

REVIEWING SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION

CITY PROFILES

Liridona Velju Ashiku, Heather Price,
Carter Alvarado, and Jacob Nelson



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	2
Chicago.....	3
Detroit.....	5
Evanston.....	7
Madrid.....	9
Miami.....	11
Milan.....	13
St. Louis.....	15
Torino.....	17
Hong Kong.....	19

This document summarizes the history of segregation and its contemporary manifestations through policy and programs in some U.S. cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Evanston, Miami, and St. Louis. To indicate that segregation stretches beyond the United States and its history infamously embedded in slavery, the content stretches across the Atlantic presenting with examples in Europe and furthermore Asia. It aims not to indicate that these summaries communicate all there is to know about segregation in these cities. On the contrary, these summaries are only a steppingstone towards acknowledging that there is much more to know about segregation in these and many other cities around the world.

This work was commissioned as part of the German Marshall Fund's (GMF) Chicago-Turin lab project on addressing the costs of segregation through peer learning and exchange. Work commenced in January 2022 by a team(1) of undergraduate students at Loyola University Chicago that worked diligently throughout the 2022 Spring and Summer semester cultivating a library of relevant literature, literature reviews, and early drafts of the city profiles.

(1) The undergraduate students working on this document were Carter Alvarado and Jacob Nelson. Their work was supervised by Liridona Veliu Ashiku and Heather Price.

INTRODUCTION

Historic and Contemporary Segregation

Segregation in contemporary Chicago is severe, largely drawing its roots to the Great Migration (1910-1970) which saw large populations of Black people migrating North. With this, Chicago's demographics changed drastically. In 1930, Chicago's Black population was approximately 230,000 accounting for 7% of the city's population which 30 years later grew to 810,000 accounting for 23%.

Though racial tensions and segregation preceded the beginning of this migration period, tensions climaxed in the summer of 1919 when seventeen-year-old Eugene Williams died after inadvertently swimming across an invisible line that segregated Lake Michigan. William's death was at the hands of a group of White people who threw stones at him, causing him to drown. The murder of Eugene Williams sent the city into a week of chaos with 15 White people and 23 Black people being killed, as well as 195 White people and 342 Black people being injured (Cherone, 2022).



City of Chicago.

Photo by Amit Thakra from Prexels.com

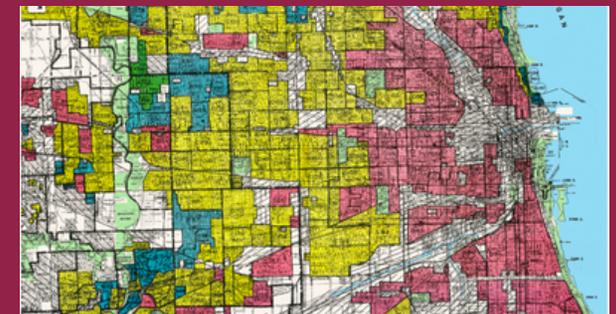


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Covenants

The violent clashes of early 20th century Chicago helped fuel White policymakers' demand for segregation as the Chicago Real Estate Board launched a campaign to cover the city in racially restrictive covenants. These racially restrictive covenants significantly limited spaces where Black Chicagoans could live, forcing them to live in already crowded areas south of downtown and on the city's west side (Cherone, 2022).

Compounding on the racially restrictive covenants which the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) created in 1934 to insure private mortgages, a set of maps was developed that placed Chicago's Black neighborhoods in the red with a D rating where no loans would be given to purchase homes. This process by the FHA would become known as redlining and it effectively destroyed the possibility of investment in Black communities as well as made half of all neighborhoods in Chicago off limits to Black people (Coates, 2014). The unwillingness and inability to invest in Black communities fueled crime and poverty as Black Chicagoans were blocked from building real estate wealth and joining the middle class.



Map of Chicago by LaDale Winling
from dsl.richmond.edu

Redlining

Restrictive racial covenants were ruled illegal by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1948 under violation of the 14th amendment but this would not end segregation in Chicago (Cherone, 2022). With redlining still segregating Chicago and making home financing more difficult for Black citizens, many Black people turned to predatory private lenders. Between the 1950s and 1960s it has been estimated that between 75% to 95% of homes purchased by Black people were bought on contract (George, Hendley, Macnamara, Perez, & Vaca, 2019).

These predatory contracts required large down payments on inflated prices that were on average 84% higher and monthly payments, while not allowing the buyer to gain any equity in the property till the contract was fully paid (Immergluck, 2018; George, Hendley, Macnamara, Perez, & Vaca, 2019). Research has estimated that between 75% to 95% of homes bought by Black people were bought on contract in the 1950s and 1960s. If 85% of homes bought by Black people were on contract in this period, then roughly 3.5 billion dollars of wealth has been stolen from Chicago's Black community (George, Hendley, Macnamara, Perez, & Vaca, 2019).



Photo of Chicago cityscape by Karl Solano from pexels.com.

Segregation Policies and Programs

Mayor Lori Lightfoot's election in 2019 marked a turning point in Chicago's work towards eradicating segregation as she was the first mayor to directly confront segregation while recognizing the government's role in creating and perpetrating it. Her work targeting residential segregation has centered on expanding the city's support for affordable housing throughout all areas of the city.

The mayor was able to overcome aldermanic prerogative, a precedent that gave aldermen the final word on housing in their wards, to greenlight an affordable housing project in the 41st ward where 80% of residents are White. In addition to this she has committed 750 million dollars to the INVEST South/West Initiative targeted to help the city's most segregated neighborhoods. However, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, her efforts have been complicated, disproportionately harming minority Chicago citizens and worsening the symptoms of segregation (Cherone, 2021).



Mayor Lori Lightfoot (elected 2019).
Photo from Chicago.gov

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Historic and Contemporary Segregation

The 2020 census data analyzed by the Othering and Belonging Institute (2020) has identified Detroit as the most segregated city in the United States and Detroit's metro area as the fourth most segregated metro area in the country. Like most northern cities, widespread segregation in Detroit began during the Great Migration. Beginning during World War I and continuing until deindustrialization in the late 1970s, the Great Migration saw an influx of Black people moving from the rural south to the industrializing north.

Detroit was one of the many industrializing northern cities that experienced a large increase in its Black population (Martin, 1993). When Black people arrived in Detroit, they encountered racial prejudice and violence from White people. They also joined an economy that was readily exploiting them through manipulative landlords and abusive employers. Widespread segregation between Black and White people within the city began immediately.

Detroit



Photo of the Ambassador International Bridge
by Shottbydani from Pexels.com.



Photo of the Cadillac Assembly Branch by Wikimedia Commons/Detroit Publishing Company
from onlyinyourstate.com.

Throughout the great migration, Detroit was the headquarters of auto manufacturing in the United States. During World War I, immigration slowed down significantly which meant labor demand was at an all-time high. This led to thousands of newly arrived Black people joining the auto industry. The racial discrimination continued at the factory jobs with Black people being forced into the unskilled, lowest-paid positions with the worst working conditions (Martin, 1993, pp. 15-16).

They were also not allowed in some of the auto workers' unions which prevented them from organizing against the bosses for higher wages and better working conditions (Sugrue, 2005, p. 93). This same racial prejudice and economic exploitation kept Black people segregated not only in the field of employment but also within Detroit's neighborhoods. Racial covenants and real estate codes were some of the ways that racial discrimination manifested in keeping Black and White neighborhoods segregated even if a Black person or family had enough income to move into a different neighborhood (Martin, 1993, p. 25).



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Deindustrialization

Thousands of Black and White people found employment and relative financial stability in the auto industry and other industrial jobs in the city. However, the 1950s were a turning point in Detroit's history, due to automation and most industry moving out of the city, Detroit lost 134,000 manufacturing jobs between 1947 and 1963. The economy suffered immensely from deindustrialization during this period, and it would never recover. The deindustrialization that brought Detroit to its knees also affected other cities that focused on industry like Pittsburgh, Chicago, Milwaukee, etc. (Sugrue, 2005, p. 13). However, those cities were able to reinvent themselves. They replaced heavy industry with other sectors that allowed the cities to maintain a somewhat reasonable level of employment and GDP. Detroit was not able to do this, as it was not able to keep its residents employed and financially stable.

This led to Detroit becoming an extreme example of urban collapse. In 1950, 1.8 million people lived in Detroit. However, over just 60 years Detroit lost 1.1 million residents and as of 2010, around 700 thousand people lived there (Kozlowski, 2021). This is a level of urban collapse that is completely unprecedented in U.S. history. The crisis that postwar Detroit experienced "emerged as the consequence of two of the most important, interrelated, and unresolved problems in American history: that capitalism generates economic inequality and that African Americans have disproportionately borne the impact of that inequality" (Sugrue, 2005, p. 5). Segregation between different Detroit neighborhoods is still prominent (Othering and Belonging Institute, 2020). However, since deindustrialization and White flight, segregation between the City of Detroit and the suburbs surrounding the city has become even more extreme since most of Detroit's White population has moved to the suburbs (Data USA, 2019).

Segregation Policies and Programs

Detroit's current mayor as of 2022, Mike Duggan, vowed to reverse Detroit's long history of segregation and destructive urban planning in a 2017 address. Duggan, who has been the city's mayor since 2014, plans to rebuild Detroit as a city for everyone. He promised to not support any renovation project that would result in displacing low-income residents and discussed how he is working to keep around 2,200 government-subsidized units that otherwise might become market-rate. Mayor Duggan also proposed that the city restrict tax incentives and other city assistance only to developments that put aside a minimum of 20% of their units for lower-income renters. Duggan blamed the federal government and its discriminatory policies for Detroit's post-war collapse and claimed that his administration is fighting to reverse the effects of those policies (Gallagher, 2017). While Mayor Duggan's speech sounded promising, three years after the speech Detroit is still the United States' most segregated city (Othering and Belonging Institute, 2020).



Mayor Mike Duggan, who was first elected in 2013 and reelected in 2017 and 2021. Photo from detroitmi.gov.

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Historic and Contemporary Segregation

Segregation in Evanston has a similar history to its neighbor city, Chicago, with the city's Black population significantly growing during the great migration and its institutionalized use of Redlining. Evanston's Black population grew from 125 in 1880 to 1,100 in 1910, then to 9,126 near the end of the great migration in 1960 (Gavin, 2019). However, by the start of the great migration, Evanston was already home to a well-established Black community, supplying labor demands by White elites and making personal ties with White families across the city. This well-established Black community and demand for Black labor differentiated Evanston from other suburban cities and towns to Chicago who sought to exclude Black residents altogether (Wiese, 1999).

Although Black residents would not be excluded from Evanston, they would be segregated to West Evanston and excluded from the rest of the city. The segregation process began in the city with a practice of informal racial zoning that was developed and promoted by White real estate brokers (Wiese, 1999). In addition to this practice Evanston banks largely refused to loan money to enable Black households to buy homes in areas that were not viewed as "acceptable" for Black people. Other early 20th century segregationary practices included White homeowners, racially restrictive housing covenants that restricted home sales to only White people, as well as the formation of the West Side Improvement Association that existed to buy homes which were at risk of being sold to a Black family (Robinson, 2013).



Photo of the Grosse Pointe Lighthouse from cityofevanston.org



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Redlining

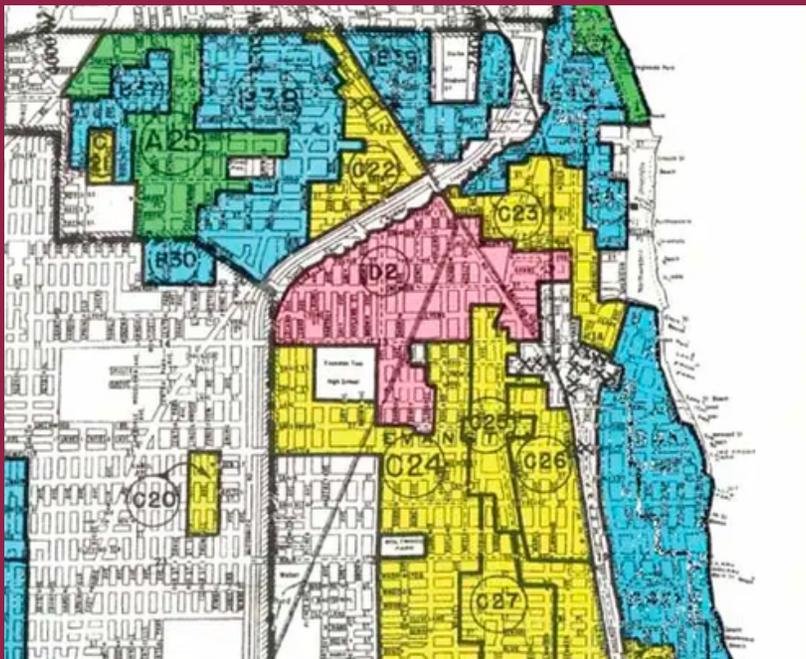
As the Black population continued to grow in the early 20th century, Evanston's Black residents became largely segregated into a triangular area within West Evanston with physical borders including canals to the north and west, as well as train tracks to the east. Within this triangular area, the housing supply for Black households would increase as White families left the area and construction saw new residences on previously vacant land (Robinson, 2013). By 1940, 84% of Black residents lived in the triangular area of the city and 95% of the residents of the area were Black (Wiese, 1999; Robinson, 2013).

Around this decade and with the Federal Housing Administration's inception in 1934, Redlining became another powerful tool to keep and further segregate Evanston. During this process, the triangular area within Evanston in which Black residents were segregated was colored red on housing maps and given a D rating, meaning that homes in the area were ineligible for a federal mortgage insurance. With demand increasing for Black housing and the supply constrained by Redlining and other segregation practices, Evanston's Black community became overcrowded by 150%, leaving most houses with more than one family living in them. Eventually, Evanston Black residents would begin moving out of the segregated triangular area in a block-by-block process to the area's south in the mid-20th century (Gavin, 2010).



Photo of the original Evanston Sanitarium, the first Black hospital by Shorefront Legacy Center from evanstonhistorycenter.org.

In 1964 following this gradual migration south and amid the civil rights movement, Evanston would launch a Community Relations Commission to explore desegregating housing. Through surveying its residents, the commission found that over half of the city's White residents preferred to live in a neighborhood that was 100% White and real estate brokers were refusing to list properties for homeowners that wanted to sell on a nondiscriminatory basis. Institutionalized segregationary housing practices in Evanston would largely end in the late 1960's with Evanston's City Council passing a housing ordinance in 1967 that prohibited brokers from discriminating or accepting discriminating listings as well as Congress's passing of the federal Fair Housing Act in 1968, which prohibited discrimination on the basis of race (Barr, 2014). However, these new anti-segregation policies did not end discrimination in Evanston and segregation is largely still felt today (Gavin, 2019).



Map of Evanston's neighborhoods in 1940 by the Home Owners Loan Corporation, with the Black community shaded red (D2) from evanstonroundtable.com.

Segregation Policies and Programs

Evanston has been proactive in addressing their segregation and racially discriminatory policies of the past by becoming the first U.S. city to issue reparations to its Black residents. The reparations program is meant to acknowledge and address the historical harm done to the city's Black residents through its discriminatory housing policies, with descendants of Black residents who lived in the city between 1919 and 1969 being prioritized. The \$10 million plan, funded by donations and taxes on recreational marijuana, is centered on housing with distribution of housing grants. As part of this, the first phase of the program included \$25,000 payments made to 16 selected residents for home repairs or property costs (Adams, 2021). These 16 residents selected in January of 2022 were out of the more than 600 people who had applied after the application opened in September 2021. With only 4% of the \$10 million spent on this phase there is more to be planned for the reparations program in the future that is contingent on community input (Jones, 2022). The reparations program has been criticized by some including Cicely Fleming, a Black alderwoman at the Evanston City Council who supports reparations. Fleming has criticized the program calling it "a housing plan dressed up as such" (Treisman, 2021) with too limited participation, autonomy, and scope that does not do enough to lay groundwork or longer-term efforts.

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Historic and Contemporary Segregation

Today, Spain's capital, Madrid, finds itself as the most segregated European city (Sorando, Uceda, & Domínguez, 2021). However, this was not always the case as Madrid experienced a decrease in segregation from 1981 to 1996 (Leal, 2004). The decrease in segregation within this period is attributed to complex urban change, in which the central areas where the middle class had settled since the 19th century became more diverse (Leal, 2004, p. 84). Segregation intensified in Madrid from 2001 to 2011 to its current levels due to two main factors: the real estate bubble, and an influx of a significant number of international immigrants (Bayona-i-Carrasco & Pujadas-i-Rúbies, 2014). The Spanish real estate bubble grew in the 2000s with housing prices increasing 155% before falling due to the 2008 financial crisis, resulting in evictions that have affected 400,000 families (Hadzelek & Prieto, 2012).

Madrid



Photo of the Metropolis Building by Javier Alonso from pexels.com.



Photo of buildings in Madrid by Andrés Garcia from pexels.com.

Beyond the real estate bubble, as of 2019 the foreign-born population in Madrid accounted for 22.2% of the population with over 700,000 immigrants in the city that has 3.2 million inhabitants. In recent years the largest influx of immigrating people has come from Venezuela, with the number of Venezuelans in Madrid tripling over a four-year span after 2015. Venezuelans, second only to Ecuadorians, now make up the second largest foreign community in Madrid (Cano, 2019). Population growth and economic growth in Madrid have stimulated gentrification in urban centers where its most diverse neighborhoods exist, as well as on the periphery (Sorando, Uceda, & Domínguez, 2021). Other elements that are factoring into segregation in Madrid are young natives moving into newly built peripheries as well as migrants moving outward of the city center in search of better housing conditions to homes left by native residents. This process has led to a centrifugal migration movement from the center into further distances in the metropolitan area (Arbaci, 2019).



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Segregation Policies and Programs

The city of Madrid has made no plans to counter segregation directly but has announced plans to update the city's planning codes that will affect segregation in the city. On June 30th, 2021, Madrid lawmakers announced plans to update the city through a slew of different initiatives. One of these new planning codes is to change comfort standards for homes while placing an emphasis on promoting outdoor space through balconies and patios. Another initiative is an investment of €180 million (\$214 million), towards public housing that would seek to build 1,200 units for low income and vulnerable populations. Beyond this, the city government announced plans to crack down on vacation rentals as well as encourage more co-living residences (Squires, 2021).



Photo of the Gardens of the San Lorenzo Monastery by Fátima Estévez López from pexels.com.

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Historic and Contemporary Segregation

Today, the Miami area is one of the most segregated metro areas in the United States. According to a study in 2020, the Miami metro area is the 6th most segregated metro area in the United States (Othering and Belonging Institute, 2020). Miami has widespread racial segregation between Black and White people. In addition to this Miami also has high levels of segregation among other ethnic minorities that rarely exists in other U.S. cities. As part of the Jim Crow South, racial segregation was prevalent there since the area first had a significant Black population. Black residents of Miami were segregated into the same neighborhoods, forced into inferior properties, and segregated from most businesses as was the case with all U.S. cities in the south (RHDM,2020).

Railroad Shop and Coconut Grove were two of the neighborhoods where many Black people were segregated during the Jim Crow years (Banchin, 2020). The “Overtown” neighborhood, which mostly consisted of shacks and slum housing, was where most of Dade county’s Black residents were settled when they arrived (Mohl, 2001, p. 320). Across the United States, redlining was used to segregate Black people from White people by assessing all Black neighborhoods as at risk for lending, and Miami was no different (Banchin, 2020). In addition to this, racial covenants, real estate codes, exclusionary zoning legislation, private discrimination, and violence from White people, enforced the segregation of Black and White communities throughout the 20th century in Miami (Martin, 1993; Massey & Denton, 1993; Seitles, 1998). In the 1930s, the Dade County Planning Board advocated for clearing slums, particularly Overtown (Banchin, 2020). As a part of this slum clearance, multiple prominent planning board members proposed to remove every single Black family from Miami’s city limits (Mohl, 2001). The board wanted to allow White elites to expand the central business district into neighborhoods occupied by Black people. Overtown did not change much until about 1950s. However, following the slum clearance plan other Black districts, particularly Railroad Shop, experienced Black people being forced out for White people to move in (Banchin, 2020).

Miami

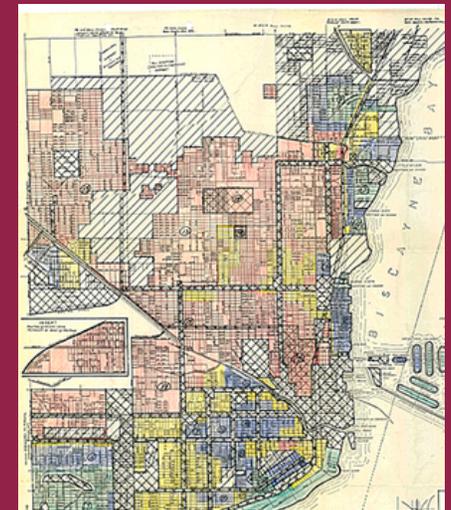


City of Miami.

Photo by Ana García Geng from Prexels.com

Displacement

In 1937, the public housing project Liberty Square was opened. Many residents of Overtown and Miami’s other Black neighborhoods were relocated or moved there, which was just outside the city limits at the time. Residents of a White neighborhood just to the east of Liberty Square demanded segregation. In 1939, the city commission decided to construct a six-foot-high wall separating Liberty Square from the White neighborhood (Banchin, 2020). This wall still stands today, although it no longer separates Black and White neighborhoods (Joseph, 2018). The Scott-Carver project was one of the largest projects in Florida. In 1999, after the condition of the project had deteriorated significantly, Dade County decided to demolish the project. This displaced all the 1,129 families who lived there. Ten years later the project’s replacement was built, and during those years, the county lost track of over half of the families. In the end, a small percentage of the displaced families moved into the mixed-income apartments and townhouses that replaced the project. Today, gentrification maintains the high level of segregation in Miami in that, instead of being forced out of neighborhoods by government decisions, White people move to the neighborhood in high numbers while making the area unaffordable and hence forcing Black and Brown people out (Banchin, 2020).



Map of 1930's post-depression Miami neighborhoods by Home Owners Loan Corporation from dsl.richmond.edu.



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Miami also has high levels of ethnic segregation among the large groups of Hispanic immigrants such as Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans who reside in Miami. It was found that within these Hispanic immigrant groups there is also segregation between White and Black Hispanics in addition to Black and White people overall. Non-Hispanic Black people are much more segregated from White Hispanics than they are from Black Hispanics. The segregation of neighborhoods is just one part of how Black and White Hispanics have been treated differently. Many White Cubans have experienced high levels of wealth since immigrating to Miami, unlike Black Cubans and Black Puerto Ricans (Aja, 2016). Black immigrant groups like Puerto Ricans and Haitians have also experienced frequent gentrification which, for example in Little Haiti, maintains the segregation of Hispanic and non-Hispanic Whites from African Americans, Black Hispanics, and Haitians (Banchin, 2020; Aja, 2016). This difference in segregation of housing and wealth shows that while ethnic segregation is very prevalent in Miami, racial segregation is still more extreme in terms of wealth and housing (Aja, 2016).



Photo of the Miami Hispanic Cultural Arts Center from miamihispanicculturalartscenter.org.

Segregation Policies and Programs

Currently, Dade County plans to redevelop multiple public housing projects in the area including Liberty Square. In 2019, phase one of redeveloping Liberty Square began which includes building 640 new public housing units and replacing 709 units. However, gentrification has continued with no opposition from the municipal government. As of 2019, a plan was approved to build a nearly 18-acre, high-rise mini-city in the heart of Little Haiti. Many argue that this development would lead to the displacement of thousands of households in the area. The local governments and state-level government of the Miami metro region continue to prioritize the needs of developers who often don't reside in the area, over the region's communities (Banchin, 2020).

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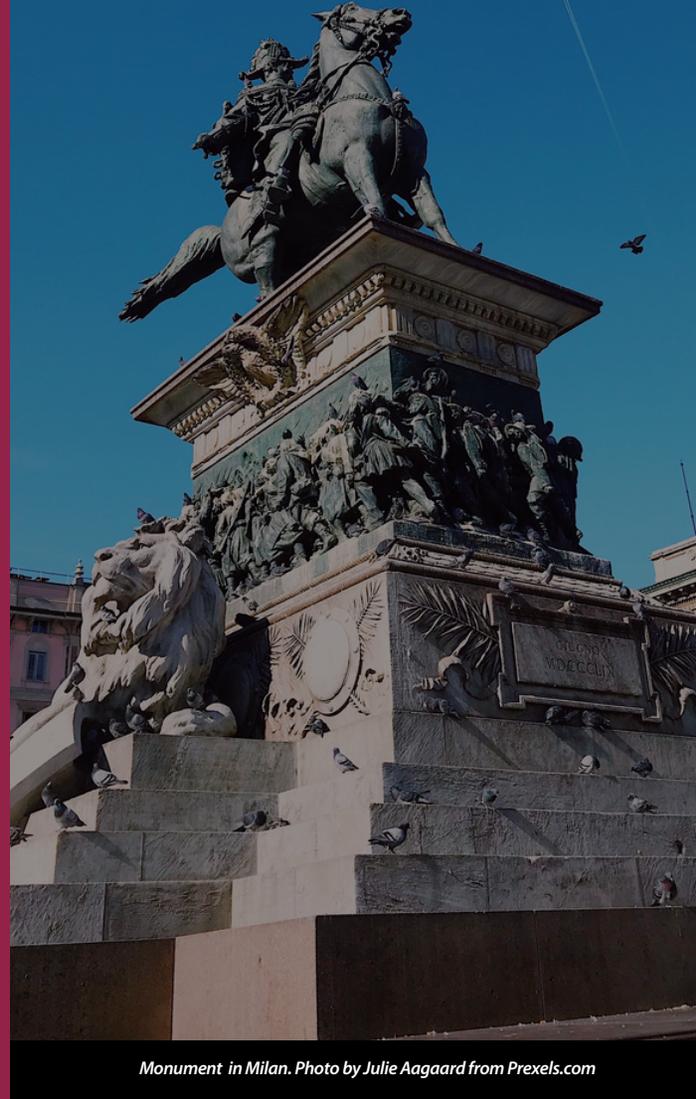
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Milan

Historic and Contemporary Segregation

Milan is the second-most populous city in Italy and the city with the second-largest foreign-born population (Artero & Chiodelli, 2019, p. 868). Milan has experienced an influx of immigrants in the recent decades which has led to xenophobic, Islamophobic, and racist discrimination against them (Hooper, 2009). This discrimination and the natural desire of immigrants to stick together in foreign countries has led to the spatial segregation of these immigrants (Artero & Chiodelli, 2019, p. 867). Racial, ethnic, class, and religious segregation are all present. Often these intersectional layers overlap since many immigrants that end up being segregated are neither White, Italian, or Christian.



Monument in Milan. Photo by Julie Aagaard from Prexels.com

Ethnic segregation is the most common factor for segregation in Milan. Milan has seen moderate-high levels of ethnic segregation with a concentration of migrants in the outskirts of the urban area. It was also found that Italy has a mild level of school segregation based on ethnicity and socio-economic class. Second to Naples, Milan is the Italian city with the most ethnically segregated schools (Piolatto, 2019, p. 17). While migrants are scattered in Milan and this results in comparatively low levels of segregation compared to other Italian cities, the level of segregation is still substantial (Piolatto, 2019, p. 80). The Roma people have been particularly segregated for a long period of time in Italy. Discrimination and segregation against them have been prevalent in Italy for centuries, since the Roman empire, and continues to this day (Graham-Harrison, 2018). Many live in designated settlements segregated from ethnically Italian neighborhoods (Italian Coalition for Civil Liberties and Rights, 2016).



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Segregation Policies and Programs

Since the influx of immigrants in Milan, there have been some racist attempts at purposefully segregating them. For example, in 2009, a representative of the anti-immigrant Northern League in Milan suggested that public transportation should be racially segregated with specific seats and carriages being reserved for White Italians. They cited the fact that in some areas Italians are becoming the minority as a reason for the explicit racial segregation (Hooper, 2009). Segregation and discrimination against Roma people continue in Italy with segregated camps for them still being continually built in Italy, while at the same time Italian police go about evicting many Roma camps and displacing the residents (Italian Coalition for Civil Liberties and Rights, 2016). The government has recently threatened thousands of Roman people in Italy with deportation (Graham-Harrison, 2018).



Photo of a tram in Milan by Nikola Čedíková from pexels.com

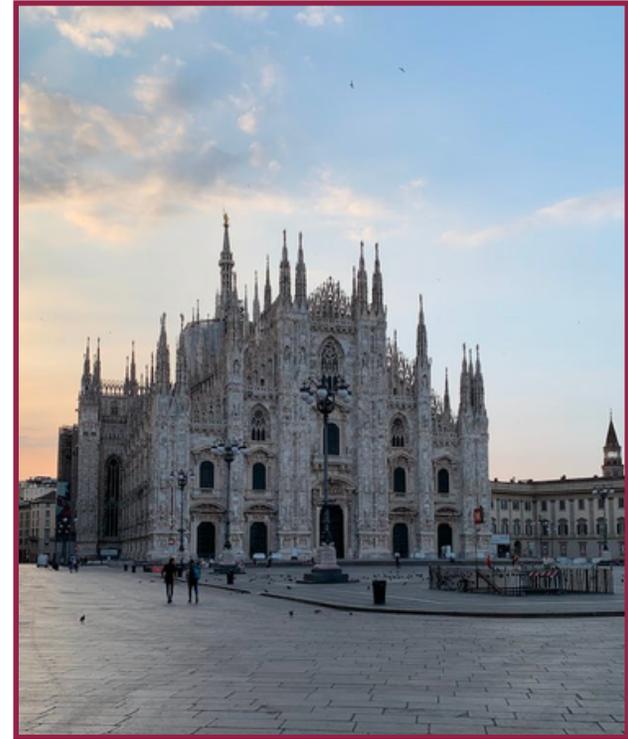


Photo of the Milan Cathedral by Marco Carlotti from pexels.com.

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Historic and Contemporary Segregation

St. Louis is a hyper-segregated city with 65% of the Black and White population having to relocate to end segregation. Within St. Louis segregation primarily occurs in a pattern of south and north relative to Delmar Boulevard. On the largely White south side of Delmar Boulevard residents have more than two times the income and four times higher property values than residents on the predominantly Black north side (Benton, 2017, p. 1113). In the early 20th century, the St. Louis government, spearheaded by the city planner Harland Bartholomew, effectively used zoning to segregate Black and White people. The zoning ensured that Black people were only legally allowed to live in densely populated neighborhoods in northern St. Louis. Bartholomew, St. Louis' city planner from 1918 to 1954, explicitly stated that the intent in zoning the city was to segregate Black and White people into different neighborhoods (Benton, 2017, p. 1121). Another prominent actor in the early segregation of St. Louis was the St. Louis Realtor Association. The realtors agreed to sell homes to Black people only in neighborhoods that were zoned for them. Realtors who did not cooperate risked losing their licenses and livelihoods.



St. Louis

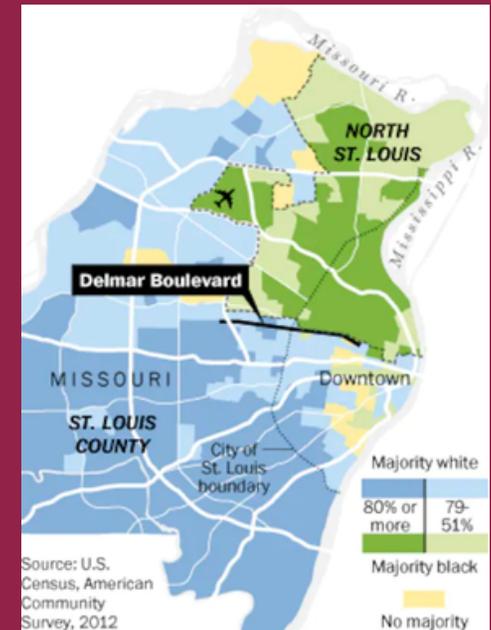
Photo of the St. Louis Arch by Federated Art from pexels.com.



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Delmar Boulevard

Like almost all metropolitan areas in the United States during the postwar period, St. Louis experienced a White flight from the city to the suburbs en masse. Between 1950 and 2000 the city lost half a million White residents (Benton, 2017, p. 1122; Sandoval, 2013). During this White flight, which was most intense from 1950 to 1980, St. Louis tried to reinvent itself through urban renewal. Central to this renewal was the clearance of slums and the devastation of many Black communities. This pushed Black residents into segregated communities and public housing as they could not move to the suburbs or the White neighborhoods of the city due to both economic and legal reasons. While public housing provided low-quality but affordable housing for many Black residents, it only exacerbated segregation along Delmar Boulevard (Benton, 2017, p. 1123). Today, the same Street that has divided St. Louis' Black and White population for over a century is still the line of segregation between the two races.



Map of the Delmar Divide from washingtonpost.com

The segregation of the St. Louis metropolitan area played a significant role in one of the country's most significant political and social events in the past decade, the killing of Michael Brown and the subsequent uprising of Ferguson's Black population. Through the 1960s, Ferguson was a sundown town. This means that after the sunset, no Black people were allowed to be in town. This was not an informal rule, the main road to the neighboring Black town would be blocked with a chain and construction materials at nighttime. During the postwar urban renewal in St. Louis, many Black people were displaced. This led to them moving to Ferguson and other northwest suburbs of the city and to Ferguson becoming a segregated town populated mostly by Black people (Rothstein, 2014).

This also led to all the government neglect and violence that the U.S. government has repeatedly directed toward Black communities which was exemplified in 2014 when an unarmed Black teenager named Michael Brown was killed by a White Ferguson police officer. The police left Brown's body lying in the street for four hours in the summer heat uncovered for all of residents to see. Multiple witnesses stated that Brown had his hands raised as the officer shot him multiple times. The town became engulfed in anti-police uprising in the months following the killing. During this, the national guard was called into Ferguson, and with aid of the police, repressed the protests with military-style gear, armored vehicles, body armor, and assault rifles. They used teargas, while brutally beating many people with clubs and violently arresting others (Everest, 2014). Although Michael Brown was an unarmed teenager, the police officer that killed him was not charged. This only confirmed the protester's accusations that the criminal justice system has a racial bias against Black people and in favor of White police officers (Rothstein, 2014).



Photo of Michael Brown from nbcnews.com.

Segregation Policies and Programs

In 2015, bill 260 was passed in St. Louis that made it illegal for a landlord to refuse a tenant's application who uses a housing voucher, marking for desegregation efforts. Yet a year later in 2016, the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency and the City of St. Louis announced they will be building a new 97-acre site in a historic north St. Louis neighborhood. All the residents in this neighborhood on the largely Black northside will be displaced by this project and will be forced to find new housing (Cambria, Fehler, Purnell, & Schmidt, 2018, p. 63). Further, the protests in response to Michael Brown's killing demanded police reform and a small number of politicians in the St. Louis region have promised reform. However, none have followed through as St. Louis police kill more civilians per capita than any other big department, and the St. Louis civilian oversight board that was set up as a post-Ferguson reform did not review any of the police killings in St. Louis from 2016 to 2019 (Freivgel & Sheffey, 2021).

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Historic and Contemporary Segregation

The city of Torino, Italy, has a long and fascinating history that spans millennia, with events of the last centuries affecting contemporary segregation of native and immigrant citizens. In 1861, Torino became the capital of the new kingdom of Italy after serving as a key city in Risorgimento, a movement for the unification and independence of Italy. The city would not serve as the Italian capital for long and instead transitioned into a major economic and industrial capital. This transition into a major economic center was propelled by Fiat and its first factory built in 1899 (Piedmont, n.d.). As a major economic hub, migrants from Italy flowed to work in the Fiat factories and other industries. However, the city and Fiat factories would be heavily damaged during World War II as Fiat was ordered to produce military technology for the army (World Travel Guide, n.d.).

Torino



Photo of the architecture In Torino by Antonio Filigno from pexels.com.

Following the War, Torino was one of the quickest cities to recover, driving the rest of the country's economic recovery through its automobile industry (World Travel Guide, n.d.). In this recovery the city gained a significant number of migrants from southern Italy (Piedmont, n.d.). Within this migration, migrants who settled in Torino were more likely to identify themselves as immigrants, opposed to any national or ethnic group. This sentiment has continued to the early 21st century as migrants continue to identify with each other based on common experiences with many immigrants describing to feel as outside of local networks and perceived as unwanted "strangers" (Merrill, 2007). Through migrants' significant role in the workforce, they have utilized unions in advocating for change. These trade unions have been successful in addressing problems as its benefits are seen to occur to all workers. However, they have been relatively insensitive to the problems targeting migrant populations specifically. Because of this, working conditions have dramatically improved for migrants while the social world that migrants experience performs and reproduces discrimination (Merill & Carter, 2002).



Photo of buildings in Turin by Lulo from pexels.com.



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Photo from the 2006 Winter Olympics opening ceremony In Torino
by Getty Images from olympics.com.

Contemporary Torino, following the crisis of the industrial economy, has made significant changes to reinvent itself past a one-company-town. These changes centered on a pro growth approach that heavily supported the development of leisure, entertainment, and tourist consumption. This rebranding has featured mega events such as the 2006 winter Olympic games as well as a significant development of night-life entertainment. In this support of night-life entertainment the city has developed neighborhoods with uneven distribution across the city, leading to areas that are exclusionary by only targeting a specific portion of the population. One neighborhood that this is evident in is San Salvario with its transformation from a history of mixed religion and class to its current state as a “trendy” district (Bolzoni, 2016). This transformation has affected spatial patterns as migrants have moved further from the clubs while university students have joined the area, fueling gentrification. Despite this, San Salvario still exists as a diverse and mixed neighborhood visible during the day, though at night segregation manifests through consumption as a form of social segregation (Bolzoni, 2016).

Segregation Policies and Programs

The government of Torino has been active in recent years in fighting segregation and racism. In March of 2020, Torino launched a public call to collect contributions and interest in involvement in a plan to fight segregation and discrimination. Through the public call the plan towards racial equity would be co-planned by 58 civic subjects including “a trade union, second-level networks, neighborhood centers, youth centers, religious and cultural associations, migrant communities, informal groups and cultural institutions”. This co-developed plan was approved by the city a year later as the “Pact of Common Good”. The plan serves a document containing a multitude of actions, projects, and commitments that guarantee a strategic approach with direct involvement of diverse communities and people. The actions apart of the plan fall into unique categories: events and initiatives, spaces, empowerment, access to service, education, and culture. With such recent creation and implantation, the success of this plan largely remains to be seen (Council of Europe, 2021). However, recent trends within the decade with increased immigration have heightened social tensions in the city (Cingolani, 2016).

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Historic and Contemporary Segregation

Segregation extends beyond Europe and the United States. An example to share is Hong Kong whose history is deeply intertwined with segregation. This segregation largely began in the 19th century when Hong Kong came under the rule of the British Crown through a series of “unequal treaties” (Wesley-Smith, 1998). Through this colonialism, Hong Kong’s way of life changed with a new rule of law and a free-market economy that is recognized by China in a treaty and constitution. The colonial influence heavily affected the pattern of settlements and physical built forms within the city, with its legacy lasting into contemporary society. The British authority created segregation first, by excluding Chinese people from certain districts and then by gradually making exclusion an overt statutory law. These statutory exclusion laws as well as contracts were initially written in architectural terms later expressly written in terms of ethnicity. Overt discriminatory laws and practices would be repealed in 1946, yet any ancillary laws that perpetuated segregation continued to exist. Notably, two of these ancillary laws are a restrictive covenant that specifies that a “European type house” (Lai, 2011) be built on certain lots and statutory grounds for refusing building permission for houses that are “incongruent” with the “immediate neighborhood”. These laws that often worked as a form of discriminatory zoning remain in effect today acting as powerful constraints over physical forms of development.



Photo of a street in Hong Kong by Jimmy Chan from pexels.com.

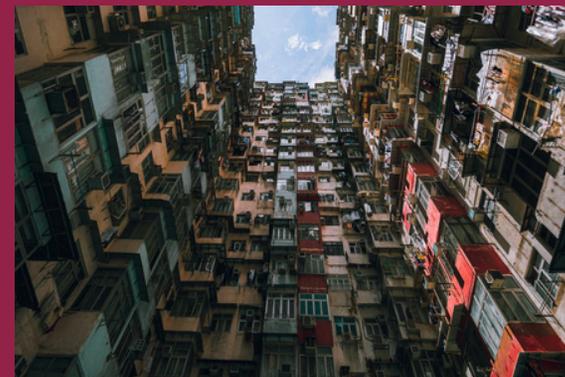


Photo of multi-structural building in Hong Kong by Aleksandar Pasaric from pexels.com.

In contemporary society, Hong Kong still deals with a substantial amount of segregation coming from discrimination, particularly against darker-skinned south and southeast Asians. Racial discrimination is in part due to the high level of racial homogeneity with 96% of the population being Chinese, excluding foreign domestic workers. Supporting this racial homogeneity is a slew of harsh immigration laws that make it harder for certain groups to naturalize. Discrimination is present in many facets of life, notably including the housing market and workplace. Landlords often refuse to rent to ethnic minorities, while “longer working hours, lower wages, unfair dismissals, and a lack of opportunity in career advancement” (Yeung, 2020) speak to discrimination in the workplace. This discrimination is based on stereotypes that portray “darker-skinned minorities as unclean, dangerous or untrustworthy” (Yeung, 2020) and which are reinforced by the media who emphasize and sensationalize crimes that are committed by ethnic minorities. In addition to this, racial discrimination that creates segregation is reflected through high levels of income inequality. Research on the connection between income inequality and segregation within Hong Kong has had mixed findings largely credited to the high density and mixed-use urban areas as well as ambiguous neighborhood borders (Reardon, et al., 2008; Forrest, Grange, & Yip, 2004; Ray Forrest, 2002). However, recent research has found that even with higher levels of inequality socioeconomic segregation is slightly lower in Hong Kong than in the average U.S. city (Monkkonen & Zhang, 2011).



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Segregation Policies and Programs

The government of Hong Kong has introduced policies and programs that have had both positive and negative impacts on segregation in the city. One of these policies was a program aimed to expand Chinese language learning for non-Chinese speaking students. Despite the intention of the program, it came under international scrutiny as it led to educational segregation with minority and Chinese students attending different schools. The program was suspended in 2014, yet educational segregation appears to be continuing. As of 2016, over 60% of ethnic minority students attend just 10 schools out of the 840. Another policy launched was the Racial Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) in 2008 that criminalizes racial discrimination and harassment. However, critics argue that the policy is full of loopholes as it is too focused on individual cases instead of systematic racism, and it excludes discrimination by law enforcement. The international community has continued to put pressure on Hong Kong with the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination urging the government in 2018 to amend the RDO to include the government and law enforcement. Months after this pressure, the government announced plans to spend 500 million Hong Kong dollars (64.5 million USD or 62 million EUR) on initiatives supporting minorities through social welfare and education sectors (Yeung, 2020).



Photo of people on a street in Hong Kong
by Jimmy Chan from pexels.com

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