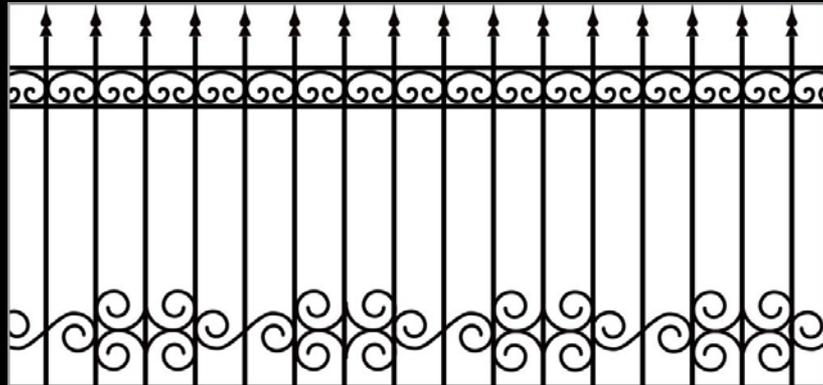


# Segregation: A Threat to Americans' Shared Goals

Molly W. Metzger, PhD  
EHOC Fair Housing Conference  
April 12, 2019



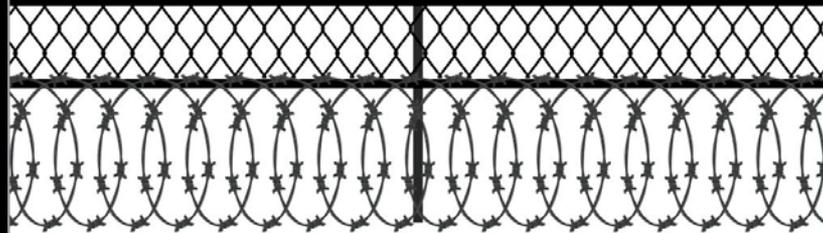
# Facing Segregation

Housing Policy Solutions for a Stronger Society

Edited by

**MOLLY W. METZGER**

**HENRY S. WEBBER**



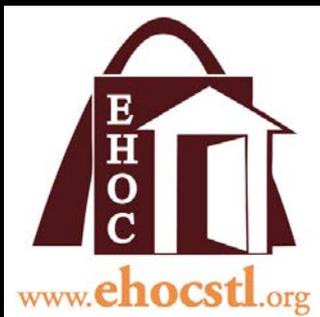
OXFORD

# Thank you!

- Contributing Authors



Center for  
Social Development



Metropolitan St. Louis  
Equal Housing and  
Opportunity Council

# OUTLINE

- Three Fallacies

- What are the origins of segregation?
- What is the solution to segregation?
- Who is affected by segregation?

- Three Solutions for St. Louis Today

- Source-of-income protections
- Inclusionary zoning
- Do better than “Better Together”

- “Declaration of Interdependence”

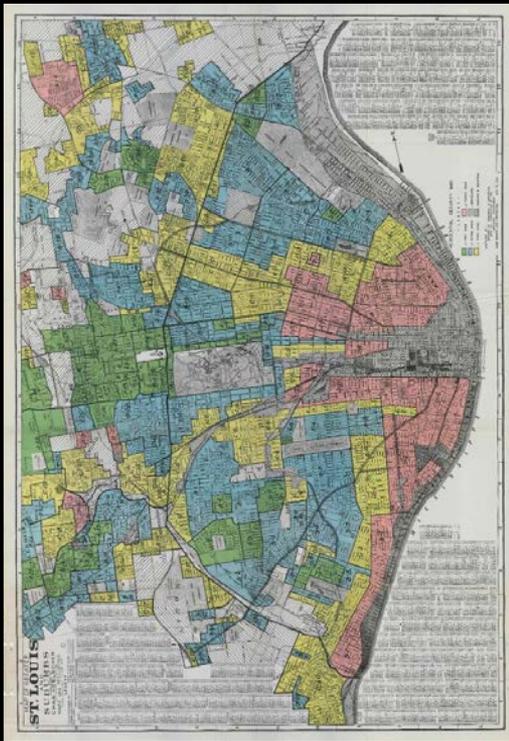
# Segregation by Race or Class?

- The origins of residential segregation are **overtly racist**.
- The solutions we consider tend to be **targeted by income**, but they affect patterns of racial and ethnic segregation because of the racialization of poverty and affluence.

# What are the Origins of Segregation?

**Fallacy: Segregation is driven  
by individual housing choices.**

# What are the Origins of Segregation?



- Segregated public housing
- Redlining
- Restrictive covenants

Richard Rothstein  
*Facing Segregation*, Ch. 2

What is the  
Solution to Segregation?

**Fallacy: Solutions must  
involve the movement of  
low-income people of color.**

# What is the Solution to Segregation?

- **Mobility strategies** – “help families move to higher-opportunity areas”
- **Investment strategies** – “make every neighborhood an opportunity area.”

Molly Metzger & Hank Webber,  
*Facing Segregation*, Ch. 1

# Who is Affected?

**Fallacy: Segregation is only a problem for people living in concentrated poverty.**

# Who is Affected?

**Segregation affects us all.**

- **Economic growth**
- **Democratic process**
- **Shared American values**

Molly Metzger & Hank Webber,  
*Facing Segregation*, Ch. 1

# *SEGREGATION AFFECTS US ALL*

Segregation stifles regional economic growth.

- Across time frames, geographies, and statistical models, racial segregation predicts lower growth in per capita income (Li, Campbell, and Fernandez, 2013)
- Economic segregation predicts lower household income for whites as well as for African Americans (Acs et al., 2017)
- Economic inequality within regions is associated with shorter growth spells. (Benner & Pastor, 2015)

# *SEGREGATION AFFECTS US ALL*

Segregation undermines  
the democratic process.

“In a segregated nation where many  
people and the leaders who  
represent them get little practice at  
pluralism, **democracy is broken.**”

Sheryll Cashin, 2017

# *SEGREGATION AFFECTS US ALL*

Segregation calls into question a shared American ideal.

86% of Americans agree:

“Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.”

Pew Research Center

Do we uphold a self-narrative that is based on a fundamental lie?

Or do we acknowledge our on-going history of pro-segregation policies and resource hoarding?

**And use our position to dismantle structural racism and inequality?**

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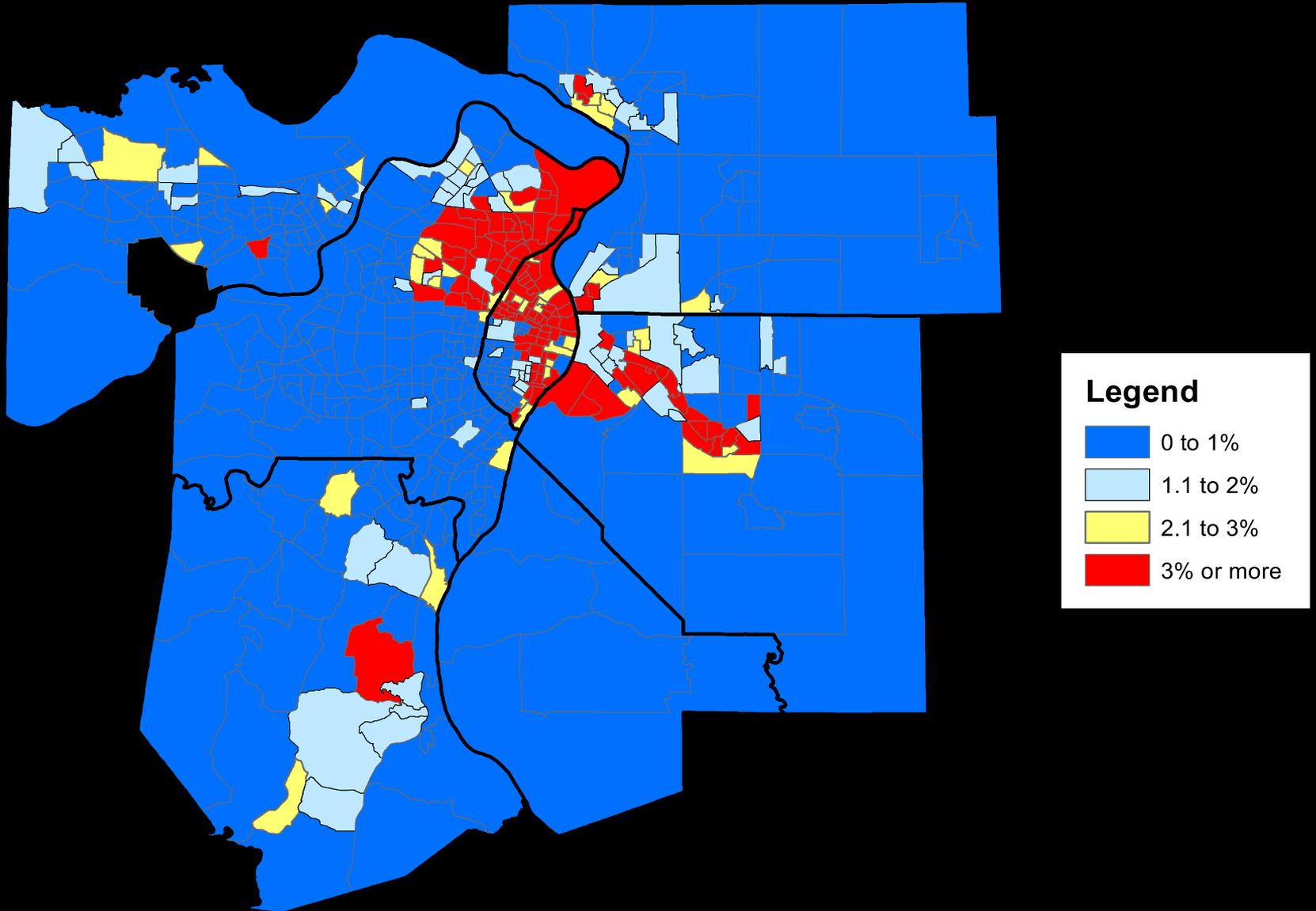
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# Housing Choice Voucher ("HCV") Program

- Also known as "Section 8"
- Federally funded, managed by local housing authorities
- Participants pay 30% of their income, the voucher covers the rest (up to "fair market rent" max)

# HCV Households



# Source of Income Protections

- Extend fair housing rights to Housing Choice Voucher ("Section 8") renters
- Makes it illegal for landlords to advertise "No Section 8"
- Enacted by St. Louis City in 2015
- Need to be extended and enforced!

# “Protected Classes”

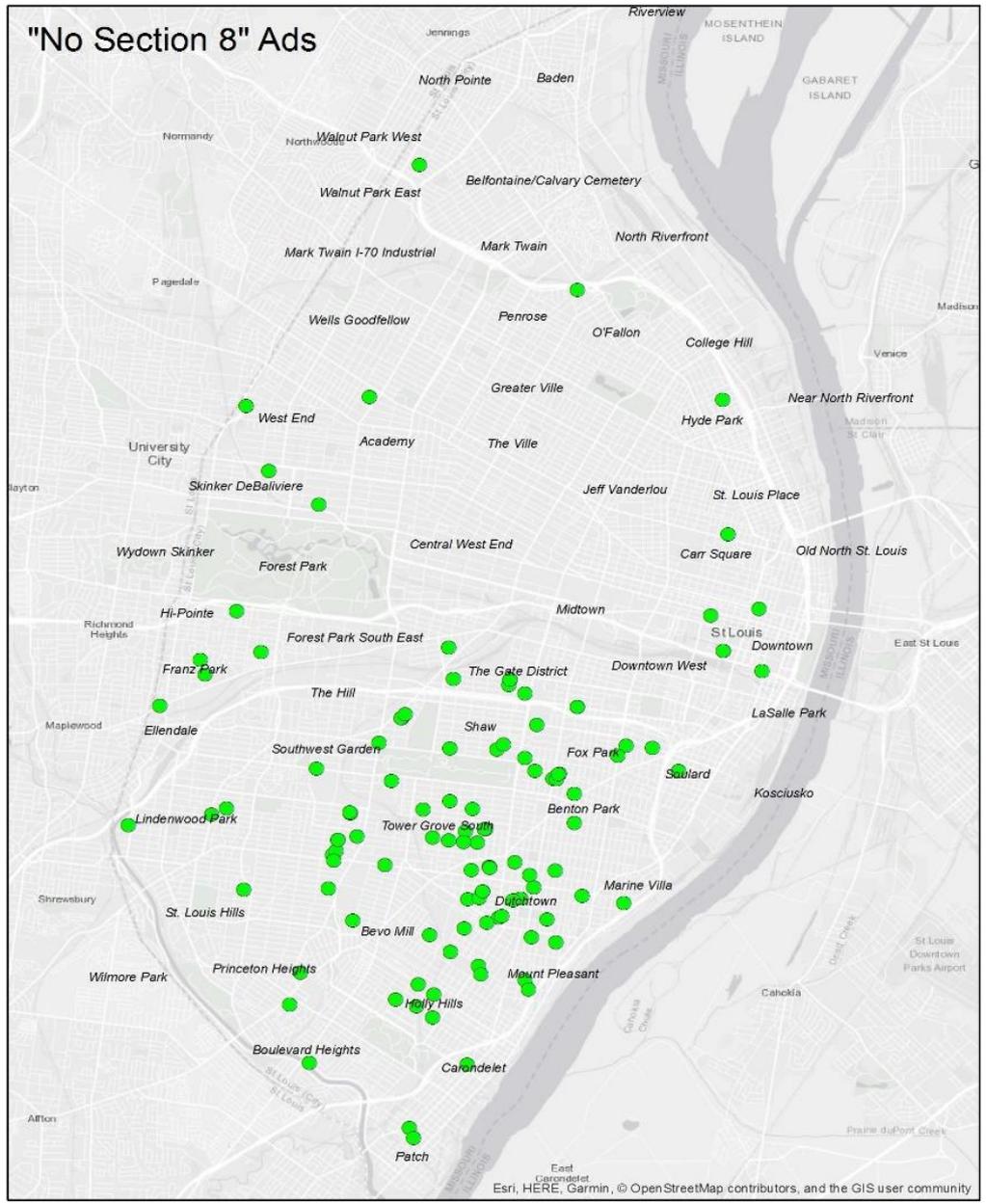
per federal fair housing law

- Race
- Color
- Religion
- Sex
- Disability
- Familial Status
- National Origin

Possible local extensions of fair housing rights:

- Gender identity
- Sexual orientation
- *Source of income*

# "No Section 8" Ads



Source: EHOc, "Locked Out/Locked In," 2019

# How is SOI supposed to be enforced in St. Louis City?

- Referral: EHOOC, others
- Investigation: CREA
- Determination: CREA
- Prosecution: City Counselor

If SOI is extended throughout the region, enforcement processes should be made clear.

- Referral: EHOOC, others
- Investigation: ?
- Determination: ?
- Prosecution: ?

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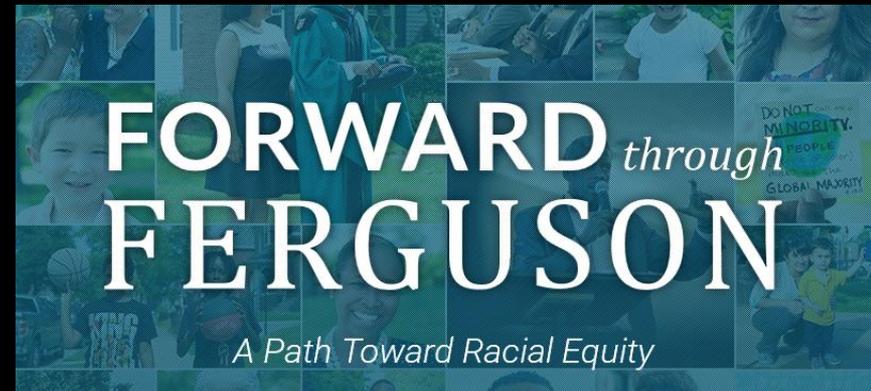
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# Inclusionary Zoning

- Not technically “zoning”
- Local laws requiring that new multiunit developments set aside some units for low-income households
- Affordability thresholds and percent of units set aside vary based on local conditions
- Can be mandatory (required for all new developments) or voluntary (in return for density bonus or public incentives)

# Inclusionary Zoning

At the last mayoral forum, every Democratic candidate said they support one of #TeamTIF's primary policy objectives: Incentive-linked Inclusionary Zoning. **We thank them. We also ask: help us turn those words into action.**



TEAMTIFSTL.COM |   @TEAMTIFSTL



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# #betterforwhom?

- Better Together's "Metro City" proposal ends the City's earnings and payroll taxes and cuts County property taxes

We can do better than  
"Better Together"

We need equitable public  
investment, not tax cuts

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*“When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people...*

to fulfill the promise of being one people,  
necessary to abolish any government that  
becomes destructive of these ends,  
necessary to dissolve the political bands  
that keep us from speaking to each other,

“...necessary to avow our  
interdependence,  
to look straight into each other’s eyes  
the way we behold the moon,  
and declare to one another:  
*I see you. I see you. I see you.*”

**Richard Blanco,**  
“Declaration of Interdependence”