

# Scott N. Markley

Geospatial Project Coordinator, [National Zoning Atlas](#)  
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## Education

- 2023      **PhD in Geography**  
University of Georgia (Athens, GA)  
Dissertation: *Planning Spatial Obsolescence: Racial Capitalism, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and the Production of Racialized Devaluation*
- 2016      **M.S. in Geography**  
University of Tennessee (Knoxville, TN)  
Thesis: *Pre- and Post-Crisis Geographies of New Urbanism in Atlanta's Inner Suburbs*
- 2013      **B.A. in Geography**  
Georgia Southern University (Statesboro, GA)  
Minors: GIS, Economics  
*Summa cum laude*

## Positions

### **Cornell University (Ithaca, NY)**

- 2023–      Geospatial Project Coordinator, National Zoning Atlas  
2023–      Visiting Lecturer, Department of City and Regional Planning

### **University of Georgia (Athens, GA)**

- 2020–23      Geospatial Data Scientist, Carl Vinson Institute of Government  
2019–20      Course Instructor, Department of Geography  
2016–19      Teaching Assistant, Department of Geography  
2017–18      Research Assistant, Department of Geography

## Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

- 2024      **Markley, S.** Planning spatial obsolescence: residential segregation and the racist theory of (anti-)value. *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space* 42(5-6), 758 – 775. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02637758241261218>.
- 2024      **Markley, S.** and S. Holloway. Underestimating racism? Decoupling race and redlining. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 114(7), 1464 – 1482. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2024.2350993>.
- 2024      **Markley, S.** Federal “redlining” maps: a critical reappraisal. *Urban Studies* 61(2), 195 – 213. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980231182336>.

- 2024 Beauvais, J., **S. Markley**, and J.E. Byers. Exponential growth of private coastal infrastructure influenced by geography and race in South Carolina, USA. *Scientific Reports* 14 (9114). <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41598-024-59740-x>.
- 2023 **Markley, S.** Tabulating Home Owners' Loan Corporation area description sheet data. *Environment & Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science* 50(1), 268 – 80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23998083221133112>.
- 2023 Xu, W., **S. Markley**, S. Bronin, and D. Drogaris. A national zoning atlas to inform housing research, policy, and public participation. *Cityscape* 25(3), 55 – 72. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48749671>.
- 2022 **Markley, S.**, S. Holloway, T. Hafley, and M. Hauer. Housing unit and urbanization estimates for the Continental U.S. in consistent tract boundaries, 1940 – 2019. *Scientific Data* 9 (82). <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41597-022-01184-x>.
- 2022 Allums, C., **S. Markley**, and T. Hafley. “A better place to be”? Black Mecca, white democracy, and the contradictions of neoliberal cityhood in Atlanta’s Black suburbs. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 44(6), 793 – 807. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2020.1854612>.
- 2020 **Markley, S.**, T. Hafley, C. Allums, S. Holloway, and H. Chung. The limits of homeownership: racial capitalism, Black wealth, and the appreciation gap in Atlanta. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 44(2), 310 – 28. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12873>.
- 2018 **Markley, S.** Suburban gentrification? Examining the geographies of New Urbanism in Atlanta’s inner suburbs. *Urban Geography* 39(4), 606 – 30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2017.1381534>.
- 2018 **Markley, S.** New Urbanism and race: an analysis of neighborhood racial change in suburban Atlanta. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 40(8), 1115 – 31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2018.1454818>.
- 2016 **Markley, S.** and M. Sharma. Keeping Knoxville Scruffy? Urban entrepreneurialism, creativity, and gentrification down the urban hierarchy. *Southeastern Geographer* 56(4), 384 – 408. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26233815>.
- 2016 **Markley, S.** and M. Sharma. Gentrification in the revanchist suburb: the politics of removal in Roswell, Georgia. *Southeastern Geographer* 56(1), 57 – 80. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26233772>.
- 2015 **Markley, S.** and W. Tu. Regional and racial disparity of preterm birth prevalence in Georgia, 1995–2012. *Papers in Applied Geography* 1(2), 168 – 75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23754931.2015.1012439>.

## **Book Chapters**

- 2020      **Markley, S.** and C. Allums. Postfascist (sub)urbanism: ‘social cleansing’ in the age of Trump, in *The Political Landscapes of Donald Trump*, B. Warf (editor). New York: Routledge. (Commissioned)

## **Other Publications**

- 2024      **Markley, S.** Housing, socioeconomic, and racial data in consistent neighborhood geometries for 65 cities mapped by the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation, 1940 – 2019. Available at SocArXiv.  
<https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/5w6jx>.
- 2023      Bronin, S., **S. Markley**, A. Fader, and E. Derickson. (June 22). How to make a zoning atlas 2.0: the official methodology of the National Zoning Atlas. Available at SSRN: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4476927>.
- 2023      **Markley, S.** Atlanta, Georgia. In *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America*, R. Nelson and L. Winling (editors). Richmond: Digital Scholarship Lab at the University of Richmond.  
<https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining3/map/GA/Atlanta/context#loc=12/33.758/-84.3642>. (Commissioned).
- 2020      Allums, C. and **S. Markley**. (March 10). The new suburban secession: a postfascist turn in Atlanta’s cityhood movement. *Metropolitics*.  
<https://www.metropolitiques.eu/The-New-Suburban-Secession-A-Postfascist-Turn-in-Atlanta-s-Cityhood-Movement.html>.
- 2018      **Markley, S.** (October 30). From exclusion to expulsion: demolition, displacement, and race in Atlanta’s northern suburbs. *Atlanta Studies*.  
<https://doi.org/10.18737/atls20181030>.

## **Manuscripts in Review**

**Markley, S.** and A. Bonds. Race and value in space and time: a critical narrative cartography of the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation’s Area Description sheets. R&R received from *Urban Geography* in September 2024.

Swope, C., **S. Markley**, S. Whittaker, and A. Hillier. How and why does redlining matter for present-day health? Critical perspectives on causality, cartography, and capitalism. R&R received from the *American Journal of Public Health* in August 2024.

Shepherd, J.M., S. Holloway, J. Shannon, **S. Markley**, and Y. Wei. Assessment of race, urban heat, and redlining in the Atlanta Metropolitan area. R&R received from *Atlanta Studies* in June 2024.

**Markley, S.** and D. Drogaris. Zoning and the rise of the municipal data solutions startup, or the political economy of data slop. Submitted to be a chapter in R. Kitchin (ed.), *The Data Politics of Housing and Planning*. (Commissioned)

## **Public Data Products**

- 2024      **Markley, S.** Housing, Socioeconomic, and Racial Data in Consistent Neighborhood Geometries for 65 Cities Mapped by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, 1940 – 2019. <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/JXATU>.
- 2023      **Markley, S.** Tracts by Census Place centroid (Version 1.0.0) <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7649459>.
- 2022      **Markley, S.,** S. Holloway, T. Hafley, and M. Hauer. HHUUD10: Historical Housing Unit and Urbanization Database 2010. <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/FZV5E>.
- 2022      **Markley, S.** THOLCADS: Tabulated Home Owners' Loan Corporation Area Description Sheet Data. <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/QYTJ8>.
- 2019      In collaboration with Alyson Powell Key and *Parametric Press*. Apartments demolished and residents displaced in Atlanta's northern suburbs, 2010–2017. *Parametric Press*. <https://parametric.press/issue-01/data-science-for-fair-housing/>.

## **Grants Awarded**

- 2023      “Zoning’s Impact on Segregation, Housing Production, and Affordability” (\$350,000). U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Unsolicited Research Proposals Program. Co-Investigator with Sara Bronin (PI).
- 2022      “Housing unit and urbanization estimates for the Continental U.S. in consistent tract boundaries” (\$2,090). Open Access Grant for Graduate Students. University of Georgia Libraries. Principal Investigator.
- 2021      “Assessment of race and heat vulnerability in the Atlanta metropolitan area” (\$9,000). Diversity Research and Scholarship Grant Program, University of Georgia. Co-Investigator with Marshall Shepherd (PI), Jerry Shannon, and Steve Holloway.
- 2021      “Planning spatial obsolescence: racial capitalism, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and the production of racialized devaluation” (\$1,000). Dissertation Research Grant, American Association of Geographers. Principal Investigator.

## **Invited Talks and Colloquia**

- 2024      “The history of zoning and the National Zoning Atlas.” (September 16). SOC 121: Inequality and Environment Justice in the City, Rachel McKane (instructor), Brandeis University. Waltham, MA.
- 2024      “From redlining to exclusionary zoning: how new spatial datasets are changing how we understand sub/urban inequality.” (February 2). Department of City and Regional Planning Spring Colloquium Series, Cornell University. Ithaca, NY.

- 2024 “Residential segregation and the racist theory of (anti-)value in racial capitalism.” (February 1). Department of City and Regional Planning Research Seminar, Cornell University. Ithaca, NY.
- 2023 “Are researchers underestimating racism? Disentangling race, ‘redlining,’ and value in US cities. (October 19). School of Geography Seminar Series, University College Dublin. Dublin, Ireland.
- 2023 “Zoning, affordability, and innovation.” (June 15). Housing Innovation: Inspiration from Around the World. Urban Land Institute (ULI) Atlanta Chapter. Atlanta, GA. Panelist.
- 2023 “Residential segregation and the racist theory of (anti-)value.” (March 8). ANTH 3487: Racial Capitalism, Amiel Bize (instructor), Cornell University. Ithaca, NY.
- 2019 “Moving beyond intent: race and redevelopment in the Atlanta suburbs.” (November 15). Southeastern Council of Foundations Annual Meeting. Atlanta, GA. Panelist with Mayor Shirley Franklin, Tim Keane, and Frank Fernandez.

### **Invited Workshops**

- 2024 FHA rental housing map workshop. (October 18). Lead organizers: Brent Cebul and Michael Glass. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.
- 2024 Understanding the history of redlining. (October 5). Lead organizers: Omer Ali and Randall Walsh. University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA.
- 2024 The data politics of housing and planning. (September 2 – 3). Lead organizer: Rob Kitchin. Maynooth University, Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland.  
<https://datastories.maynoothuniversity.ie/?p=247>.
- 2022 Reporting on redlining: get to know your data with Scott Markley. (March 29). Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library, Boston, MA. <https://www.leventhalmap.org/event/reporting-on-redlining-get-to-know-your-data-with-scott-markley/>.

### **Courses Taught**

#### **Instructor of Record**

CRP 2010: People, Planning, and Politics in the City, Cornell University  
 GEOG 1101: Intro. to Human Geography, University of Georgia  
 GEOG 3630: Intro. to Urban Geography, University of Georgia  
 GEOG 4370/6370: Intro. to GIS, University of Georgia

#### **Teaching Assistant**

GEOG 1101: Intro. to Human Geography, University of Georgia  
 GEOG 340: Economic Geography, University of Tennessee  
 GEOG 101: World Geography, University of Tennessee  
 GEOG 1130: World Regional Geography, Georgia Southern University

## **Conference Presentations**

- 2025        “Planning spatial obsolescence: residential segregation and the racist theory of (anti-)value.” International Conference on Urban Affairs. Vancouver, BC. Paper. (April 15 – 19).
- 2025        “Economics 101 meets Geography 101: how geographic theory and method disrupt supply and demand.” American Association of Geographers (AAG) Annual Meeting. Detroit, MI. Paper. (March 24 – 28).
- 2024        “Race and value in space and time: a critical narrative cartography of the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation’s Area Description sheets.” Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Division of the American Association of Geographers (SEDAAG). Greenville, SC. Paper. (November 23 – 25).
- 2024        “Underestimating racism? Decoupling race and ‘redlining.’” International Conference on Urban Affairs. New York, NY. Paper.
- 2023        “Using the Historical Housing Unit and Urbanization Database to investigate urban renewal.” Urban Affairs Association Conference. Nashville, TN. Paper.
- 2023        “Federal ‘redlining’ maps: a critical reappraisal.” AAG Annual Meeting. Denver, CO (Virtual). Paper.
- 2022        “Creating and using the Historical Housing Unit and Urbanization Database.” Applied Geography Conference. Virtual. Paper.
- 2022        “Planning spatial obsolescence: mapping the historical geographies of racialized devaluation.” AAG Annual Meeting. Virtual. Paper.
- 2021        “Tabulating HOLC ‘Area Description’ sheet data.” Applied Geography Conference. Virtual. Paper.
- 2021        “Residential segregation and the ‘racist theory of value’ in racial capitalism.” AAG Annual Meeting. Virtual. Paper.
- 2019        “The racial wealth gap and the limits of homeownership.” Urban Affairs Association Conference. Los Angeles, CA. Paper.
- 2019        “Demolition and displacement in the white ethno-suburb.” AAG Annual Meeting. Washington, DC. Paper.
- 2018        “From exclusion to expulsion: apartment demolitions in Atlanta’s northern suburbs since the Recession.” Atlanta Studies Symposium. Atlanta, GA. Panel.
- 2018        “Recovery for whom? Race, class, and property in Atlanta since the Great Recession.” AAG Annual Meeting. New Orleans, LA. Paper.
- 2018        “Suburban renewal: Demolition and displacement in an Atlanta suburb.” Geography Graduate Research Symposium. Athens, GA. Paper.

- 2017      “New Urbanism and race: An analysis of neighborhood change in Metro Atlanta.” AAG Annual Meeting. Boston, MA. Paper.
- 2016      “Progressive alternative or business as usual? Analyzing the relationship between New Urbanism and racial/ethnic change in Atlanta’s inner suburbs.” Race, Ethnicity, Place Conference. Kent, OH. Paper.
- 2016      “Examining the determinants of infill New Urbanism in Atlanta’s suburbs.” AAG Annual Meeting. San Francisco, CA. Paper.
- 2016      “Gentrification in the suburbs: A look at the case of Roswell, Georgia.” University of Tennessee Geography Symposium. Knoxville, TN. Paper.
- 2015      “New-build gentrification in the Atlanta suburbs? Examining the determinants of New Urban-designed project locations in Cobb County, Georgia.” AAG Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. Paper.
- 2014      “Regional and racial disparity of preterm birth prevalence in Georgia, 1995-2012.” Applied Geography Conference.” Atlanta, GA. Paper. Co-presented with Wei Tu.

### **Conference Sessions and Panels Organized**

- 2023      “Spatial histories of real estate data.” AAG Annual Meeting. Paper session. Co-organized with Ian Spangler.
- 2022      “Historical urban geographies of whiteness and anti-Blackness.” AAG Annual Meeting. Virtual. Two paper sessions. Co-organized with Taylor Shelton and Wenfei Xu.
- 2019      “The spatial politics of reaction: austerity, resentment, and the urban.” AAG Annual Meeting. Washington, DC. Two paper sessions. Co-organized with Coleman Allums.
- 2018      “Race, capitalism, and metropolitan space under (late) neoliberalism.” AAG Annual Meeting. New Orleans, LA. Three paper sessions. Co-organized with Coleman Allums, Taylor Hafley, and Guillaume Poiret.
- 2018      “Geographies of neoliberal governance in Metro Atlanta.” Atlanta Studies Symposium, Atlanta Georgia. Panel. Co-organized with Coleman Allums, Rachel Will, and Taylor Hafley.
- 2017      “Suburban geographies of crisis and change.” AAG Annual Meeting. Boston, MA. Three paper sessions. Co-organized with Coleman Allums and Guillaume Poiret.
- 2017      “Emerging scholars in ethnic geography.” AAG Annual Meeting. Boston, MA. One paper session. Co-organized with Ana Sanchez-Rivera and John Ponstingel.

### **Honors and Awards**

- 2023      Economic Inclusion Research Network Workshop Participant (\$900 value)  
Urban Affairs Association and the Kaufman Foundation

2022	Dissertation Proposal Award (\$200) Ethnic Geography Specialty Group, AAG
2016	Student Travel Award (\$150 value) Race, Ethnicity, Place VIII Conference
2016	Robert G. Long Outstanding Graduate Student, M.S. (\$250) Department of Geography, University of Tennessee
2016	Student Paper Competition Award (\$200) Ethnic Geography Specialty Group, AAG
2013	Student of the Year (\$500) Esri Development Center
2013	Eagle's Abroad Travel Award (\$250) Georgia Southern University
2013	Outstanding Scholar Award Georgia Southern University
2013	Geography Student of the Year Georgia Southern University
2009–13	HOPE Scholarship (tuition waiver) State of Georgia
2012	Daniel B. Good Geography Scholarship (\$1,000) Georgia Southern University
2012	John F. Nolen Scholarship (\$1,000) Georgia Southern University
2012	Savannah GIS Day Undergraduate Poster Competition Winner (\$250) Savannah Area GIS
2011	Savannah GIS Day Undergraduate Poster Competition Winner (\$250) Savannah Area GIS

### **Professional and Community Service**

2024	Volunteer data consultant for the Athens-Clarke County Anti-Eviction Project Community Mapping Lab, University of Georgia
2023–24	Judge for the 2023 Housing Ideas Challenge Federation of American Scientists
2022	College Board Advanced Placement (AP) Expert Advisor East Hamilton High School, Ooltewah, TN



2022	Volunteer organizer GIS Day, University of Georgia
2016–21	Student representative Ethnic Geography Specialty Group, AAG
2018–19	Executive Committee member Geography Graduate Student Association, University of Georgia
2019	Volunteer map consultant Sandy Springs Together, Sandy Springs, GA
2018	Volunteer data consultant Communication Workers of America (CWA)
2016–17	Student planner Geography Graduate Research Symposium, University of Georgia
2016	Volunteer map consultant East Tennessee Peace and Justice Center, Knoxville, TN
2016	Student volunteer Southern Demographic Association meeting, Athens, GA
2015–16	Secretary/Treasurer Graduate Association of Research Geographers, University of Tennessee
2012–13	Student Government Representative Georgia Southern University
2011	Student volunteer SEDAAG meeting, Savannah, GA

### **Journal Reviews**

*Health and Place* (2024), *Landscape and Urban Planning* (2024), *City & Community* (2024), *Journal of Urban Health* (2024), *Nature Cities* (2024), *Environment & Planning F* (2024), *Journal of Urban Affairs* (2024, 2023a, 2023b, 2022, 2019, 2018), *Nature Scientific Data* (2023), *Urban Geography* (2023, 2021, 2020), *Environment & Planning A* (2023), *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* (2022), *Housing Policy Debate* (2022, 2020, 2017), *Journal of Transport Geography* (2021, 2018), *Cities* (2020), *Southeastern Geographer* (2019), *Urban Planning* (2018), *Geographical Review* (2016)

### **Featured in Media**

2024 Lin, J. and G. Shill. (May 20). The National Zoning Atlas. *Densely Speaking: Conversations about Cities, Economics & Law*. (Podcast).  
<https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-national-zoning-atlas-sara-bronin-and-scott-markley/id1529689369?i=1000656139749>.

- 2023 Liu, S. and L.D. Quinby. (March 28). What drives the racial housing gap for older homeowners? Center for Retirement Research at Boston College. <https://crr.bc.edu/what-drives-the-racial-housing-wealth-gap-for-older-homeowners/>.
- 2023 Connor, M. (March 14). The surprising roots of Marjorie Taylor Greene’s idea of national divorce. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/made-by-history/2023/03/14/greene-atlanta-national-divorce/>.
- 2023 Schneider, B. (February 22). Atlanta keeps demolishing its affordable housing. *Urban Field Notes*. <https://benjaminschneider.substack.com/p/atlanta-keeps-demolishing-its-affordable>.
- 2022 Buchanan, K. (March 27). Is SLO housing market really ‘doing well’? That depends on your definition. *The Tribune*. [http://ct.moreover.com/?a=47365986914&p=1pl&v=1&x=W\\_4OgE-2z-6HxdsAscFkBA](http://ct.moreover.com/?a=47365986914&p=1pl&v=1&x=W_4OgE-2z-6HxdsAscFkBA).
- 2022 Spangler, I. (January 23). Reporting on redlining: an interview with Scott Markley. *Get to Know Your Data*, Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library. <https://www.leventhalmap.org/articles/scott-markley-interview/>.
- 2021 Urban Institute. (September 29). Racial appreciation gap limits financial benefits of Black homeownership. *Housing Matters: An Urban Institute Initiative*. [https://housingmatters.urban.org/research-summary/racial-appreciation-gap-limits-financial-benefits-black-homeownership?utm\\_medium=twitter&utm\\_source=hm\\_social](https://housingmatters.urban.org/research-summary/racial-appreciation-gap-limits-financial-benefits-black-homeownership?utm_medium=twitter&utm_source=hm_social).
- 2021 Mironova, O. (January 15). Pushing Biden to address the U.S.’s housing crisis. *On the Precipice: A Progressive Agenda in the Biden Era*, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. <https://rosalux.nyc/biden-housing-crisis/>
- 2020 Hartman, T., S. Hart, J. Marte, and H. Schneider. (July 14). The race gap: how US systemic racism plays out in Black lives. *Reuters Graphics*. [https://graphics.reuters.com/GLOBAL-RACE/USA/nmopajawjva/index.html?fbclid=IwARogLuYeFlYig1ubTksaFjzuSoxNqf5sUFW8MoWeDvqlz1ml\\_rvvnPFanuU#o](https://graphics.reuters.com/GLOBAL-RACE/USA/nmopajawjva/index.html?fbclid=IwARogLuYeFlYig1ubTksaFjzuSoxNqf5sUFW8MoWeDvqlz1ml_rvvnPFanuU#o).
- 2020 Enghauser, A. (May 29). Redress for Linnentown. *Odyssey Media Group at Clarke Central High School*, Issue 4. <http://www.odysseynewsmagazine.com/2020/05/29/redress-for-linnentown/>.
- 2020 Buckner, H., S. Fennessy, B. Riley, M. Shalhoup, and T. Wheatley. (April 30). Can we still afford Atlanta? *Atlanta Magazine*. <https://www.atlantamagazine.com/list/can-we-still-afford-atlanta/9-reasons-why-were-facing-an-affordability-crunch/>.
- 2020 Givens, D. (March 4). The rise of Black businesses and homeownership won’t close the racial wealth gap. *Black Enterprise*. <https://www.blackenterprise.com/the-rise-of-black-businesses-and-homeownership-wont-close-the-racial-wealth-gap/>.

- 2020 Mock, B. (February 25). Why Black businesses and homeownership won't close the wealth gap. *Bloomberg CityLab*. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-02-25/how-to-actually-close-the-racial-wealth-gap>.
- 2019 Key, A.P. (May 1). Data science for fair housing. *Parametric Press*, Issue 1: Science+Society. <https://parametric.press/issue-01/data-science-for-fair-housing/>.
- 2018 Vashi, S. (November 5). Q+A: Scott Markley on the racial impact of Atlanta's apartment demolitions. *Saporta Report*. <https://saportareport.com/qa-scott-markley-on-the-racial-impact-of-atlantas-apartment-demolitions/>.

### **Professional Memberships**

- 2018– Urban Affairs Association
- 2014– American Association of Geographers (AAG)
- 2011– Southeastern Division of the American Association of Geographers (SEDAAG)

### **Software Proficiency**

R/R Studio, QGIS, ArcGIS Pro, ArcGIS Online, SQL, Python (basic), Qlik Sense, Power BI (basic)