
January 2016

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Recommended Citation

Jay Readey, *The Coming Integration*, 7 DePaul J. for Soc. Just. 15 (2013)

Available at: <https://via.library.depaul.edu/jsj/vol7/iss1/3>

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THE COMING INTEGRATION

JAY READEY

CHAPTER 1 FROM ETHICAL DEMANDS TO THE COMING INTEGRATION

On December 27, 1962, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote and delivered a sermon “The Ethical Demands of Integration,”¹ outlining the spiritual and democratic reasons for integration’s rectitude. The timing was perfect: he welcomed 1963, the year we remember as the iconic year of the Civil Rights Movement, the year of the fire hoses and church bombing in Birmingham, the March on Washington, and Dr. King’s “I Have a Dream” speech. By 1965, the riot in Watts, California would usher in a period of urban riots culminating in 1967,² when nearly four dozen cities burned,³ and Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton would announce Black Power as an important strain of thinking in the African-American community.⁴ Dr. King’s assassination in 1968 prompted a reprise of riots in major cities and opened the door to a decades-long white backlash epitomized by rapid suburbanization and the “Southern Strategy” of the

¹ Martin Luther King, Jr., *The Ethical Demands & Integration*, in *A TESTAMENT OF HOPE: THE ESSENTIAL WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.* 117-125 (James M. Washington ed., 1986).

² See, e.g., Roby Meredith, *5 Days in 1967 Still Shake Detroit*, N.Y. TIMES (July 23, 1997), <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/07/23/us/5-days-in-1967-still-shake-detroit.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>.

³ *Events of 1967: Riots Sweep the Nation*, UNITED PRESS INT’L <http://www.upi.com/Archives/Audio/Events-of-1967/Riots-Sweep-the-Nation/> (last visited on November 14, 2013).

⁴ See STOKELY CARMICHAEL & CHARLES V. HAMILTON, *BLACK POWER: POLITICS OF LIBERATION IN AMERICA* (1967).

Republican Party. Between Black Power and white backlash, the ideals of integration faded from view, and the term itself fell into near-total disuse in public discourse.

Now, 50 years later, subtle stirrings have brought integration back into polite discussion. President Barack Obama's 2008 election and the multiracial coalition that enabled his victory gave a glimmer of hope to a vision of America that imagined an egalitarian, multiracial future. Then regular politics and the challenge of governing in a time of recession brought the "movement" back down to earth. In early 2012, Edward Glaeser and his colleague Jacob Vigdor published a Manhattan Institute study, "The End of the Segregated Century,"⁵ (hereafter "Segregated Century") detailing the fact that fewer than .5% of the census tracts in the United States have no black residents.⁶ A public debate raged between that study's implied conclusion that we need not worry about continued segregation—and certainly not with race-conscious remedies—and critiques that posited, among other things, that class segregation is worsening, ghettos are deepening and schools are more race-stratified than ever.⁷

⁵ See EDWARD GLAESER & JACOB VIGDOR, *THE END OF THE SEGREGATED CENTURY: RACIAL SEPARATINO IN AMERICA'S NEIGHBORHOODS, 1890-2010* (2012).

⁶ *Id.* at 4.

⁷ See, e.g., Angela Caputo, *The End of a Segregated Century?*, THE HUFFINGTON POST (Feb. 8, 2012), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/angela-caputo/chicago-segregated-neighborhoods_b_1263942.html; Richard Rothstein, *Racial Segregation Continues, and Even Intensifies: Manhattan Institute Report Heralding the "End" of Segregation Uses a Measure that Masks Important Demographic and Economic Trends*, ECON. POLICY INST. (Feb. 3, 2012), <http://www.epi.org/publication/racial-segregation-continues-intensifies>; Philip Tegeler, *Interpreting Segregation*, POVERTY & RACE RESEARCH ACTION COUNCIL (Feb. 1, 2012), <http://archive.constantcontact.com/fs012/1102767400671/archive/1109199613519.html>; *Hardly the End of Segregation*, CHICAGO AREA FAIR HOUSING ALLIANCE (Feb. 7, 2012), <http://cafha.net/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/CAFHA-Response-to-The-End-of-the-Segregated-Century.pdf>; Rolf Pendall, *Racial Segregation: It's Not History*, URBAN INSTITUTE (Feb. 1, 2012), <http://blog.metrotrends.org/2012/02/racial-segregation-its-his>

But neither Segregated Century nor any of the critical responses fully appraise the social change about to be wrought in the coming decade. Dramatic increases in residential integration are coming faster than anyone thinks. Our radically increased racial-ethnic diversity is cause for much commentary,⁸ but virtually no one has spoken to the corollary, that dramatic diversity, coupled with egalitarian and democratic political ideals, must necessarily lead to one reality: integration.

This article will lay out why integration is upon us, why so fast and why now. The word integration itself has been rarely used in recent years, and now we almost always use diversity or inclusion as shibboleths to hint at integration, which is a much more difficult concept. Certainly, no one is celebrating this coming integration. As of today, it is totally unheralded, unanticipated and unforeseen. And yet the signs of its impending acceleration are right in front of us.

Within the next ten years, integration will take root at levels only previously dreamed about. One of the most common measures of residential segregation is the “dissimilarity index,” which is measured by the segregation between two groups—the proportion of one of the groups that would have to move in order to achieve a purely random geographic distribution. For example, if the black-white dissimilarity index for a city were 65, it means that 65 out of every 100 African Americans would have to move to achieve an even distribution between the groups in that city.

Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, who wrote the hugely influential book “American Apartheid,”⁹ coined the term

tory/; Richard Alba & Steven Romalewski, *The End of Segregation? Hardly.*, CTR. FOR URBAN RESEARCH (Mar. 2012), <http://www.urbanresearch.org/projects/hardly-the-end-of-segregation>.

⁸ See, e.g., William H. Frey, *Census Projects New “Majority-Minority” Tipping Points*, THE BROOKINGS INST. (December 13, 2012), <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2012/12/13-census-race-projections-frey>.

⁹ DOUGLAS MASSEY & NANCY DENTON, *AMERICAN APARTHEID: SEGREGATION AND THE MAKING OF THE UNDERCLASS* (2003).

“Hypersegregation” to describe communities with segregation of Blacks and Hispanics on four of the five different dimensions of segregation,¹⁰ including black-white dissimilarity indices higher than 60.¹¹ Chicago, which has held the dubious distinction as the most highly segregated major city in America for most of the past half-century, has stubbornly maintained hypersegregation, as have the cities most notorious for either suffering from deindustrialization, being hit extremely hard by the foreclosure crisis, or both—places like Cleveland, Buffalo, Detroit and St. Louis. The dissimilarity index is usually even worse between cities and suburbs when the measuring map is the metropolitan area,¹² based on patterns of suburbanization that have routinely created “chocolate cities” and “vanilla suburbs.”¹³

In the next ten years, from the 50th anniversary of Dr. King’s “I Have a Dream” speech to the 60th, black-white dissimilarity indices in America’s hundred most segregated metropolitan areas will all drop below 50. That means we will achieve a level of residential integration unimagined by nearly any of our public prognosticators who have commonly come to describe segregation as stubborn, persistent and nearly fixed. Also, the dissimilarity indices between whites and other racial groups are important, and persistent segregation among Latinos, Asians and, especially, Native Americans are features of our social landscape too important to be ignored.

¹⁰ Nancy Denton, *Hypersegregation*, BLACKWELL REFERENCE ONLINE, http://www.Blackwellreference.com/public/tocnode?id=g9781405124331_yr2012_chunk_g978140512433114_ss1-57 (last visited May 22, 2013).

¹¹ MASSEY, *supra* note 9, at 75; Cf. Barbara Sherry, *Chicago: City of Hypersegregation*, <http://www.uic.edu/orgs/kbc/contestedcities/Chicago/segregation> (last visited November 16, 2013).

¹² Douglas S. Massey, *Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Conditions in U.S. Metropolitan Areas*, in AMERICA BECOMING: RACIAL TRENDS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES 391, 398-400 (Neil J. Smelser et al. eds., 2001).

¹³ Reynolds Farley et al., “Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs”: Will the Trend Toward Racially Separate Communities Continue?, 7 SOC. SCI. RES. 319 (1978).

The role of these groups will play a crucial function in the pattern of integration, but the measuring stick should always be the black-white dissimilarity index. Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres were right: race is like the miner's canary.¹⁴ The litmus test for progress is how African Americans are treated by other citizens since this racial group is too frequently the last to receive equal justice, equal protection and equal opportunity. The case here is that even African Americans will undergo dramatic integration in the coming decade because, among other reasons, America's need for black and brown folks to maintain a healthy economy and to support baby boomers' retirement will drive a necessary social, educational and economic inclusion that will open doors even to African Americans. Black folks will be a crucial part of an economic and social mainstream in America, notwithstanding the categorical inequalities disfavoring African Americans that America has structured into its collective unconscious.¹⁵

I focus on residential integration because it is the true center of citizenship at the core of the ethical demands of integration. When neighborhoods are integrated, schools will be integrated, lives will be integrated and the integrationist ideal will make America a more just land of opportunity. And neighborhoods will become integrated in large part because of the social and emotional changes that I detail here. When neighborhoods are integrated, it will be the final sign that our lives and our national soul are integrated.

Growing enlightenment about social justice will not drive the coming integration. Such a concept is too abstract and remote for a 315 million-person public to embrace in order to turn social mores and policies that have been hundreds of years in the offing. No. The coming integration will be triggered by more im-

¹⁴ LANI GUINIER & GERALD TORRES, *THE MINER'S CANARY: ENLISTING RACE, RESISTING POWER, TRANSFORMING DEMOCRACY* (2003).

¹⁵ DOUGLAS S. MASSEY, *CATEGORICALLY UNEQUAL: THE AMERICAN STRATIFICATION SYSTEM* 8-15 (Russell Sage ed., 2007).

mediate considerations, and people acting in their day-to-day self-interest will initiate powerful social changes that will snowball to transform our residential landscapes.

Chicago, one of the nation's most historically segregated metropolitan areas, will lead the way. Violence, failing schools and slower economic growth have forced a day of reckoning for Chicagoland communities and for their leadership. When these tipping points occur, as described below, Chicago will be first in line and already in motion to do the most to realize its potential. The reality of Chicago's status as a global city (and as the only North American city poised to newly attain "megacity" status in the next decade),¹⁶ combined with the mobility and dynamism of metropolitan populations, will enable this extraordinary transformation to take place.

CHAPTER 2 WHY INTEGRATION? WHY NOW? TIPPING POINTS.

Why is integration now poised to take off in America, in this century, when it was so difficult to achieve for the last century?

The way that we experience race in America is poised to undergo a number of revolutionary changes, which we should understand through the framework of tipping points. The original understanding of "tipping point" was the racial change that a neighborhood underwent when white folks perceived enough Black people moving into "their" neighborhood that they grew uncomfortable and decided to leave.¹⁷

Malcolm Gladwell took this concept of a tipping point and gave it a rich texture in his 2000 book, "The Tipping Point."¹⁸ As

¹⁶ Sam Quinney, *The Great Cities of 2025*, CHICAGO POL'Y REV. (May 14, 2012), <http://chicagopolityreview.org/2012/05/14/the-great-cities-of-2025/>.

¹⁷ Thomas C. Schelling, *The Process of Residential Segregation: Neighborhood Tipping, in Racial Discrimination in Economic Life* 157 (Anthony H. Pascal ed., 1972).

¹⁸ MALCOLM GLADWELL, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make A Big Difference* (2000).

Gladwell described it, a tipping point describes a public health circumstance where the spread of a virus or disease reaches a significant enough proportion of a population that it becomes an epidemic and spreads like a wildfire.¹⁹

Applying tipping point thinking to social relations, Gladwell describes situations in which incremental changes in attitudes or behaviors begin to add up, until the aggregate change reaches a tipping point, leading to a period of rapid, exponential change that Gladwell termed “geometric progression.”²⁰

As regards race and residence, tipping points have always been negative events—leading to white flight as a result of red-lining, blockbusting and panic-selling, or “tipping out.”²¹ Very few commentators have ever asked what might cause a neighborhood to “tip in” by gaining population and stability after becoming racially diverse.²² But for a long while, there was no arguing with the mechanisms of racial change and neighborhood succession.

Between 1910 and 1950, America’s social relations led to extreme residential segregation, especially in Northern and Midwestern cities. Using restrictive covenants, violence, and the power of fiscal purse strings to decide which neighborhoods would be leveled for the construction of interstate highways, where public housing would be placed and how public services would be rationed, white America restricted African American populations to tightly-defined residential neighborhoods. Black folks were ghettoized into “Black belts”—in Chicago, small sections of the South and West sides of the City. This mix of factors defined a dual housing market in which African Americans

¹⁹ *Id.* at 11.

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ Schelling, *supra* note 17, at 168.

²² But See, e.g., Robert A. Solomon, *Building a Segregated City: How We All Worked Together*, 16 ST. LOUIS U. PUB. L. REV. 265 (1997).

could only rent or buy within strictly defined Black areas, and the open housing market was left for whites.²³

The massive population shifts engendered by the Second Great Migration of African Americans to northern cities, chasing industrialization and the promise of better employment opportunities, made what historian Arnold Hirsch has called the “second ghetto,” as the original Black belts in Chicago expanded to accommodate the crush of northern migrants from the segregated South.²⁴ As intrepid African Americans sought to rent or buy outside of the tightly-defined Black ghettos, they were met with violence, harassment and one-sided sales schemes that amounted to outright theft. The thinly-disguised scheme of asset seizing known as “contract selling” is still a little-known phenomenon that had a massive effect on segregation and Black folks’ wealth-building efforts.²⁵

As the Black ghetto expanded, panic peddlers stepped in to “blockbust” neighborhoods by buying low from fleeing whites and selling high to African Americans desperate for new housing options. Neighborhoods tipped, tipped quickly and continued tipping through at least the 1970s wherever African Americans expanded their residential reach from the Black belts of the early 20th Century. Chicago organizer Saul Alinsky quipped, “A racially integrated community is a chronological term timed from the entrance of the first Black family to the exit of the last white family.” Neighborhood racial tipping had be-

²³ See generally ARNOLD R. HIRSCH, *MAKING THE SECOND GHETTO: RACE AND HOUSING IN CHICAGO, 1940-1960* (1998); SHERYLL CASHIN, *THE FAILURES OF INTEGRATION: HOW RACE AND CLASS ARE UNDERMINING THE AMERICAN DREAM* (Public Affairs Books, 2005); ALEXANDER POLIKOFF, *WAITING FOR GAUTREAUX: A STORY OF SEGREGATION, HOUSING AND THE BLACK GHETTO* (2006).

²⁴ HIRSCH, *supra* note 23, at 4-9.

²⁵ BERYL SATTER, *FAMILY PROPERTIES: HOW THE STRUGGLE OVER RACE AND REAL ESTATE TRANSFORMED CHICAGO AND URBAN AMERICA* 4-5 (2009).

come a recognized process, and our understanding of how neighborhoods change or stabilize has evolved little since then.²⁶

But it is precisely because of other tipping factors surrounding race and neighborhoods that integration and stably integrated neighborhoods are poised to take off over the next decade. We have been living by an old mindset, and it is ready to tip to new.

The Tipping Point of Intermarriage

The first feature in the old mindset held that we are all different and that neighborhoods can be identified as Black, White, Latino or Chinatown. The tipping point that dismantles that thinking is intermarriage and the births of multiracial children that follow from mixed marriages. Much has been made of the prediction that by 2050, or 2043 by some estimates,²⁷ America will be a “majority-minority” country. But in several regions of the country and many metropolitan areas, the balance has already tipped.²⁸

Intermarriage, defined as marriages of Hispanics and non-whites with non-Hispanic whites or each other, is a further accelerant that demographers are not able to track in conventional ways. Consider the report “The Rise of Intermarriage,” recently issued by the Pew Research Center.²⁹ The report was first released in mid-2010 based on data from 1980 and 2008, but it did

²⁶ Ingrid Gould Ellen, *Welcome Neighbors? New Evidence on the Possibility of Stable Racial Integration*, THE BROOKINGS INST. (1997), <http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/1997/12/winter-communitydevelopment-ellen#recent/>.

²⁷ Frey, *supra* note 8.

²⁸ Jennifer Buske, *In Prince William, Minorities Quickly Become New Majority*, WASHINGTON POST (Feb. 4, 2011), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/02/03/AR2011020305542.html>.

²⁹ Paul Taylor, Wendy Wang, Kim Parker, Jeffrey S. Passel, Eileen Patten and Seth Motel, *The Rise of Intermarriage: Rates, Characteristics Vary by Race and Gender*, PEW RES. SOC. & DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS (February 16, 2012), <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2012/02/SDT-Intermarriage-II.pdf>.

not command significant attention from the press until its completion with additional 2009 and 2010 data from the Census Bureau's American Communities Survey, publicized and fully released in early 2012. By then the real data on which it was based was already four years old, and a simple eyeball test on the streets of most cities suggests that things are changing faster than that.

The Pew Research Center tracked public opinion about intermarriage during the same time period. Approval of intermarriage has been rising dramatically.³⁰ But what the Pew researchers cannot possibly track are the subtle transformative effects that each intermarriage has on its observers and especially the family members who become the relatives of a new mixed union.

Every mixed marriage—better yet, every interracial or interethnic relationship—that people witness decreases the historical taboo that has attended those relationships. Within families and among the wedding parties, there is a multiplier effect as people care for new mixed couple, and especially their offspring, in ways that may be new to them. This is deep caring, the deepest kind: love that is professed at an altar and creates children and families.

Consider the white grandmother who wrote to *Time Magazine* after Trayvon Martin was killed exclaiming, like President Obama, that her beloved grandson could have been the child in the hoodie. In this way, multiracial families not only reflect love across racial boundaries, they also retroactively change racial attitudes, reaching back into the generations.

Through these multipliers, the rise in intermarriages could serve as the ultimate network effect for social change as mixed families integrate most “spaces” simply by being created.

This network effect also has been observed in a number of different contexts. For example, the first fax machine was virtu-

³⁰ *Id.* at 3.

ally worthless by itself. But, as companies began to purchase these devices, fax machines gained currency.³¹ Similarly, as people used Microsoft Office, the popularity of this technology has increased. A similar trend is likely to emerge as more people intermarry in the United States.

Intermarriage is due for an exponential increase, and although it is difficult to say when, the next ten years is a likely timeframe. The Pew Research Center's limited data points between 1980 and 2010 make the rise in intermarriage look linear, but by 2010 we had reached the point when 15% of all new marriages were intermarriages. Countless other marriages—between, say, Korean Americans and Chinese Americans, or Caribbeans and African Americans—are intermarriages in the cultural sense of the term but are not counted because they are among members of “like” racial groups. Too complex to count, intermarriages in the larger sense of the word are exploding.

If the country is 35% nonwhite and Hispanic right now and fully 10% of White America is intermarrying, this means that nearly half of the new families being created as you read this are nonwhite, multiracial or Hispanic—probably more, since nonwhites and Hispanics trend young.

Diverse families will be a new normal, and as a matter of both lived experience and statistical probability, it is not conceivable that the white 50% of the marriageable population is going to limit itself to only half of the market for potential mates. What does it mean if intermarriage approaches 25% or 35% of all marriages as the general population approaches 50% nonwhite? At the least, it means that more than 60% of all new families created as children are born will be nonwhite or Hispanic, and, thus, that demand for stable, racially and culturally mixed neighborhoods will be growing dramatically.

In the road from segregation as a society to integration, members of multiracial families are the “Connectors, Mavens and

³¹ GLADWELL, *supra* note 18, at 271-72.

Salesmen” that Malcolm Gladwell describes in his “Law of the Few” about tipping points. He suggests that a very few people can cause a social epidemic to tip, namely people who connect us to other people (Connectors), people who connect us to important information (Mavens) and people who persuade us to adopt an idea (Salesmen).

As regards race and integration, members of intermarriages and their offspring are highly likely to fulfill the Law of the Few. By marrying their way onto the color line (or being born straddling it), they occupy unique social niches, which is classic of Connectors.³² Based on the law of averages, some of them are likely to also be extraordinary people persons, filling the role of Connector.

Mixed families then often put extraordinary energy into finding the social settings that will work for them: which schools, neighborhoods and churches will fit most comfortably for interracial couples and their children? Knowing this information is the stuff of Mavens who can inform the rest of us how old segregated categories can be left behind.

That leaves the need for Salesmen, or persuaders. On the question of living together as an interracial society, there have not been since Dr. King many high-visibility advocates. Advocates for fair housing and affordable housing have been marginalized as dry technocrats, losing themselves in the jargon of the HUD policies they must contend within their work and ultimately failing to speak to the needs of the broadest American public.

“Selling” an integrated America may be the hardest task yet considering the Law of the Few. There may be people (President Obama comes to mind) who can speak to the public about the hope of a multiracial American future, and again they are likely to come from the world of intermarriages because of the lives that they lead. As real estate markets change and there is

³² *Id.* at 48.

an opportunity to sell something different than what we have been buying, it may also be that our Salesmen will be found in the everyday places that Salesmen operate. The next three sections will focus on these ordinary operations of the real estate market as circumstances and conditions are more friendly to multiracial communities.

***The Tipping Point of Sprawl and Flight:
Metropolitan Convergence***

A second feature of the old mindset about neighborhoods and segregation comes straight from Saul Alinsky's quip about integration being a chronological term: as black and brown people would move into a neighborhood, white people would move out—quickly in the 60s and 70s and perhaps more slowly in recent memory but always with inevitability. White folks would move outward from central cities, leaving “inner city” as a euphemism for Black and Latino communities. First suburbs and then exurbs would be settled and filled by whites, who would move further and further out to create the pattern of “chocolate cities, vanilla suburbs.”³³ Metropolitan areas became increasingly sprawled out as populations abandoned the urban core and built ever-newer suburbs on greenfields at the margin of the metro.

Perhaps some people thought the flight and sprawl could continue indefinitely. But of course, there are costs of each and, as the costs mount, they reach their own tipping points. In economic systems, capital tends to flow to the best deal available. So as long as flight and sprawl have been marginally better options for the market than staying in place and investing in community, the dominant economic model of metropolitan development has been to build on new greenfields, in communities increasingly farther away from the urban cores that anchor our metropolises. Flight to those greener pastures, especially by

³³ Farley et al., *supra* note 12, at 320.

white Americans but increasingly among minority populations too, has been the preferred understanding of neighborhood succession. As you did better economically, you moved outward toward increasingly tony suburbs and schools that you could consider safe.

But flight equals disinvestment. During this process of decades, the costs of abandonment have been mounting. In urban neighborhoods, churches with dwindling congregations, storefronts with boards on the windows and houses in need of paint jobs all represent wasted economic potential. On a globe of scarce resources, the pattern of flight and abandonment represents a serious waste of environmental, fiscal and human resources. And now our metros have begun to cry out “too much.” People have grown tired of hour-plus commutes in gridlocked traffic to get to jobs in the metro centers. The fiscal strain on state and county governments of building and operating new infrastructure while letting the inner infrastructure we built just decades ago wither on the vine is showing in the political gridlock at nearly every level of government. And metropolises are beginning to turn back in on themselves.

Alan Ehrenhalt calls this “The Great Inversion” and wrote a book of that name to describe a phenomenon of redirecting resources and population toward the central core of the city.³⁴ Nowhere is this more pronounced than Chicago, where the area around the “Loop” downtown district grew faster than the center of any other American metro in the last ten years.³⁵ By choosing the inversion metaphor, Ehrenhalt chose to focus on the reversal of the postwar pattern of suburbanization and outward migration of population and jobs from the center city.

³⁴ See ALAN EHRENHALT, *THE GREAT INVERSION AND THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN CITY* (2012).

³⁵ Greg Hinz, *The Hottest Urban Center in the U.S. – Chicago’s Mega-Loop*, *CRAIN’S CHI. BUS.* (March 4, 2013), <http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20130302/ISSUE01/303029987/the-hottest-urban-center-in-the-u-s-chicagos-mega-loop>.

We are describing the same occurrence. However, for purposes of the tipping point argument I am making, I am more interested in what should be called “Metropolitan Convergence,” the turning of populations and communities back inward—not only toward the center of the metro but embracing many communities in between the center and the outer edge. If because of environmental and fiscal constraints, sprawl has slowed to a crawl and if because of intermarriage, people become more interested in neighborhoods that are not monoracial, then the tipping point of Metropolitan Convergence presents dramatic new options for mapping our community lives onto existing developed neighborhoods. Every space from the center to the edge will experience new possibilities in the coming decade.

The Tipping Point of Stupidity

The third feature of the old mindset is that we came to believe that race was destiny for community life. While we have made incredible strides toward transcending race in entertainment, athletics, the military and workplaces, our neighborhoods have remained stubbornly segregated. Racial attitudes underlie this phenomenon since our families and homes are the most private of domestic spaces, and they combine with the simple inertia of repeated reification of our living patterns over many decades.

Race has always been stupid as a category for differentiating among people (or, we might say, discriminating). In the late 1960s, an Iowa third-grade teacher named Jane Elliott designed an eye-color exercise in reaction to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., to help her students understand discrimination.³⁶ On the first day of the exercise, she designated the brown-eyed children as the superior group, giving them extra privileges and encouraging them to play only with other brown-eyed kids, ignoring those with blue eyes. Ms. Elliott designated

³⁶ Stephen G. Bloom, *Lesson of a Lifetime*, SMITHSONIAN.COM (Sept. 2005), http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history-archaeology/lesson_lifetime.html.

separate water fountains for the two groups and repeatedly reprimanded and demeaned the blue-eyed kids.

The results of this now-famous exercise are familiar to many. The ascribed status differences deformed the personalities of both sets of kids (all of the children in the original Iowa classroom were white). The brown-eyes became bossy and acted superior to their classmates. The blue-eyes, even ones who had been classroom leaders before, went into their shells and became timid and subservient. The experiment became so instructive and popular that after using it for several more years in the classroom, Ms. Elliott took it on a road show and performed it for Fortune 500 companies, government agencies and more than 350 colleges and universities.

The primary lesson of the exercise had to do with the negative transformations enacted on both the advantaged and disadvantaged students. Students and later participants across the country (and the world, as Ms. Elliott has widely been credited as one of the innovators of diversity training) were taught to empathize with the experience of discrimination. But there is the other message, patently obvious but also more subtle and still ignored, that race is a stupid grounds for discriminating among people—as stupid as dividing kids because they have different color eyes. This implication has been supported by decades of research proving that there are no more biological or genetic differences between people of different races than there are between people of different eye or hair color, yet we still struggle to live with one another rather than divided by race.

Luckily, we are beginning to see cracks in the foundation of the view that our racial differences are fixed and immutable. Another Pew Research Center survey found that the great majority of Americans have favorable views of other racial and ethnic groups.³⁷ According to the study, a “plurality” of Whites

³⁷ Paul Taylor, *Race, Ethnicity and Campaign '08*, PEW RES. CTR. (Jan. 17, 2008), <http://www.pewresearch.org/2008/01/17/race-ethnicity-and-campaign-08/>.

(45%), African Americans (35%) and Hispanics (39%) say they have “just a few” friends of another race. But contrast this with just a few decades ago when most people were lucky to have one.

The inverse of the previous statement is that there are many people of all races who have more than “just a few” friends of another race. The numbers are climbing, and the sum of the changes means that while African Americans and Hispanics lost considerable wealth in the recent housing crash and recession, their cultural capital has continued to grow. Americans by and large view each other favorably as peers in social terms.

Changing attitudes have not converted into widespread residential integration yet, but there is evidence that awareness is dawning about the negative effects of segregation on everyone. A recent study based on data showing that higher rates of segregation lead to slower economic growth suggested that greater Detroit, the most segregated metro area in the country, might be giving up as much as \$2 billion a year in income as a result of its segregation.³⁸ If people grow increasingly comfortable with those of other races and become aware that separation is holding their communities back, then something has got to give. That is the tipping point of stupidity: realizing the sheer absurdity of maintaining segregation to our economic and social detriment.

***The Final Tipping Point: the Dual Housing Market and
Turning Vicious Cycles into Virtuous Ones***

The tipping points of intermarriage, stupidity and exurban development combine to create the fundamentals for a turn in the private real estate market. The old model has worked on a simple pattern that everyone understands: as Black or brown folks move into a neighborhood in any significant numbers, people

³⁸ Emily Badger, *Why Segregation is Bad for Everyone*, THE ATLANTIC CITIES (May 3, 2013), <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/jobs-and-economy/2013/05/why-segregation-bad-everyone/5476/>.

who can flee do so. Whether a matter of perception or fact, concern arises about the quality of schools and public safety.

A 1997 Dateline NBC report by Tom Brokaw, which was entitled “Why Can’t We Live Together?,” showed that the mere perception of community decline as African Americans moved in increasing numbers to Chicago’s South Suburb of Matteson drove enough further flight from the village to result in the feared diminution of property values.³⁹ Existing residents flee, and the folks who initially moved into the neighborhood see their property values diminished. This is known as the “Black tax” for owning residential real estate.

A vicious cycle with neighborhood stability and property values has led to the systematic undervaluation of real estate owned by people of color, especially in neighborhoods where they predominate. But no one has asked for the modern update to Alinsky’s quip about integration. What happens when the last white families never exit? What happens when changing demographics and rising intermarriage have people looking for stable, integrated communities? What happens when desires to live closer to the center city bring people back in from the edges of exurban sprawl?

The answer is that real estate and neighborhoods tip because of market demand, and they will tip in a direction that no one presently anticipates. In the 1960s, attorney Mark Satter, who was representing a class of Chicago plaintiffs that became the Contract Buyers’ League, estimated that the dual housing market and the contract sales used to exploit African American buyers with too few options was costing the Chicago African American community a million dollars a day.⁴⁰ In the decades since, the consistent undervaluation of real estate owned by or near people of color has prevented a reversal of that pattern. But now things are primed for change.

³⁹ MYRON ORFIELD, *AMERICAN METROPOLITICS: THE NEW SUBURBAN REALITY* 11-12 (2002).

⁴⁰ SATTER, *supra* note 25, at 59.

The tipping factors described above will drive the changed market demand and rewrite the racial mapping of our neighborhoods. What no one is prepared for is how fast it will happen and how quickly capital will flow into neighborhoods that were frequently considered “transitional” based on their demographics. When the diversity of neighborhoods is a goal or destination rather than a transitional state, investment will come and stay rather than come and go, or as has so often happened, just consistently leave. In such an environment, integrated communities starting as they are with a dollop of devalued real estate are a better buy for families looking for diverse living environments. These families can get more house and higher quality of life for their dollar as renters or buyers.

Accordingly, with the shifts driven by demographics, intermarriage and metropolitan convergence, we should expect real estate to appreciate relatively faster in integrated communities, where assets are currently undervalued as a function of race. Race-based housing market inefficiencies will finally turn from reinforcing vicious cycles of segregation to reinforcing virtuous cycles of integration.

The question is, how quickly will this happen? The possibility could stun people. Each year, approximately 15% of the population over age one moves to a new home—this means nearly 50 million people a year are moving.⁴¹ For people age 18 to 29, who will be defining new neighborhood preferences and having the majority of babies over the next decade, the numbers are approximately double: 30% of this population moves in any given year, and we can expect virtually everyone in the cohort to move sometime in the next four years. At this pace, operating with a new mental model driven by demographics, intermarriage and metropolitan convergence, young people have an incredible opportunity to remake our neighborhoods.

⁴¹ David K. Ihrke et al., *Geographical Mobility: 2008 to 2009*, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (Nov. 2011), <http://www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/p20-565.pdf>.

CHAPTER 3 WHAT DO WE MEAN BY INTEGRATION?

One of the biggest obstacles to integration has been that no one knows what it means, and people cannot agree that they want any of the various meanings available. In 2011, as a new Executive Director of the Chicago Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Inc., I was invited to a strategic planning meeting of the national Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. To a panel of luminaries of the civil rights bar—Barbara Arnwine of the Lawyers' Committee with representatives of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the Urban League and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)—I asked whether there were promising legal strategies to promote the principle of racial integration.

The chief counsel to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the late John Payton, gave two illuminating responses. The first was that there were not many recent court decisions dealing with integration but that the remedial phase of a 1995 public housing case, *Thompson v. HUD*,⁴² was worth looking at. The second was a more philosophical point: that he was not sure how people in the Black community felt about integration. Some middle-class Black folks had done well since the end of de jure segregation in the 1960s, he pointed out, but so many of their brothers and sisters had been left behind, trapped in poverty, that it called into question the whole idea of integration.

God rest his soul, Payton taught me a lot about integration and its place in the civil rights struggle that day. Mr. Payton was absolutely right that the results of integration since the 1960s have been very uneven. And there is no question that there is deep pessimism in the Black community about possibility in America. To my assertion that "integration is the future of America," one Black friend rejoined, "No, segregation is the fu-

⁴² See *Thompson v. U.S. Dep't of Hous. & Urban Dev.*, 404 F.3d 821 (4th Cir. 2005).

ture of America. They got it right the first time.” Black folks make residential choices in ways that both insulate themselves from and accommodate that pessimism.

Georgetown professor Sheryll Cashin has detailed the degree to which many successful African Americans choose to live where they can be comfortable and live among others like them, frequently in Black enclaves of professional success and middle-class stability.⁴³ My family moved into one of these communities, Olympia Fields, Illinois, in 2004 (adjacent to Matteson). I could trace the racial change in Olympia Fields through its recent history. Although technically a 50-50 white-black community when we moved in, the public schools foretold the future of the community: very few white families with children were moving into the community of 5,000 residents and fewer still were sending their children to public school.

When my son started kindergarten in 2008, at a phenomenal Federal Blue-Ribbon-recognized elementary school, the school was over 90% African-American. I met a young white woman on the train who told me that 20 years previously, when she attended there, her school had been 90% white. And when my niece had attended exactly in between, in 1998, the school had been about 50-50. It took 20 years to tip, as African Americans from the city and inner-ring suburbs deemed Olympia Fields a desirable place to live: close to the rest of the Black Metropolis, the churches and cultural institutions that felt like home. But the quality of the school had changed little.

Initially, the desirable designation for Olympia Fields was as an integrated community, and the tipping was not so much as a result of white flight as white attrition. As school-age kids grew up and left home, their parents did not leave until they downsized for retirement—they too deemed Olympia Fields still a very nice place to live—but the kids also did not move back into

⁴³ Sheryll D. Cashin, *Middle-Class Black Suburbs and the State of Integration: A Post-Integrationist Vision for Metropolitan America*, 86 CORNELL L. REV. 729 (2001).

the family homestead or down the block with their own families. Slowly, Olympia Fields went from being a desirable integrated destination to a Black Mecca, the realization of the dreams of its residents and a place to aspire to for many others across Chicagoland's Black Metropolis. As one of my neighbors put it, "this is our own little piece of heaven."

The appeal of an Olympia Fields, Illinois, a Prince George's County, Maryland, or a Decatur, Georgia, is so strong that it enables Black civil rights leaders to question whether integration is really a goal, which in turn absolves white folks from worrying about integration because, after all, it is not clear to them that Black folks or Black leadership really want that after all. Never mind the depredations of the segregated ghetto of concentrated poverty, middle-class Black enclaves seem to be so nice that maybe we can all make peace with separate but equal after all. If the separate conditions can be truly equal, or better yet above average or even elite, then we have a model that people of color can aspire to and white folks can happily respect from a distance.

Cashin's writing also identifies the shortcomings that lurk under the surface for even elite Black enclaves.⁴⁴ For similarly-sized homes, real estate values are lower and more vulnerable to market downturns. Black communities of all economic levels suffer from what analysts call "retail redlining," or the decisions by major retailers not to locate outlets in various communities based on complex market forecasting models, which, like most other assumptions in American life, do not trust the stability or economic sustainability of neighborhoods that are racially mixed or demographically changing. Even upper-income Black neighborhoods are more likely to be surrounded by neighborhoods that are struggling economically than similarly-situated predominantly-white neighborhoods. Finally, there just is not enough wealth in African America to support all predominantly

⁴⁴ *Id.* at 732.

Black communities with uniformly healthy civic lives and robust public spheres if, by and large, they are to remain segregated by race.

So how then do we reconcile the wishes of many African Americans to live among other members of the African American community—and white folks’ desire to respect their wishes—with both the intuition and empiricism that separate is inherently unequal? By promoting an ideal of integration that allows for a significant amount of clustering but maintains access and opportunity to the broadest spectrum of possible residents and by recognizing that the places where integration can first and best take root are in neighborhoods of Black (or Latino) middle-class and cultural strength. This means creating, as a society, the demographic and economic preconditions for the multiracial middle class of America’s future.

My argument is that if the broadest possible mix of metropolitan communities has their populations made up of no more than 80% of any one racial or ethnic group, with no more than 20% of their residents in poverty at any given time, we will have achieved an unprecedented degree of racial integration and a metropolitan landscape of mobility and opportunity that will prompt a renaissance in American ingenuity and growth. We would be so much less likely to think of places as White neighborhoods, Black neighborhoods, or Latino neighborhoods, which seems to be the dominant taxonomy of 2013, but rather as middle-class, American neighborhoods.

Such a definition, acknowledging integration when there is still a significant amount of clustering and a broad range of possible community compositions, avoids the perceived threat of “social engineering.” Too many people connect the notion of “integration” with government-sponsored school busing and efforts to place large populations of racially monolithic, deeply poor residents in low-income housing. As soon as people read of segregation or hypersegregation being defined through a dissimilarity index, they jump to the conclusion that advocates must

want policies that would drive the dissimilarity index to zero. This stinks of social engineering to the suspicious.

But we need neither a melting pot model nor a perfect dissimilarity statistic to achieve a level of integration that will unlock opportunity in America and eliminate the negative effects of segregation. America has always been at its strongest and enjoyed the greatest rates of economic growth when its middle class has been largest. We can achieve the strong multiracial middle class of the future by aiming for communities that are no more than 80% comprised of any single racial or ethnic group and no more than 20% poor; these percentages should be used as triggers and cutoffs for federal and state aid, which is exactly how housing, transit and community development policy are used to benefit the great mass of the American middle class rather than special interest communities that have hoarded opportunity or walled themselves off from others. And based on the revaluation of undervalued real estate, Black middle-class enclaves like Olympia Fields are likely to be re-integrated after they have tipped in racial terms.

White folks may not be the first to return as America learns that diverse neighborhoods can be desirable; rather, populations of brown immigrants are likely to find value because they are often racial pioneers. South Asian, Middle Eastern and Latin American immigrants are already likely to be in the minority wherever they go. So why not find the best value of housing and community strength available? Indeed, this is already the reality in Olympia Fields, where even in the Black community there is a dizzying array of different subgroups present, Caribbean and Nigerian and Eritrean.

The basic targets, 80% or less of any one racial or ethnic group and under a 20% poverty rate, still allow for plenty of clustering both for Blacks and whites or, frankly, for any group that finds comfort in a community of affinity by racial or ethnic category. But in the end, it promotes the great middle, a middle class that will mix and intermarry and integrate its neighbor-

hoods through free choice and market mechanisms as I have described. And in that future, many vibrant communities are going to find levels of mixture and integration that do not come anywhere close to 80% of just one group.

CHAPTER 4

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHOICES TO GET IT RIGHT

As many commentators have pointed out, demographics are not destiny: Brazil is all the evidence we need that a multiracial society can still be class bound and economically stratified. The democratic tradition in the United States should be such that both our private civic actions and the public policies of government tip toward integration.

What follows is a brief summary of the public and private choices that should be made to make integration work. Most of these have been proposed one place or another, but as a public at large, we have failed to implement them comprehensively and in concert. They deserve further vetting, but considering the imminence of The Coming Integration, these are the conversations we should have in order to ensure opportunity for all.

A. Vote with your feet.

People from intermarriages and people of color have a vested interest in the success of diverse communities, and many sympathetic whites should join them in selecting and moving to communities that are stable places for integration to take root and thrive. By paying rent, mortgages, property taxes and sales taxes in these communities, we support their fiscal lifeblood, and by populating them, we create the social fabric that inspires the growth of more communities like these. Proponents of integration could use some conscious consumerism.

B. Fair Housing and Community Development must come together.

Two distinct industries work from opposite sides of the separate and unequal problem: Fair Housing addresses the fact that we live separately, and Community Development deals with the inequality between communities.⁴⁵ The problem is that too often the fields are not coordinated with one another and end up at loggerheads. I am a member of both worlds in my professional life, and I secretly fear that we are too often arcane, boring and uninspiring. HUD underwrites the institutional support for the work of both, and as a result, you are likely to hear affordable housing advocates debating the effectiveness of 4% versus 9% credits (to finance and build subsidized housing), or fair housing advocates discussing “analyses of impediments to fair housing choice,” a documentary requirement for HUD-funded municipalities. The eyes glaze over. There is both a communications problem because it feels like we are tinkering at the edges of problems that go to the heart of how America lives without inspiring the sea change that is necessary, and there is a substantive problem because affordable housing advocates often propose and build subsidized housing in communities that are already overpopulated by the poor, while fair housing advocates argue for spreading the poor evenly throughout metropolitan areas so that every community bears a fair-share burden of the social costs of supporting and integrating low-income citizens.

In line with the definition of integration above, I think that this one is conceptually easy if politically difficult: no more housing should be subsidized in census tracts that are more than 20% low-income—not by use of Housing Choice Vouchers, Low-Income Housing Tax Credit construction or public housing. To those advocates who argue that this robs low-income communities of desperately-needed housing, jobs and economic ac-

⁴⁵ See Elizabeth K. Julian, *Fair Housing and Community Development: Time to Come Together*, 41 IND. L. REV. 555 (2008).

tivity, the response is to shift the nature of public investment in those communities from subsidized rental housing to stakeholder investments in home ownership and business development. With these, the near-poor and working-class can become part of a neighborhood's vitalization without threatening an over-concentration of poverty. Index the level of HUD investment in specific census tracts to a benchmark year (say, 2013) and ensure that investment levels do not decrease as rental subsidy monies are spent elsewhere in opportunity communities with poverty levels below 20%.

To the further argument that mobility programs for Housing Choice Voucher holders rob already-fragile neighborhoods of social capital by depopulating them, the response is also simple: clustering is fine so long as people relocate to the nearest non-poor tract to remain close to their families and community institutions, but the taxpaying public has a right to stop investing in concentrations of poverty that compound the problems of poverty. Invest instead in the social capital and population growth of those who can match public investment with their own modest funds, and ghettos will be on faster paths to the middle-class center.

C. Regional leadership must embrace integration and lead.

Despite the success of books like "Cities Without Suburbs,"⁴⁶ "American Metropolitcs"⁴⁷ and "Place Matters,"⁴⁸ metropolitan leadership is often still slow to grasp the importance of integration to the health of the larger city-state. When the Chicago Area Fair Housing Alliance recently engaged in regional fair housing work with the Chicago Metropolitan Agency on Planning (CMAP), officials there told us that they had not really had

⁴⁶ David Rusk, *Cities without Suburbs* (2013).

⁴⁷ ORFIELD, *supra* note 34.

⁴⁸ PETER DREIER ET AL., *PLACE MATTERS: METROPOLITICS FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY* (2001).

any formal fair housing programming prior to the project. In the second decade of the 21st century! CMAP is Chicago's federally-designated "Metropolitan Planning Organization," or MPO, and integration was literally not on its map.

Yes, transportation, infrastructure, communications and manufacturing are all critical to the health of successful regions in the modern economy. But the truth is that the economy of tomorrow will not look like the economy of yesterday. Extractive technologies are reaching a point of diminishing returns with natural resources around the globe; advanced, light and green manufacturing all promise new growth for American industry but not with the kind of employment numbers we have historically known because technology has replaced workers in many frames. And while 19th and 20th-century assets like Chicago's rail and highway infrastructure are still important to the movement of goods and services, digital communications means that information and capital flow much more smoothly.

The future of the world will mean recycling and repurposing the manufactured goods and natural resources that earlier centuries have produced, and the most important new and growing asset will be human capital. Any region that wastes human capital and stunts its growth through segregation and concentration of poverty will not be able to compete on the future stage. Community life and healthy democracy are two of the United States' most promising exports, and given a shrinking world of eye-popping diversity, we can deliver the goods none too soon. Mayors, planners and business executives who see the big picture and roll it out on the global stage must understand these realities and promote integration.

D. Diverse communities must make a massive civic commitment to education and public spaces.

It is no secret that the advent of legal desegregation in the 1960s led to an explosion of private white citizens' academies

and bricking over swimming pools in the South. But across the country, a quieter but equally insidious process unfolded as white people took their children to private schools and took their swimming to backyard private pools. Our struggle to integrate socially and residentially has led to a radical devaluation of the public sphere. Successful integrated communities that will attract a multiplicity of new residents will have to prove their value as shared community spaces through strong public schools for all and vibrant public spaces and public processes. Someone needs to bring back the American block party. Citizen participation and investment in the public commons is going to be crucial to overcome the reservations of doubters.

It is no secret that even middle-class African American and Latino students experience an educational achievement gap relative to their white and Asian counterparts. Communities that are diverse and integrated must, in order to continue to attract new families with children, double down on both private and public investment in schools and parks and recreation departments. Leave no doubt. Volunteers should flood the schools and afternoons with their time and extra resources to provide assurance that they are creating blue ribbon educational communities. The exceptional test case will be the school district that is populated by a majority of people of color and has educational outcomes that outpace those available in less-diverse communities. These are the communities that will attract the most new residents and pace the way for the explosion of integration into many more communities.

Interestingly, while the negative effects of segregated schools on minority populations are well-documented from the social science evidence in *Brown v. Board of Education*⁴⁹ to the present, there is very little evidence about the effects of attending schools that are majority African American or Latino on white students. Anecdotally, I have seen evidence that many white

⁴⁹ *Brown v. Bd. of Educ.*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

students thrive when they are the minority in schools dominated by young people of color.⁵⁰ Lousy schools are lousy for students of any color, but there are more schools out there than people suspect where the majority of students can achieve and move on if we stop running away.

What is shocking is how little research there is on how students of all races do in schools that are good enough—i.e., that provide enough of a baseline education for the middle ranges of talent to get kids to college and provide enrichment opportunities for both advanced and remedial learners—rather than the best in every way. The predominant mindset for parents has thus been that you need to find the very best education for your child, even if it means moving or turning to private school to get it. But if a larger set of American schools can deliver the primary and secondary education needed to succeed in the modern world, it would obviate the need to flee diverse neighborhoods in order to ensure educational security.

E. Young leaders should Occupy the Ghetto.

The tipping points I described above are likely to work best and first in middle-class communities at the vital center of American life and so too are the public policies described below most likely to accelerate integration where it is already taking root. A number of communities with deep segregation and truly concentrated poverty will continue to exist notwithstanding any antidiscrimination principles, social services and educational innovations we can muster.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See, e.g., Dana Rosenblatt & Don Lemon, *White Valedictorian: A First for Historically-Black Morehouse*, CABLE NEWS NETWORK (CNN) (May 19, 2008), <http://www.cnn.com/2008/US/05/16/white.valedictorian/>.

⁵¹ See Elizabeth Kneebone et al., *The Re-emergence of Concentrated Poverty: Metropolitan Trends in the 2000s*, THE BROOKINGS INST. (Nov. 3, 2011), <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2011/11/03-poverty-kneebone-na-deau-berube>.

We have always called these ghettos, and although political sensitivity has increased around the use of the word, that is exactly what they are: hypersegregated neighborhoods that were created by explicit public policies over the last century and made sturdy by implicit racial bias and a sense of despair that no intervention can reach far enough to unravel the tangle of pathologies that now make them such hard places. The current reach of our Constitutional law does not reach far enough to improve our ghettos, and our timid urban and metropolitan policies are years and years away from making a dent in their poverty and deprivation. Some structural inequalities will never go away unless a movement of people makes an extraordinary private commitment to American ideals of opportunity and equality.

Young college graduates are facing bleak employment prospects. They should go where there is unlimited work that needs to be done; their lives and careers will never be the same. In the mid-1990s, I was part of a still-extant program in high-poverty Connecticut neighborhoods, Leadership, Education and Athletics in Partnership,⁵² which moved college student counselors into public housing project units for the summer to work with children in a neighborhood-based educational program. It was a transformative experience, and it is available to anyone who will take on the challenge.

Teach for America (TFA) and AmeriCorps offer similar experiences, working in areas of great need for an intense period of service. Every year 50,000 people apply for TFA and 45,000 are turned away. The successful ones are popular with law and business schools after they finish teaching, and an explicit purpose of TFA is to transform the ideals and perspectives of their alumni as they enter different fields. Somehow we need more of the unsuccessful TFA applicants and many more graduates wanting to make a difference and start a career, to take their

⁵² LEAP FOR KIDS (2013), www.leapforkids.org (last visited on Dec. 3, 2013.)

talents to the ghettos to work on neighborhood revitalization, teaching children, rehabbing homes and caring for those with fragile health.

While some will object on grounds of personal safety for the volunteers, my research has shown that there is next to zero threat of violence in churches, elementary schools and senior residences, especially in daylight hours. Be safe and be smart, but go where there are needs and work to empower and support those who are on the ground doing the needed work every day. Find an apartment in an integrated area, as close to the ghetto as makes financial and safety sense.

Each summer, the Chicago Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights gets scores of applications for unpaid internships. We do great work, but I also want to see people bringing family resources and school-sponsored internships directly to working where the needs are greatest and the partnerships with existing stakeholders will promote the most dramatic empowerment for local communities. We need thousands more middle-class young people—white, black and brown—finding the funding to expand, support and mirror the work of Public Allies, City Year, Year Up, YouthBuild and TFA. Some middle-class families can self-fund, but other young people would do well to work low-wage jobs part-time while getting involved with churches and community-based nonprofits to explore real pathways to change. The relationships they build and the life-transforming perspectives they develop will work wonders to integrate America.

F. Find new strategies for old neighborhoods.

As the metropolis converges upon itself, the possibility and promise of new population entrants in neighborhoods that had previously been depopulated and disinvested will raise the specter of gentrification. The historical fear, borne out (and maybe even sensationalized) by current experience in places like Wash-

ington, DC, is that as the gentry move into neighborhoods, they displace the poor and reshape the public values and culture to fit their mold.

But this stereotype gives too little credence to the historical strength of communities that have established themselves in low-income neighborhoods that have the potential for gentrification. Existing communities and networks of low-income people and their advocates should not fear gentrification; they should welcome and manage it. The entry of the gentry is a necessary thing for low-income neighborhoods to become middle-class neighborhoods. And the fear that gentrification will erase the historical heritage of important African American communities has proven to be an overblown concern time and time again in discussions of Harlem and Chicago's Bronzeville neighborhood over the past three decades.

These places will remain predominantly African American for the foreseeable future, and it will be a good thing for both those communities and the meaning of America if there were a continually stronger middle-class presence in each.⁵³ Fewer low-income communities and more middle-income communities will mean more integration, and it will not be such a bad thing if a few nonblack folks are sprinkled through historically Black communities in American cities.

Established communities that face gentrification because of new perceptions of economic attractiveness that have probably been warranted for years need to be organized and civically strong in order to preserve their destinies. But there is a clear combination of a lawyer's toolkit and community organizing that can make these places stronger communities while harnessing new energies to preserve affordability for existing low-income residents and aging populations.

⁵³ See, e.g., MARY E. PATTILLO, *BLACK ON THE BLOCK: THE POLITICS OF RACE AND CLASS IN THE CITY* (2008.)

The Urban Institute has published a guide that lists a slew of promising and accessible strategies: use code enforcement to prevent the loss of affordable rental housing due to insufficient maintenance; establish rent control as a negotiation between landlords and tenants to manage the pace of change; organize to work with HUD for the extension of affordability periods and subsidies for federally-sponsored affordable housing; secure tax relief and assistance from municipalities for stable low-income residents and elderly homeowners; promote public policies that establish affordable housing trust funds, inclusionary zoning for new development and split tax rates that differentiate between improved property with buildings and land speculation; and use local government tools like tax increment financing and land banks to steer community development consistent with community control.⁵⁴ Smaller groups of committed citizens can also form their own institutions with the durability to resist neighborhood overhaul, like limited equity co-ops,⁵⁵ community land trusts, location-efficient mortgages with community development financial institutions and home purchase programs for Housing Choice Voucher Holders.⁵⁶

G. Promote integration through law and affirmative public policy.

Government policy created and reified the ghetto over decades through public housing siting, interstate highways, FHA redlining, urban renewal and much more. Now it is time for affirmative public policies to remediate the damage done by 20th-

⁵⁴ Diane K. Levy et al., *Keeping the Neighborhood Affordable: A Handbook of Housing Strategies for Gentrifying Areas*, THE URBAN INST. (2006).

⁵⁵ Duncan Kennedy, *The Limited Equity Co-Op as a Vehicle for Affordable Housing in a Race and Class Divided Society*, 46 HOW. L.J. 85, 95-97 (2002).

⁵⁶ The Chicago Housing Authority's Choose-to-Own program is operated with significant closing assistance from The Law Project, a program of the Chicago Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, where I am presently Executive Director.

century government-sponsored segregation. This is the purpose of most of the Constitutional amendments and Civil Rights Acts over the last century and a half intended to eliminate the vestiges of slavery. Although the Supreme Court's antidiscrimination and disparate impact rulings on matters of racial equality have recently proven disappointing to many civil rights advocates, the Court has left open the door for positive measures to encourage and support integration.⁵⁷

The key will be to focus integration policy where integration is already happening, through a system of rewards. Too often in our history, prointegrative government policy has focused on moving low-income African Americans wholesale into new communities or moving people out of their neighborhood schools to structure school integration. Integration took on a bad name because it was all about forcing change where it was not wanted. The fear of white working-class populations⁵⁸ was that integration of their communities would lead to lower property values, poorer schools and decreased public safety. Without counterfactual examples of places where integration has taken hold and communities, families and children have thrived, the prophecy of decline became too often self-fulfilling. Now, where diverse communities are taking root, government can be a positive accelerant through creative strategies to encourage mobility and spread subsidized housing, help with inclusionary zoning policies and development enhancements and finance the gentrification management initiatives described above. The courts should uphold such initiatives, as well as affirmative marketing strategies and targeted mortgage supplements, to encourage racial diversity and transit-oriented development.

⁵⁷ See generally Florence Wagman Roisman, *Housing, Poverty, and Racial Justice: How Civil Rights Laws Can Redress the Housing Problems of Poor People*, 36 CLEARINGHOUSE REV. 21, 27-30 (May-June 2002).

⁵⁸ HIRSCH, *supra* note 23, at 196-198.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION: WHY THE COMING INTEGRATION
MATTERS FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA.

This article has examined why integration is upon us, what integration means for the geography of race and opportunity and what we must do to shape The Coming Integration in ways that are consistent with our democratic values of equality and opportunity. It is critical for America's future that we fully understand all three of these discussions.

With the Segregated Century behind us, it is time to redouble our preparations for The Coming Integration. The signs are all around us. Through demographic change, prompted by immigration and especially intermarriage, the nature of families and the communities they will seek are changing. With rising gas prices and greater comfort levels with multiracial living, the metropolis is converging upon itself to create new community possibilities. Changing racial attitudes are helping us realize that if human capital is the key to the 21st century economy and segregation stunts the growth of human capital, then regions need to promote integration to ensure their own health.

These tipping factors will combine to increase demand for integrated residential neighborhoods. Markets will respond, and in stable neighborhoods where integration has taken hold, real estate will appreciate faster than in spaces that are not diverse. As the devalued real estate held by people of color is revalued, a formerly vicious cycle of flight, disinvestment and tipping out will be transformed to a virtuous cycle of new community and new opportunities.

Integration need not mean the total absence of ethnic communities or living by affinity, racial or otherwise. The term should speak to components of race and class. Racially, there should be some mixing, or no more than 80% of one racial or ethnic group in any census tract. And economically, an integrated community should mean one where fewer than 20% of

the residents live below the poverty line. Federal and state policy, both for subsidizing rental housing and seeding investments in commercial development or homeownership, should target investments so that they promote these thresholds and aim for communities geared toward the middle of the socioeconomic spectrum. The government thereby lays the groundwork for integration and provides an environment for integrative market preferences to take hold.

Community groups and municipalities must be creative and sophisticated with tools and policies to encourage integration and growth. They should consciously choose integrated spaces, joyously use public parks and libraries and work hard to invest in neighborhood public schools. Fair Housing advocates and Community Development practitioners must come together and work in concert to support the new communities and a new model of multiracial American middle class. Leaders of regional decision-making bodies must embrace integrative strategies and make the public case for a stronger region through broadly diverse communities. And communities must embrace strategies, laws and policies that enhance integration rather than entrench segregation.

Without embracing these steps, we risk abandoning the rapidly diversifying middle class and accepting a model that seems to respond to the changes of technology and global commerce by hollowing out the vital center to create a dumbbell political economy of wealthy, highly-educated elites on one end and a working class of circumscribed opportunity on the other. Our most pressing domestic social challenges, from poverty to health and education disparities, to crime and mass incarceration to retirement security, will be impossible to solve if our current metropolitan segregation stagnates or deepens. And so, as we live out the tipping of social relations, we must engage critically and actively to get change right. Intermarriage is increasing, metropolises are reformulating themselves and real estate markets will

respond by promoting new forms of community. Will our civic spirit and public policy be up to the challenge?

In greater Chicago, the question hangs in the balance in a place like Park Forest, a suburb to the far south. Ten miles south of the city's farthest reach and 25 miles south of the Loop, Park Forest cannot even be called an inner ring suburb. But it has a place as a classic planned middle-class suburb in America's history, the Midwest version of Levittown designed to house returning war veterans. Park Forest has long been known as an intentionally integrated place and won the "All-American City" designation in 1976 for its open housing initiatives.⁵⁹

But between 2000 and 2010, Park Forest added 42% to its African American population and lost 44% of its white population, so that it is now roughly 60% African American and 29% non-Hispanic white.⁶⁰ The schools are now over 90% nonwhite, but in the elementary district, under the leadership of a brilliant superintendent, scores on the State achievement tests have risen as the white population has left the schools. Park Forest has done the right thing by doubling down on its public amenities, with an exceptional library, aqua center and lighted baseball fields together in the center of town and two rail stations serving commuters to downtown Chicago. With well-shaded curvilinear streets and sidewalks, the village fills with bicycles and pedestrians on warm summer nights. What will the future hold for Park Forest? Many observers working with the old mindset expect that based on race, Park Forest has begun an inexorable slide. But the indicators of The Coming Integration suggest that regardless of the color of its new residents, Park Forest has all the fundamentals to be a middle-class community of choice for our

⁵⁹ *Park Forest, Illinois*, WIKIPEDIA, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Park_Forest,_Illinois (last visited Nov. 16, 2013).

⁶⁰ *Forest, Illinois Population: Census 2010 and 2000 Interactive Map, Demographics, Statistics, Quick Facts*, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, <http://census-viewer.com/city/IL/Park%20Forest> (last visited Nov. 16, 2013)

multiracial future. Time will tell and sooner than we may now think.

