB schooling? Evidence from Australia. *Journal of Research in International Education*, *16*(1), 65–79. doi:10.1177/1475240917696037

Felouzis, G., & Charmillot, S. (2013). School tracking and educational inequality: A comparison of 12 education systems in Switzerland. *Comparative Education, 49*(2), 181–205. doi:10.1080/03050068.2012.706032

Gerrard, J., Sriprakash, A., & Rudolph, S. (2022). Education and racial capitalism. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *25*(3), 425–442.

Gohier, C. (2015). Néolibéralisme et éducation : Quel(s) savoir(s) pour quel(s) pouvoir(s). Une question de valeurs? In M. Fabre & C. Gohier (Éds.), *Les valeurs éducatives au risque du néo-libéralisme* (pp. 107–122). Mont-Saint-Aignan Cedex, FR: Publications des universités de Rouen et du Havre.

Gouvernement du Québec. (2016). Remettre le cap sur l'équité : Rapport sur l'état et les besoins 2014–2016. Conseil supérieur de l'éducation. https://www.cse.gouv.qc.ca/publications/cap-sur-lequite-rebe-2014-2016-50-0494/ [April 26, 2023].

Gouvernement du Québec. (2017, 26 avril). Communiqués : Le point sur l'inclusion scolaire. https://www.cssdm.gouv.qc.ca/communique/le-point-inclusion-scolaire/ [April 26, 2023].

Gouvernement du Québec. (2022a). Centre de services scolaire de Montréal : Le CSSDM en un coup d'œil. https://www.cssdm.gouv.qc.ca/a-propos/cssdm-coup-oeil/ [April 26, 2023].

Gouvernement du Québec. (2022b). Centre de services scolaire de Montréal: Mission et enjeux. https://www.cssdm.gouv.qc.ca/a-propos/mission-enjeux [April 26, 2023].

Gouvernement du Québec. (2024). Le CSSDM en un coup d'œil. https://www.cssdm.gouv.qc.ca/a-propos/cssdm-coup-oeil/ [April 26, 2023].

Grenier, V. (2022). Logiques au cœur des choix de l'école secondaire par des parents immigrants résidant à Montréal. *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducation, 45*(2), 454–480.

Hurteau, P., & Duclos, A.-M. (2017, 7 septembre). *Inégalité scolaire : Le Québec dernier de classe?* [Note socioéconomique]. Institut de recherche et d'informations socioéconomiques (IRIS). https://cdn.irisrecherche.qc.ca/uploads/publication/file_secondary/Note_Parcours_particuliers_WEB_20170907.pdf [January 10, 2023].

Kamanzi, P. (2021). School market and the democratization of education: One step forward, two steps back. The case of the Canadian province of Québec. *International Review of Sociology*, *32*, 1–21. doi:10.1080/03906701.2021.2015933

Kanouté, F. (2007). Intégration sociale et scolaire des familles immigrantes au Québec: Une prise en compte globale des familles. *Informations sociales*, *143*(7), 64–74. doi:10.3917/inso.143.0064

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W.F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, *97*(1), 47–67.

Laplante, B., Doray, P., Tremblay, É., Kamanzi, P.C., Pilote, A., & Lafontaine, O. (2018). L'accès à l'enseignement postsecondaire au Québec : Le rôle de la segmentation scolaire dans la reproduction des inégalités. *Cahiers québécois de démographie, 47*(1), 49–80. doi:10.7202/1062106ar

Lee, J., & Lubienski, C. (2017). The impact of school closures on equity of access in Chicago. *Education and Urban Society, 49*(1), 53–80.

LeVasseur, L. (2006). Décentralisation et concurrence dans le système d'éducation québécois et leurs effets sur le travail des enseignants. *Formation et pratiques d'enseignement en questions, revue de la Haute École de Pédagogie de Suisse romande et du Tessin* (5), 15–28.

Lipman, P. (2002). Making the global city, making inequality: The political economy and cultural politics of Chicago school policy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *39*(2), 379–419. doi:10.3102/00028312039002379

Marcotte-Fournier, A.G., Bourdon, S., Lessard, A., & Dionne, P. (2016). Une analyse des effets de composition du groupe-classe au Québec : Influence de la ségrégation scolaire et des projets pédagogiques. *Éducation et Sociétés, 38*(2), 139–155. doi:10.3917/es.038.0139

Massey, D. (2004). Geographies of responsibility. *Geografiska Annaler*, *86*(1), 5–18.

Massey, D. (2005). *For space*. London, UK: Sage.

Massey, D. (2009). Concepts of space and power in theory and in political practice. *Documents D'anàlisi Geogràfica* (55), 15–26.

McGill University. (2024). *School boards in the Montréal area.* https://www.mcgill.ca/isa/career/students/employment/school-boards [October 20, 2024].

Morasse, M.-E. (2023a, Oct. 10). Des écoles secondaires boudées par les élèves du quartier. *La Presse.* https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/education/2023-10-10/montreal/des-ecoles-secondaires-boudees-par-les-eleves-du-quartier.php [September 16, 2024].

Morasse, M.-E. (2023b, Oct. 10). Les programmes particuliers pour contrer le « magasinage ». *La Presse.* https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/education/2023-10-10/ecoles-seconfaires-publiques/les-programmes-particulier-pour-contrer-le-magasinage.php [September 16, 2024].

Moreau, N. (2023). Largest cities in Canada by population. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia.* https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/largest-cities-in-canada-by-population [June 1, 2024].

Nguyen, N., Cohen, D., & Huff, A. (2017). Catching the bus: A call for critical geographies of education. *Geography Compass*, *11*(8), 1–13.

Oakes, J. (1985). *Keeping track: How schools structure inequality*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Payet, J.-P. (1995). *Collèges de banlieue. Ethnographie d'un monde scolaire*. Paris, FR: Méridiens Klincksieck.

Peck, J., Werner, M., Lave, R., & Christophers, B. (2018). Out of place: Doreen Massey, radical geographer. *Doreen Massey: Critical dialogues*, 1–36.

Perry, L.B., Rowe, E., & Lubienski, C. (2022). School segregation: Theoretical insights and future directions. *Comparative Education*, *58*(1), 1–15.

Phillippo, K.L., & Griffin, B. (2016). The social geography of choice: Neighborhoods' role in students' navigation of school choice policy in Chicago. *The Urban Review, 48*(5), 668–695. doi:10.1007/s11256-016-0373-x

Plourde, A. (2022). Où en est l'école à trois vitesses au Québec? *IRIS – Institut de recherche et d'informations socioéconomiques*. https://iris-recherche.qc.ca/publications/ecole-a-trois-vitesses/ [March 22, 2023].

Scali, D. (2024, Mar. 2). De plus en plus d'écoles disent non à la sélection. *Le journal de Montréal*. https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2024/03/02/les-eleves-des-classes-ordinaires-plus-sujets-a-souffrir-danxiete-de-performance-que-ceux-du-prive-et-des-programmes-selectifs [October 21, 2024].

Smala, S., Paz, J.B., & Lingard, B. (2013). Languages, cultural capital and school choice: Distinction and second-language immersion programmes. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 34*(3), 373–391. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2012.722278

Schneider, M., Marschall, M., Teske, P., & Roch, C. (1998). School choice and culture wars in the classroom: What different parents seek from education. *Social Science Quarterly, 79*(3), 489–501.

Statistics Canada. (2024). Census of population. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/index-eng.cfm [October 21, 2024].

Vigneault, S. (2022). *Plan for a common school network*. Montréal, QC: École ensemble.

Waitoller, F.R., & Lubienski, C. (2019). Disability, race, and the geography of school choice: Toward an intersectional analytical framework. *AERA Open*, *5*(1), 1–12. doi:10.1177/2332858418822505

Yoon, E.-S. (2020). School choice research and politics with Pierre Bourdieu: New possibilities. *Educational policy*, *34*(1), 193-210. doi:10.1177/0895904819881153

Yoon, E.-S. (2023). Critical space analysis: Integrating geographic information systems into critical educational research. In M. D. Young & S. Diem (Eds.), *Handbook of critical education research: Qualitative, quantitative, and emerging approaches* (1st ed.), (pp. 508–523). New York, NY: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781003141464

Yoon, E.-S. (2024). Unequal city and inequitable choice: School choice in the publicly funded Catholic school board in Toronto, Canada. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *99*(4), 482–501. doi:10.1080/0161956X.2024.2381394

Yoon, E.-S., & Daniels, L.D. (2021). At the margins of Canada: School choice practices of Aboriginal families in a settler-colonial city. *Educational Policy*, *35*(7), 1288–1310. doi:10.1177/0895904819864442

Yoon, E.-S., Grima, V., Barrett DeWiele, C., & Skelton, L. (2023). The impact of school choice on school (re)segregation: settler-colonialism, critical geography and Bourdieu. *Comparative Education*, *58*(1), 52–71. doi:10.1080/03050068.2021.1983349

Yoon, E., & Lubienski, C. (2017). How do marginalized families engage school choice in inequitable urban landscapes? A critical geographic approach. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *25*(42), 1–25. http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/2655

Yoon, E., Lubienski, C., & Lee, J. (2018). The geography of school choice in a city with growing inequality: The case of Vancouver. *Journal of Education Policy*, *33*(2), 279–298. doi:10.1080/02680939.2017.1346203

Yoon, E.-S., Marmureanu, C., & Brown, R. (2020). School choice and the polarization of public schools in a global city: A Bourdieusian GIS approach. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *95*(3), 229–247. doi:10.1080/0161956X.2020.1776071