

Racialized Housing Policy and Mixed Race Identification: A Study of Chicago's Legacy of Housing Segregation and its Impact on Racial Demographics

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Introduction

Issues along racial divides have been a part of this country since its inception. The United States' history of slavery and mass immigration are among the many factors that have crafted a uniquely racially diverse culture. Unfortunately, a country so diverse has not been free of racism and discrimination. Questions concerning how to ameliorate America's racial divide have nearly always been a part of the country's history and continue to dominate many political and social conversations today. Starting around the turn of the millennium, conversations surrounding potential remedies to America's fragmented racial relations began to center around the subject of mixed race Americans. Around this time in the 1990s the percentage of the population that felt as though mono-racial categories did not have the ability to encompass their identity increased as evidenced by the increase in the number of individuals who checked the "other" box on the United States Census. In fact, "in the 1990 decennial census, the 'other' racial category grew more than any other category – by 45% to 9.8 million people."¹ This increase translated into a social and political push and eventually morphed into social movements and groups advocating for the inclusion of a separate category of "mixed." The movement was successful and in the year 2000 the U.S. Census included the new category for the first time. This change sent small ripples into American society as mixed race individuals began to gain much more visibility and legitimacy.

This social development signaled a cultural shift in the United States. Identity politics functioned as a salient form of political mobilization in the country for decades, beginning most notably during the 1960s and 70s with the Civil Rights Movement and the racial and feminist movements that followed. These movements, spurred by a sense of shared oppression, allowed

¹ Root, Maria P. P. *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier*. Sage Publications, 1996, 10.

for a politicized consciousness to form and with it a shared identity. Political choices, particularly voting behavior choices became increasingly tied to individual identity such as race, gender, and sexual orientation to name a few. In the United States, identities have become an integral aspect to politics. They are linked to the belief that individuals sharing one identity have strong levels of solidarity, the feeling as though they share a common history and a common present experience, and the idea that there is a shared oppression that translates into political interests.² This form of the conceptualization of self and group identities and the approaches to ameliorating the American racial divide began to subtly develop in a different direction with the increase of the importance of mixed race identity. Soon multiracial Americans were heralded by some as the future of a colorblind nation. Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign assisted in giving this movement increased traction.³ Referring to himself as the son of a "Kenyan father and Kansas mother", the then presidential candidate functioned as a sign of a future moving away from a country divided by race. Despite his role as a powerful symbol of the possibility of a post-racial country for many Americans, it quickly became clear throughout his campaign and later in two presidential terms that race continued to play a hugely significant role for American politics and for the country as a whole. President Obama, like many half black individuals, was regarded as exclusively black⁴ even to be later referred to exclusively as the first black president and viewed as a politician that could function as an effective representative of black issues.

The identity of mixed race and its salience for Americans, though having gained importance, is by no means universal. Many mixed race individuals continue to identify as exclusively one of their races due a wide variety of factors. Of these factors the American

² Denton, Robert E. *Studies of Identity in the 2008 Presidential Campaign*. Lexington Books, 2010. 5.

³ Elam, Michele. *The Souls of Mixed Folk : Race, Politics, and Aesthetics in the New Millennium*. Stanford University, 2011. 7.

⁴ Ibid., 7.

historical context and legacy of slavery in particular play a significant role in our understanding of race. The so-called “one drop rule” for example, which dictated that even one drop of minority blood (in most cases applied in mixes between black and white individuals, starting with slaves who were raped by their masters) would make an individual solely that minority. The logic being that minority blood, again in most cases black blood, would cancel out any whiteness existing in an individual’s racial background. Outward appearance, the dominance of particular racialized characteristics, and the environment in which individuals live and have grown up are just a few of the aspects that could shape someone’s racial identity.⁵ Whether or not an individual feels as though they are strongly affected by a racialized issue is another fundamentally significant factor in determining one’s racial identity and the strength of said racial identity.

This considered, identifying as mixed race is a political choice. It is in part due to the fact that the inclusion of a mixed race category in gathering demographic information is the result of a political and social movement. It is also linked to what choosing this category of identification implies socially and politically. Individuals who identify as mixed race and as a result make the decision to mark the mixed race category on surveys such as the Census do so with a level of conviction that their identity cannot be understood with a mono-racial category. This furthermore implies that mixed race individuals do not feel as though political issues that concern mono-racial identities fully describe their experience politically and socially. These considerations raise questions about mixed race identity and if there are significant differences in the experiences of individuals who identify as such. Differing conceptualizations of mixed race identities and the future of U.S. racial relations imply questions concerning the political relevance of the mixed

⁵ “Part II. Individuals Experiences of Diversity: From Multiraciality to Multiracial Identification.” *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the Color Line in Twenty-First Century America*, by Jennifer Lee and Frank D. Bean, Russell Sage Foundation, 2012, 101

race identity and what it means to self-identify as mixed race. Particularly in regards to racialized issues, there are questions about how mixed race identifying individuals are affected by said issues.

In order to examine these inquiries, it would perhaps be useful to examine a specific case of racialized policy and its lasting effects on various races. The politics surrounding Chicago's history with housing segregation provides a stark example of targeted and long-lasting racial discrimination in the United States, which would lend itself to an analysis of this sort. While the effects of redlining and housing segregation has been well documented on the level of mono-racial groups, the effect of these policies on the current demographic breakdown of the city and where mixed race individuals fall in regards to the issue remains unclear. The concept of mixed race individuals is not a phenomenon exclusive to the new millennium. However, the sheer number of Americans with mixed race backgrounds has increased since the middle of the 20th century. This raises questions of where mixed race individuals stand in regards to racialized issues. Do mixed race people feel as though these issues are less likely to affect them than their mono-racial peers and as such are they able to perhaps transcend traditional racial relations as some have hoped or have the ethnic backgrounds of these individuals not had any more meaning than those of the generations before them? Specifically, I am curious to examine the relationship between Chicago's legacy of housing segregation and mixed race residents today. Where do people who identify as mixed race live in Chicago and what is its political relevance? Do individuals who identify as mixed race live in communities that were not historically affected by redlining, do they live primarily in minority communities or is there no clear correlation between identifying as mixed race and the neighborhood in which individuals live? Identifying as mixed race with a certain level of conviction can be interpreted as a kind of political decision based on

the notion that “mixed race” is a racial identity with its own unique political and cultural salience. This is not to say that individuals who identify as mixed race feel as though racialized issues do not affect them. Instead a more accurate representation of mixed race as a political identity is that individuals choosing to label themselves as such feel as though there are issues that particularly affect them as multiracial people, which could also be an amalgamation of different kinds of racialized issues that represent a unique experience in their grouping.

In considering these various topics, we must first ask the question what the relationship between an individual’s community and their racial identity is. Particularly in cases of mixed race individuals, it raises the question of what role their particular residential and with it social environment plays in the formation of their identity. Chicago’s housing segregation has focused on, and been largely successful in, creating essentially mono-racial communities around the city, specifically minority communities. The relegation of individuals belonging to a particular racial minority group to one area of the city established that racial identity and solidarity within a group as fundamental to the identity of these communities. These neighborhoods have largely stayed the same demographically since the age of redlining policies. As a result, many neighborhoods in Chicago are seen as black or Latinx. In the face of oppression, such as housing segregation, these kinds of racial identities are heightened. Considering these factors, I hypothesize that individuals identifying as mixed race are less likely to live in communities that were historically affected by redlining. This is not to say that mixed race individuals do not live in areas that have a history of segregation. Instead it is likely that individuals living in areas with a strong history of redlining feel an increased level of solidarity with one particular race over their mixed race identity.

Those who choose to identify first and foremost as mixed race are therefore more likely to live in communities that do not have a history of targeted racial oppression. As such, political

entities can be understood as having a capacity to influence the rate at which individuals choose to identify as mixed race by extension. Therefore, it could be construed that the government, through housing policy employing racialized notions, has the ability to shape demographics and influence how individuals with mixed racial backgrounds identify. This influence could further have an inhibiting impact on the social, political and cultural conversation around the identification as mixed race. As such, I argue first that mixed race identifying individuals do not live in nearly mono-racial communities rooted in their history of redlining and racialized oppression, and further that this is indicative of government entities' ability to negatively influence the rate at which individuals identify as mixed.

Literature Review

The following section will serve to provide an understanding of the breadth of opinion within the sociological and political theory surrounding mixed race America and racial identity. The scholarship surrounding the political and social relevance of race and specifically the status of "mixed race" is highly disputed. While some theorists support the hypothesis that the increase in the number of mixed race children represents a shift in American society and the dawn of a new post-racial era, others argue that mixed race Americans do not have the ability to spark meaningful change in the racial relations of the United States. Furthermore there is not a universal agreement on whether or not the number of mixed race Americans is truly increasing or if the claiming of that identity has simply become more acceptable over the course of time. After all, mixed race backgrounds are not a new phenomenon in the United States. Since the United States' early history with slavery, mixed race individuals have existed in the country. During this era, however, the aforementioned so-called "one drop rule" dictated the classification of mixed race people. This attitude has changed over the course of the 20th century as self-

identification as mixed race has become much more widely accepted. The question that remains is whether or not this increased acceptance has had an impact beyond the personal level.

The first relevant component to examine is the mechanisms behind racial identity and its political and social function. In his book *We Who Are Dark: the Philosophical Foundations of Black Solidarity* Tommie Shelby explores the characteristics and societal relevance of racial identities, particularly of black racial identity. He argues that the strength and widespread nature of black identity and the solidarity that coincides with it stem from a sense of collective oppression. Shelby goes on to define racial solidarity as a means to protect oneself and the group and achieve social change as a collective. Black racial identity is an essential component of effective black solidarity, whose goal it is to liberate the collective from racial oppression. This is not to say, however, that black identity cannot exist without the existence of a dynamic of oppression. He writes that under conditions of equality, black solidarity makes sense as the unification of “people with their own distinctive ethnoracial identity.”⁶ Shelby notes, however, that it is the former that is most prevalent. In the case of Chicago and housing segregation, this theory could be useful in understanding the ways in which certain communities that are almost entirely mono-racial view themselves and the issues they face. Communities that are primarily black, for example, could understand themselves as having to deal with specifically black issues. This sentiment could reinforce racial solidarity in these neighborhoods. As such, certain communities and individuals living in those communities could define themselves first and foremost by a particular racial identity as it the most salient for them politically.

Theories of racial identification raise questions about how mixed race individuals form and develop their racial identities. In their book *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the*

⁶ “6 Social Identity and Group Solidarity.” *We Who Are Dark: the Philosophical Foundations of Black Solidarity*, by Tommie Shelby, Harvard University Press, 2009, 202

Color Line in Twenty-First Century America Jennifer Lee and Frank Bean discuss the factors involved in the formation of racial identity in multiracial families. They first assert that the family plays a crucial role in ethnoracial identity formation.⁷ Within the family unit, they identify several contributing factors: gender of the minority parent, presence of coethnics in the metropolitan area, diversity of the community, and generational status of the child. In their studies they found that a large presence of minority coethnics lead to a higher likelihood that the child would identify with the minority.⁸ They note language, and coethnic networks and institutions as likely contributing factors. Furthermore, Lee and Bean found that more diverse communities make it easier for multiracial children to accommodate multiple identities. Their studies also found that children are more likely to identify to identify with the race of the father, if this is the minority parent.⁹ They cite surnames as a possible reason for this.

In addition to the findings cited above, Lee and Bean observed differences when it came to the different kinds of ethnic mixes. They found that there are significant differences in the racial identification of those who are mixed Latinx-white and Asian-white versus those who are mixed black-white. They found that multiracial children of Latinx or Asian and white mixes, when not identifying specifically as mixed race, identified as white.¹⁰ This stands in contrast to individuals who are mixed African American and white. Lee and Bean found that half black and half white individuals who do not identify as mixed race, choose to identify as black.¹¹ As such, they write that black Americans are the least likely to identify as mixed race, despite the fact that the Census Bureau estimates that up to 90% of African Americans are ancestrally multiracial.¹²

⁷ Lee and Bean, *The Diversity Paradox*, 101

⁸ *Ibid.*, 103

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 104

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 121

They believe that this disparity is rooted in the importance of external ascription in racial self-identification. Lee and Bean also briefly touch on mixes that do not include white, such as black and Asian mixes or black and Latinx mixes, finding that even in these particular racial combination an individual's black background takes on the dominant role in their identification.¹³ These observations do not cover all different kinds of racial combinations and their particular implications for identifying as mixed race or not, though they provide a clearer understanding of what kind of impact certain components in an individual's racial background may have on their choice to identify as mixed, as a particular minority identity, or as white. Thus, significant takeaways from Lee and Beans research include that individuals mixed with black feel more limited in their multiracial identity and are more likely to self-identify or to be outwardly identified as exclusively black. This is in contrast to their Latinx and Asian multiracial counterparts, who in most cases have more freedom in choosing their identification, including identifying as multiracial or white.¹⁴

One of the scholars that supports the claim that the mixed race identity has had a meaningful impact in the United States is Maria P. P. Root. Root has written several books on the increased importance of the mixed race identity including *The Multiracial Experience – Racial Borders as a Significant Frontier in Race Relations*. She argues that the increased number of people that identify as mixed race represent a big cultural and sociological shift in America's attitude towards race. Root traces the beginning of the shift back to the 1960s. During the Civil Rights Movement, particularly with the court case of *Loving v. State of Virginia* during which the interracial couple of Mildred Jeter and Perry Loving fought for the legalization of interracial marriages after they had been sentenced to a year in prison, mixed race relationships, marriages

¹³ Ibid., 124

¹⁴ Ibid., 128

and children became not only a topic of discussion but a reality. This era launched a “biracial baby boom”¹⁵ as a result of strongly changing attitudes towards interracial relationships. Root notes that while there is a traceable change in attitude towards interracial relationships and marriage, the increase in the number of mixed race Americans born after this attitude shift is difficult to measure using the United States Census.

Traditionally the Census included five mutually exclusive racial categories for participants to choose from. One of the categories included is the “other” category. Root writes that “[i]n the 19190 decennial census, the ‘other’ racial category grew more than any other category – by 45% to 9.8 million people.”¹⁶ The growth of this category is linked to two main factors. One of the factors was many Latinx individuals’ understanding of race differing from the United States’ conceptualization of race, as race, culture and nationality are often confounded in Latin America.¹⁷ A second factor is the increase in individuals who do not identify with mono-racial categories. Furthermore, several individuals who fell under the “other” category wrote in a more specific description of their racial background. Most prevalently, individuals wrote in specifications that they were half black and half white. These responses eventually resulted in the option of choosing multiple categories on the Census in an attempt to provide a more accurate measure of the United States’ racial breakdown.

Root writes that the increase in recognition and acceptance of the multiracial identity by mixed race people themselves as well as others, “opens the door for reconsidering the type of conversations we wish to have about race”¹⁸ in the United States. She writes that mixed race Americans have begun to blur the lines between single races and allowed for differing and

¹⁵ Root, *The Multiracial Experience*, 9

¹⁶ Root, *The Multiracial Experience*, 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

shared perspectives from different racial backgrounds to grow “an optimism that we can transcend race.”¹⁹ Root therefore represents the scholarship that supports the notion that mixed race people have and will continue to have a significant impact on America’s racial relations.

Root is not the only scholar who supports the belief that the attitudinal shift towards the mixed race identity has had and will have a significant impact on the United States’ relationship with race. In her book *Mark one or more: Civil Rights in Multiracial America* Kim Williams writes about the impact that individuals identifying as mixed race have had on the national conversation surrounding race. Similar to Root, Williams points to the addition of choosing more than one racial category on the United States Census as a meaningful marker of success for the mixed race movement. Furthermore, she writes that the addition of this option has had an impact on societal attitudes towards race with the belief that it “can be multiple and flexible; it need not be singular or rigid.”²⁰ Williams argues in her book that the mixed race movement, which she describes as “a small group of activists,”²¹ have had a significant impact on not only the cultural attitude Americans have towards race but have made an impact on a more institutional and governmental level through the addition of the “mark one or more” option on the U. S. Census despite opposition. The conclusion she draws from this analysis is that mixed race advocacy should have a solid claim to being situated in larger civil rights projects.

Williams establishes why the cultural shift surrounding the multiracial identity in America can be considered a movement with political relevance instead of just a change in attitude towards race. She writes that during the 1990s various groups whose main goal was to provide a kind of support network began to become increasingly popular. These groups

¹⁹ Ibid., 15.

²⁰ Williams, Kim M. *Mark One or More: Civil Rights in Multiracial America*. University of Michigan Press, 2008. X.

²¹ Ibid., 2.

eventually began to participate in political action, some of these groups being AMEA, Project RACE, and APFU.²² While these groups had slightly differing objectives, they all participated in the push towards multiracial visibility on the Census, in which they were successful by the turn of the millennium. By tracing the actions of these organizations and the effect that these later had, Williams argues that the mixed race movement is a legitimate political movement, therefore establishing the mixed race identity's ability to have a meaningful impact on American race relations.

The opinions of Root and Williams are not, however, universally accepted in scholarship surrounding mixed race America. In their book *Rethinking 'Mixed Race'* David Parker and Miri Song analyze various conceptions of race. Their goal is to dispel extreme perspectives from either side of the debate ranging from white supremacist ideology rooted in a deep disgust for racial mixing to those who advocate that the sheer presence of mixed race families and children is evidence for a post-racial society. Parker and Song write that their "intention is not to hail 'mixed race' individuals and families as embodying the solutions to racial antagonism or to essentialist thinking about 'race.'"²³ Unlike the previous two authors mentioned, Parker and Song do not support the hypothesis that the increased in acceptance of mixed race identity has the potential to have a significant and far-reaching impact on racial relations. Instead, they believe that the experiences of multiracial individuals, while they may include some commonalities, vary enough that the discourse surrounding the subject of mixed race needs to be more nuanced. Furthermore, they see conversations around mixed race to be centered on cultural and social questions rather than political implications.

²² Ibid., 9.

²³ Song, Miri, and David Parker. *Rethinking Mixed Race*. Pluto Press, 2001. 1.

Despite their rejection of the idea that mixed race individuals are the antidote to toxic racial relations in the United States and beyond, Parker and Song do acknowledge the impact that mixed race identity has had in other regards. They believe that in terms of race “everyday social consciousness and sociological theory cannot be so rigidly separated”²⁴ and that the multiracial identity has served to expand the discourse and develop new understandings of race. They argue that the inclusion of mixed race into the sociological conversation has challenged rigid definitions that have previously existed about race. Particularly newer theories that have aimed to establish race as merely a social construct have gained supporting arguments through the inclusion of conceptualizations of mixed race. Therefore, Parker and Song support the hypothesis that the influence of mixed race identity has had influence only in a sociological sense but not the political impact that Root and Williams believe it does.

Finally, in her book *The Soul of Mixed Folk* Michele Elam examines the progression of the mixed race identity from a sociological standpoint. Similar to Parker and Song she aims to dispel the idea that mixed race individuals are the solution to American racism. Elam argues that the increase in the number of mixed race Americans has had an impact on the definition of mixed race. The demographic change has resulted in “mixed race” becoming essentially synonymous with post-racial America. Her book “examines the cultural creation and interpretation of this ‘new’ demographic, focusing in particular on popular representations that have helped endow certain idea(l)s of mixed race with political significance in the national imaginary.”²⁵ Therefore Elam differs from Parker and Song in the sense that she acknowledges the political influence that the mixed race identity can have in the United States. However, unlike

²⁴ Ibid., 5.

²⁵ Elam, Michele. *The Souls of Mixed Folk*. Stanford University, 2011. 6.

Root and Williams she argues that the significance of this identity has been culturally ascribed to it by popular imagery.

Historiographical Case Work

Racial segregation in the United States, while an issue in throughout the entirety of the country, has historically been viewed primarily as an issue of the American South. With the southern states' extensive examples of racial discrimination as a result of the Jim Crow era along with the south's legacy of racial civil rights activism, it seems logical for the history of segregation in America to be dominated by that which took place in the southern states. Racial discrimination against racial minorities was not exclusive to the southern region of the country nor was it restricted to the blatant forms of racism exemplified by policies such as the Jim Crow Laws. Chicago provides a contrasting image of American racial segregation through its history with racist housing policies of the mid-20th century.

A large portion of the 20th century in the United States was marked by “the Great Migration,” during which approximately 6 million African Americans left rural southern areas for the northeast of the country.²⁶ Beyond the effort of seeking better economic opportunities in America's northern states, African Americans sought to escape the racial discrimination and violence taking place in the south. Furthermore, the United States became a relevant player in the First World War during this time. This meant that the draft took many working white men out of metropolitan areas, leaving behind their jobs. Industrial cities in the North of the United States “experienced a manpower crisis at the very moment when profits were highest and production demands greatest.”²⁷ As a result, many African Americans settled in Chicago, one of the

²⁶ Hunt, Bradford. “Redlining.” *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, 2005, www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1050.html.

²⁷ Drake, St Clair, and Horace R. Cayton. *Black Metropolis: a Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. Harper and Row, 1962. 58.

booming industrial cities during this time. Particularly neighborhoods like North Lawndale attracted many middle class African Americans and became a racially mixed neighborhood. Despite the semblance of interracial harmony, much of Chicago was still vehemently against the increased diversity in the Midwestern city, which manifested itself in targeted measures to try and prevent the further racial diversification of Chicago's neighborhoods. "White Chicagoans viewed the migrants with mixed feelings."²⁸ On the one hand, the Midwestern city's economy depended on the presence of workers. The immense wave of migration, however, also meant a sharp reduction in available housing as the number of African American migrants exceeded the number of available residential options. As the demand for housing and with it the rent increased rapidly, so did racial tensions and white residents began to resent their new neighbors.

The desire amongst white Chicagoans for racial segregation in Chicago neighborhoods led in part to the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, which was created during the New Deal, creating color-coded maps categorizing neighborhoods' risk in terms of lending and insurance. The infamous appraisal maps created by the Home Owners and Loan Corporation had massive impacts on many urban areas in the United States, including Chicago. Approximately 239 cities were included in the creation of these maps and in combination with the strict lending laws of the Federal Housing Association,²⁹ housing in many of these cities became unattainable for low-income and minority residents. The FHA and HOLC, aimed to increase the number of homeowners in the United States by providing loan corporations and banks with federally supported detailed information about various neighborhoods and their relative financial risk. The goal of this initiative was to increase the accessibility of loans to individuals living in areas that

²⁸ Ibid., 60.

²⁹ Badger, Emily. "How Redlining's Racist Effects Lasted for Decades." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 24 Aug. 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/08/24/upshot/how-redlinings-racist-effects-lasting-for-decades.html.

allegedly presented a low financial risk. While the motivations behind this federal plan were not initially malicious in intent, the effect of these maps and the lending practices that were guided by them were catastrophic for many cities. The maps classified neighborhoods on an A to D scale, with “A” being excellent and therefore a low financial risk marked green, while “D” neighborhoods were deemed high risk marked red.³⁰ This process was later referred to as redlining. On the surface, these classifications appeared to be fairly neutral. More detailed descriptions of the neighborhoods and the characteristics of said neighborhoods that qualified them for their relative category were, however, explicitly racially motivated.

The categorization was racialized such that rich and primarily white neighborhoods were outlined in green while minority and racially diverse neighborhoods were outlined in red, implying an increased risk.³¹ Part of the justification for negative scores given to communities was the presence of minorities as well as higher levels of racial diversity. Racially mixed communities were penalized on the basis of the presence of African Americans, Asians, Jews, and Latinx individuals. The Home Owners’ Loan Corporation’s map was adopted by various institutions including banks, insurers and the Federal Housing Administration. The consequences of this practice was dramatic for minority neighborhoods in Chicago. Their classification as undesirable from a financial standpoint resulted in a lack of investment in these areas, which allowed them to continuously decline.³² Furthermore, redlining affected the mortgage market. Racial minorities in Chicago were blocked from receiving loans and legitimate mortgages.³³ As a result they were forced to enter predatory contracts with sellers that put them in precarious

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Coates, Ta-Nehisi. “The Case for Reparations.” *The Atlantic*, Atlantic Media Company, June 2014, www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/.

³² Hirsch, Arnold R. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*. Univ. of Chicago Press, 2000. 116.

³³ Nightingale, Carl Husemoller. *Segregation: a Global History of Divided Cities*. University of Chicago Press, 2015. 310.

financial positions.³⁴ These practices have had lasting effects on Chicago's housing demographics. Despite being one of the most diverse cities in the United States, it is also one of the most segregated. Decades of deliberate racial discrimination in housing have resulted in many neighborhoods being almost entirely racially homogenous.

While Chicago is one of the most famous examples of redlining and the racially patterned housing segregation that it led to, other cities have struggled with the long-lasting effects of this federal project. Two of the most notable cities still grappling with the impact redlining had on their communities are Los Angeles and New York City. Redlining had massive effects on California and particularly Los Angeles with FHA activity in the state exceeded that of every other state in the country.³⁵ At the dawn of the HOLC maps, Los Angeles was a highly diverse city with many immigrant residents from Eastern Europe, Italy, Germany, as well as from Japan and the Philippines. Furthermore, the city had large African American, Latinx, Caucasian, and Jewish residents. At this point in time, a majority of Los Angeles neighborhoods were ethnically diverse with immigrant populations and ethnic minorities living side-by-side. This changed with the introduction of the HOLC maps and FHA lending practices. Racially heterogeneous populations were "punished" by the HOLC by almost always receiving "D" ratings.³⁶ Racial mixing in residential areas was deemed a public health risk and discouraged by appraisers and the federal government. Racial minorities were viewed as a contagion that had to be marginalized and quarantined to separate neighborhoods. Ethnically white immigrants found themselves in a state of limbo at this time. They were encouraged to distance themselves from ethnic minorities as this would present an opportunity for them to improve – though only marginally at first – their

³⁴ Coates, Ta-Nehisi. "The Case for Reparations." *The Atlantic*, Atlantic Media Company, June 2014.

³⁵ Reft, Ryan. "Segregation in the City of Angels: A 1939 Map of Housing Inequality in L.A." *KCET*, 15 Nov. 2017, www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/segregation-in-the-city-of-angels-a-1939-map-of-housing-inequality-in-la.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

societal standing. The result was increasingly homogeneous neighborhoods with minority neighborhoods being strategically underfunded and therefore spiraling down a path of decay. Ethnic minorities that lived in these areas, regardless of their financial status, were restricted from receiving loans and therefore unable to invest in their communities. These minority neighborhoods were eventually deemed “blighted” and became the targets for law enforcement and local government through processes of so-called “urban renewal.”³⁷ Despite the damaging effects of redlining on the city of Los Angeles, the FHA and HOLC were unable to completely segregate many neighborhoods and in some cases neighborhoods remained fairly racially diverse. While some areas are still attempting to undo the impact of redlining, many minority residents have been able to become homeowners since then.

New York City was arguably more strongly affected by redlining and housing segregation than Los Angeles. When HOLC appraisers analyzed the city’s neighborhoods there were very few neighborhoods that received an “A” rating. Substantial portions of New York were deemed undesirable and received “D” and “C” ratings due to the high levels of racial diversity throughout various neighborhoods.³⁸ Some of the areas of NYC that were redlined included Brooklyn, most of North Brooklyn, as well as Cobble Hill, Gowanus, Sunset Park, Dumbo, Fort Greene, Bed Stuy, East New York and Coney Island. These areas contained large immigrant and African American populations. HOLC appraisers justified their ratings by arguing that these neighborhoods were particularly affected by “threat of infiltration of foreign-born, negro, or lower grade population.”³⁹ Of course not every neighborhood in New York was rated as a “D” neighborhood. Very few neighborhoods, however, reached a rating above a “B” as these

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Nonko, Emily. “Redlining: How One Racist, Depression-Era Policy Still Shapes New York Real Estate.” *Brick Underground*, 22 Dec. 2017, www.brickunderground.com/blog/2015/10/history_of_redlining.

³⁹ Ibid.

neighborhoods were frequently adjacent to areas with large minority populations. Some of these neighborhoods included the Upper West Side or Bay Ridge. Because there were so few “A” rated or desirable areas in the city, there was a strong push outward towards the suburbs. Many ethnic minorities were unable to receive loans within the city, regardless of their financial status, much like in Los Angeles. Many neighborhoods began to fall into disrepair and decay. Even middle class white landlords were unable to acquire loans to repair buildings in redlined neighborhoods. As a result, many New Yorkers abandoned their apartment buildings or more drastically burned them down.

With the majority of New York steeped in poverty and worsening housing conditions, the city reached a fiscal crisis by the mid-1970s. Fortunately this crisis did not endure for much longer as the Department of Housing Preservation and Development stepped in in the late 70s/early 80s along with the Housing Development Fund Corporation to convert abandoned apartments into low income co-ops and reinvest into real estate throughout the city.⁴⁰ Furthermore, former mayor Ed Koch introduced an affordable housing initiative in 1985 to increase the availability of clean, safe apartments. These projects set a snowball of investments into motion that have helped create the city as it is today. It is hard to think that New York City housing was once amongst the least desirable in the United States. The increase in investments in the city’s housing have had a considerable impact on dismantling the negative effects of redlining. The huge increase in investments have, however, also had some adverse implications for the city. New York continues to have one of the largest wealth gaps in the country and while investments have helped to restore apartments that had fallen into disrepair, they have also launched a widespread process of gentrification throughout many if not most of NYC’s

⁴⁰ Ibid.

neighborhoods. As a result the city's poorest residents are being displaced. This is not to discredit the fact that many formerly redlined neighborhoods are now racially diverse and mixed income.⁴¹ This is however, subject to change if the luxury condo trend continues at the rate it is at the moment.

While the experiences of each city affected by redlining is unique to some degree as they are dependent on a variety of factors including demographic breakdown, degree of local enforcement, and so on, there are many similarities. Some of the biggest differences in the cities current states and their ability to recuperate lie in the actual policy initiatives introduced to remedy housing segregation. In most cases these are sparse. New York represents one of the most involved processes of affordable housing initiatives. Both New York and Los Angeles have similar histories when it comes to housing segregation and redlining. While there is a lot of overlap with Chicago's history of housing segregation, the cases differ in one important aspect. New York and Los Angeles have made significant steps away from historical housing segregation and investment in various neighborhoods of these cities has had a strong impact on mitigating the damage of redlining. Chicago on the other hand is still grappling with the long lasting effects of decades of housing segregation.

Chicago's continued struggle with the legacy of redlining is largely due to the willingness of local government to perpetuate segregation. A practice that kept neighborhoods more or less mono-racial and furthermore, kept African Americans in relegated to certain areas of the city was public housing. To this day, Chicago remains one of the most racially diverse cities in the country, yet it is simultaneously one of the most segregated. How public housing factors into the maintenance of mono-racial communities in Chicago is illustrated in Alexander Polikoff's book

⁴¹ Ibid.

Waiting for Gautreaux: A Story of Segregation, Housing, and the Black Ghetto. “By the late 1960s, a third of the city’s population, the black third, was penned up in less than a fifth of the city’s land, the black fifth”⁴² he writes. In contrast to governmental intervention in other cities, local government in Chicago actively encouraged segregation. This is not to say that redlining and interracial animosities did not already carve out distinctive mono-racial communities. Instead, the choices made by Chicago government entities served as a means of solidifying this established segregation. Polikoff writes: “strongman Mayor Richard J. Daley kept as many poor African Americans as possible segregated into the neighborhoods in which poor African Americans already lived in when he took office in 1955.”⁴³ This development, as detailed by Polikoff, was the result of the increased presence of public housing as a means of corralling African Americans. “Public housing served as a form of government-sponsored population control, forming and preserving ghettos of neighborhood segregation for blacks akin to the reservations for Native Americans.”⁴⁴ As such, local government was able to preserve racial segregation in the city under the guise of benefitting the poor residents of Chicago.

The result of this phenomenon is that despite the practice of redlining lasting until approximately the 1960s when the Fair Housing Act was passed de jure, the segregation it set into motion was carried on for decades after de facto. Chicago’s communities have remained strongly segregated to this day with many neighborhoods still wrestling with the effects of many decades of disinvestment and neglect. These struggles some formerly redlined communities on the south and west side face include lower average household income compared to northern communities of the city. Furthermore, these communities in many cases have lower levels of

⁴² Polikoff, Alexander, and Clarence Page. *Waiting for Gautreaux: a Story of Segregation, Housing, and the Black Ghetto*. Northwestern University Press, 2006. ix.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* x.

educational attainment. In this sense, formerly redlined communities have social issues they are wrestling with and as these communities are largely mono-racial, this issues become mono-racial, and in most cases they become black issues. The racial climate of the city in regards to this historical background makes it an interesting and clear example for investigating questions of the political importance of the mixed race identity. It raises questions of what the racial breakdown is of formerly redlined neighborhoods. Furthermore, it raises questions of where mixed race Chicagoans live and whether or not they live in communities that were formerly redlined or if they live in neighborhoods that do not have this kind of history.

Methodology

In order to investigate some of the questions introduced above, I will analyze demographic information in the city of Chicago. I will specifically be looking at data collected by the American Community Survey and the Census. I am interested in seeing what the racial breakdowns are of the various neighborhoods in the city and in which of these neighborhoods mixed race individuals live. I am curious to see what the racial makeup is of the neighborhoods, in which mixed race Chicagoans have reported living. Do individuals, who identify as mixed race, live in communities that are ethnically diverse? Do they live in neighborhoods that have historically been affected by redlining? What is the average household income in communities where mixed race Chicagoans have reported living? These are some of the questions I will be examining when analyzing this data. This demographic information will provide a good sense of neighborhoods in which mixed race individuals live and what their racial makeup is.

Furthermore, I will be examining communities that specifically have a history of redlining. I will be analyzing digitized maps of the HOLC that have been made available by the University of Richmond through their project *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal*

America. These maps provide a digital representation of the maps created in the 1930s and 1940s, showing which neighborhoods were marked as being rated A through D. I will then compare the *Mapping Inequality* maps with the maps provided by Statistical Atlas in order to gain an understanding of what the current racial breakdown is of the communities that have a history of redlining and housing segregation. In addition to taking a look at the racial demographic information of formerly redlined communities, I will be incorporating survey information on the average household income of these communities as well as their average educational attainment. Looking at maps of neighborhoods that have a history of redlining and housing segregation will help to answer questions of what communities are still wrestling with the long-lasting effects of these practices in terms of the level of racial diversity or lack thereof, the average household income, and the average educational attainment of the community. In addition to this analysis, I will be comparing the maps from Statistical Atlas that indicate where the majority of mixed race identifying individuals live in Chicago and compare these with HOLC maps to see how the communities with the largest percentages of mixed race people were rated in the 1930s and 1940s. After analyzing these maps, I will be comparing the demographic and statistical information of formerly redlined communities with those Chicago neighborhoods that report having the highest percentage of individuals identifying as mixed race. The point of this comparison is to gain a greater understanding of what relationship might exist between a community's history of segregation and redlining and their racial breakdown. Specifically, what the relationship could be between communities that have a history of redlining and those who identify as mixed race. If there is a relationship between the where you live and how you racially identify as a multiracial person, whether or not these individuals live in communities that have a history of redlining, are still struggling with the legacy of this history, or if these individuals live

in areas that do not have to deal with the racialized issues that were born during housing segregation.

Of course this study will not provide a thorough portrait of all of the mixed race individuals in the city. The survey data that exists only has the capacity to illustrate what percentage of the population of Chicago identifies as mixed race. It cannot serve as a full representation of all of the mixed race individuals living in Chicago as there are limits to the reach of surveys and furthermore, as there are likely individuals who are mixed race by ancestry but do not identify as such. There is a real likelihood that there are individuals with mixed race heritage that live in communities that are largely mono-racial and identify primarily as one race instead of mixed. What is truly being analyzed in this research is the mechanisms at play in the political and social choice of identifying as mixed race and their relation to the community in which individuals live that choose to identify as mixed. The focus is less about where all individuals with a multiracial background live, but rather where those identifying as such, with a level of conviction that they provide this information as a survey response, live and what the racial, sociocultural and economic context of their communities are. This project, while not providing a deeply thorough and accurate portrait of the entire ancestrally mixed race population in Chicago and their social and cultural relationship to the lasting vestiges of housing segregation, will serve to provide some insight into the mechanisms at play between mixed race identification and residential environment.

Demographics of Chicago

The demographic information that I will be incorporating into this project comes from Statistical Atlas, a website that provides detailed demographic information on the United States. Statistical Atlas has compiled data from the United States Census from 2010 as well as the data

from the 2012 to 2016 American Community Survey.⁴⁵ The website uses this data to create various maps of the country, individual states, cities and neighborhoods. The maps include age and sex, race and ethnicity, household types, marital status, national origin, ancestry, languages, household income, employment status, enrollment in food stamps, occupations, industries, educational attainment, and school enrollment, as provided by the surveys mentioned above. Thus Statistical Atlas provides in-depth demographic information on a wide variety of categories. The categories that will be analyzed in this project are race and ethnicity, household income, and educational attainment. The reason these categories are the most relevant to include is as follows: the inclusion of the race and ethnicity category is quite clear as it will provide a picture as to what the racial breakdown of each neighborhood is. The categories of household income and educational attainment are useful markers for the communities that remain disadvantaged post-redlining. The purpose of then comparing the maps in these categories will illuminate what the racial breakdown is of communities that are still dealing with the effects of redlining. Furthermore, it will provide an impression of where mixed race Chicagoans live in relation to redlined communities.

The total number of individuals who have reported as identifying as mixed race is approximately 44.1 thousand people, which is approximately 1.6% of the population of Chicago. The rest of the population is 32.3% white, 30.9% black, 28.7% Hispanic, 6.1% Asian, and 0.3% have identified as “other.”⁴⁶ As such, it is clear that it is a small portion of the population identifies as mixed race. The majority of the city’s white population is distributed in the northern neighborhoods of the city, including areas like Lake View, Lincoln Park, and Bucktown, as well

⁴⁵ Diebel, James, et al. “About.” *The Demographic Statistical Atlas of the United States - Statistical Atlas*, <https://statisticalatlas.com/about>.

⁴⁶ <https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Illinois/Chicago/Race-and-Ethnicity>

as a few neighborhoods in the southwestern region of the city such as Mount Greenwood, and West Beverly. The Hispanic population of Chicago is reported to primarily live in western areas such as and far southeastern areas of the city such as Brighton Park and Calumet River, respectively. Those identifying as African American primarily live south of downtown, as well as in a few neighborhoods in the western region of the city. These communities include Bronzeville and Englewood in the south, and South Austin and West Garfield Park in the west. Chicago's Asian population is concentrated just south of downtown in the city's Chinatown and Bridgeport neighborhoods. The mixed race population of the city of Chicago is fairly evenly spread out over the city with small pockets of concentration. While the distribution of the population is skewed towards the northern region of the city, there are a couple scattered clusters both central and south of the city. Two of the most highly concentrated centers for mixed race Chicagoans according to the Census and American Community Survey are the Lakewood Balmoral (a subsection of the larger Edgewater community, whose mixed race population is 2.6%) where 6.85% of the population identifies as mixed race and the Villa (just south of Albany Park where the mixed race population is approximately 2.4%) where 7.56% of the population identifies as mixed.⁴⁷ The highest concentration of individuals identifying as mixed race lives in the city's small Chicago Lawn community of Lithuanian Plaza with 8.3% of the population identifying as such.⁴⁸ This community is part of the larger neighborhood of Marquette Park, where the total mixed race population is 1.2%. These pockets of high concentration are small subsections of larger neighborhoods. The subsections themselves are not recognized as standalone neighborhoods, but instead are understood as a part of larger communities. While these areas have the highest percentages of mixed race individuals, it is for a much smaller

⁴⁷ <https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Illinois/Chicago/Race-and-Ethnicity>

⁴⁸ <https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Illinois/Chicago/Race-and-Ethnicity>

portion of the population. Therefore, this analysis will focus on the larger Chicago neighborhoods with higher percentages of mixed race individuals as these communities have larger numbers of people identifying as multiracial, even if the percentages are smaller than the pockets of concentration discussed above.

The majority of the mixed race population in Chicago is dispersed fairly evenly throughout the city's northern neighborhoods at around 3% percent throughout. Examples of these communities include Bucktown, 3.6%, and West Rogers Park at 3.5%.⁴⁹ Approximately a quarter of Chicago's mixed race population lives in the northern region of the city. Considering

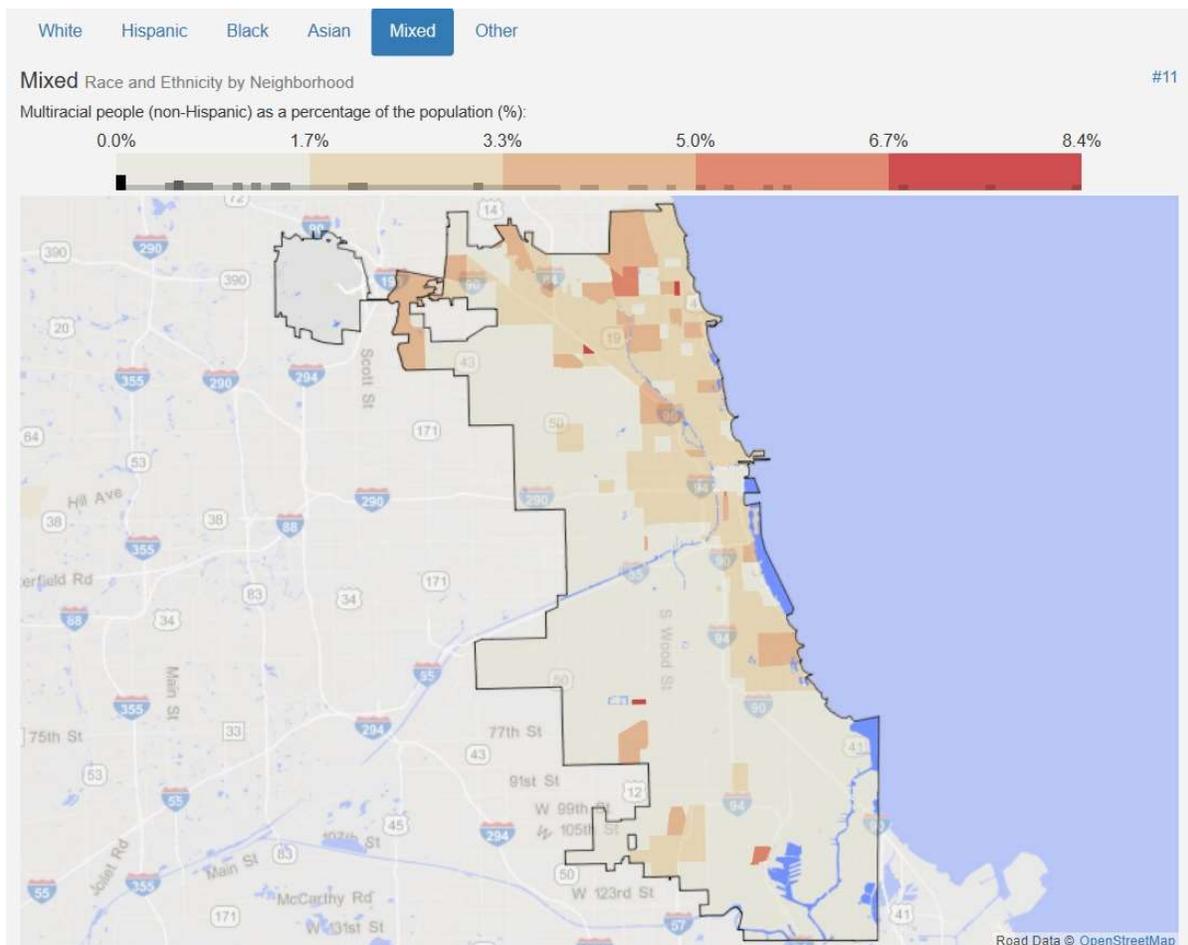


Figure 1: Mixed Race Population of Chicago
Source: Statistical Atlas

⁴⁹ <https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Illinois/Chicago/Race-and-Ethnicity>

that the distribution of Chicago's mixed population is skewed towards the northern region of the city, I will be taking a closer look at the specific racial breakdowns of some of these northern communities. The neighborhoods I will be taking a closer look at are Bucktown, West Rogers Park, North Center, Lake View East, and Ravenswood as these communities have some of the largest concentration over a larger neighborhood spaces. An interesting anomaly to the concentration of mixed race identifying individuals in the north of the city is Chicago's Hyde Park community, with its location south of downtown and its mixed race population of 3.3%.⁵⁰ To begin, it is important to consider the overall racial breakdown of the entire population of Chicago as a point of comparison. The city is quite diverse with its population fairly evenly split between white, Hispanic, and black. The distribution of these populations, as previously discussed, is however concentrated in different zones of the city.

The population of Chicago's Bucktown neighborhood is primarily white, 74.6% to be exact. The remainder of the population is 14% Hispanic, 2.4% black, 5.3% Asian, and 3.6% mixed.⁵¹ The remaining 0.1% identifies as "other." As such, it is clear that the minority population in this Chicago neighborhood is quite small, with the largest minority group identifying as Hispanic. This community is primarily white, however. The picture is quite different in Chicago's West Rogers Park. The population of this community is reported to be 42.9% white, 17% Hispanic, 13.1% black, 22.9% Asian, and 3.5% mixed.⁵² While the majority of this community is white as well, the minority population is fairly evenly split between Hispanic, black and Asian. The mixed population of West Rogers Park is about double of what it is in the rest of the city, despite it being quite a bit less than the mono-racial groups of this area.

⁵⁰ <https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Illinois/Chicago/Race-and-Ethnicity#figure/neighborhood>

⁵¹ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Bucktown/Race-and-Ethnicity>

⁵² <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/West-Rogers-Park/Race-and-Ethnicity>

Chicago's North Center community is comparable to Bucktown in its racial distribution. The population is 77.6% white, 11.7% Hispanic, 2.1% black, 4.9% Asian, and 3.4% mixed.⁵³ Lake View East's population is similarly mostly white at 76.6%. The remainder of this neighborhood is reported to be 8.2% Hispanic, 3.8% black, 7.8% Asian, and 3.2% mixed.⁵⁴ It differs from some of the other communities in the city's northern region by having fairly close proportions of those identifying as Hispanic and Asian. Finally, Chicago's Ravenswood neighborhood is 68.7% white, 16.1% Hispanic, 3.4% black, 8.5% Asian, and 3% mixed.⁵⁵ These communities in the northern region of the city are all majority white, around 70%, with fairly low percentages of minority populations and the mixed race population hovering around 3%. The exception to this pattern is Chicago's West Rogers Park neighborhood, with a fairly even split between the proportions of minority populations in the community and the mixed race population also at approximately 3%.

At this point it is relevant to incorporate information on the average household income and average educational attainment of these communities. In order to make any claims about these statistics in the aforementioned neighborhoods, it is imperative to look at these statistics for the city as a whole. The average household income in the city of Chicago is approximately \$50.4k/year.⁵⁶ The average household income of the top 5% is \$400.9k, \$213k for the top 20%, and \$8.9k for the bottom 20%.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the educational attainment breakdown of the population of Chicago is as follows: for people above the age of 25, approximately 42.2% have obtained a higher degree (which is defined as a post-secondary degree), 40.9% have received a

⁵³ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/North-Center/Race-and-Ethnicity>

⁵⁴ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Lake-View-East/Race-and-Ethnicity>

⁵⁵ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Ravenswood/Race-and-Ethnicity>

⁵⁶ <https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Illinois/Chicago/Household-Income>

⁵⁷ <https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Illinois/Chicago/Household-Income>

high school diploma, and 16.9% have not graduated high school.⁵⁸ More specifically, 21.8% of individuals over the age of 25 have obtained a bachelor's degree, 10.3% have acquired a master's degree, 3% a professional degree, and 1.5% a doctorate.⁵⁹

To contrast these citywide statistics with the statistics of the individual neighborhoods that have high percentages of mixed race residents, Bucktown will again be the first community analyzed. The average household income of Bucktown is \$114.6k,⁶⁰ putting it above the average income for the city overall. Furthermore, the educational attainment of individuals over the age of 25 living in this community is as follows: 82.3% of individuals have obtained a higher degree, which more specifically is 45.6% with bachelor's degrees, 23.4% with master's degrees, 7.9% professional degrees, and 2.3% doctorates, 15% have acquired a high school diploma, and 2.6% did not graduate high school.⁶¹ As such, the educational attainment of the Bucktown neighborhood is also above the citywide average, with the majority of individuals living in this community having obtained a higher degree. Chicago's West Rogers Park has an average household income of \$51.2k,⁶² comparable to the average income of the city as a whole at \$50.4k. The educational attainment in the neighborhood of West Rogers Park is similar to that of Chicago as well. 45.5% of individuals above the age of 25 in this community have acquired a higher degree, with 25.8% bachelor's degrees, 10.3% master's degrees, 2.3% professional, and 1.4% doctorates, 38% have obtained a high school diploma, and finally, 16.6% having not graduated high school.⁶³ As such, West Rogers Park is fairly representative of the city's average. The statistics of Chicago's North Center neighborhood are again closer to Bucktown. The

⁵⁸ <https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Illinois/Chicago/Educational-Attainment>

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Bucktown/Household-Income>

⁶¹ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Bucktown/Educational-Attainment>

⁶² <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/West-Rogers-Park/Household-Income>

⁶³ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/West-Rogers-Park/Educational-Attainment>

average household income in this area is approximately \$89.2k.⁶⁴ The breakdown of educational attainment in this neighborhood consists of 69.9% higher degree holders, 41.1% bachelor's degrees, 17.7% master's degrees, 5.8% professional, and 1.4% doctorate. 23.7% of the 25 year olds in this community has graduated from high school, while 6.3% has not.⁶⁵

As for Chicago's Lake View East community, the average household income is \$66.6k,⁶⁶ closer again to the citywide average than Bucktown and North Center. The educational attainment of Lake View East breaks down into 81.1% of the 25+ year old population having a higher degree, 43.3% bachelor's degrees, 21.5% master's degrees, 7.6% professional, and 4.4% doctorate, 17% have high school diplomas, and the remaining 1.9% have not graduated high school.⁶⁷ These statistics indicate that Lake View East, is above the citywide average in terms of average household income and even more significantly above average in terms of the proportion of individuals above the age of 25 with higher degrees. Moving to the neighborhood of Ravenswood, it is clear that the situation is similar in this community. The average household income at \$70.7k⁶⁸ is above the city's average by over \$20k. Of the individuals over 25 living in Ravenswood, 71.8% have obtained a higher degree (40.1% bachelor's degrees, 20.8% master's degrees, 4.7% professional, and 1.8% doctorates), 21.6% have graduated from high school, and lastly, 6.6% have not completed high school.⁶⁹ This statistical information makes it clear that these communities located in the northern area of the city and with some of the highest percentages of individuals reporting as identifying as mixed race are above average in terms of average household income and percentage of individuals over the age of 25 that have obtained a

⁶⁴ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/North-Center/Household-Income>

⁶⁵ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/North-Center/Educational-Attainment>

⁶⁶ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Lake-View-East/Household-Income>

⁶⁷ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Lake-View-East/Educational-Attainment>

⁶⁸ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Ravenswood/Household-Income>

⁶⁹ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Ravenswood/Educational-Attainment>

higher degree. With these statistics in mind, these communities will now be examined on the digitized HOLC maps as seen in Figure 2.

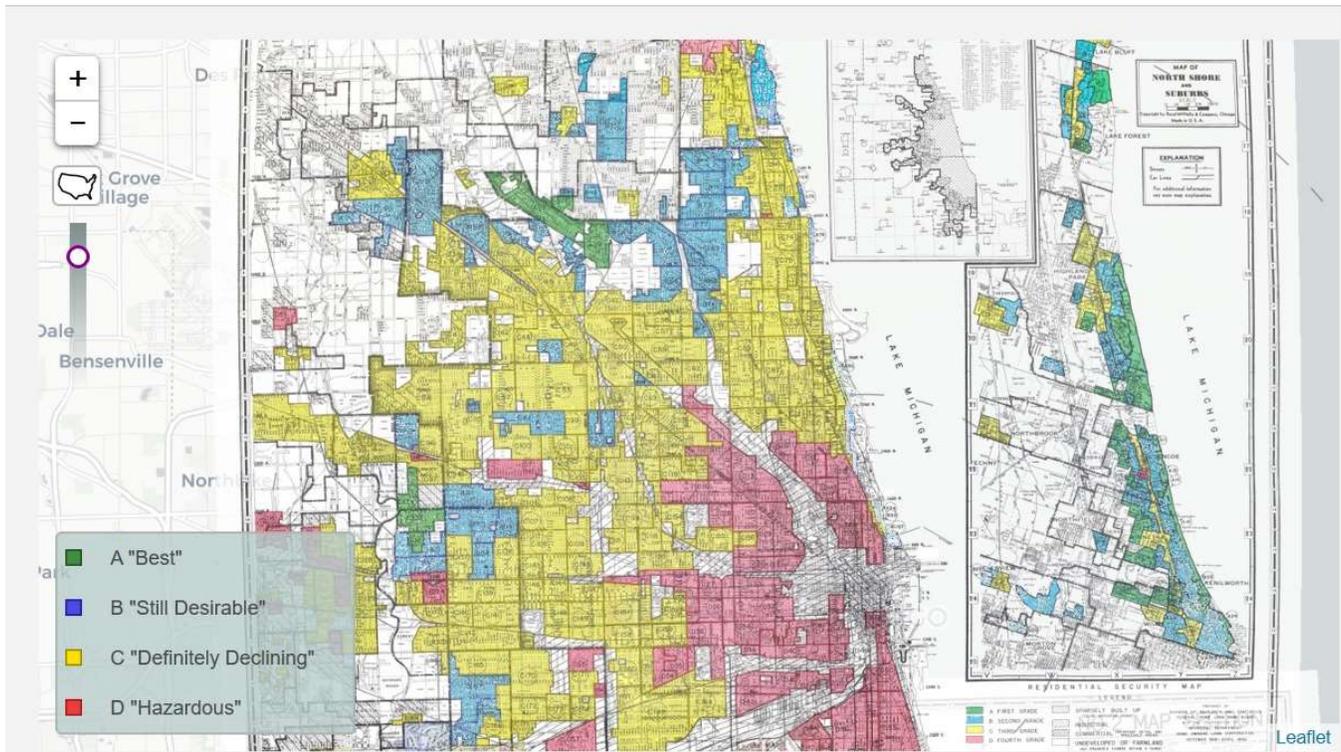


Figure 2: Northern Region of HOLC Map
Source: Mapping Inequality

The breakdown of the neighborhoods are slightly different in these maps compared to those found on Statistical Atlas; however, the region is still quite clear in the digitized redlining maps. The areas examined as having some of the highest populations of mixed race individuals are highlighted in the color yellow. Therefore, these areas have been given the rating of “C,” a rating was given to communities that were “definitely declining.”⁷⁰ This rating was given to communities for a couple of different reasons, including the state of the homes in the area and the rate at which the neighborhood was being developed. The most frequently cited reason,

⁷⁰ Nelson, Robert K., LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., “Mapping Inequality,” *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=11/41.8800/-87.7193&opacity=0.8&city=chicago-il&sort=45>.

however, was increasing levels of racial diversity.⁷¹ Specifically the increase in the number of ethnic minorities, particularly the increase in African American, European immigrant and Jewish residents, had the potential to reduce the real estate value of a neighborhood. In this area in the northern region of the city the shift in ethnic demographics was primarily due to the increase in white ethnic minorities.⁷² Thus, the communities that currently have the highest concentrations of individuals identifying as mixed race were communities evaluated as being in a state of declining conditions. The decline in these communities was associated most saliently with the increase in racial diversity of the area. The justification for this rating is particularly interesting considering that these are the neighborhoods with the highest percentages of mixed race identifying individuals.

The majority of the city of Chicago was given a “C” rating by the HOLC. Approximately 50% of Chicago was rated this way, 17% received the rating of “B,” a mere 4% was given an “A” rating, and finally 29% of the city was given the red “D” rating.⁷³ The distribution of the various kinds of HOLC ratings in the city can be seen as a radial pattern with its center in the Loop, a pattern which was deliberately employed. Urban sociologist Ernest W. Burgess first conceptualized the so-called “concentric zones theory” based on the city of Chicago that was later utilized in the creation of various HOLC maps. His theory put forth the notion that beginning in a city’s downtown area “business districts would be surrounded by factory zones. Factory zones would transition to slums, followed then by progressively more affluent housing for working people and the investor class, before then reaching the final zone, from whence

⁷¹ Domonoske, Camila. “Interactive Redlining Map Zooms In On America’s History Of Discrimination.” NPR, NPR, 19 Oct. 2016, www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/10/19/498536077/interactive-redlining-map-zooms-in-on-americas-history-of-discrimination.

⁷² Nelson, et al., “Mapping Inequality,” <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=11/41.8800/-87.7193&opacity=0.8&city=chicago-il&sort=45>.

⁷³ Ibid.

commuters came into the city.”⁷⁴ As such a city’s poorest communities were located immediately around the Loop, followed working class communities, then a residential zone, and finally a commuter’s zone. The so-called “central slum zones” were home primarily to “recent immigrants and black migrants.”⁷⁵ Extending radially away from the Loop were the communities deemed “hazardous” by the HOLC due to what was considered an infiltration of primarily Mexican populations to the west of downtown and black populations to the south. Some of these neighborhoods include Brighton Park and Gage Park in the western region of Chicago and Bronzeville and Englewood in the southern area of the city.

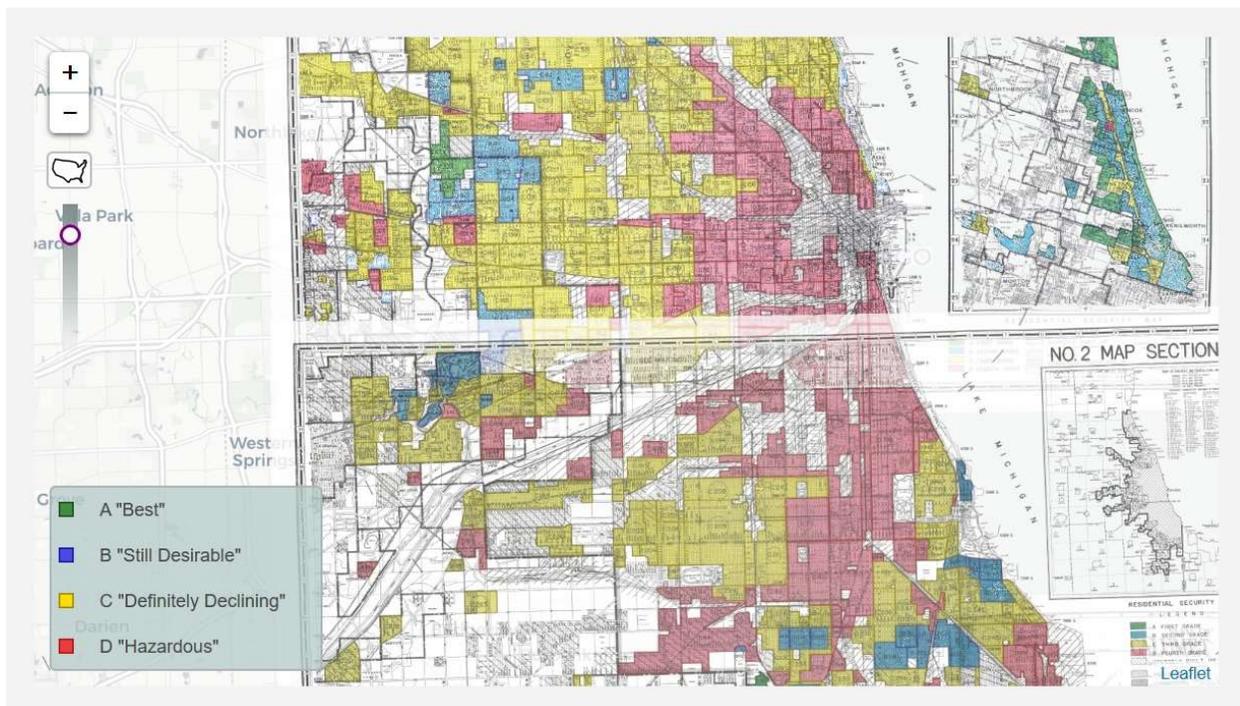


Figure 3: Central and Southern Section of HOLC Map
Source: Mapping Inequality

These communities today are still largely Hispanic and black, respectively. Brighton Park’s population is 83.6% Hispanic, 6.5% white, 1.8% black, 7.5% Asian, and approximately

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

0.5% mixed.⁷⁶ Gage Park has a similar racial breakdown with 92.1% of the residents reported to be Hispanic, 3.4% white, 3.8% black, 0.6% Asian, and finally, 0.1% mixed.⁷⁷ Chicago's Bronzeville neighborhood is racially broken down as follows: 86.8% black, 6.3% white, 2.1% Hispanic, 2.4% Asian, and 1.8% mixed.⁷⁸ Englewood's population is reported to be 94.6% black, 1.2% white, 2.5% Hispanic, 0.2% Asian, and approximately 1.1% mixed.⁷⁹ As such it is clear that these communities are nearly entirely mono-racial with at least 80% of each of these neighborhoods being either Hispanic or black. Therefore it can be stated that these communities were successfully shaped into mono-racial neighborhoods following their "D" rating from the HOLC. Redlining has had a lasting influence beyond the creation of mono-racial communities, however, such as wealth and education.⁸⁰ For this reason, the average household income and educational of these formerly redlined will be compared to those of the communities with the highest concentration of mixed race residents.

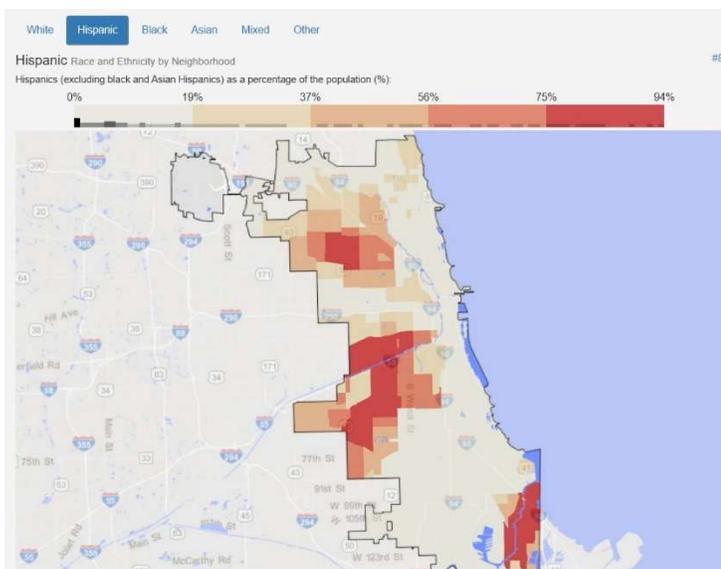


Figure 4: Hispanic Population of Chicago
Source: Statistical Atlas

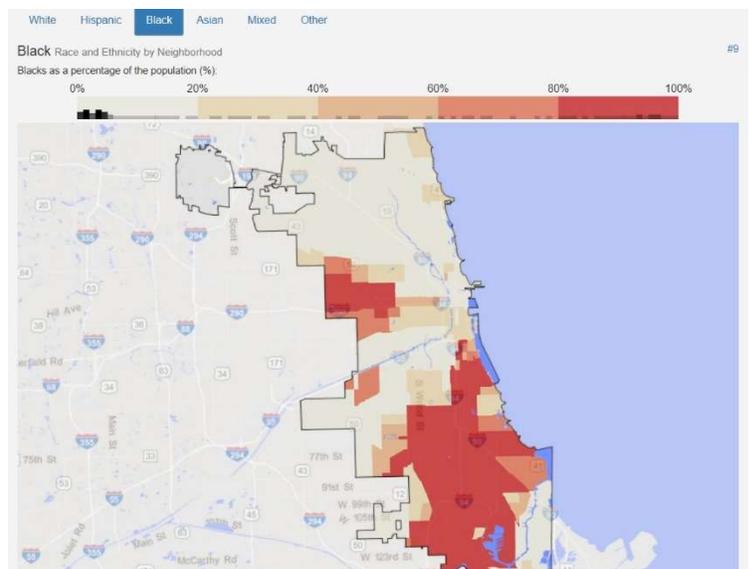


Figure 5: Black Population of Chicago
Source: Statistical Atlas

⁷⁶ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Brighton-Park/Race-and-Ethnicity>

⁷⁷ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Gage-Park/Race-and-Ethnicity>

⁷⁸ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Bronzeville/Race-and-Ethnicity>

⁷⁹ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Englewood/Race-and-Ethnicity>

⁸⁰ Coates, "The Case for Reparations," www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/.

Chicago's Brighton Park has an average household income of \$38.8k,⁸¹ which is substantially lower than the city average of \$50.4k. The average household income of Gage Park is similar to that of Brighton Park at \$39.9k.⁸² The educational attainment of Brighton Park breaks down as follows: 13.3% of individuals 25 and older have obtained a higher degree (6.7% have completed a bachelor's degree, 1.5% have acquired a master's degree, 0.4% professional, and 0.4% doctorate), 43.5% have graduated high school, and 43.1% have not received a high school diploma.⁸³ The educational attainment of Gage Park is similar to that of Brighton Park. 10.5% of individuals aged 25 and older are in possession of a higher degree (4.1% bachelor's degrees, 1.3% master's degrees, 0.2% professional, and no doctorates), 47.7% have obtained a high school diploma, and 42.1% have not graduated high school.⁸⁴ The proportion of individuals who have a higher degree is approximately 4 times less than the average percentage of Chicago residents with post-secondary degrees (42.2%).

The average household income of formerly redlined black communities such as Bronzeville and Englewood is comparable to those of the primarily Hispanic neighborhoods examined above. The average household income of Bronzeville is \$38.5k⁸⁵ and therefore more than \$10k below the average citywide income. The average income in Englewood stands in even starker contrast to Chicago's average. The average household income of Englewood is \$25.2k,⁸⁶ making it half of the citywide average. Educational attainment in Bronzeville is closer to the citywide average than that of Brighton Park and Gage Park. 34.8% of individuals aged 25 and older are in possession of a higher degree (14.8% bachelor's degrees, 10.1% master's degrees,

⁸¹ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Brighton-Park/Household-Income>

⁸² <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Gage-Park/Household-Income>

⁸³ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Brighton-Park/Educational-Attainment>

⁸⁴ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Gage-Park/Educational-Attainment>

⁸⁵ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Bronzeville/Household-Income>

⁸⁶ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Englewood/Household-Income>

1.6% professional, and 2% doctorates), 49.9% have a high school diploma, and 15.3% have not graduated high school.⁸⁷ Finally, the educational attainment of Chicago's Englewood breaks down as follows: 14.9% have a higher degree (6% bachelor's degrees, 2% master's degrees, 0.2% professional, and 0% doctorates), 61.6% have graduated high school, and 23.5% do not have a high school diploma.⁸⁸

It is clear from these statistics that formerly redlined communities are not only below the citywide average in terms of average household income but also in terms of the proportion of individuals who have acquired a higher degree. Furthermore, the formerly redlined communities in this analysis have up to 4 times less in average household incomes and up to an 8th of the proportion of individuals with a higher degree compared to communities that were given a "C" rating by the HOLC and currently have the highest percentages of mixed race residents. As such the long lasting effects of redlining, decades of disinvestment, and the myriad of consequences that emerged from these conditions are clear in these communities. These issues can be construed as racialized, particularly considering their presence in mono-racial communities. It can therefore be deduced that if mixed race individuals live in these communities, they are more likely to identify with their mono-racial peers than with multiple racial identities as the sociocultural issues afflicting their communities can be read as racial issues.

Conclusion

Redlining and the housing segregation practices that followed in Chicago had deeply influential effects on the neighborhoods of the city. Communities that were redlined due to increasing populations of primarily African American and Mexican residents and as such deemed the least desirable for investment and development were deliberately sectioned off from

⁸⁷ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Bronzeville/Educational-Attainment>

⁸⁸ <https://statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/Illinois/Chicago/Englewood/Educational-Attainment>

the rest of the city. The result of such evaluations of these communities resulted in the creation of areas that became more or less mono-racial. Certain communities became Hispanic or black communities with little ethnic diversity as a result of these redlining practices. The many decades of disinvestment and willful neglect by the government of these communities had affects beyond the crafting of mono-racial neighborhoods: these communities faced deep economic struggles that permeated the acquisition of wealth and education of their residents. As these neighborhoods were more or less mono-racial communities and shaped with this intention in the first place, the economic issues faced by formerly redlined communities could be construed as racialized issues. Specifically the economic oppression of these neighborhoods could be read as a “black” or “Hispanic” issue.

These issues, rooted in the city’s legacy of redlining, are perceived specifically as being historically racialized in these communities and furthermore, have had effects lasting until today. Economic struggles such as lower average household incomes and lower average secondary educational attainment compared to the rest of the city, as laid out in this paper, are indicative of the deep-rooted, long-lasting detrimental effects of redlining and housing segregation these neighborhoods are still grappling with today. Out of a sense of shared oppression in these communities, it is likely that individuals living in these areas feel a kind of racial solidarity. This sense becomes particularly interesting when considering that these communities have some of the lowest percentages of mixed race identifying people. Considering that the Census Bureau estimates that nearly 90% of African Americans,⁸⁹ for example, are actually ancestrally multiracial, it is likely that those Chicago communities reported to be more or less mono-racial have residents that have mixed race backgrounds but do identify as such.

⁸⁹ Lee and Bean, *The Diversity Paradox*, 121

Instead it is the communities that do not have a history of redlining and housing segregation are the same communities that are reported as having the largest percentages of mixed race identifying individuals. This correlation raises questions of how an individual's residential context influences how they identify if they are mixed race and furthermore, how racialized housing policy such as redlining influences these contexts and by extension how this policy acts upon the racial identification of mixed race individuals. I hypothesized that through segregationist practices such as redlining, political entities have the capacity to negatively influence the rate at which individuals identify as mixed race. Considering that both the level of ethnic diversity and the presence of minority coethnics influence whether a mixed race person chooses to identify as mixed or mono-racial, as explained in Lee and Bean's *The Diversity Paradox*,⁹⁰ it makes sense that communities that were not redlined and therefore not deliberately designated as areas to concentrate mono-racial minority populations in the city have higher relative ethnic diversity and higher proportions of individuals that identify as mixed race. This is not to say that there are no residents of formerly redlined communities that have a multiracial background. Instead they are less likely to identify as mixed race due to the influence of redlining and housing segregation in their community.

Therefore Chicago government, in its use of racialized housing policy, had the ability to directly influence racial demographics of city, particularly in the creation of near mono-racial communities and with it the reduction of the likelihood that individuals with multiracial background will identify as mixed race. As such, one can argue that racialized housing policy employed in Chicago for decades was a means of controlling racial demographics. Chicago's racialized housing policy and housing segregation can be seen as having a directly negative

⁹⁰ Ibid., 103

influence on the rate at which individuals identify as mixed race. This further raises questions about what capacity political entities have to control the social, political and cultural conversation around mixed race identity. If Chicago's redlining and housing segregation had a negative impact on the rate of mixed race identifying individuals reported to live in the city, it could be construed as having an inhibiting influence on the conversation around mixed race.

An alternative explanation for the demographic patterns of Chicago's mixed race population is that certain communities that report having higher proportions of individuals identifying as mixed race have a population where a particular kind of racial mix that allows people to more freely identify as mixed race instead of mono- racially. Specifically, as illustrated in the literature review section of this paper, racial combinations with black are more likely to identify as black than mixed race. Latinx and Asian mixes on the other hand have more relative freedom to identify as mixed, as an ethnic minority identity, or in some cases as white. There is a possibility that the communities examined in this project, whose population has a relatively high proportion of mixed race identifying individuals, have higher rates of individuals that are multiracial with Latinx and Asian backgrounds versus black.

Even if it were the case, however, that the neighborhoods examined in this project have a higher concentration of a particular kind of mix, it would be rather indicative of racialized housing policy's ability to reinforce certain cultural norms around mixed race in the United States. Redlining and housing segregation, in their oppression of particularly African Americans, likely only further cemented the notion of the one drop rule for black people. It reinforced the idea that the presence of black ancestry in one's racial background determines that they are black first and foremost. As such, racialized housing policy, as implemented in Chicago for decades solidified racist ideologies that already existed in the United States and only embedded them

deeper in the culture through systematic segregation. In either case, racialized housing policy in Chicago was a means to control demographics and reinforce American ideologies of racial segregation. Redlining therefore not only did the work to create nearly entirely mono-racial communities, deprive minorities of access to certain financial resources, and allow certain neighborhoods to fall victim to decades of disinvestment and neglect, but also had a cultural influence and further limited not only the conversation around race mixing and multiracial identity in the United States but limited who was allowed to identify as such.

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