

KIRWAN INSTITUTE
for the Study of Race and Ethnicity

HISTORY MATTERS: RACE, PLACE & HEALTH EQUITY

“A NEIGHBORHOOD’S LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE”

Presentation to:

The Ohio Collaborative to Prevent Infant Mortality

Quarterly Meeting – June 5th 2014

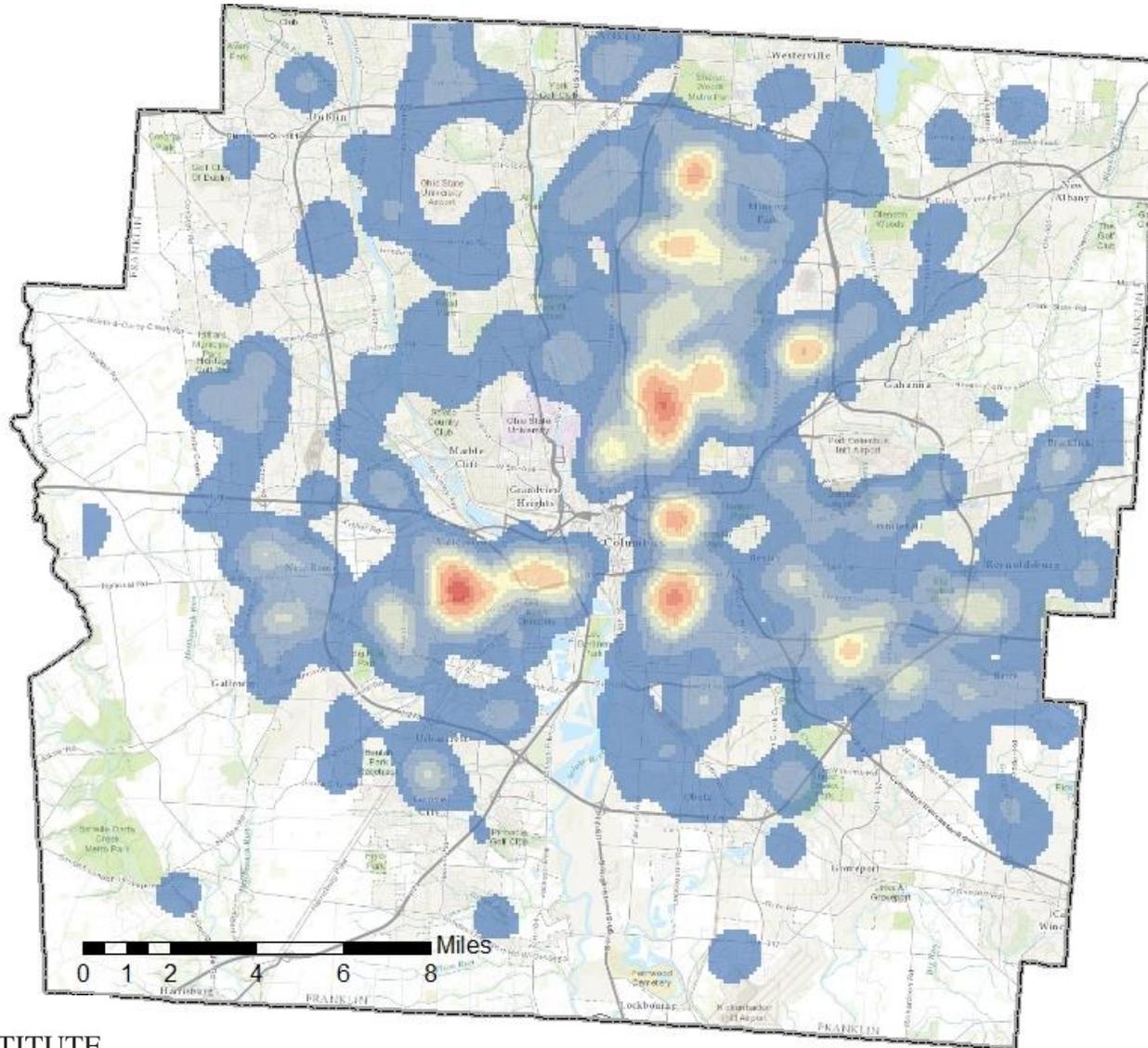
Columbus, OH

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INFANT MORTALITY HEALTH "HOT SPOT" MAP: NUMBER OF INFANT DEATHS PER SQUARE MILE

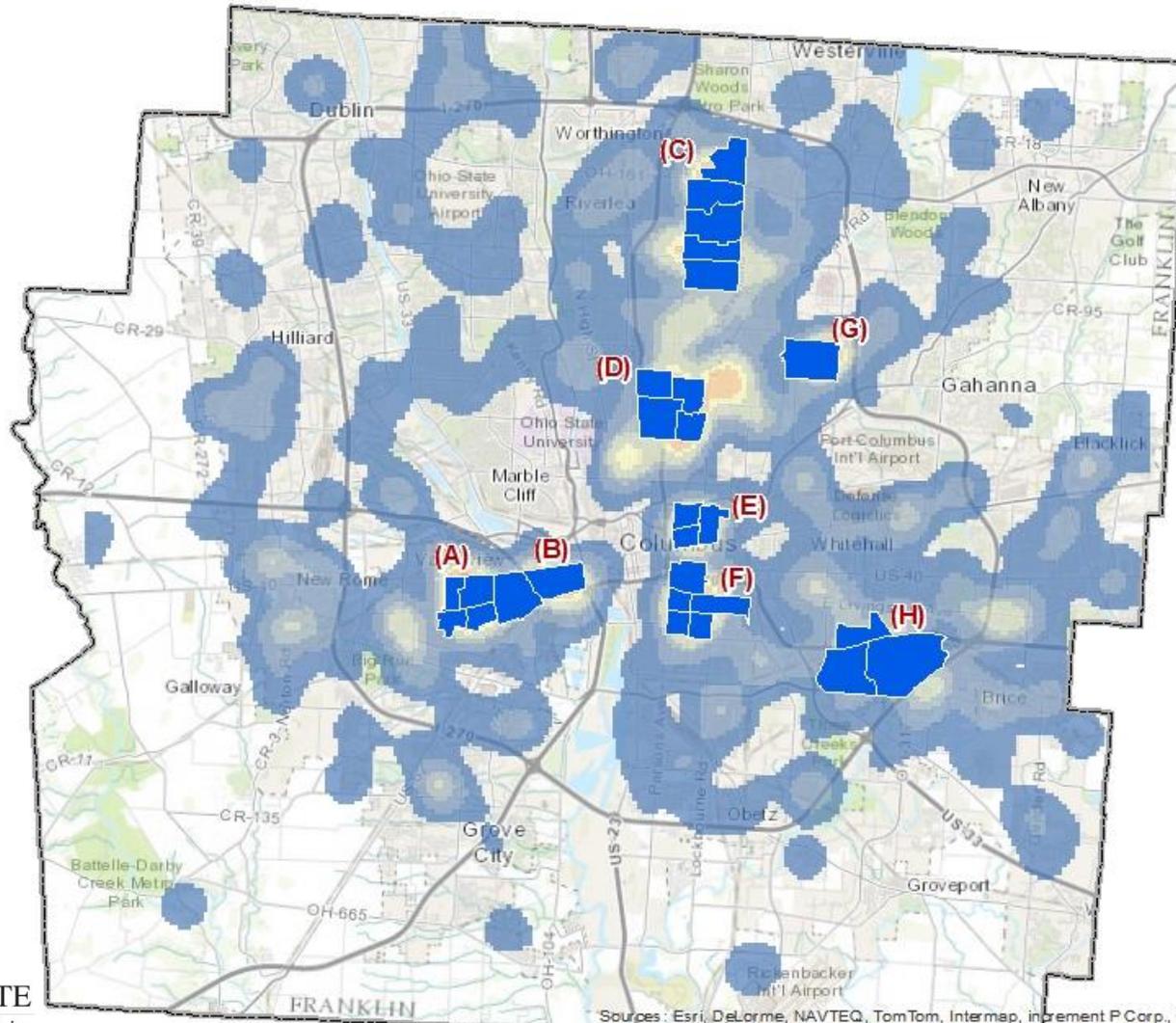


Franklin County Infant
Deaths, 2007-2011



INFANT MORTALITY HOT SPOTS: NEIGHBORHOOD LOCATIONS

*(WHAT IS THE HISTORY OF THESE NEIGHBORHOODS? HOW DID THEY FALL INTO DISTRESS?
WHAT ROLE DID POLICY PLAY IN SHAPING THESE NEIGHBORHOODS AND PATTERNS OF SEGREGATION?)*



- A: Hilltop
- B: Franklinton
- C: Morse/161
- D: South Linden
- E: Near East
- F: Near South
- G: Northeast
- H: Southeast

Sources: Esri, DeLorme, NAVTEQ, TomTom, Intermap, increment P Corp., GEBCO, USGS, FAO, MFS, JRCAN, GeoBase, IGN, Kadaster NL, Ordnance Survey, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), Swisstopo, and the GIS User Community.
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“The proposed mall will wipe out this squalid neighborhood, and in its place provide a park and some of the best building sites in the city”

- Understanding today’s environmental landscape and built environment requires historical context
- There were a number of development practices and policies which have shaped our current built environment and human settlement patterns
- Today’s built environment is not a “natural landscape” but is influenced deeply by these development practices

THE IMPORTANCE OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT HISTORY



- Racial and social exclusion, and exploitation were primary driving forces in 20th century urban development
- When we look at today's landscape of inequality, we must understand the historical drivers which created this landscape
- These factors have strongly influenced current conditions and have direct policy implications for today

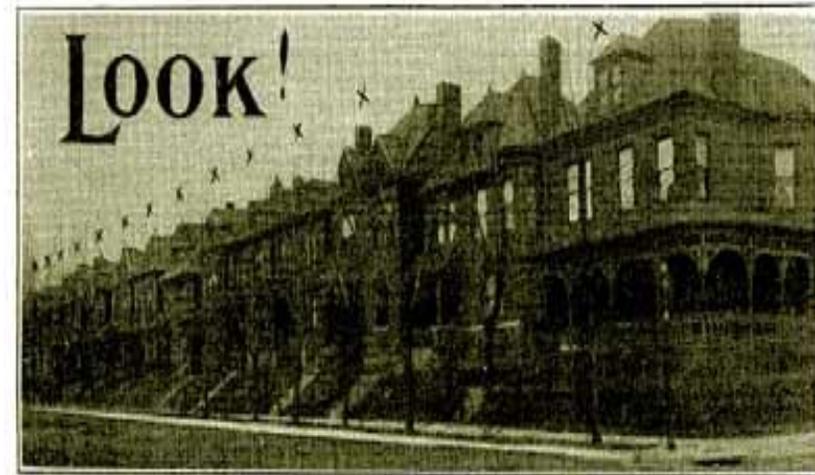
UNDERSTANDING OUR CONFLICTED HISTORY OF RACE, CLASS & REAL ESTATE

DRIVERS OF RACIAL SEGREGATION AND OPPORTUNITY ISOLATION FOR COMMUNITIES OF COLOR



RACIAL ZONING, EXPULSIVE ZONING, EXCLUSIONARY ZONING

- Zoning used to prevent certain populations from living in a community
 - Protect economic interests of communities
- Great Migration and Urbanization
 - Cleveland's African American population grows from 8,500 to 72,000 between 1910 and 1930
- Racial Zoning was struck down in 1917, but the racist character persisted
 - Aggressive use of racially/ethnically restrictive covenants
 - Expulsive zoning: Undesirable land uses targeted to low income and or racial/ethnic communities
 - Use of zoning to restrict specific housing types



LOOK At These Homes NOW!

An entire block ruined by negro invasion. Every house marked "X" now occupied by negroes. ACTUAL PHOTOGRAPH OF 4300 WEST BELLE PLACE.

SAVE YOUR HOME! VOTE FOR SEGREGATION!



Baltimore Racial Zoning Campaign
Advertisement

COVENANTS IN OHIO & CLEVELAND

- Covenants were prolific throughout Ohio's major urban areas
 - A study of Columbus developments from 1921 to 1935 found 67 of 101 (or 67% of all) subdivisions platted & developed during this time to included restrictive covenants
- In Cleveland, According to an NAACP branch report:
 - By 1914 Cleveland housing exhibited *“a noticeable tendency toward inserting clauses in real estate deeds restricting the transfer of the property to **colored people, Jews, and foreigners generally.**”*
 - Source: African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio, 1915-1930.

None of the said lands, interests therein or improvements thereon shall be sold, resold, conveyed, leased, rented to or in any way used, occupied or acquired by any person of Negro blood or to any person of the Semitic race, blood, or origin which racial description shall be deemed to include Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Persians or Syrians.

JEWISH
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
GREATER WASHINGTON

COVENANTS IN CLEVELAND

- **Case Study: Shaker Heights & Forest Hill**
 - *“surroundings ... where your neighbors are inevitably people of tastes in common with yours The careful restrictions placed on Forest Hill today will never be lowered.”*
 - Advertisement by Abeyton Realty, developer of the Forest Hill allotment in Cleveland Heights 1929
- Covenants in Shaker Heights and Forest Hill often did not specify racial restrictions, but required the consent of the developer and neighbors to sell
- Shaker Heights neighborhood associations and developers aggressively pushed covenants
 - *“ever-present menace to every resident of Shaker Village and throughout Cleveland.... Unless a street is 100% signed up for restrictions, ... the danger of an undesirable neighbor is an ever-present one.”*
 - Shaker Heights Protective Association 1925

A NUMBER OF FEDERAL POLICIES WOULD RADICALLY RESHAPE URBAN AMERICA

The Build Out of Suburbia

- The FHA and the creation of the standard mortgage 1934
- The GI Bill 1944
- Federal Highway Act 1953
- Infrastructure Subsidizes for New Suburbs



The Demolition of Urban Areas

- Urban Renewal 1949
- High rise public housing
- Berman v Parker (1954): Justification of using eminent domain for blight removal
- Federal Highway Act 1953
- Dismantling of street car systems

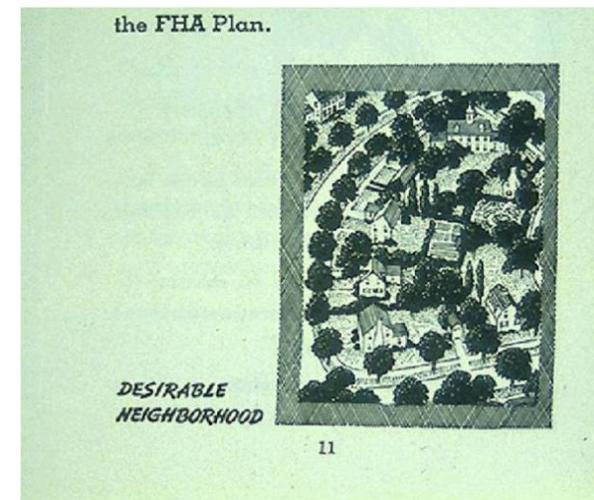


SUBURBAN GROWTH & RACE

- New developments restricted to communities of color & African American communities redlined
- In the prime suburb-shaping years (1930-1960)
 - Less than one-percent of all African Americans were able to obtain a mortgage
- Formation of “White” America
 - Suburbia becomes the first space in which White ethnic identities dissolve

“If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes. A change in social or racial occupancy generally contributes to instability and a decline in values.”

–Excerpt from the 1947 FHA underwriting manual



URBAN RENEWAL & RACE

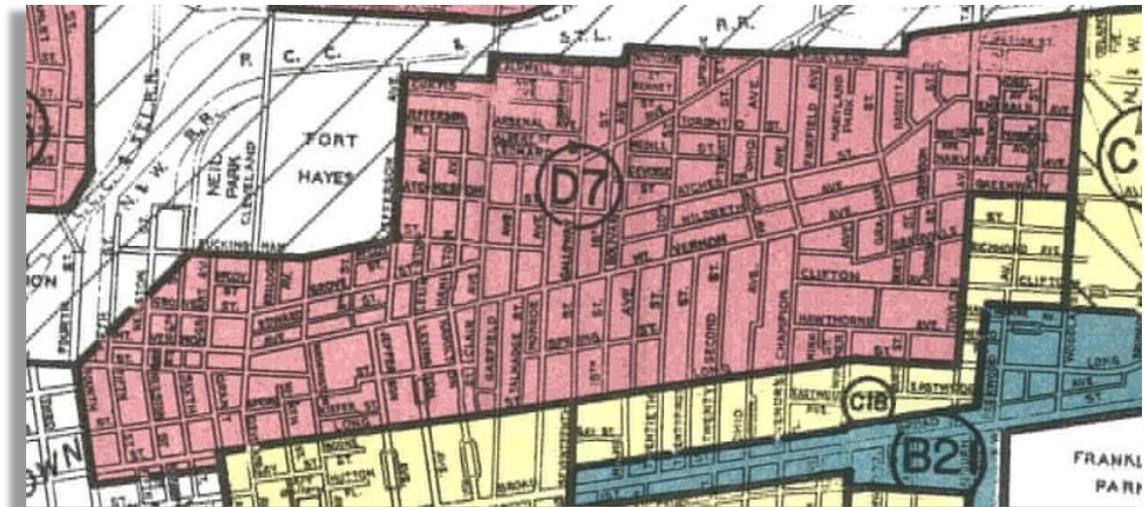
- Renewal projects predominately impacted poor communities and racial and ethnic communities
 - 2/3's of displaced were African American or Latino
- Massive displacement
 - E.g. Atlanta (1 in 9 people in the city displaced)
 - Financial and psychological impacts from relocation
- People of color relocated into already overcrowded areas and new areas of high density public housing
- More homes destroyed than those rebuilt
 - 90% of housing destroyed was not replaced
- Coordinated with highway construction which obliterated many neighborhoods
 - Cincinnati (West Side)
 - Columbus (Fly Town, Bronzeville, Milorogan, Hanford Village)



REDLINING: 1930'S TO 1970

- The FHA explicitly practiced a policy of “redlining” when determining which neighborhoods to approve mortgages in. Redlining is the practice of denying or limiting financial services to certain neighborhoods based on racial or ethnic composition without regard to the residents’ qualifications or creditworthiness. The term “redlining” refers to the practice of using a red line on a map to delineate the area where financial institutions would not invest.

- The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston



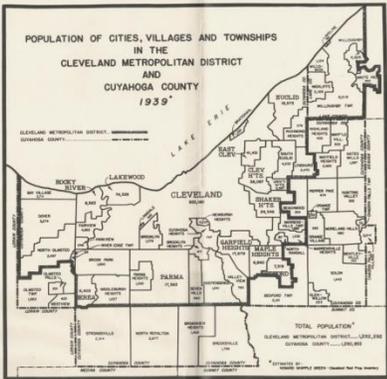
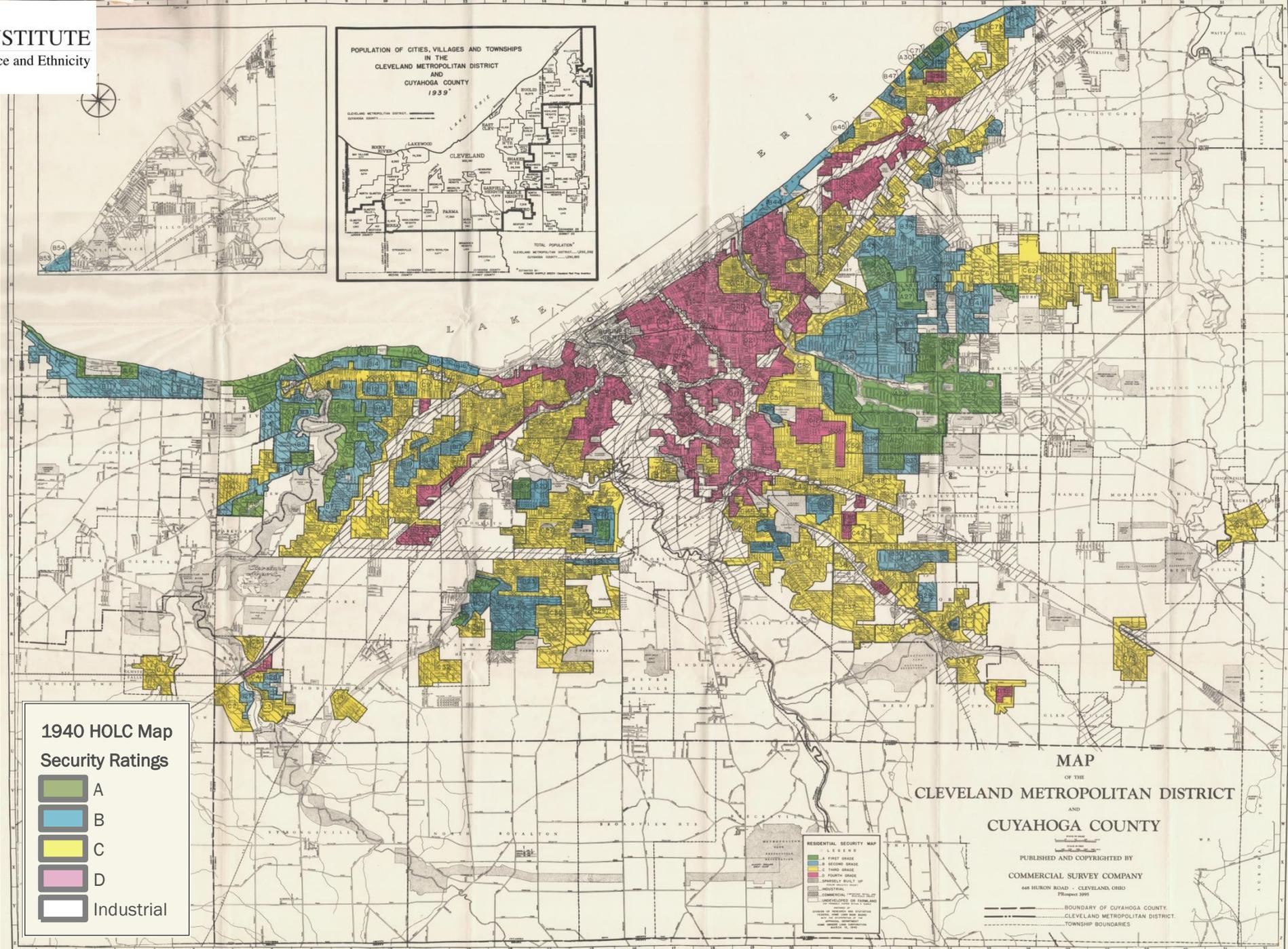
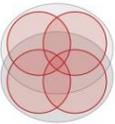
HOLC NEIGHBORHOOD ASSESSMENTS

1. POPULATION: a. Increasing _____ Decreasing _____ Static X
b. Class and Occupation Laborers
c. Foreign Families _____ % Nationalities _____ — d. Negro 100%
e. Shifting or Infiltration none

8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA: This small totally colored community was result of an independent movement and development surrounding the construction of their church in this area some 25 yrs. ago. No streets are paved and lack of maintenance through the years has given this area its name of "Shantytown". Presence of this community has had a very detrimental effect on surrounding area property values, particularly to the immediate south. Utilities are available to area. This section is now about 75-80% built up and, apparently, is solidly entrenched, in fact this area, prior to Miles Heights annexation to Cleveland in 1932, was able to elect a negro as Mayor of Miles Heights.

Area will remain static but may spread into Garfield Heights (S.W.) if the purchasing power of the colored residents increases enough to buy this property, (lying to south) now in the \$1800-\$3500 bracket which has virtually no market for white due to proximity to this colored neighborhood.

9. LOCATION Cleveland (East Side) SECURITY GRADE 4th AREA NO D-10 DATE 9/9/39
"Shantytown" (formerly part of Miles Heights)



**1940 HOLC Map
Security Ratings**

- A
- B
- C
- D
- Industrial

RESIDENTIAL SECURITY MAP

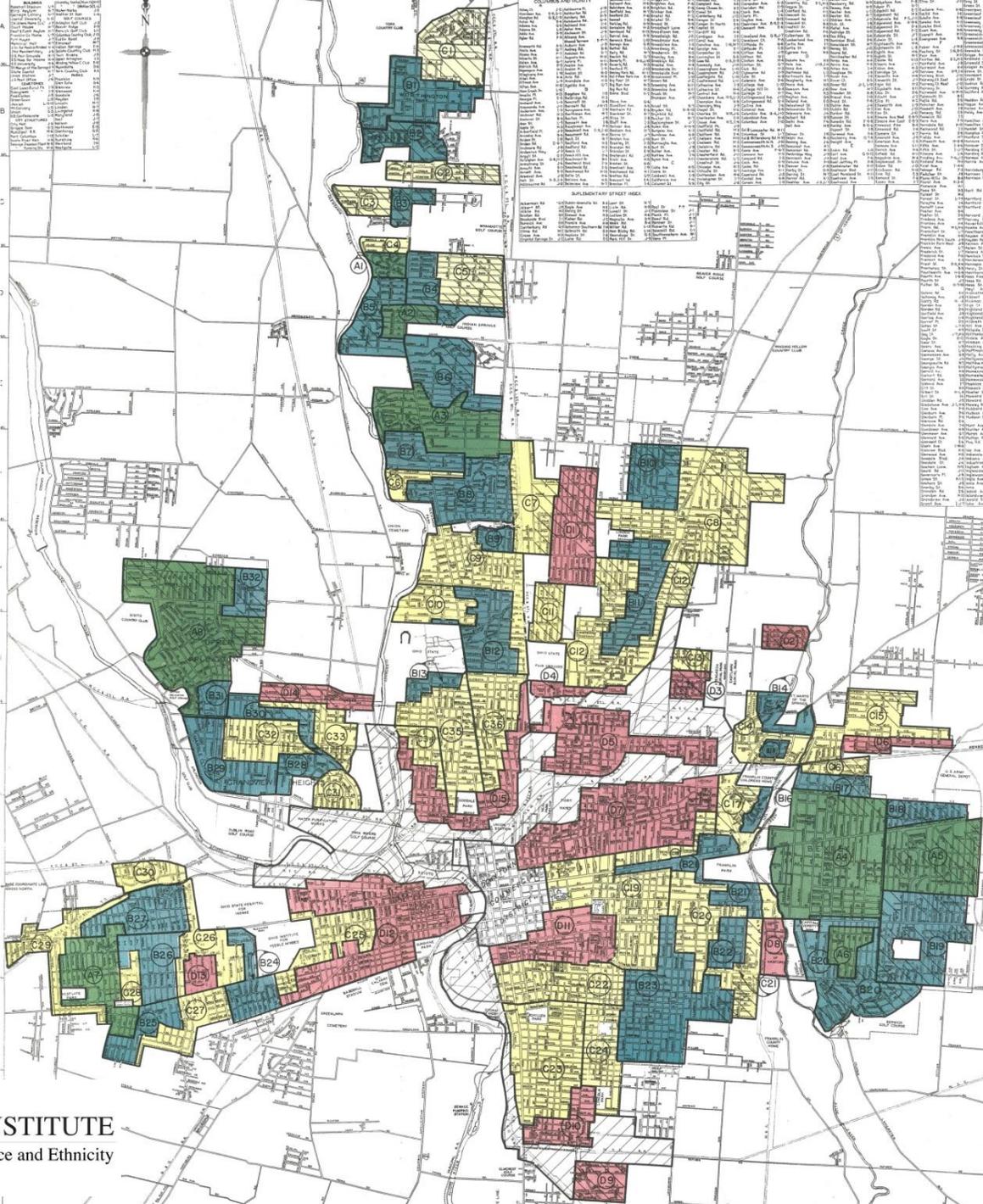
- A FIRST GRADE
- B SECOND GRADE
- C THIRD GRADE
- D FOURTH GRADE
- UNDESIRABLE

COMMERCIAL
UNDEVELOPED OR FRESHLAND

MAP
OF THE
CLEVELAND METROPOLITAN DISTRICT
AND
CUYAHOGA COUNTY

PUBLISHED AND COPYRIGHTED BY
COMMERCIAL SURVEY COMPANY
648 HURON ROAD - CLEVELAND, OHIO
1940: 3995

--- BOUNDARY OF CUYAHOGA COUNTY
- - - - - CLEVELAND METROPOLITAN DISTRICT
- - - - - TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES



RESIDENTIAL SECURITY MAP

— L E G E N D —

-  A - FIRST GRADE
-  B - SECOND GRADE
-  C - THIRD GRADE
-  D - FOURTH GRADE
-  SPARSELY SETTLED (Color Indicates Grade)
-  INDUSTRIAL
-  UNDEVELOPED or FARM LAND
(NO PROBABLE CHANGE WITHIN 5 YEARS)

PREPARED BY
 DIVISION OF RESEARCH & STATISTICS
 WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE APPRAISAL DEPARTMENT
 HOME OWNERS' LOAN CORPORATION FEB. 19, 1936

MAP OF
COLUMBUS
OHIO
 AND VICINITY
 1936



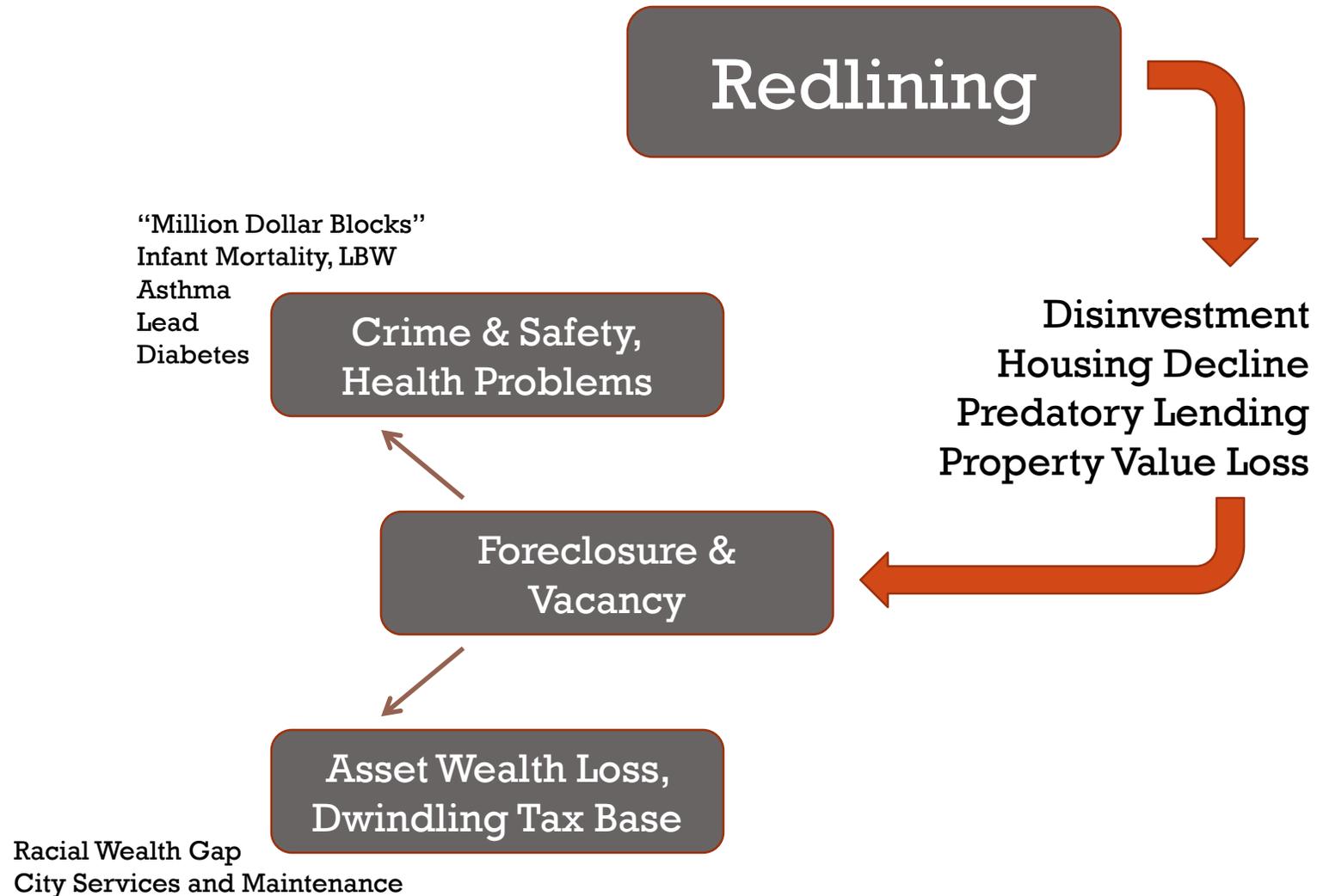
SCALE
 0 1500 FT. 3000 FT. 4500 FT.
 ONE MILE

B. GESSAMAN
 MAYOR

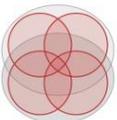
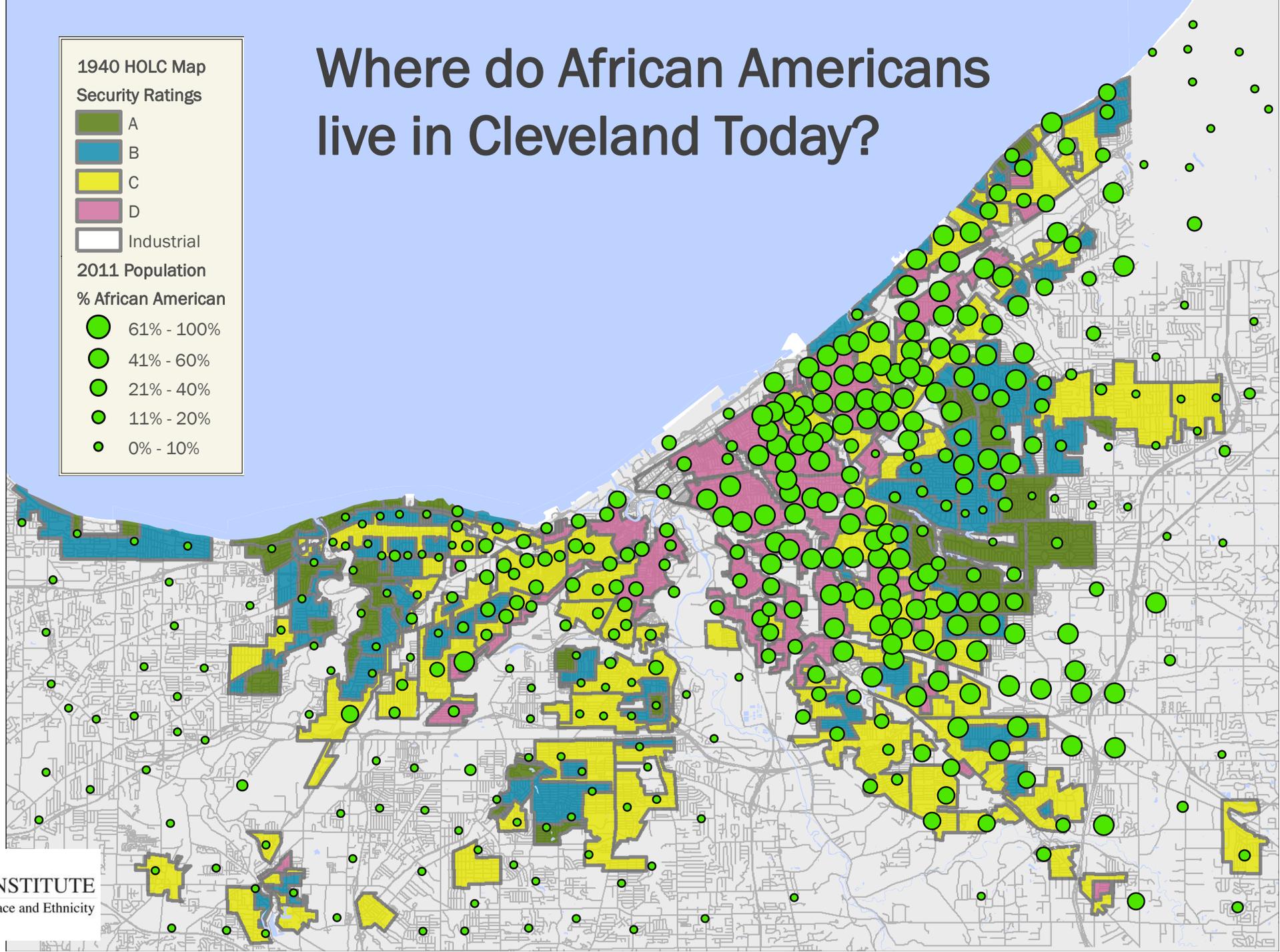
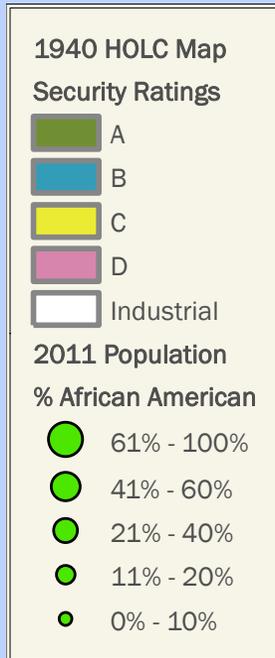
PAUL W. MAETZEL
 CITY ENGINEER

LLEWELYN LEWIS
 DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC SERVICE

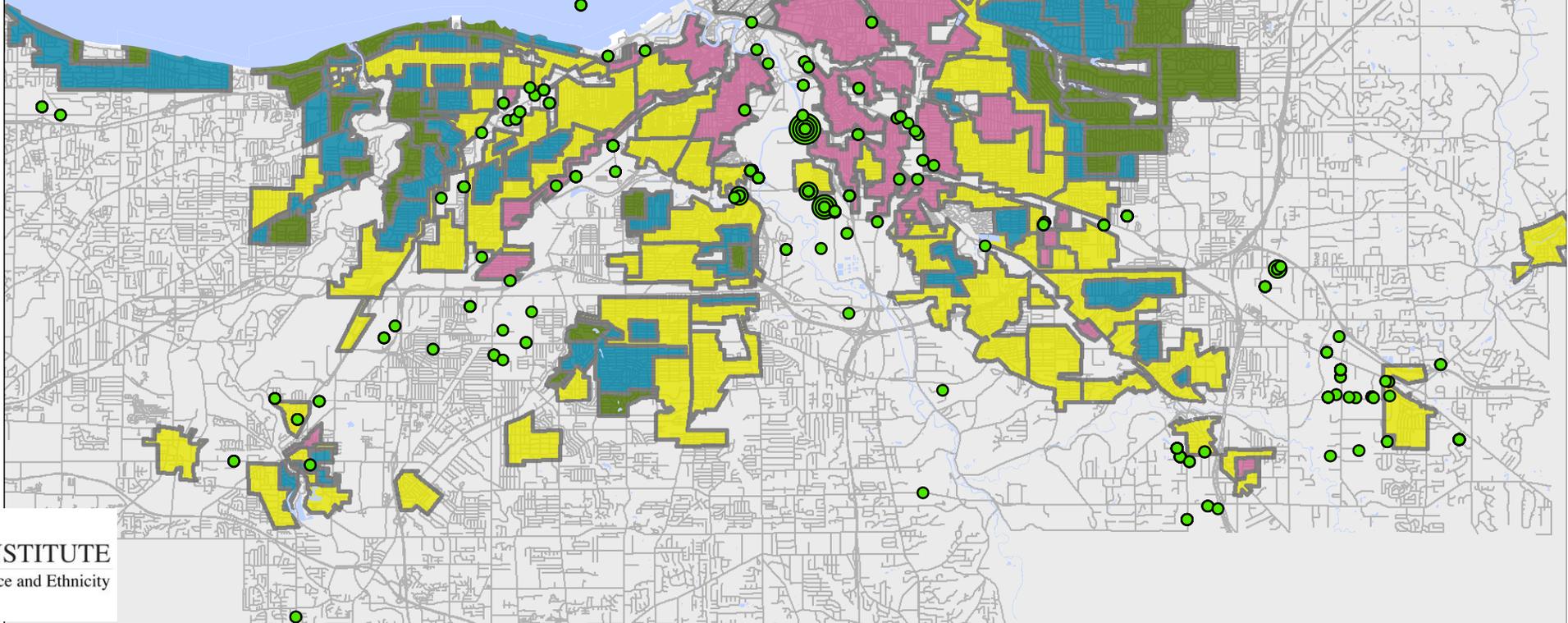
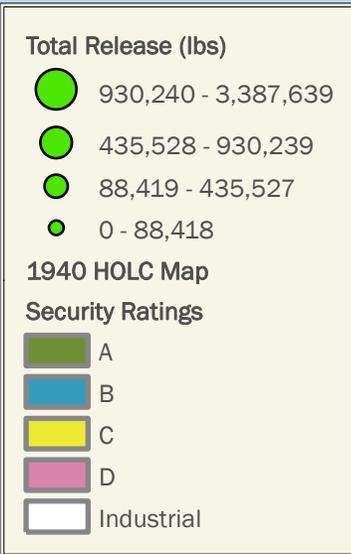
OUR ANALYSIS: TESTING THE THEORIES ON HOW REDLINING IMPACTS CITIES & RACIAL EQUITY



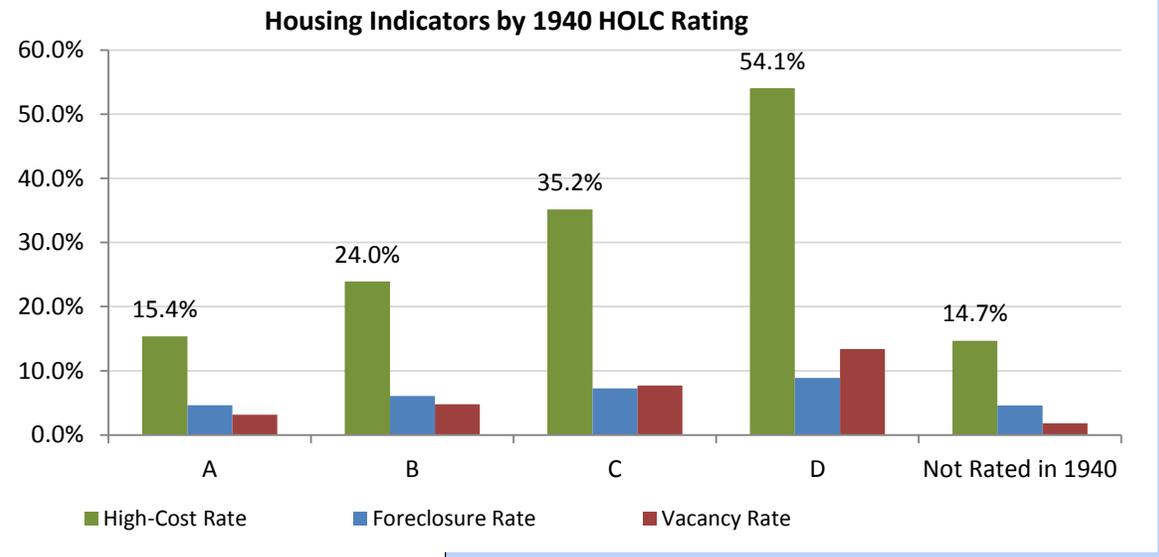
Where do African Americans live in Cleveland Today?



Where is Toxic Release Concentrated in Cleveland?



Which Neighborhoods Received the Most High-Cost Mortgage Loans?

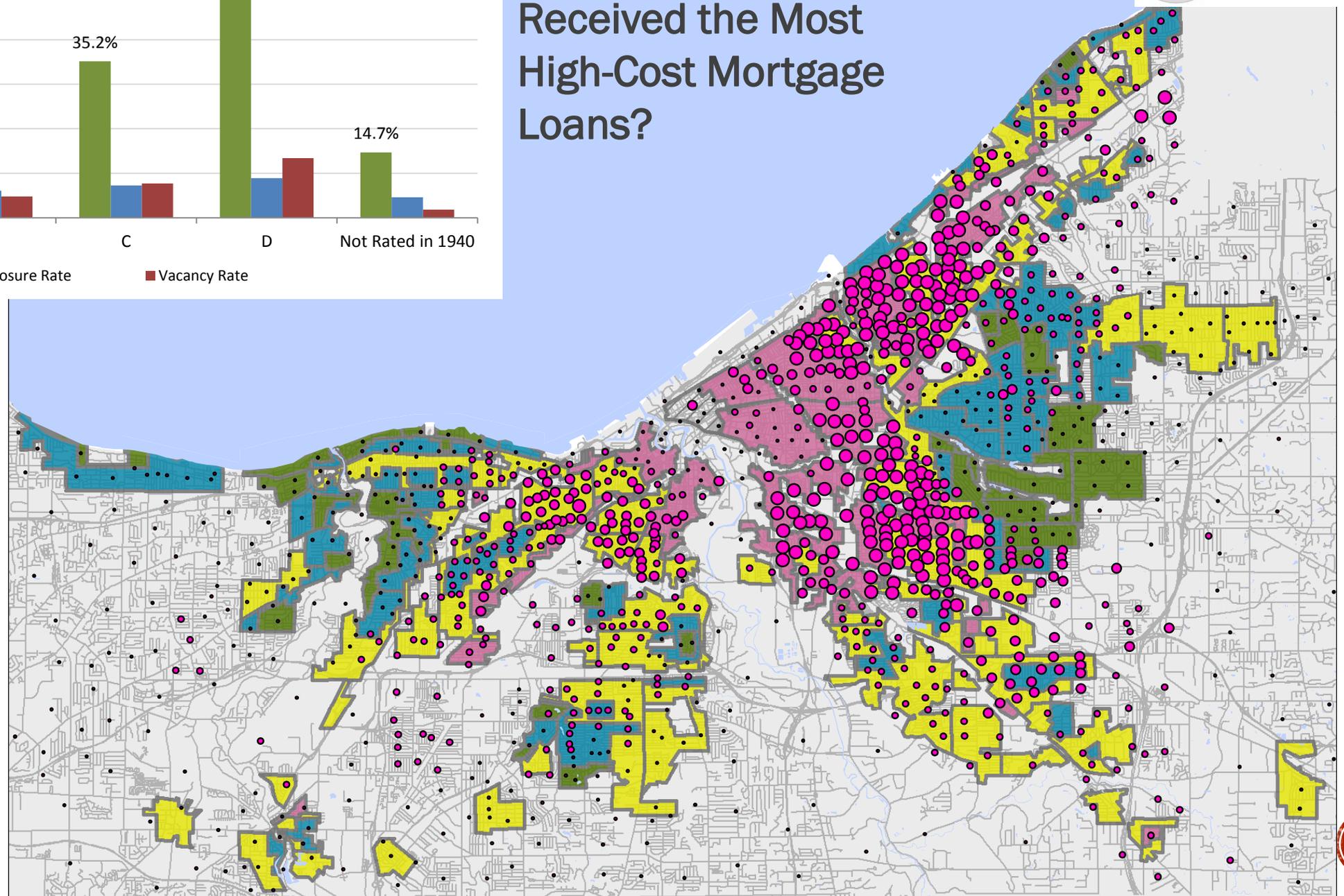


High-Cost Loan Rate

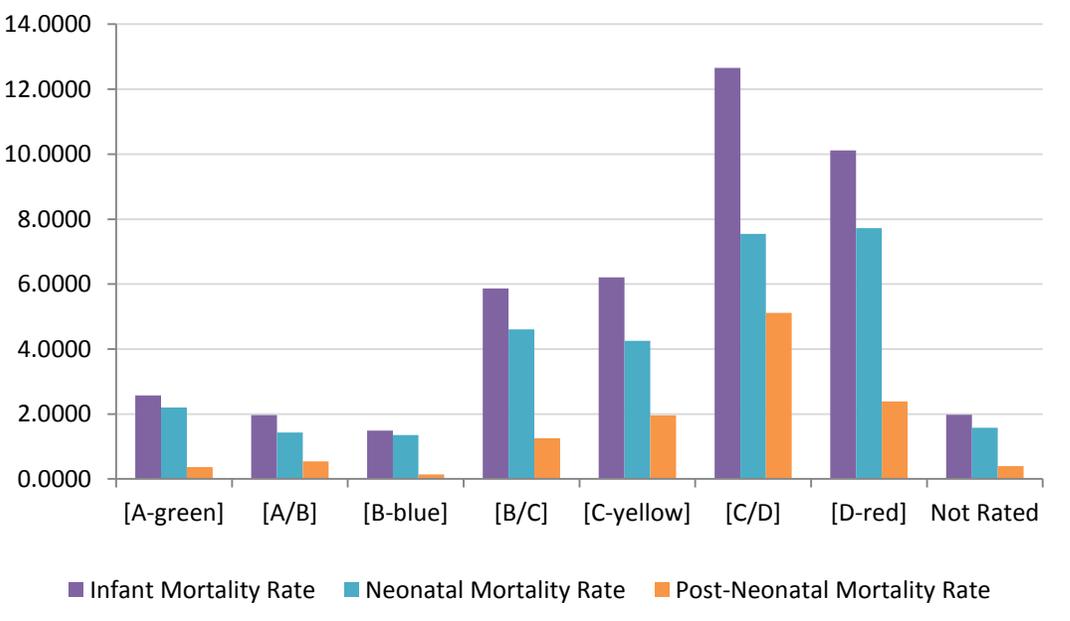
- 60.1% - 81.4%
- 40.1% - 60%
- 20.1% - 40%
- 0% - 20%

1940 HOLC Map Security Ratings

- A
- B
- C
- D
- Industrial



Which Neighborhoods Experience the Highest Rates of Infant Mortality?

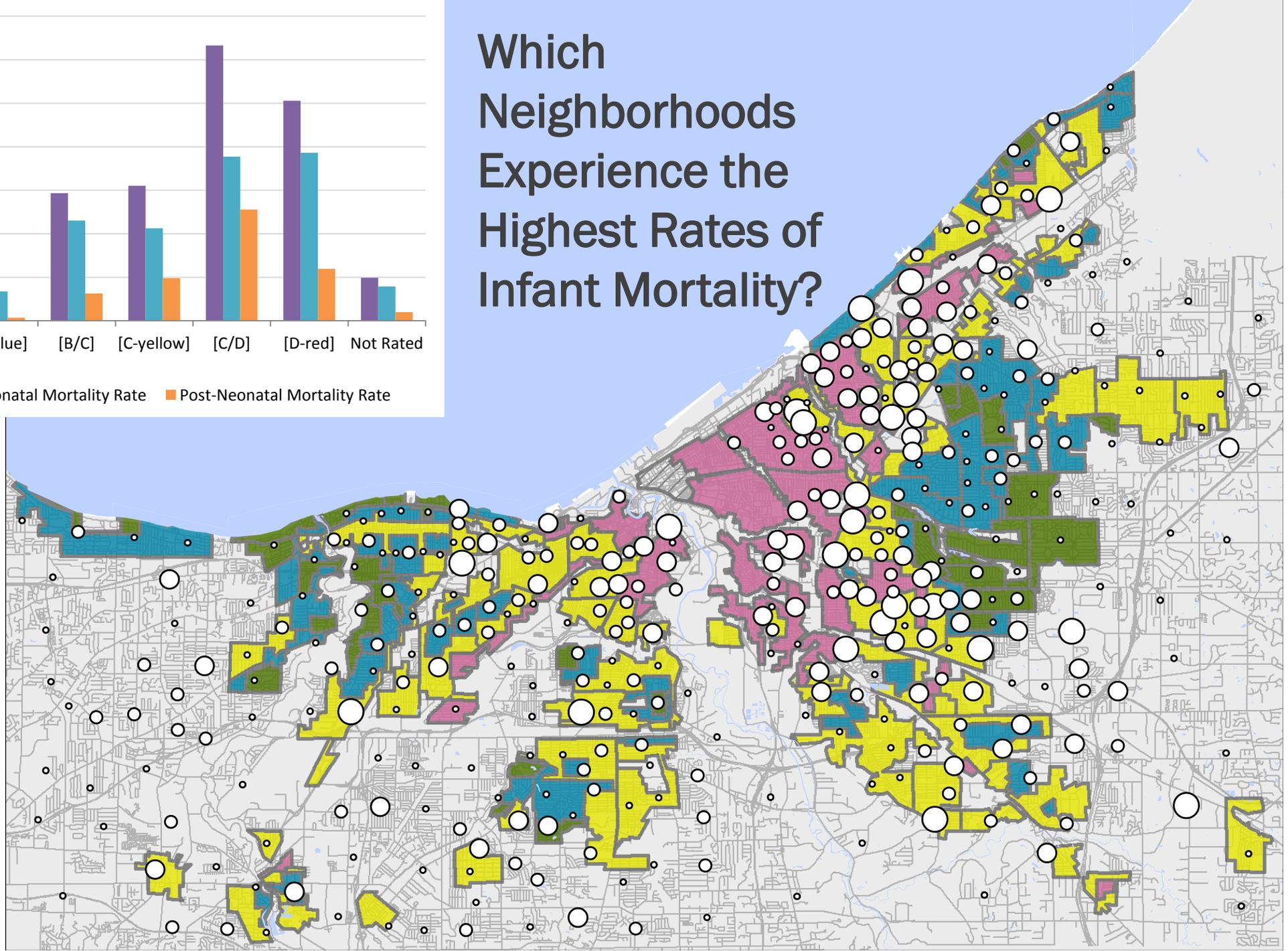


Infant Deaths/1000

- 29.3 - 95.7
- 15.1 - 29.2
- 6.0 - 15.0
- 0.0 - 5.9

1940 HOLC Map Security Ratings

- A
- B
- C
- D
- Industrial



WHY IS THIS RELEVANT TODAY?

- Direct relationship between historical patterns of discrimination, health “hot spots” and community based health challenges today
- Policy played an explicit role in shaping health inequities in these communities, policy must be a tool to revitalize these communities
- Provide context for longevity of challenges facing communities of health inequity, provide perspective of time needed to reverse historic patterns (neighborhood change does not happen quickly)
- The need for restorative investment in communities
- Understanding a community’s apprehension or mistrust
- Understanding the relationship between values and policy (what are our values in our policies today in relation to health equity)



red·line /red līn/ *v* : to deny loans to certain neighborhoods based on the race and/or ethnicity of its occupants. The impact of which is still evident in American cities today.

1. The **Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC)** was created in the wake of the Great Depression to help refinance homes at risk of foreclosure. However, the HOLC is best known for creating residential security maps, better known as “redlining maps,” to guide investment in American cities. These maps assigned grades of ‘A’ through ‘D’ to neighborhoods to indicate their desirability in terms of investment. Black and Immigrant neighborhoods were often given grades of ‘C’ or ‘D’, resulting in little or no access to mortgage insurance or credit for decades. Though the HOLC was discontinued in 1951, the impact of disinvestment as a result of redlining is still evident in many American cities today.

