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Institute at UC Berkeley

**FAIR HOUSING
FOR OUR FUTURE**
LAWS & LITIGATION CONFERENCE • FEBRUARY 10-12, 2021
CELEBRATING 53 YEARS OF THE FAIR HOUSING ACT
AND 28 YEARS OF OUR CONFERENCE.

Racial Residential Segregation and Racial Gerrymandering: An Overlooked Nexus

4/3/21
DATE

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AUTHORIAL SUPPORT

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Overview

- I. Racial Residential Segregation in the United States: Trends and Patterns
- II. Racial Political Polarization and Political Segregation
- III. Racial Gerrymandering as Segregation
- IV. The Forgotten Solution: Integration

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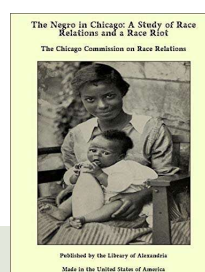
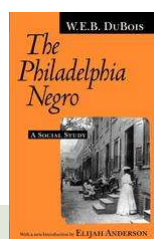
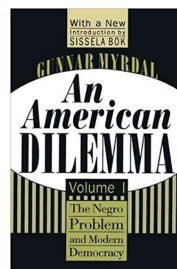
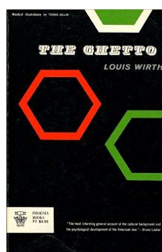
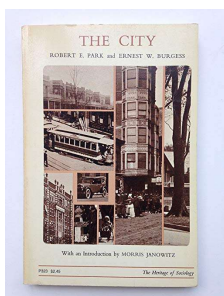
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Stuck in the Past

- **Hot take:** Fair Housing Advocates – lawyers and grassroots orgs – are stuck in a 1960s/70s view of racial segregation.
- Most of us understand that gentrification and patterns of regional segregation (the “Great Inversion”) are changing our understanding of segregation, and that segregation is more inter-municipal than neighborhood based, but I am talking about something more fundamental.
- The research into the causes, effects and consequences of segregation – as well as the very measures we use – are outdated.
- In the last few years, there has been a ‘virtual explosion’ of research into the issue of segregation, with new tools and measuring sticks.

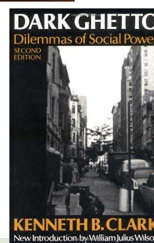
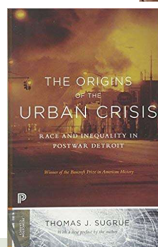
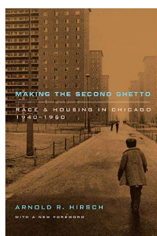
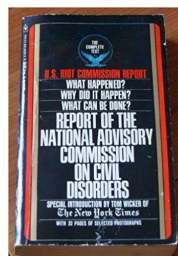
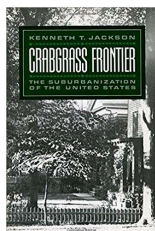
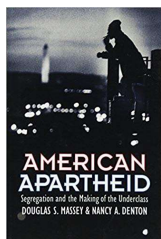
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Early Scholarship (Pre-1950)



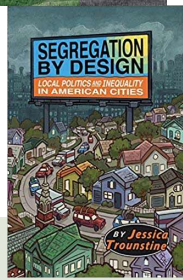
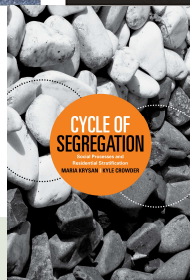
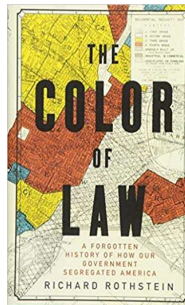
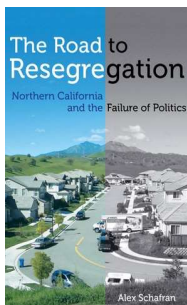
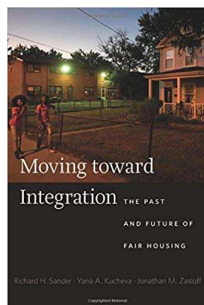
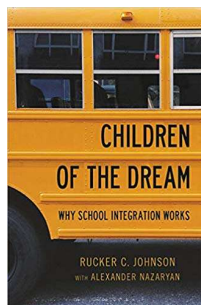
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1st Generation Scholarship on Segregation (1968-1990s)



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2nd & 3rd Generation Scholarship



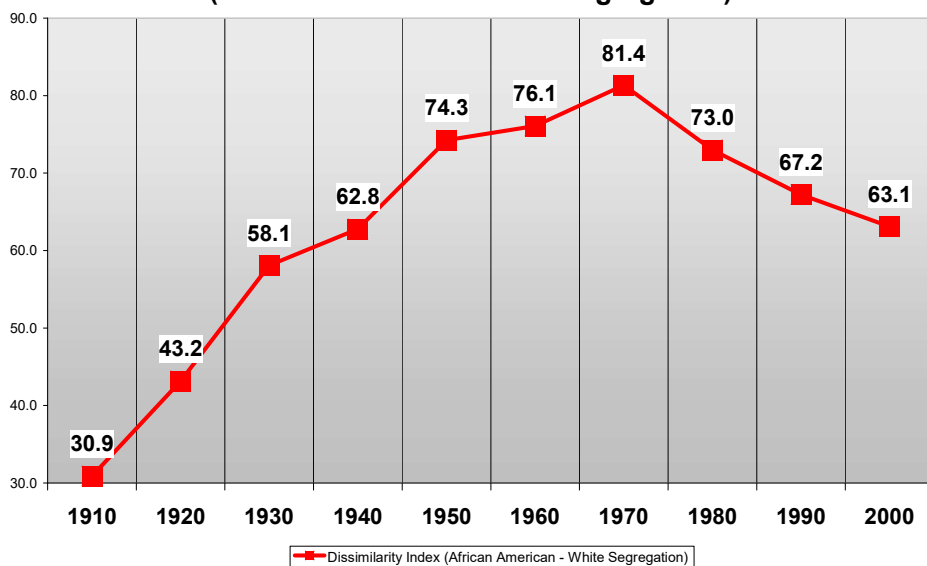
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Measuring Segregation: The Index of Dissimilarity

- By far the most popular measure of segregation – measures “spread” or “evenness.” The dissimilarity index indicates the percentage of a subgroup that would have to move to achieve integration.
- Some claim it’s the easiest to understand.
 - A score of 100 indicates that every neighborhood has residents of only one particular group (“complete segregation”), whereas a score of zero indicates proportional representation of each group throughout the metropolitan region (“complete integration”).
- *Segregation*: 2010 measure of B/W segregation, 59.0, is considered a very high level of segregation. That means that more than half of African Americans (or whites) would have to move residence to achieve a fully integrated society.

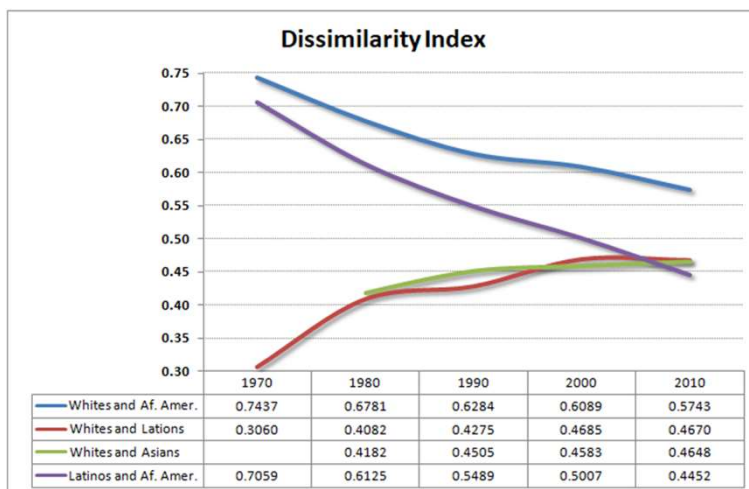
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**Residential Dissimilarity Index 1910-2000
(African American - White Segregation)**



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Dissimilarity Index in the Bay Area



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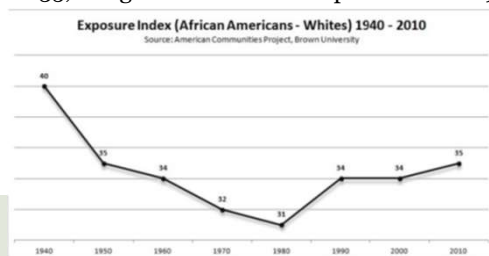
Problems with the Dissimilarity Index

1. The Index is binary – it can only examine segregation between two groups at a time.
2. As an artifact of the formula, if a third group (group C) moves into an area, the A-B Dissimilarity score will fall, even if no member of either group A or B moved residence!
3. The “Modifiable Areal Unit” problem: a technical problem, but basically the score can be a byproduct of the selected geography.
4. Not “Decomposable”: Gives you a score for a region, but not subscores for places within a region.
5. Masks or obscures the “typical” case. A small number of group A moving into a Group B neighborhood may imply more progress than is actually experienced.

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Different Worlds: Exposure Index

- **The Exposure Index**
 - The Exposure Index and Isolation Index measure the **average neighborhood** of a member of a racial group.
- As 2010, the average white resident of a metropolitan area resides in a neighborhood that is 75.4% white, 7.9% Black, 10.5% Hispanic, and 5.1% Asian. In contrast, a typical African-American resident lives in a neighborhood that is 34.8% white, 45.2% Black, 14.8% Hispanic, and 4.3% Asian.
- The “exposure” of the average African-American to the majority white population is “35,” a figure that has not improved since 1950.



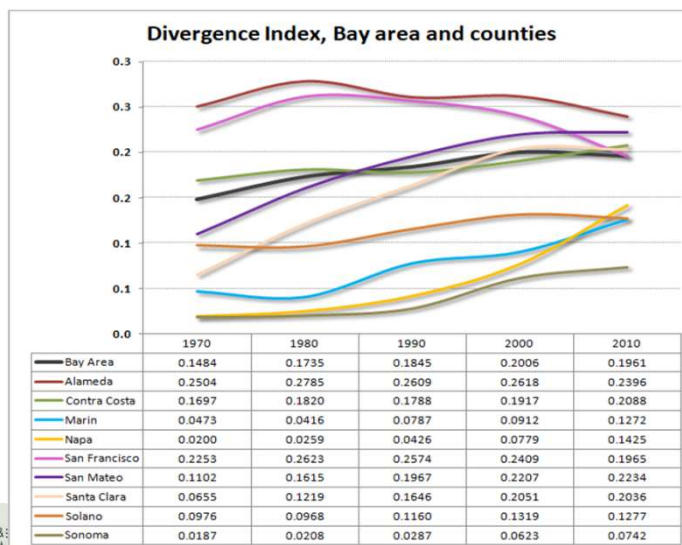
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The Divergence Index

- Created by Elizabeth Roberto in 2015, this is a new way of calculating segregation, which measures the difference between the overall proportion of a group in a region and the proportion of each group in a local area within that region.
- Unlike many other measures of segregation, the **Divergence Index** can measure a region’s segregation for multiple racial groups simultaneously, is decomposable, etc.
- But the best part is that it is great for mapping!

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Divergence Index in the Bay Area



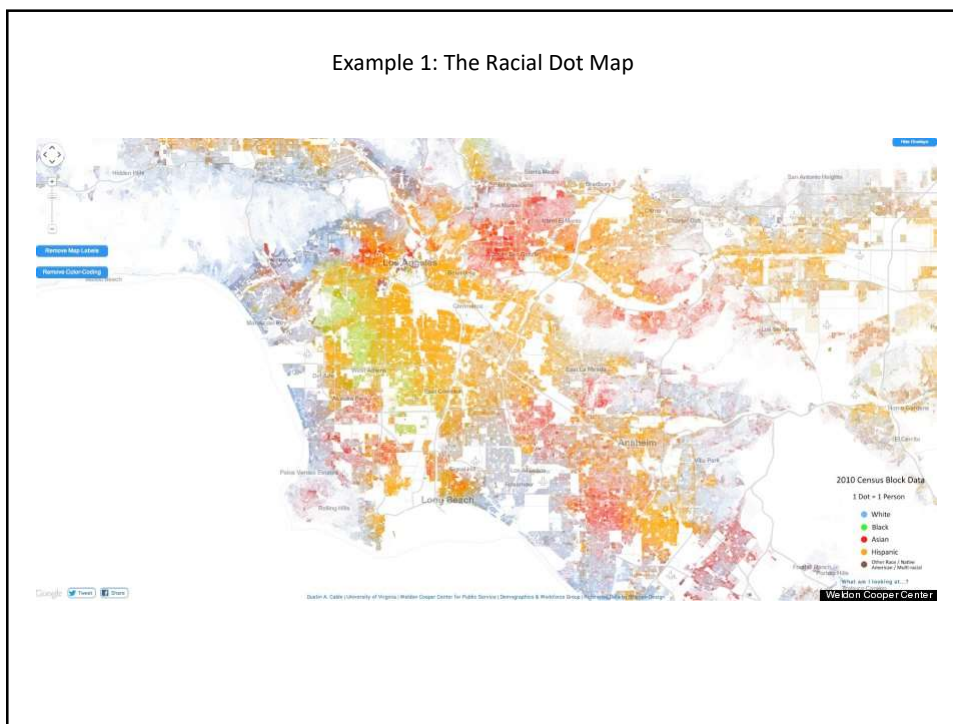
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Aside on Mapping Segregation

- I have a pet peeves: Racial Demographics **DOES NOT** equal Racial segregation
 - Many efforts to map racial segregation are often racial demographic maps rather than illustrating racial segregation itself.
 - Efforts to map segregation are only able to represent segregation levels for two groups at a time, such as Black-white segregation.
 - Or they try to overlay diversity with racial concentration.

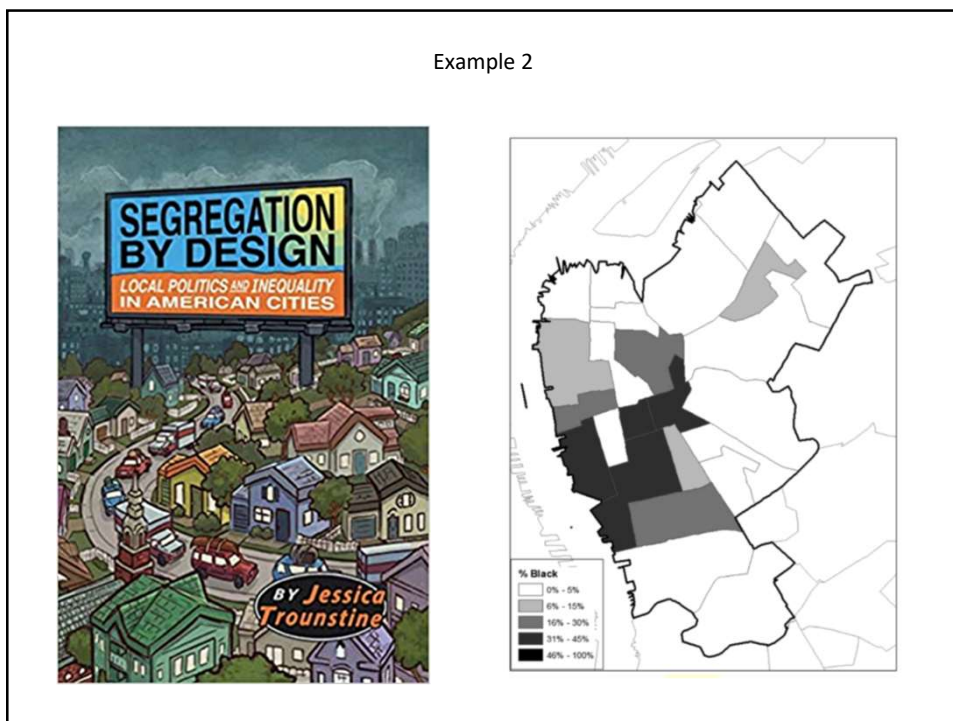
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Example 1: The Racial Dot Map



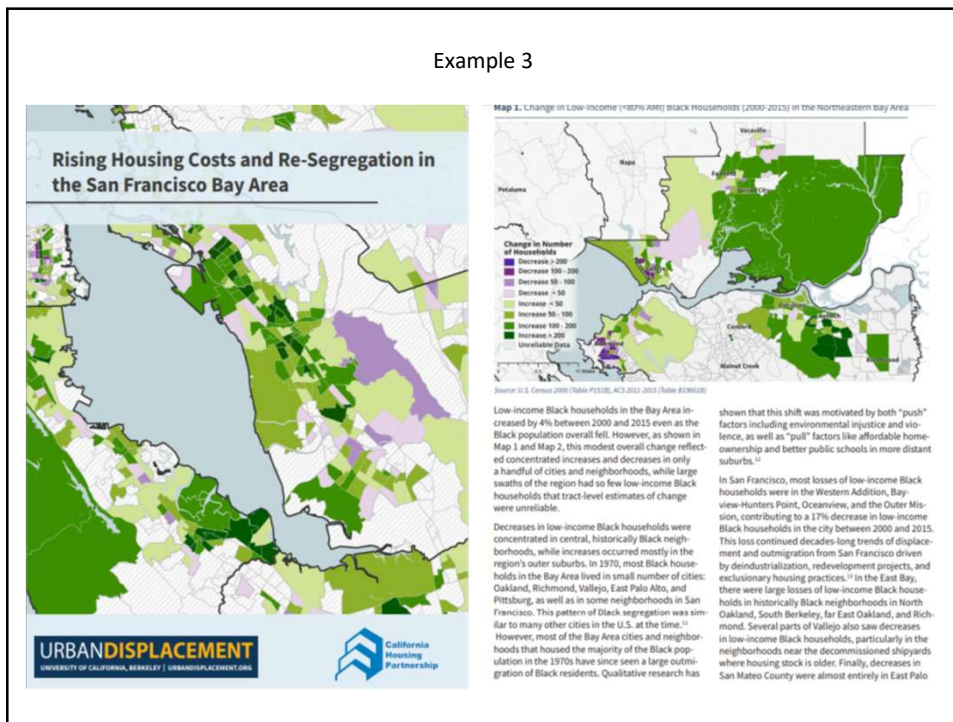
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Example 2



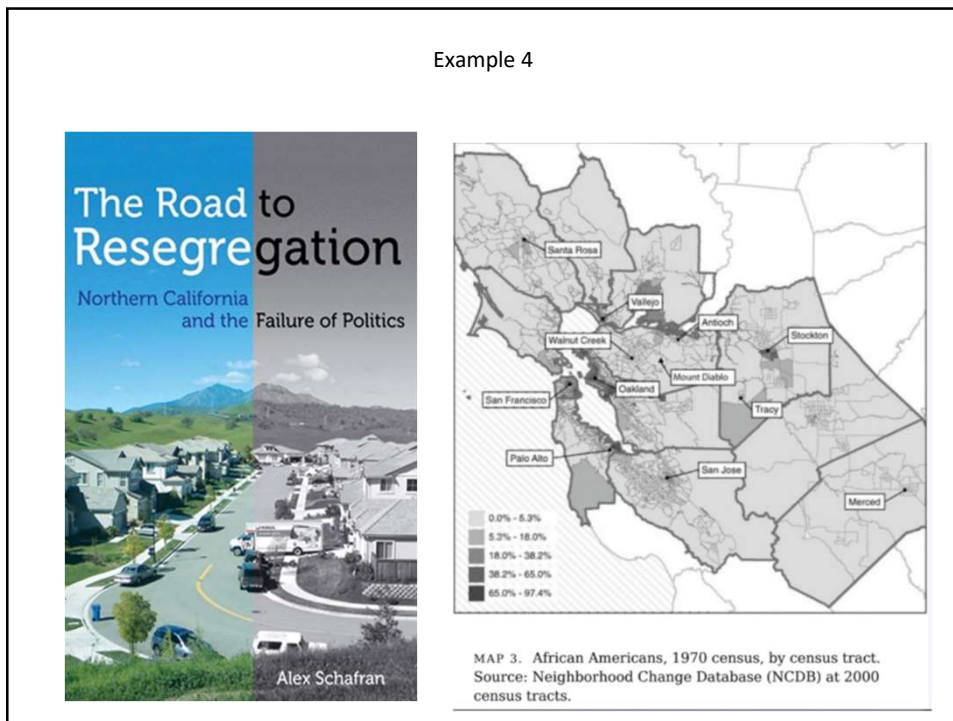
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Example 3

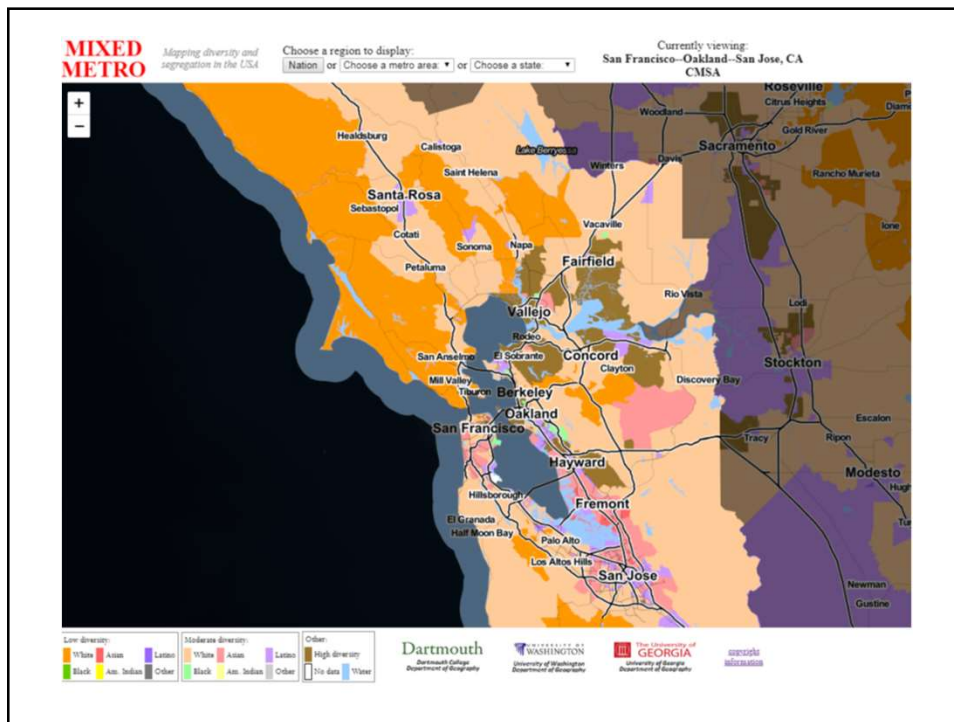


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Example 4



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Mapping Segregation Per Se

Racial Segregation in the San Francisco Bay Area

PUBLICATIONS f t in

Segregation is one of our nation's most enduring and intractable problems. More than 60 years since the Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision denounced racial segregation in primary and secondary public schools, and 50 years since the enactment of the federal Fair Housing Act, our neighborhoods and schools have yet to reflect the rich diversity of our nation as a whole. Given the seriousness of the problem of racial segregation as a cause of racial inequality and the complexities in understanding the nature of this problem, the Haas Institute is launching a series of briefs that will attempt to illuminate these patterns and demystify the reality of segregation in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Part 1: Segregation

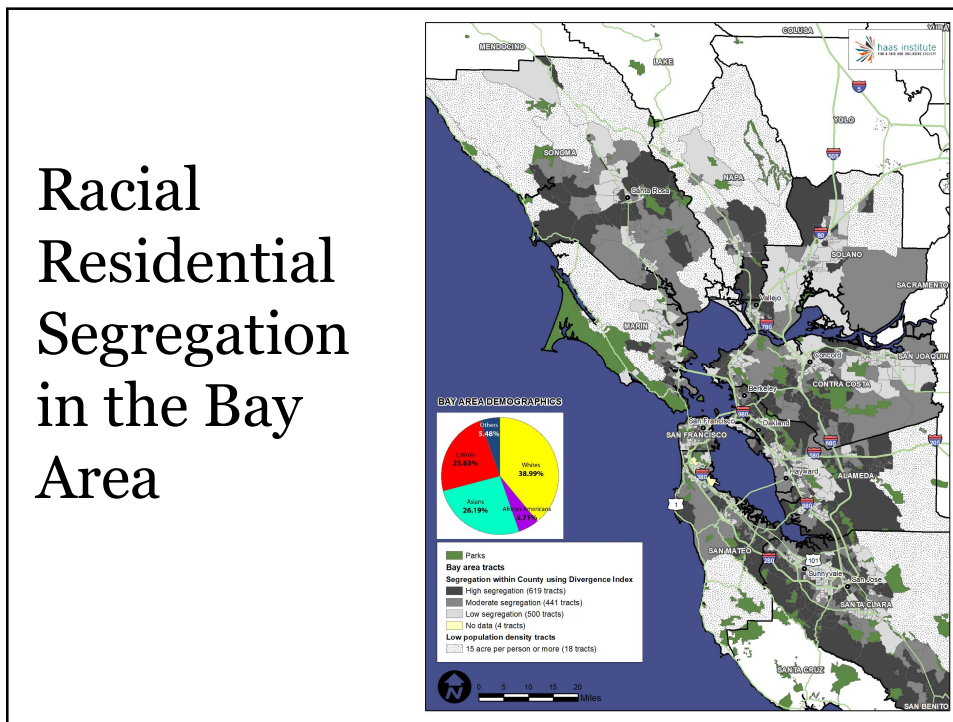
In the first brief, we present a series of detailed maps illustrating segregation across the region, within each of the nine Bay Area counties, and in its major metropolitan areas. Our goal is that readers in the Bay Area, for the first time, will have a clear portrait of the reality and extent of the racial segregation in their communities. We highlight and discuss the varying levels of residential racial segregation within the region and show which communities and neighborhoods are the most segregated, and the most integrated.

Part 2: Demographics

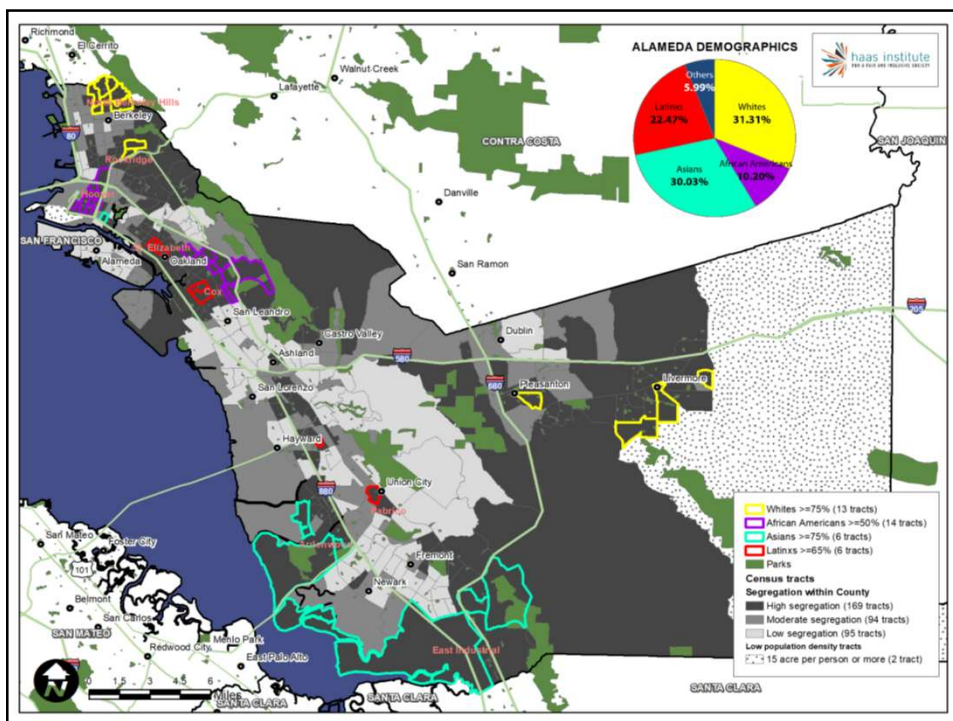
In our second brief we disaggregate and untangle patterns of segregation into specific patterns of racial demographics. We examine the unique patterns of racial distribution in the San Francisco Bay region, and across major metropolitan areas. In particular, part two of this series illustrates the distribution of white,

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Racial Residential Segregation in the Bay Area

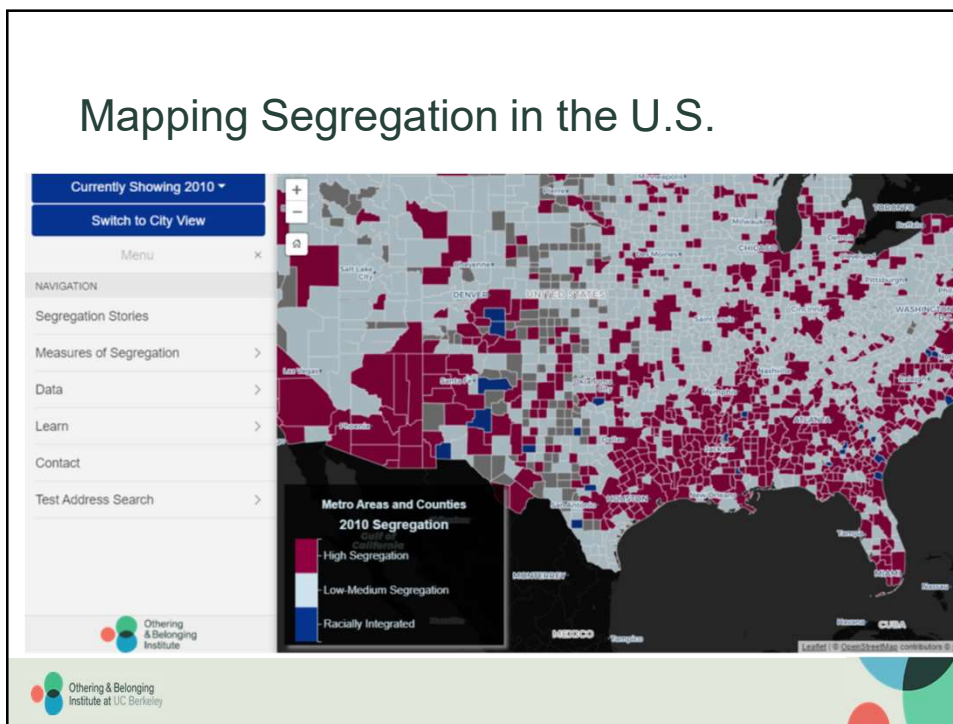


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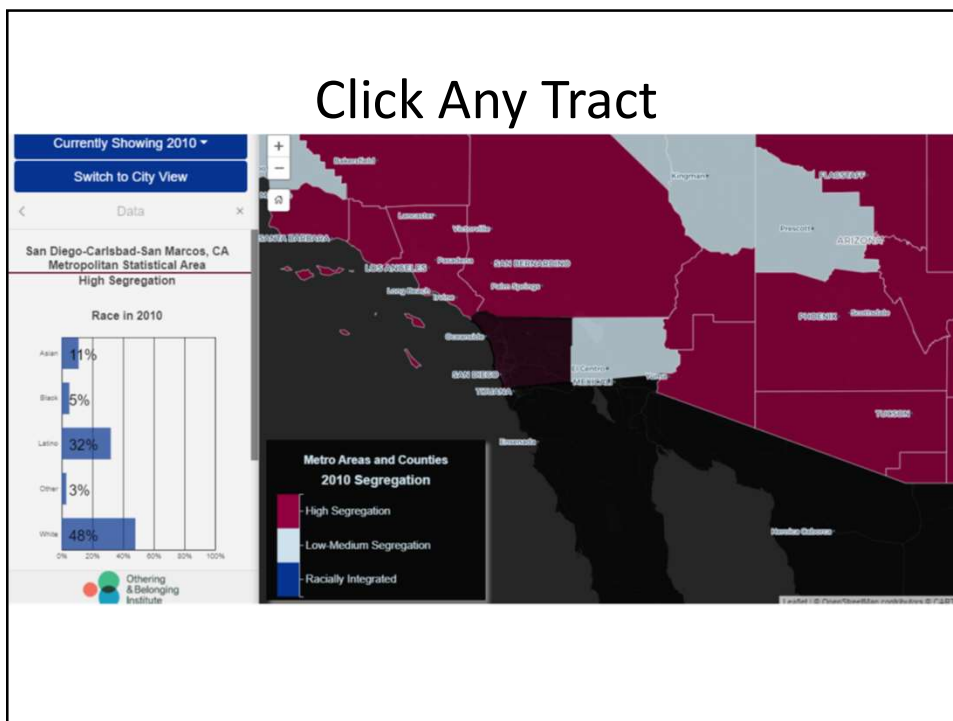
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Mapping Segregation in the U.S.



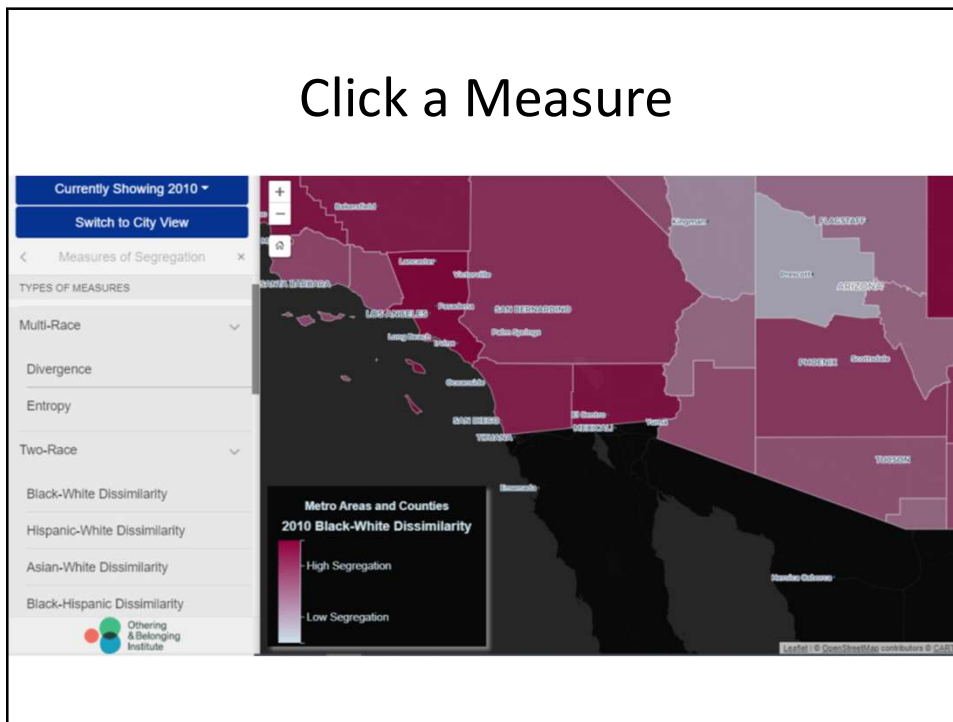
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Click Any Tract



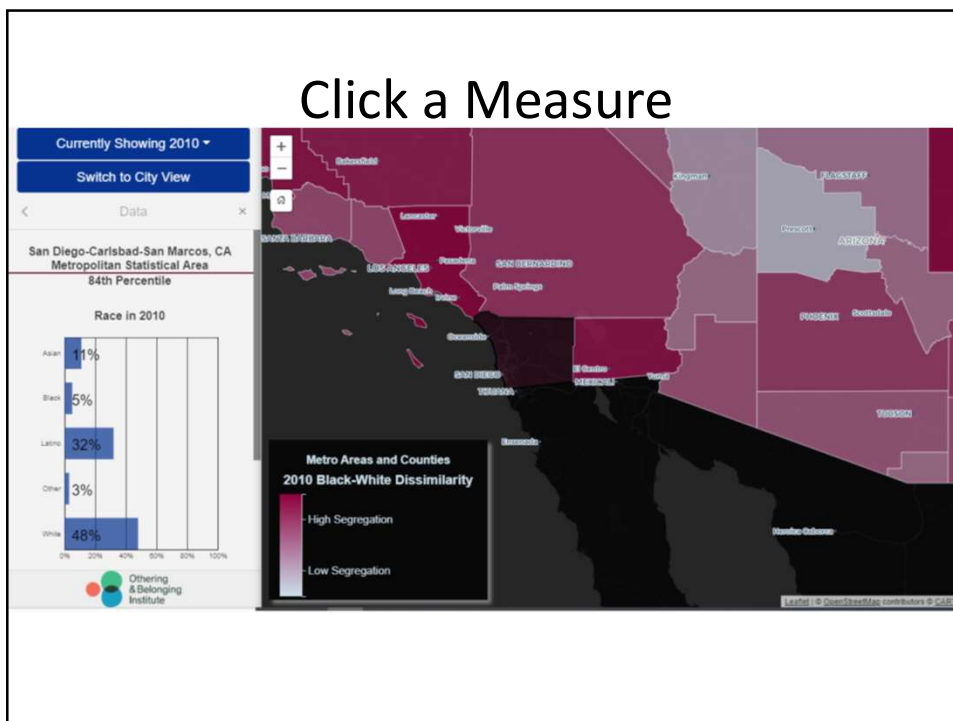
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Click a Measure



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Click a Measure



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Racial Political Polarization

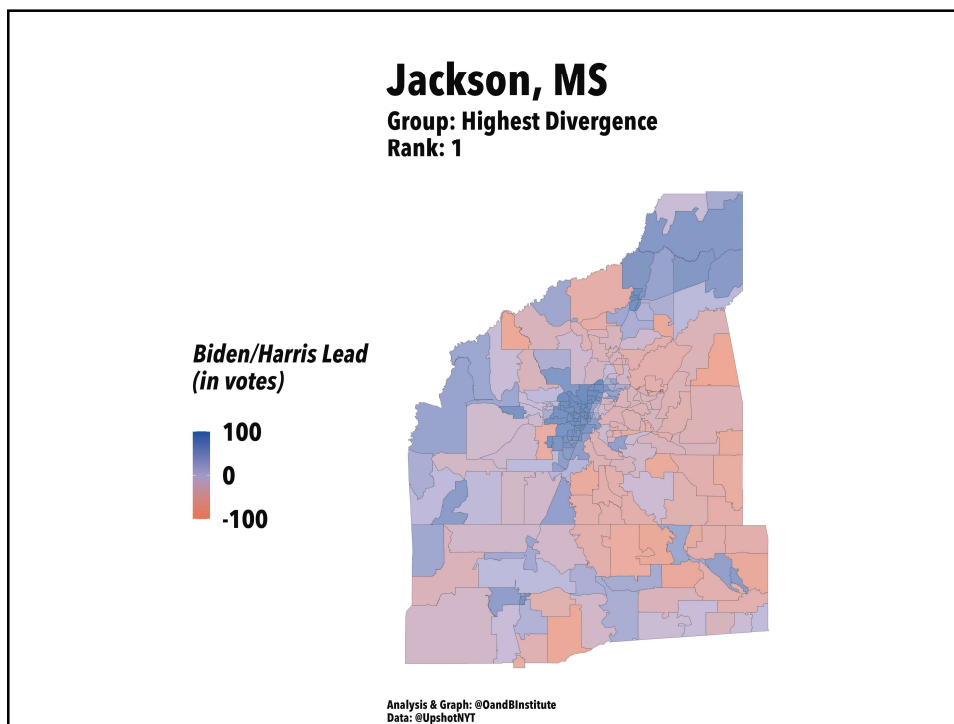
- In her book, segregation by design, Jessica Trounstine argues that racial residential segregation predicts racial political polarization.
- She finds that a city in the 10th percentile of segregation has a 35 percent point divide in racial support for a political candidate, compared to a 63 percent point divide at the 90th percentile. In other words, the more segregated, the more political polarization.
- We find the same.

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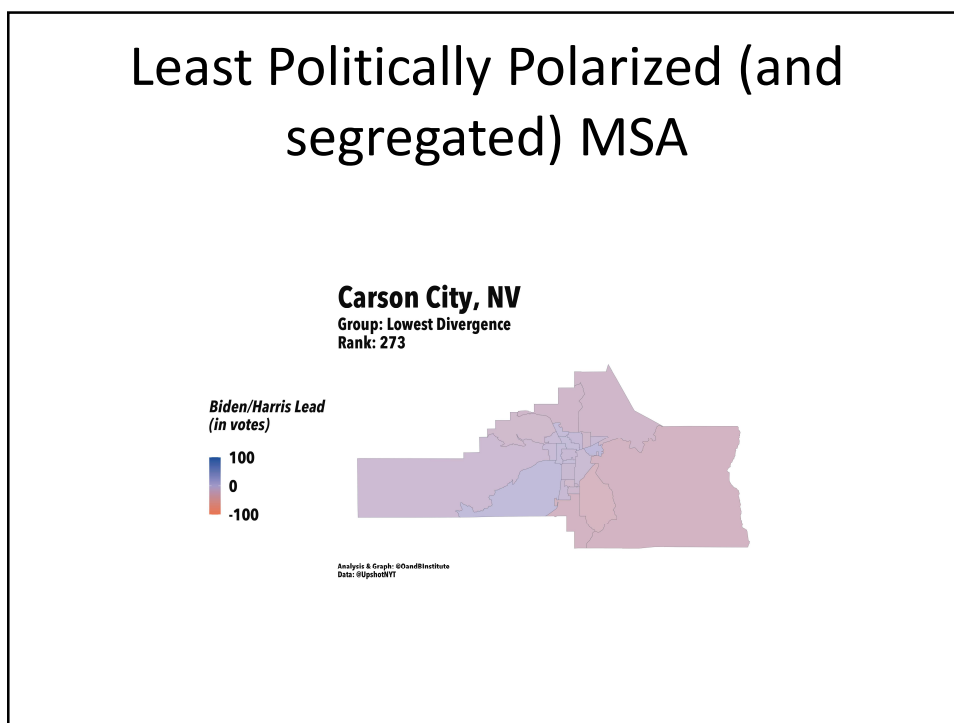
The Most Politically Polarized MSAs

Polarization Rank	City	Precinct Divergence from CBSA	
1	Jackson, MS	18.8%	
2	Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX	18.8%	
3	Albany, GA	16.6%	
4	Hattiesburg, MS	15.6%	
5	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	15.2%	
6	Cape Girardeau-Jackson, MO-IL	14.6%	
7	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	13.4%	
8	Macon, GA	13.2%	
9	Columbus, GA-AL	12.6%	
10	Greensboro-High Point, NC	11.9%	
11	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	11.8%	
12	Savannah, GA	11.7%	

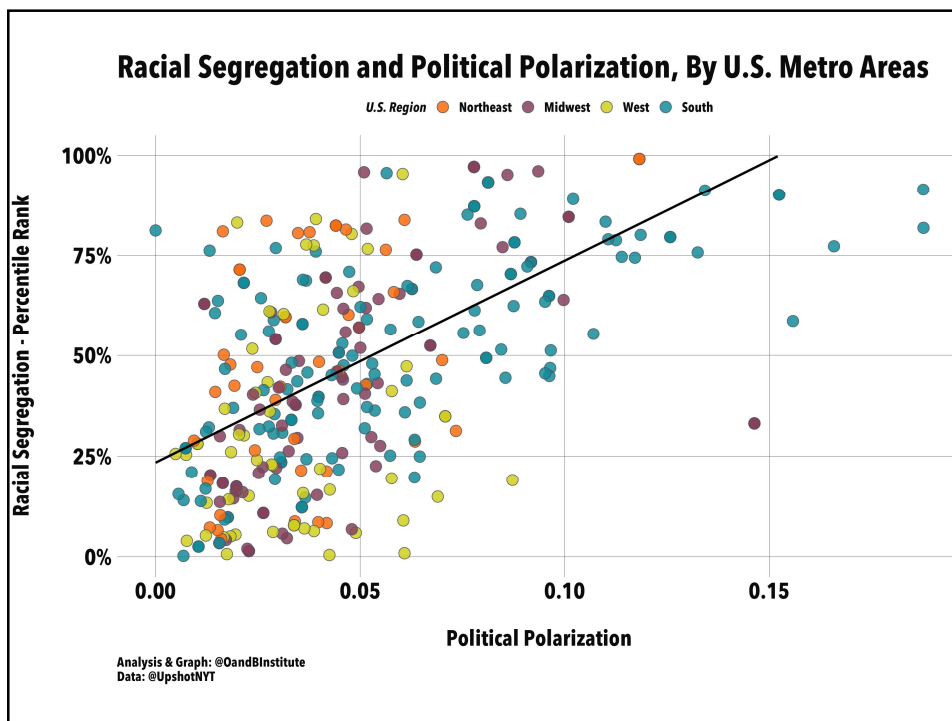
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Political Gerrymandering and Segregation

- Racial gerrymandering cases have characterized by key justices in terms that look like racial segregation.
- In *Shaw v. Reno*, Justice O'Connor characterized racial redistricting as "an effort to segregate voters into separate voting districts because of their race." As she explained:
- "Racial classifications with respect to voting carry particular dangers. Racial gerrymandering, even for remedial purposes, may balkanize us into competing racial factions; it threatens to carry us further from the goal of a political system in which race no longer matters—a goal that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments embody, and to which the Nation continues to aspire."

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Political Gerrymandering and Segregation

- Justice Kennedy in *Miller v. Johnson* (1995):
 - "the essence of the equal protection claim recognized in *Shaw* is that the state has used race as a basis for separating voters into districts."
- Later Justice Kennedy rejected the General Assembly's contention that "the evidence of a legislature's deliberate classification of voters on the basis of race cannot alone suffice to state a claim under *Shaw*."

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Political Racial Polarization

- Racial polarization in voting combine with racial residential segregation makes it much easier for political redistricting efforts to draw districts to maximize political advantage.
- But if racial residential segregation were to decline, then this strategy would be more difficult.

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