



Class Nine

Urban Policy 4211/6606

David Edwards
Professor of Practice
School of Public Policy
Founding Director Center for Urban Research

Class Nine

The Physical Legacy of Racism

The current state of our cities emerged from a set of forces operating over generations

- The trajectory of complex adaptive systems is impacted by **multitudes of interacting forces with multi-directional causality**
- Some forces are bigger than others, and their impacts can be both unpredictable and exponential
 - Redlining
 - Highway construction
 - Public housing developments
- It is important to understand how these decisions/choices led to the current state of cities and to discern patterns
 - We can't engineer new outcomes, **but we can change conditions** to encourage the emergence of preferred outcomes

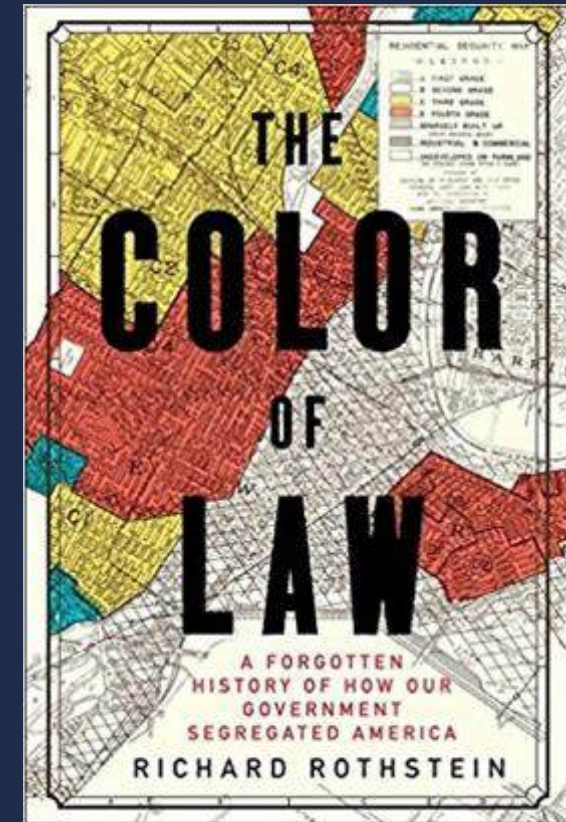
It is often more useful to understand complex systems through narrative rather than reductionist approaches



“When nonlinear interactions cause interlevel relationships, **the meaning of individual events can be understood only in context**: in terms of the higher-level constraints (the dynamics) that govern them. Those higher-level constraints, in turn, are produced by the very interactions occurring at the lower, particulate level. **The logic of explanation of storytelling is therefore more appropriate for phenomena whose very nature is a product of the strange causal circle between whole and part**, with feedback tentacles reaching out into the environment and back in time.” A Juarro

Combination of public policies and private actions segregated our cities and created neighborhoods of concentrated poverty

- Racially segregated public housing
- Exclusionary zoning laws
- Redlining
- Restrictions on FHA guarantees
- Court orders to evict black homeowners in areas with restrictive covenants
- Poorly conceived public housing developments/urban renewal
- Failure to enforce laws against mob violence
- Licensing of real estate brokers imposing segregation in real estate transactions
- School zone attendance boundaries that segregated schools
- Highways built through black neighborhoods
- Discrimination in the protection of labor market rights



“Undoing the effects of segregation will be difficult, but we will first have to contemplate what we have collectively done and accept responsibility” – Richard Rothstein

Redlining impacted the type and quality of the built environment between neighborhoods

- Redlining practices cemented the segregation of housing by **delineating the predominant locations** between single-family homes and multi-family stock
- The **lingering consequences of redlining** on the geography of housing stock are what explain the divergent neighborhood trajectories
- It is the legacy impact on the built environment – both **the mix of uses and the type of buildings built** – that sustains the impact of redlining

Ponce De Leon Avenue served as a divider between White and Black neighborhoods, with streets changing names to signify the division

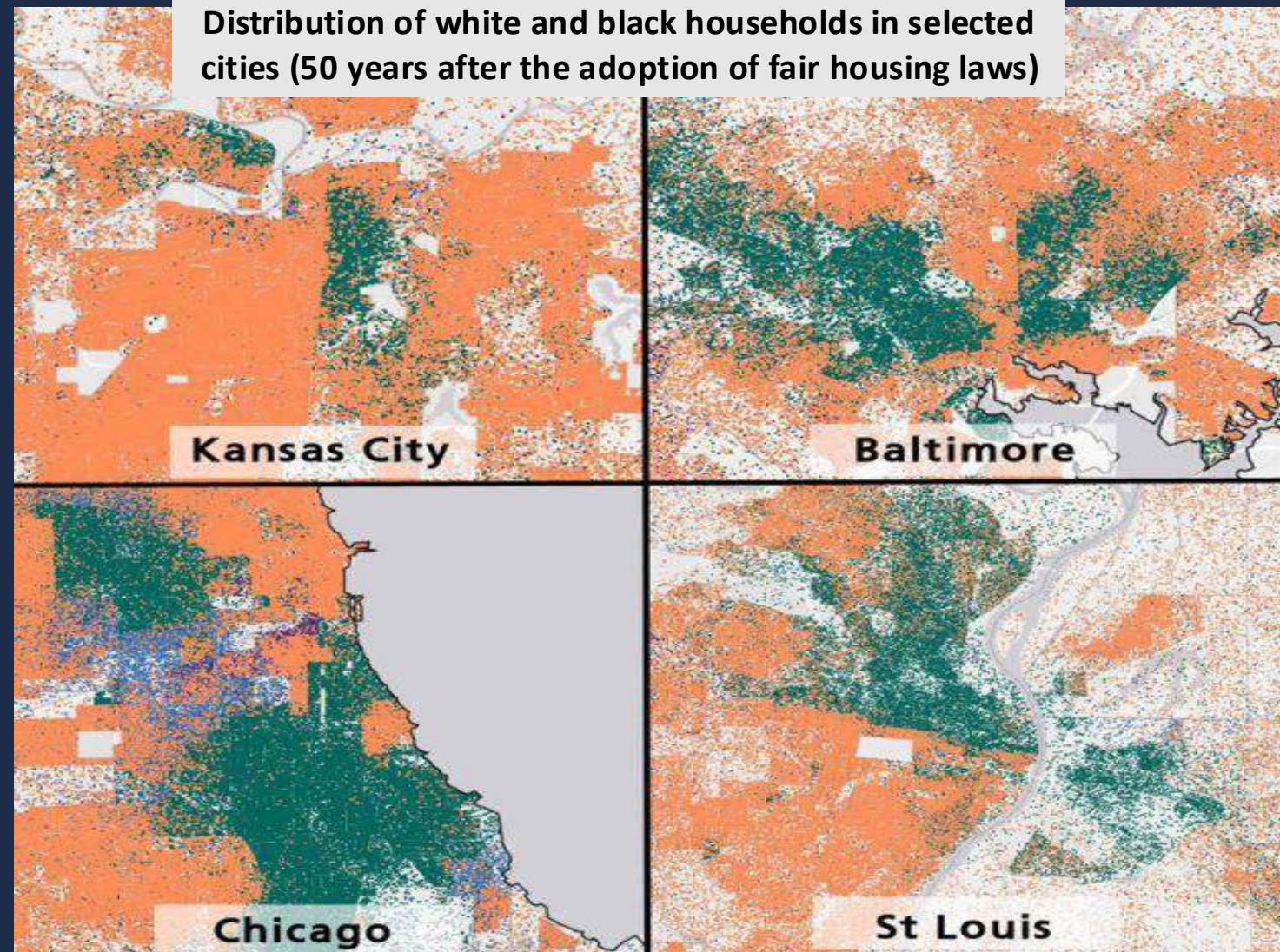


These policies made residential racial segregation arguably the most successful public policy of the 20th century

The Most Diverse And Most Segregated Cities
Among 100 most populous U.S. cities

CITYWIDE DIVERSITY INDEX		NEIGHBORHOOD DIVERSITY INDEX		INTEGRATION / SEGREGATION INDEX	
Most diverse at city level		Most diverse at neighborhood level		Most integrated	
1	Jersey City, NJ 75.5%	1	Sacramento, CA 68.5%	1	Irvine, CA +11.0%
2	Oakland, CA 74.8	2	Stockton, CA 64.3	2	Sacramento, CA +10.1
3	Sacramento, CA 73.8	3	Jersey City, NJ 63.4	3	Paradise, NV +9.8
4	New York, NY 73.3	4	N. Las Vegas, NV 61.8	4	Stockton, CA +9.2
5	Stockton, CA 71.6	5	Garland, TX 61.7	5	Fremont, CA +8.8
6	Long Beach, CA 70.5	6	Paradise, NV 61.6	6	Chula Vista, CA +8.7
7	Chicago, IL 70.3	7	Oakland, CA 60.7	7	Anchorage, AK +8.4
8	N. Las Vegas, NV 70.2	8	Irving, TX 59.6	8	Henderson, NV +8.3
9	Irving, TX 69.9	9	Aurora, CO 59.5	9	Garland, TX +8.3
10	San Jose, CA 69.1	10	Arlington, TX 58.9	10	Aurora, CO +8.0
Least diverse at city level		Least diverse at neighborhood level		Most segregated	
1	Laredo, TX 8.4%	1	Laredo, TX 8.2%	1	Chicago, IL -18.6%
2	Hialeah, FL 10.1	2	Hialeah, FL 10.0	2	Atlanta, GA -14.5
3	Scottsdale, AZ 28.9	3	Detroit, MI 17.8	3	Milwaukee, WI -13.1
4	Detroit, MI 29.0	4	Birmingham, AL 28.7	4	Philadelphia, PA -12.6
5	Lincoln, NE 30.1	5	Scottsdale, AZ 27.2	5	St. Louis, MO -11.3
6	El Paso, TX 32.8	6	Lincoln, NE 28.5	6	Washington, DC -11.1
7	Santa Ana, CA 36.7	7	Miami, FL 28.6	7	Baltimore, MD -11.1
8	Honolulu, HI 40.5	8	El Paso, TX 29.0	8	Baton Rouge, LA -11.0
9	Madison, WI 40.9	9	Baltimore, MD 29.5	9	Cleveland, OH -10.9
10	Birmingham, AL 41.0	10	Atlanta, GA 30.7	10	New Orleans, LA -10.2

FIVETHIRTYEIGHT
BASED ON DATA FROM BROWN UNIVERSITY'S AMERICAN COMMUNITIES PROJECT

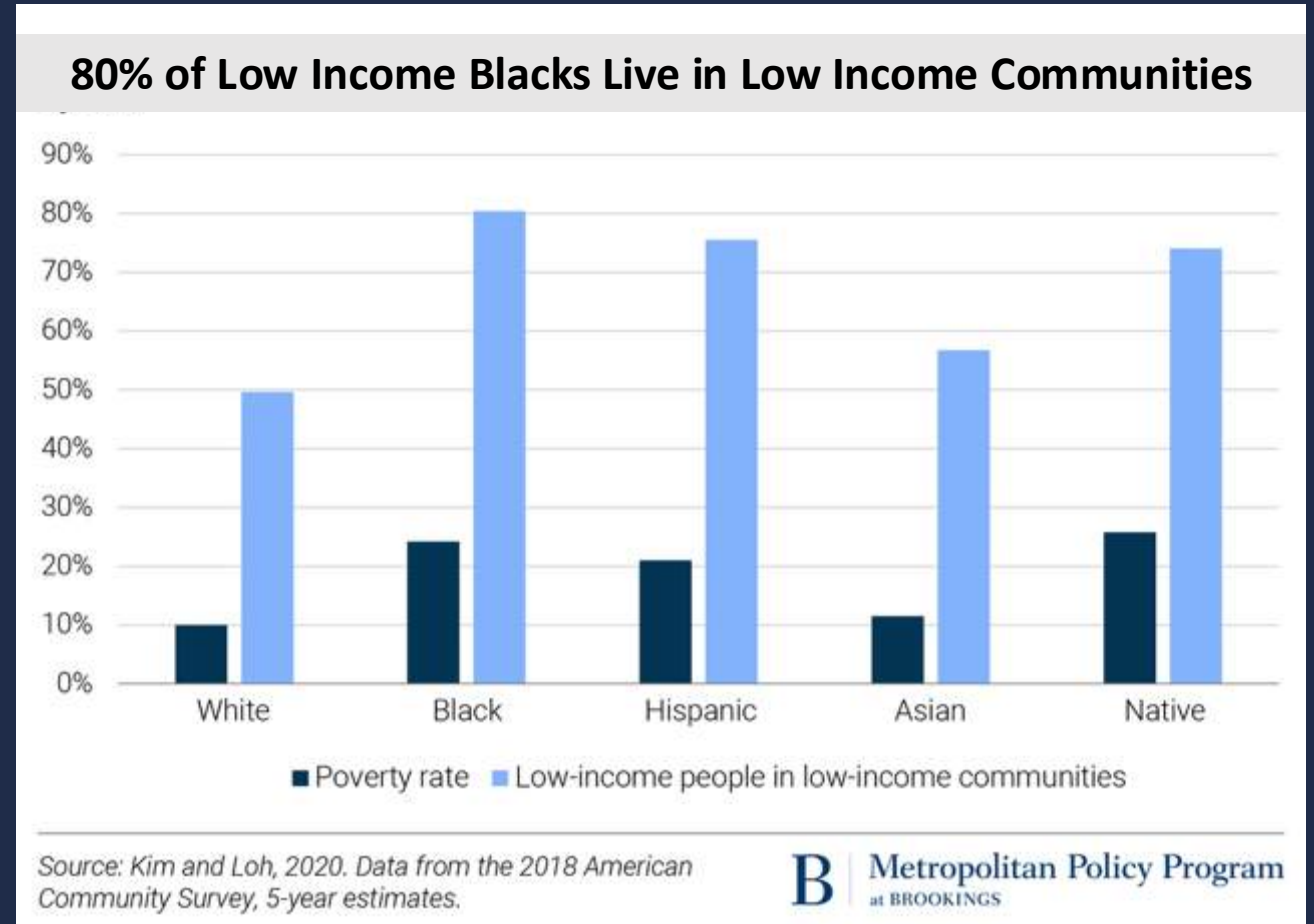


“We are living with the legacies of a *deliberately* segregated past.”

john a. powell
Director, Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society
University of California at Berkeley

What this means is that low-income Black families are much more likely to live in impoverished neighborhoods

- Black majority neighborhoods do not see increases in **residential equity** comparable to those in White neighborhoods
- Foreclosure rates between 2005 and 2009 were 3.5 times higher in Black neighborhoods than in white neighborhoods
- They are targeted with sub-prime loans and “**equity theft**”



Cities have gone out there way to undermine public health out of pure racial animus

- White-led cities were willing to destroy public pools rather than see them integrated
- According to U.S.A. Swimming, 64% of Black children have no or low swimming ability
- “A functioning society rests on a **web of mutuality**, a willingness among all involved to share enough with one another to accomplish what no one person can do alone”. Heather McGhee from The Sum of Us

City of Montgomery drained Oak Park pool rather than integrate it



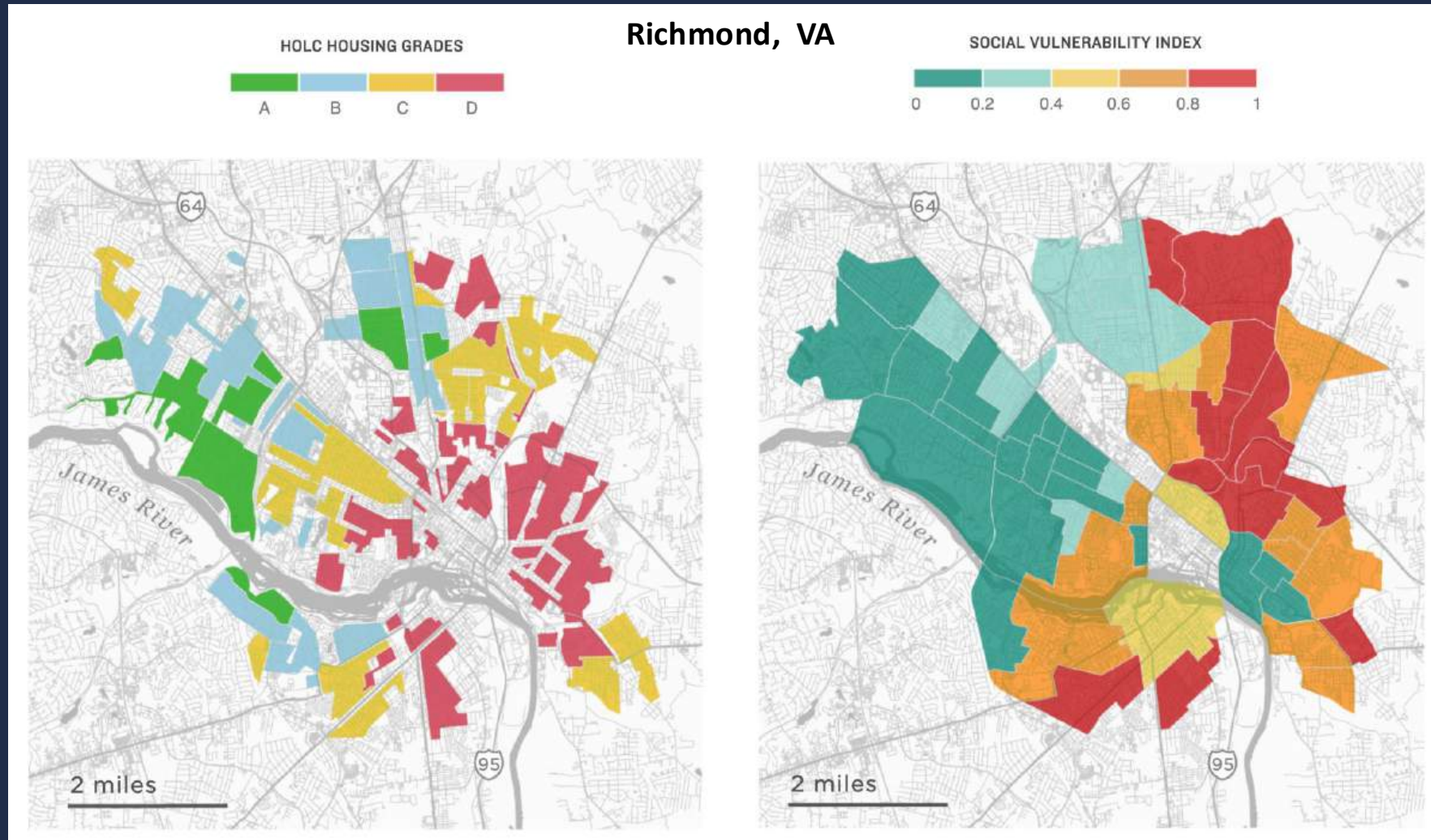
Police deputy jumps into a pool in St. Augustine to arrest participants of a “pool sit in” protest



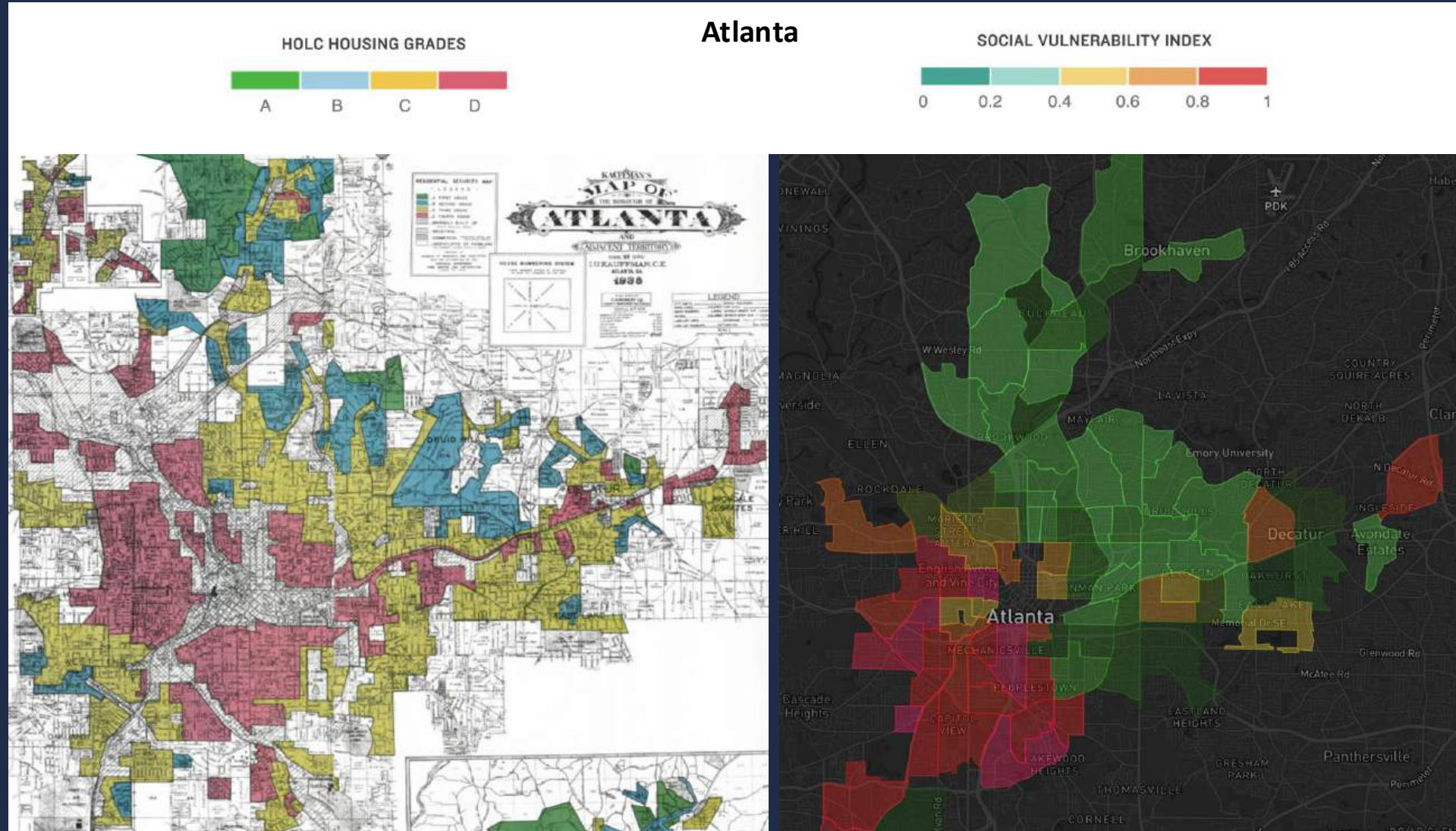
RACE RIOTERS BATTLE IN PITTSBURGH POOL

**Fifty Police Swing Clubs to Quell
Fighting of White Youths With
Negro Picnickers.**

Redlining predicts outcomes generations into the future

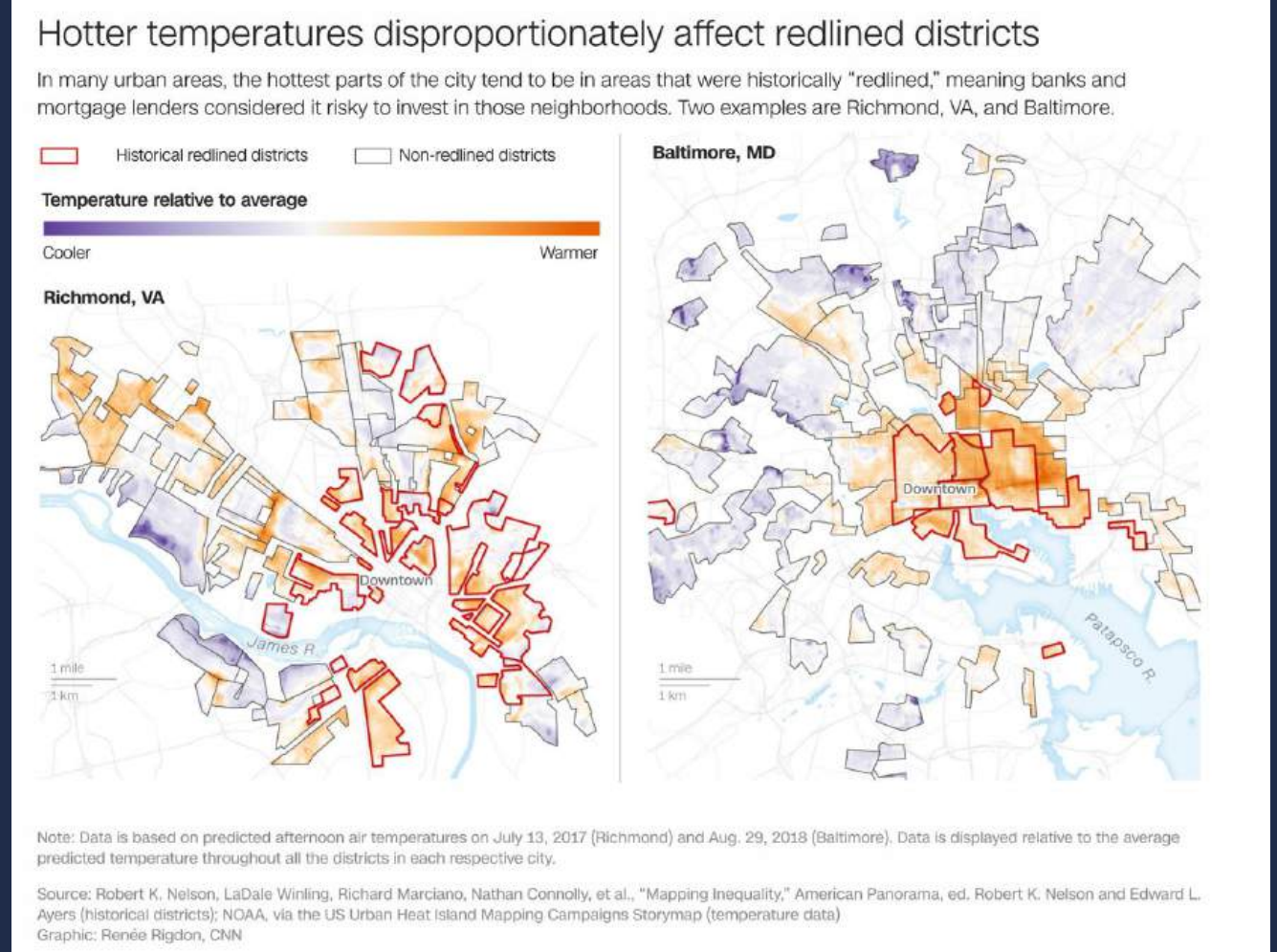


Atlanta displays a similar pattern



Neighborhood stressors are highly correlated with historic racial discriminatory policies

- Black homeowners are **five times more likely** than White families to own homes in redlined neighborhoods
- Black people are **40% more likely to live in areas with the largest projected increase in heat-related deaths** if the planet reaches 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial temperatures
- Heat taxes the body and can lead to heat exhaustion, heat stroke, and other ailments
- “Heat is the most threatening consequence of climate change,” says Dr. Brian Stone at Georgia Tech.



Since social determinants are the drivers of public health, then upstream interventions are needed

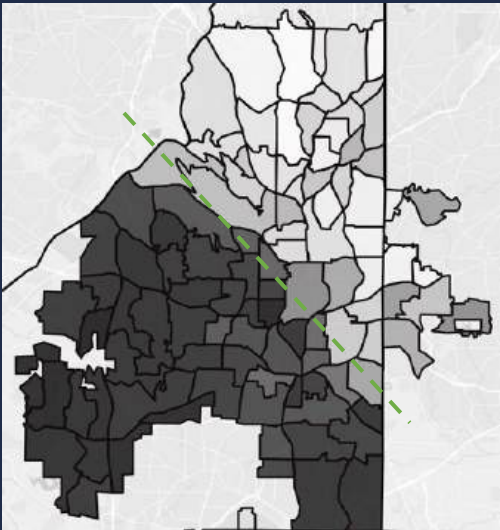
- Much of our efforts are **downstream** (access to health care services) or **midstream** (providing support to individuals and families) whereas the source of the problem lies **upstream** (community conditions)
- It is **the state of the system that matters**
 - And the neighborhood is the most impactful system on individual lives



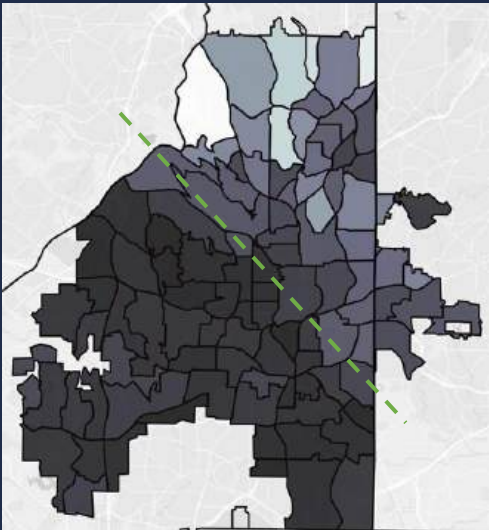
Racial equity challenges in the city of Atlanta are acute and compounding at the neighborhood level

Division of predominately Black (below) and White (above) neighborhoods

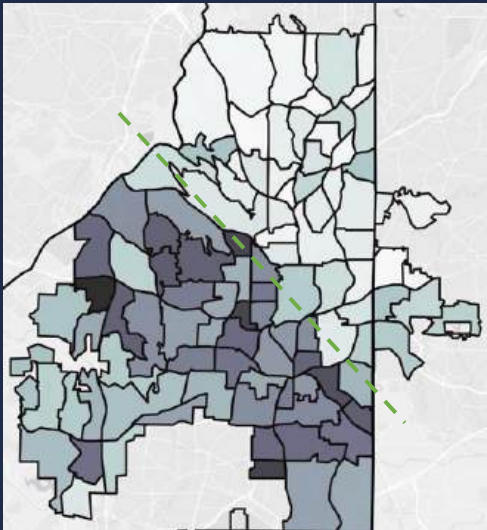
Non-Hispanic Black Population
2020, %



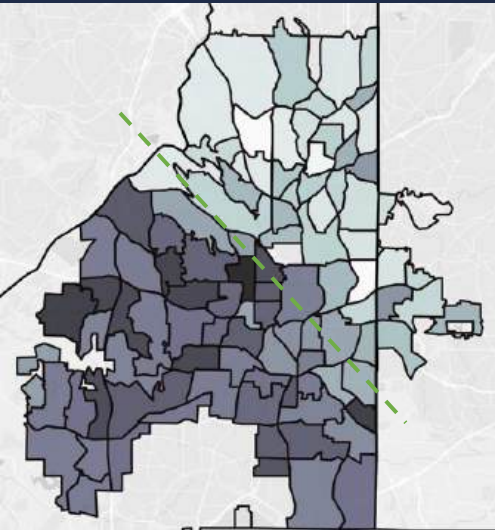
Household income
2020, mean



Adults over 25 years of age with
a High School degree or higher
2020, %



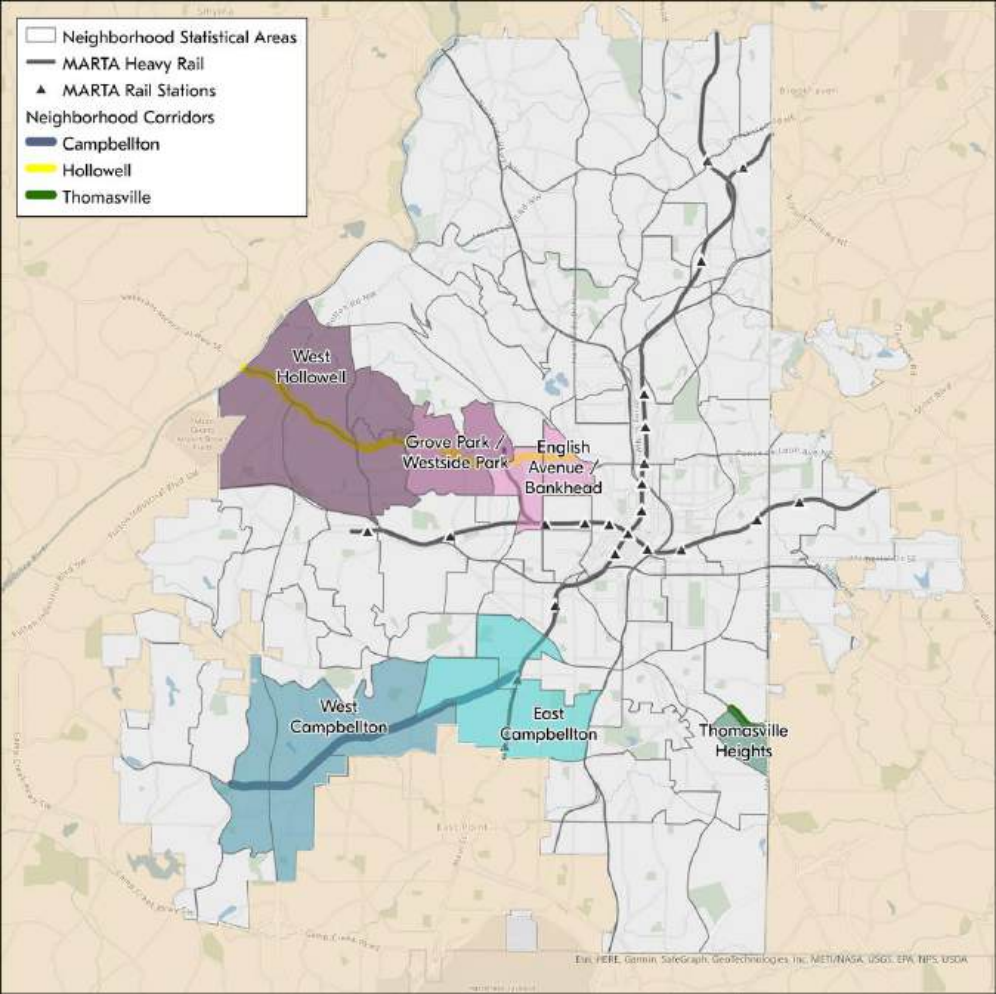
Low birthweight births 2015-
2019, %



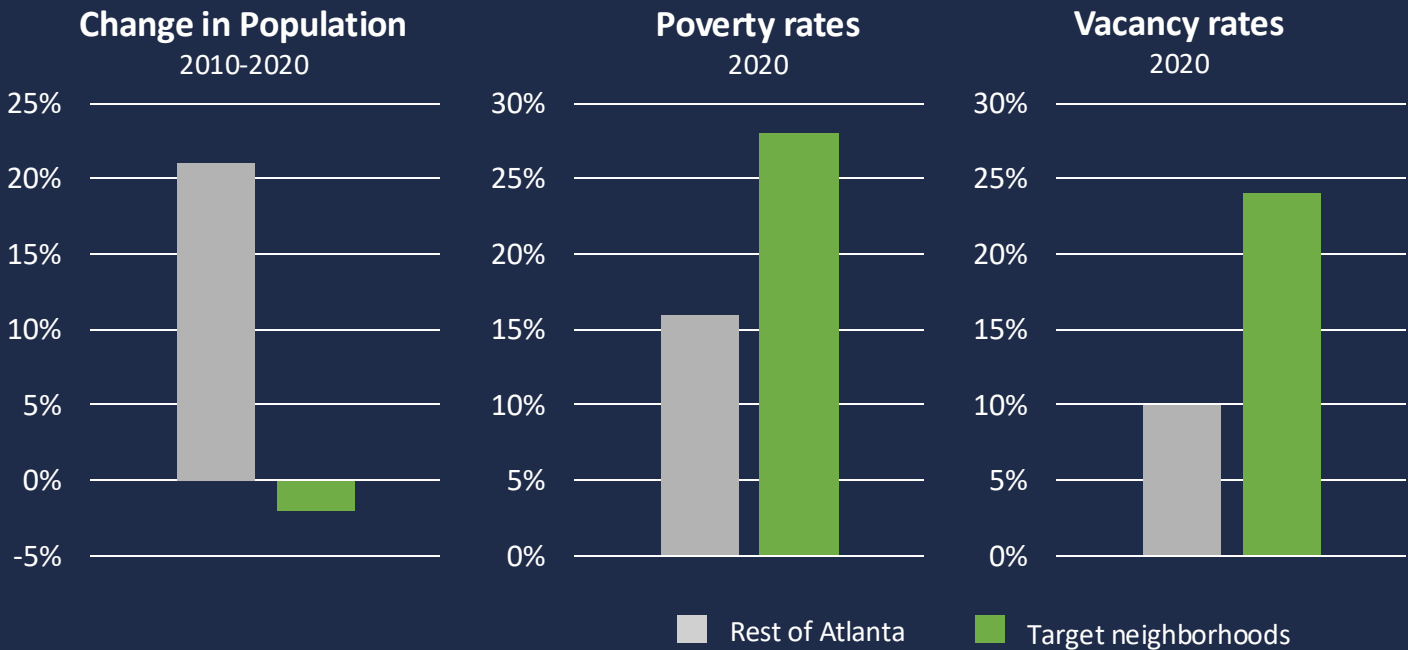
There is a strong correlation between Black communities and negative economic, social, and health outcomes

A city-wide effort is underway to revitalize six target neighborhoods

Target Neighborhoods



The target neighborhoods have **nearly 70K residents, but with declining populations and high poverty rates**



Chosen because they **transect the most distressed regions of the city and yet have significant public and private assets** that can be leveraged as part of a transformation strategy

[New Org] will support all of the place based efforts underway in the City

- The City has eight neighborhood revitalization efforts currently underway
 - All of the existing efforts have expressed an interest in joining the effort
 - Our goal is to move these efforts “across their finish lines”
- Four additional neighborhood revitalization efforts will be launched
 - In Thomasville Heights, Focused Community Strategies has agreed to extend their existing efforts to this geography
 - Three new Community Quarterback organizations will be formed in West Hollowell, East Campbellton Road and West Campbelltown Road who can steward the effort in their neighborhoods

Place-Based Initiatives To Be Supported



Atiba Mbiwan is the Executive Director of the Zeist Foundation

- Led the Foundation's "place-based philanthropy" in the Edgewood neighborhood beginning with a model for school-based pediatric clinic which evolved into a multifaceted education, health, and affordable housing initiative
- Led the Foundation's response to the COVID-19 pandemic and the completion the report "Place Based Philanthropy in Atlanta"
- Served as the Program Officer at the Arthur M. Blank Family Foundation
- Worked with a range of organizations in Georgia – Hands On Atlanta, the Metro Atlanta Task Force for the Homeless, and Stone Mountain ChARTer School
- Began his professional career in Providence, RI, as a Math teacher-counselor at an alternative high school
- Earned his B.A. in Economics & Urban Studies at Brown University ('82)

THE ZEIST FOUNDATION

A HOLISTIC APPROACH

The Zeist Foundation embraces a holistic approach to address the needs of underserved children in the areas of human services, education, and arts & culture.

