The Integration Debate
Competing Futures for American Cities

Edited by
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Foreword xiii  
HENRY CISNEROS  

1 Integration Exhaustion, Race Fatigue, and the American Dream  
CHESTER HARTMAN AND GREGORY D. SQUIRES  
Reviews current debates over the merits of racial integration and current policy initiatives to desegregate the nation's metropolitan areas. Acknowledges continuing and wide-ranging costs of segregation (exacerbated by rising economic segregation) for those victimized by discriminatory processes, and identifies issues that will have to be addressed if the nation is to truly move towards more balanced and integrated living patterns.  

2 Welcome to the Neighborhood? The Persistence of Discrimination and Segregation  
SHANNA L. SMITH AND CATHY CLOUD  
Outlines how the federal Fair Housing Act could be utilized as a valuable tool to promote integration but has not been properly enforced; explains how the creation of diverse communities has been inhibited by discriminatory actions on the part of the real estate community; and provides information about steps that have been and could be taken to achieve neighborhood integration.  

3 From Segregation to Integration: How Do We Get There?  
NANCY A. DENTON  
Outlines the increasing diversity of the U.S. population, including how it varies by age, metropolitan area, and region; argues that these demographic changes could foster integration if we have place-specific policies that can take advantage of them; and discusses how moving from segregation to integration is a process which must begin with examination of the types of neighborhoods that actually exist, not segregation indices.
4 Creating and Protecting Prointegration Programs Under the Fair Housing Act
JOHN P. RELMAN, GLENN SCHLACTUS, AND SHALINI GOEL
Examines judicial responses to different strategies that have been employed to promote and maintain integrated communities; identifies types of strategies and situations where prointegration programs are most likely to be upheld by the courts; illuminates the relevant legal considerations by closely examining how courts might respond to a creative prointegration program in Ohio that has not been challenged.

5 Achieving Integration Through Private Litigation
MICHAEL P. SENG AND F. WILLIS CARUSO
Traces how private litigation has been a primary vehicle for enforcement of the substantive provisions of the Fair Housing Act; reviews the limitations of lawsuits in removing the structural barriers to fair housing in our society; and recommends statutory and regulatory reforms that would make litigation a better tool to achieve integration.

6 Constitutional and Statutory Mandates for Residential Racial Integration and the Validity of Race-Conscious, Affirmative Action to Achieve It
FLORENCE WAGMAN ROISMAN
Reviews the inconsistent treatment of race-conscious government actions since the 1940s, focusing on affirmative, race-conscious conduct designed to promote housing integration. Discusses the 1866 and 1968/1988 federal fair housing acts and their authority in the Thirteenth Amendment, and considers ways in which the Thirteenth Amendment allows broader scope than might be warranted for statutes rooted only in the Fourteenth Amendment.

7 Housing Mobility: A Civil Right
ELIZABETH K. JULIAN AND DEMETRIA L. MCCAIN
Argues that housing mobility is a remedy for the Constitutional violation of racial segregation in federally-assisted housing programs; proposes statutory language giving individuals the power to assert that right on their own behalf; and describes how the Dallas housing mobility program operated by the authors’ nonprofit organization works.

8 Desegregated Schools With Segregated Education
WILLIAM A. DARITY, JR. AND ALICIA JOLLA
Reviews how educational inequities are no longer solely shaped by residential segregation but are increasingly based on differential access to quality instruction and curricula within schools, selectively determined by race. Effective alternatives include evidence from an urban elementary school that challenged this tendency by expanding access to its gifted and talented program and from Project Bright Idea, a K-2 critical thinking curriculum.
9 The Effects of Housing Market Discrimination on Earnings Inequality
SAMUEL L. MYERS, JR., WILLIAM A. DARITY, JR., AND KRIS MARSH
Examines the empirical relationship between residential segregation in a metropolitan area and racial wage disparities in the same metropolitan area; details the correlation between loan denial rates and racial wage disparities in MSAs and accounts for competing factors explaining these patterns; concludes that eradicating residential segregation or diminishing racial gaps in loan denials will not have any immediate impact on narrowing earnings gaps.

10 Racial/Ethnic Integration and Child Health Disparities
DOLORES ACEVEDO-GARCIA, THERESA L. OSYPUK, AND NANCY MCARDLE
Discusses the effects of neighborhood environment on child health and development. Examines the extent of racial/ethnic disparities in neighborhood environment—a result of residential segregation—facing U.S. children, and their implications for racial/ethnic disparities in child health and development and along the life course.

11 Integration, Segregation, and the Racial Wealth Gap
GEORGE LIPSITZ AND MELVIN L. OLIVER
Examines how housing discrimination has allowed whites to "lock in" advantages of homeownership and its attendant subsidies while limiting the ability of African Americans to accumulate wealth. Explains how government and financial institutions have conspired to limit and even "strip" hard-gained home equity from Black and other minority communities, most recently evidenced by the racial effects of the subprime mortgage crisis. Remedies should include asset-building strategies for individuals, but also adequate government investments in Black communities capable of addressing the cumulative, collective, and continuing costs of discrimination and segregation.

12 Two-Tiered Justice: Race, Class, and Crime Policy
MARC MAUER
Analyzes the forces in recent decades that have produced a "race to incarcerate" resulting in a world-record prison population in the U.S.; and assesses the intersection of policy changes in criminal justice with the dynamics of a segregated society, including racially biased law enforcement practices and disproportionate imprisonment for people of color that in turn results in declining life prospects and political influence.

13 Residential Mobility, Neighborhoods, and Poverty: Results from the Chicago Gautreaux Program and the Moving to Opportunity Experiment
STEFANIE DELUCA AND JAMES E. ROSENBAUM
Examines how residential mobility may impact the experiences and outcomes of low-income black families. Reviews small and large studies of the Gautreaux program, showing its impact on education, jobs, integration, and long-term residential location. While MTO attempted to improve upon Gautreaux, analyses indicate that it provided a stronger research design, but a weaker mobility program. Discusses implications for the design of subsequent residential mobility programs.

14 The Ghetto Game: Apartheid and the Developer’s Imperative in Postindustrial American Cities
MINDY THOMPSON FULLILOVE, LOURDES HERNÁNDEZ-CORDERO, AND ROBERT E. FULLILOVE
Reviews the series of urban policies that have led to displacement: segregation, redlining, urban renewal, catastrophic disinvestment/planned shrinkage, HOPE VI, gentrification, and others. Proposes that tools of urban design have a repairing role to play. Reviews the work and ideas of renowned French urbanist Michel Cantal-Dupart.

15 The Myth of Concentrated Poverty
STEPHEN STEINBERG
Challenges the validity and political uses of the concept of “concentrated poverty.” Research has failed to prove the two core assumptions—that concentration per se exacerbates the negative effects of poverty, and that deconcentration of poverty is beneficial for the poor. This dubious theory, moreover, is deployed when poor minorities occupy urban space that is ripe for gentrification, and has provided moral and intellectual justification for the demolition of public housing under the HOPE VI program.

16 Integration: Solving the Wrong Problem
JANET L. SMITH
Examines the limits to past and current integration strategies; offers a framework that builds on a human rights agenda and on the Right to the City movement in order to demonstrate how critical it is to look beyond trying to attain some end (integration) and instead focus on reducing racism and eliminating policies that privilege the white position.

17 The Legacy of Segregation: Smashing Through the Generations
ROGER WILKINS
Delineates the self-replicating phenomenon of black urban poverty, which is older than the nation itself. Discusses the psychic, physical, and economic brutality employed to make slaves out of black human beings and how shunning (separating and segregating) removed most blacks from the richness of life and served to pump the pride in whiteness to grotesque proportions that led from denial of education to the campaign of lynchings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Describes how this enduring American cultural trait (without the lynchings) has created toxic and impoverished...
black communities—even after all of the civil rights and uplift activity of mid-twentieth century America. The result is compacted poverty in urban areas that can be deadly to children born into it, whether death comes from early criminality, illiteracy, from a bullet or disease. The result is not simply an American dilemma, but an American disgrace.

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