Housing, Segregation and the Built Environment

Professor: Dr. Judy Lubin
“Racial residential segregation is a fundamental cause of racial disparities in health. The physical separation of the races by enforced residence in certain areas is an institutional mechanism of racism that was designed to protect whites from social interaction with blacks.”

“It was imposed by legislation, supported by major economic institutions, enshrined in the housing policies of the federal government, enforced by the judicial system, and legitimized by the ideology of white supremacy that was advocated by churches and other cultural institutions.”

Segregation creates, reinforces and maintains racial inequalities.
Historical Timeline of Legal Segregation

• 1860 to 1940 – “segregation increased dramatically” during this time and has “remained strikingly stable since then.” Williams and Collins 2001
• Response to emancipation and Great Migration (racially restricted covenants)

• 1917: Buchanan v. Warley - The United States Supreme Court declared racially biased zoning unconstitutional.

• 1968 – Civil Rights Act of 1968 made discrimination in the sale or rental of housing units illegal
14. RACIAL RESTRICTIONS. No property in said addition shall at any time be sold, conveyed, rented or leased in whole or in part to any person or persons not of the White or Caucasian race. No person other than one of the White or Caucasian race shall be permitted to occupy any property in said addition or portion thereof or building thereon except a domestic servant actually employed by a person of the White or Caucasian race where the latter is an occupant of such property.

15. ANIMALS. No hogs, cattle, horses, sheep, goats, or similar livestock shall be permitted or maintained on said property at any time. Chicken hens, pigeons, rabbits and other similar small livestock, not exceeding a total of twenty-five in number, shall be permitted but must be kept on the premises of the owner. Not more than one dog and cat may be kept for each building site. No pen, yard, run, hutch, coop or other structure or area for the housing and keeping of the above described poultry or animals shall be built or maintained closer...
Consequences of Segregation

- Racial differences in socioeconomic status
- Health disparities
- Marginalization of residents and communities
- Housing discrimination
- Limits educational and employment opportunities
- Fewer economic and social resources (lower tax base, out migration/avoidance of neighborhood by businesses and social institutions, food deserts)
- Neighborhood disorder and violence
- Concentrated poverty
Although legally outlawed, segregation persists partly due to implicit and subtle forms of discrimination, especially against African Americans.
African American students are more isolated than they were 40 years ago
# Top 25 Segregated Cities

## Segregation: Dissimilarity Indices

### US Metro Areas Ranked by White/Black Dissimilarity Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Metro Area</th>
<th>Black Population</th>
<th>White Population</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Dissimilarity Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gary, IN</td>
<td>122,686</td>
<td>428,791</td>
<td>631,362</td>
<td>87.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Detroit, MI</td>
<td>1,012,262</td>
<td>3,096,900</td>
<td>4,441,551</td>
<td>86.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI</td>
<td>232,247</td>
<td>1,116,150</td>
<td>1,500,741</td>
<td>84.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>New York, NY</td>
<td>2,118,957</td>
<td>3,684,669</td>
<td>9,314,235</td>
<td>84.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>1,541,641</td>
<td>4,798,533</td>
<td>8,272,768</td>
<td>83.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Newark, NJ</td>
<td>440,597</td>
<td>1,196,664</td>
<td>2,032,989</td>
<td>83.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Flint, MI</td>
<td>88,356</td>
<td>323,136</td>
<td>436,141</td>
<td>81.2</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY</td>
<td>134,645</td>
<td>965,233</td>
<td>1,170,111</td>
<td>80.4</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>OH</td>
<td>412,782</td>
<td>1,697,660</td>
<td>2,250,871</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Saginaw-Bay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>City-Midland, MI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nassau-Suffolk, NY</td>
<td>223,122</td>
<td>2,105,352</td>
<td>2,753,913</td>
<td>78.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Johnstown, PA</td>
<td>5,492</td>
<td>223,066</td>
<td>232,621</td>
<td>78.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>St. Louis, MO-IL</td>
<td>474,549</td>
<td>2,014,776</td>
<td>2,603,607</td>
<td>78.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN</td>
<td>212,452</td>
<td>1,357,267</td>
<td>1,646,395</td>
<td>77.4</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Birmingham, AL</td>
<td>276,044</td>
<td>611,574</td>
<td>921,106</td>
<td>77.3</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Kankakee, IL</td>
<td>15,942</td>
<td>80,829</td>
<td>103,833</td>
<td>77.1</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Gadsden, AL</td>
<td>15,120</td>
<td>84,919</td>
<td>103,459</td>
<td>76.9</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Philadelphia, PA-NJ</td>
<td>1,008,173</td>
<td>3,583,090</td>
<td>5,100,983</td>
<td>76.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Bergen-Passaic, NJ</td>
<td>104,677</td>
<td>890,640</td>
<td>1,395,317</td>
<td>76.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Benton Harbor, MI</td>
<td>25,729</td>
<td>126,798</td>
<td>162,527</td>
<td>76.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Youngstown-Warren, OH</td>
<td>60,321</td>
<td>513,967</td>
<td>574,288</td>
<td>75.8</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Peoria-Pekin, IL</td>
<td>30,519</td>
<td>302,962</td>
<td>333,481</td>
<td>75.7</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Indianapolis, IN</td>
<td>222,577</td>
<td>1,299,311</td>
<td>1,521,888</td>
<td>75.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX</td>
<td>94,872</td>
<td>246,500</td>
<td>341,372</td>
<td>75.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Racial Segregation in Detroit (Census 2010)

Red = White
Blue = Black
Green = Asian
Orange = Hispanic
Yellow = Other

*each dot = 25 residents

Measuring Segregation

Index of dissimilarity

- Range from 0 (complete integration) to 100 (complete segregation)
  - value indicates the percentage of the minority group that needs to move to be distributed exactly like whites.

- A dissimilarity index value above 0.60 represents extremely high segregation
  - Ex: An index of 0.66 means that 66% of blacks would have to move to eliminate segregation

Sources: Williams and Collins 2001; Populations Studies Center: http://www.psc.isr.umich.edu/dis/census/segregation2010.html
School Resegregation

“Apartheid Schools”
- Schools where white population is 1 percent or less
- 15% of black students and 14% of Latino students attend “apartheid schools” (Civil Rights Project 2012)
- Most located in Northeast and Midwest, although approximately 12 percent of black students in the South attend these schools (Pro Publica 2014)
  - However, School resegregation for black students is increasing most dramatically in the South (Civil Rights Project 2012)
- “In districts released from desegregation orders between 1990 and 2011, 53 percent of black students now attend such schools, according to an analysis by ProPublica.”

Less Education, Worse Health

Less education is linked with worse health. Compared with college graduates, adults who have not finished high school are more than four times as likely to be in poor or fair health.

Prepared for the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation by the Center on Social Disparities in Health at the University of California, San Francisco.
*Age-adjusted

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Metropolitan area very preterm birth risk by isolation segregation for black and white women (Kramer et al, 2010)

- Singleton births to black and white women in 231 U.S. metropolitan statistical areas in 2000–2002
- Among black women, isolation is associated with very preterm birth and moderately preterm birth.
- No association between segregation and prematurity among white women.
- Isolation segregation explains 28% of the geographic variation in black-white very preterm birth disparities.
Housing Disparities and Blood Lead Levels

FIGURE 2—Percentage of children aged 6 years or younger with blood lead levels $\geq 10 \ \mu g/dL$: National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES), United States, 1976–2002.
Racial health disparities associated with residential segregation of African Americans include:

- Infectious disease and tuberculosis (Acevedo-Garcia, 2000; 2001)
- Cardiovascular disease (Cooper, 2001)
- Exposure to environmental toxins (Lopez, 2002)
- Death from homicide (Shihadeh & Maume, 1997)

Source: publichealthwatch.wordpress.com
“Racial segregation has created distinctive ecological environments for African Americans.” (Williams and Collins 2001)
How Residential Segregation Affects Health

Physical Environment: Neighborhood Quality

- Access to public and private transportation
- Exposure to personal and property crime
- High mobility
- Low occupancy rates
- High levels of abandoned buildings and grounds
- Larger numbers of commercial and industrial facilities
- Inadequate municipal services and amenities, including police and fire protection
How Residential Segregation Affects Health

Health Behaviors

• Lower physical activity levels
• Less consumption of healthy foods
  ▫ Less availability of fresh, healthy foods and poorer quality foods
• Alcohol and tobacco use
  ▫ Targeted marketing in poor, urban neighborhoods
  ▫ Coping mechanism for dealing with stress
How Residential Segregation Affects Health

Access to Health Care
• Health care facilities are more likely to close in poor and minority communities than in other areas
• Differential treatment

Exposure to Crime and Violence
• Segregation is positively associated with the risk of being a victim of homicide for blacks
  ▫ “Elevated rates of violent crime and homicide for African Americans are determined by the structural conditions of their residential contexts” (Williams and Collins 2001:411)
How Residential Segregation Affects Health

Physical Environment: Housing

- Crowding
- Substandard housing
- Elevated noise levels
- Inability to regulate temperature and humidity
- Elevated exposure to noxious pollutants and allergens (including lead, smog, particulates, and dust mites)